

JPRS 75583

28 April 1980

# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 3, February 1980

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

## NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

## PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

28 April 1980

USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 3, February 1980

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year). Where certain articles, reprinted from other Russian-language sources, are not translated, indication of this fact is made in the table of contents.

CONTENTS

The Prime Task of Organizing Work (N. Tikhonov) . . . . .	1
Higher School at the New Stage (M. Zimyanin) . . . . .	14
Leninism and Social Development (V. Zagladin) . . . . .	30
Glorious Offspring of the Soviet People (S. Gorshkov) . . . . .	48
Red Banner Imeni Lenin (V. Lebedev) . . . . .	64
Battle Organ of Army and Navy Communists . . . . .	75
High Responsibility of Parliaments and Members of Parliaments (A. Shitikov) . . . . .	89
Ten Years of Congolese Labor Party (Denis Sassou-Nguesso) . . . . .	101

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
China: Some Trends in the Domestic Situation . . . . .	115
On the Centennial of the Birth of Nikolay Il'ich Podvoyskiy (B. Kedrov) . . . . .	137
Diplomacy of Socialism--A Weapon in the Struggle for Peace (I. Mints) . . . . .	157
A Multiple Party System Under the Conditions of the Building of Socialism (B. Arkh'pov) . . . . .	164

PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST, NO 3  
Feb 1980

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : Feb 1980

Signed to press : 15 Feb 1980

Copies : 911,000

COPYRIGHT : Izdatel'stvo "Pravda," "Kommunist."  
1980

## THE PRIME TASK OF ORGANIZING WORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 3-14

[Article by N. Tikhonov, CC CPSU Politburo member and first deputy chairman, USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] The decisions of the 24th and 25th party congresses, CC CPSU plenum decrees, and reports and speeches by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, have repeatedly noted the great importance of comprehensively strengthening labor discipline under developed socialist conditions, when the solution of the main problem--the systematic growth of the people's prosperity--requires the pursuit of a course toward upgrading production effectiveness and work quality with increased energy. At the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that, "Generally speaking, discipline and order are always needed. They are particularly needed today, when the scale of economic management has expanded tremendously and when the network of economic interrelationships is becoming ever more complex, dense and widespread. Not merely words about discipline or calls for order are needed. What is needed, above all, is painstaking, daily organizational work, efficient investigation of execution and a flexible, thought-out cadre policy."

The most important task of the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and economic managers is to considerably improve their organizational, political-educational and legal work aimed at strengthening the labor discipline, eliminating work-time losses, insuring the rational utilization of manpower resources and creating stable labor collectives. This work is a necessary prerequisite for the implementation of the party's economic and social policy, upgrading production effectiveness and developing a communist attitude toward labor. The recent CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Further Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy" is directed at the solution of these problems.

The role of labor discipline and of creating stable labor collectives at each production sector is increased in the developed socialist stage; the

importance of the most productive utilization of every hour and minute of working time and the strict observance of internal labor regulations is drastically enhanced. This is determined by a number of reasons.

The scale of our national economy has expanded immeasurably. Compared with 1965, the 1979 national income was higher by a 2.3 factor and, according to preliminary estimates, totaled 438 billion rubles. Today, compared with 1965, in a single day the country produces more electric power by a 2.4 factor; steel, 1.6; petroleum (including gas condensate), 2.4; chemical fertilizers, 3; cement, 1.7; radios and radio-phonographs, 1.6; television sets, 2; and refrigerators, 3.5.

Productive capital has increased considerably. At the beginning of 1980 it accounted for over one trillion rubles. The underutilization of productive capital substantially lowers capital returns and the volume of output. This is manifested particularly tangibly under the conditions of scientific and technical progress, when obsolete equipment is dynamically being replaced with more advanced equipment and when the cost of the new equipment substantially rises together with its complexity. Its ineffective utilization turns into heavy losses to the national economy. At the present stage, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "The cost of idling, unconscientious work and errors . . . has become quite different. It is one thing, for example, for a person with a shovel to idle 30 minutes; a 30-minute idling of a person operating a powerful excavator, combine or power crane is something entirely different. These are entirely different things." Today the loss of a single minute costs the country's national economy a great deal--over one million rubles' worth of industrial output; this cost will be higher tomorrow and the day after.

A further intensification of the social division of labor is taking place, manifested in the ever greater development of production cooperation and specialization. This increases the complexity of economic relations and requires the effective interaction among all national economic units. The contemporary enterprise is both a supplier and consumer of goods and has relations with tens and hundreds of partners. The delayed fulfillment of orders--contracts breaks the chain of cooperated deliveries. This can be prevented by increasing the strictness of observing production procedures in each enterprise subunit. The normal work of the enterprise is insured through precise coordination and efficient activities, strictest possible discipline, and responsibility displayed by all production sectors. Stoppages in the work of a single shop, sector or brigade could trigger thousands of losses and, in a number of cases, reduce to naught the efforts of the entire labor collective, and in the final account affect the work of an entire sector.

The need for the further strengthening of socialist labor discipline is determined by the task of educating the member of the communist society and the further development of the socialist way of life. Conscious discipline is the characteristic feature of the member of the new world. To be such a

person, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "means to be intolerant of egotism, sluggishness, slackness, slovenliness, philistine indifference and grubbing. It means to demand of oneself and of others the strictest possible observance of labor discipline. . . ." Raising individual discipline is a mandatory prerequisite for strengthening the collectivistic principles of our entire life and the democratic nature of Soviet society.

Relying on the priceless Leninist heritage and the truly scientific analysis of contemporary trends in the development of the mature socialist society, the communist party is working steadily to promote the further advancement of socialist labor discipline and the creation of conditions for its gradual growth into communist discipline.

At the present stage the struggle for upgrading production effectiveness has become the pivot of the party's entire economic policy. Increasing the influence of the intensive factors on the country's economic growth presumes high labor discipline, and the responsibility of every worker for the qualitative fulfillment of his obligations. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said that "upgrading labor discipline is, precisely, the reserve for increasing the social wealth not requiring capital investments, yet yielding major and quick returns."

We have the necessary object prerequisites for the further strengthening of labor discipline and gradually curtailing cadre turnover. They are based on the fact that our society has entered the stage of mature socialism characterized by a qualitatively new and higher level of development of the material and technical base, the further improvement of production relations and changes in the nature of the work.

Upgrading the cultural and general educational standards, the growth of conscientiousness of the broad toiling masses and the energizing of their creative activities at work and in the sociopolitical area have become some of the main prerequisites for strengthening the labor discipline. The elaboration and implementation of large-scale social programs for upgrading the people's prosperity have considerably contributed to strengthening the labor discipline and upgrading labor effectiveness. They include, above all, measures in the field of improving the organization of wages aimed at increasing uniformity in the wages paid to workers with the same skills or performing jobs under approximately identical labor conditions. This uniformity was secured along with a substantiated differentiation in wages based on labor complexity, conditions and intensiveness, and in accordance with the location of the enterprise and its national economic significance.

Resolving the problem of strengthening the labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover requires a comprehensive approach and may not be reduced merely to measures based on material incentive through wages. In recent years the party, soviet, trade union and economic organs have done extensive work to create for the working people the most favorable conditions for work, recreation, training and skill improvement. Residential, medical

and cultural population services are being improved. An extensive housing construction program is being successfully implemented. Between 1971 and 1979 alone, 968 million square meters of housing area were built and commissioned, as a result of which about 100 million people improved their housing conditions. Within the same period extensive construction was carried out of schools, vocational-technical schools, hospitals, stores, palaces of culture and other sociocultural and consumer-services projects. The creation of stable labor collectives is also directly linked with the formulation and implementation of the social development plans of enterprises, associations, sectors and regions.

In recent years measures directly aimed at reducing cadre turnover and retaining the personnel at the enterprises have been formulated and are being successfully implemented. To this effect, for example, bonuses are awarded for service longevity, based on the length of uninterrupted work, or else the conditions for earning of such bonuses have been substantially improved in railroad transportation, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the coal and textile industries, construction and the work of agricultural mechanizers. Many enterprises grant additional paid leave also based on uninterrupted service longevity.

The implementation of the measures stipulated in the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, Central Committee plenums and instruction issued by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and the intensification of political-educational work have made it possible in recent years to strengthen labor discipline and reduce cadre turnover. Considerable results in this area have been achieved at many enterprises, sectors and rayons throughout the country. Compared with 1975, work-time losses among industrial workers in 1978 have been reduced for the country at large. Nevertheless, numerous studies and statistical data show that the harm caused the national economy as a result of cadre turnover and disciplinary violations remains significant.

Assessing this phenomenon, we should take into consideration that the extent of transfer to another position in industry remains considerable. Furthermore, as a rule, the workers' labor productivity declines before leaving his old job and a certain period of time is required before the new one has been mastered.

Substantial work-time losses are caused by absenteeism, idling and leave by permission of the management. All this proves the need to continue in the future as well the implementation of a variety of measures aimed at strengthening the labor discipline and reducing the turnover of workers' cadres.

The reason for which the problem of strengthening labor discipline is so urgent today is that we can no longer fail to take into consideration the new requirements demanded by contemporary equipment and technology, the increasing interdependence of sectors and production facilities, and the level reached in the development of our national economy. Nor could we

fail to take into consideration the fact that some economic management organs and heads of associations and enterprises, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and soviets of people's deputies do not always take into consideration the need for the effective utilization of the entire working time, the strict observance of internal regulations and the creation of conditions for retaining production cadres.

In a number of sectors, associations and enterprises have become accustomed to violations of labor discipline, have failed to provide a principle-minded party assessment of absenteeism and other work-time losses, and where the individual responsibility of the leading workers for strengthening the labor discipline and insuring order in production is not always high.

The measures for strengthening labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover stipulated in the recent CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree take into consideration the requirements and stipulations of the USSR Constitution to the effect that the observance of labor discipline is an obligation and matter of honor of anyone who can work, while avoiding socially useful labor is incompatible with the principles of the socialist society. They also proceed from the fact that the further strengthening of labor discipline and insuring high-level organization and order in all economic management sectors are important factors in the further development of production and in upgrading its effectiveness.

The decree takes into consideration the suggestions of many labor collectives, party and trade union organizations, heads of ministries, departments, associations and enterprises, and leading production workers. It also reflects the experience of a number of socialist countries in the implementation of measures aimed at strengthening labor discipline and creating stable labor collectives.

Strengthening labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover call for the implementation of a variety of organizational measures, the systematic and planned improvement of equipment, technology and labor organization, improvements of labor conditions, upgrading the effectiveness of material and moral incentives, resolving a number of social development problems, systematically implementing the measures stipulated in the current legislation and intensifying political-educational work. The comprehensive solution of problems related to strengthening labor discipline also predetermines the need to increase the unity of action of party, soviet and economic organs, and trade union and Komsomol organizations.

The practice of a number of associations and enterprises and of a number of entire sectors confirms the effectiveness of the comprehensive approach to problems strengthening the labor discipline. Thus cadre turnover at the Dneprovskiy Machine Building Plant does not exceed five-six percent. And the absolute majority of young, who account for most of the personnel, do not change their profession chosen at the time of their hiring. Following

their military service, over 80 percent of the workers return to their enterprise. Over the past several years work-time losses at the Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod Production Association have declined by 20 percent; cadre turnover has dropped from 15.2 percent in 1974 to 9.2 percent in 1978. High-level labor discipline and low level of cadre turnover are characteristic of enterprises such as Moscow's Dinamo imeni S. M. Kirov Plant, Leningrad's Lenpoligrafmash Plant, Vil'nyus' Adding Machines Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, the Tiraspol' clothing factory and many others. Let us note that, as a rule, no single labor discipline violation is ignored in such enterprises and corresponding measures of influence are taken. The reasons for the resignation of workers are considered thoroughly and measures to lower cadre turnover are formulated.

The study of statistical data has shown major disparities in the indicators of the condition of labor discipline and cadre turnover by sector, rayon and individual enterprise and organization. Frequently such indicators show substantial disparities among enterprises within the same sector offering similar working conditions and type of work and an approximately similar level of average wages. For example, in 1978 cadre turnover at the Uralmash Association totaled 13.2 percent, whereas at the Uralelektrotyazhmash Association, whose output is of a similar nature, it averaged 20.2 percent. At the Kiev Tochelektropribor Production Association work-time losses caused by absenteeism are lower by several hundred percent compared with the average for instrument manufacturing enterprises. At the Strommashina Plant in Mogilev, the highway machinery plant in Berdyansk, the Stroygidravlika Plant in Odessa and the Elektroiinstrument Production Association in Rostov work-time losses caused by absenteeism, idling or leave by permission of the administration are considerably below the average for the enterprises of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building. In some union republics workers' turnover in construction organizations under the jurisdiction of construction ministries is approximately half as high as in construction organizations under the jurisdiction of the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies. All this proves that the party, soviet and economic organs and public organizations have adequate opportunities, which skillfully used would insure the strengthening of labor discipline and reduce cadre turnover.

The detailed study of this matter in the various sectors and parts of the country and directly at associations and enterprises has also indicated the need to implement a number of additional measures with a view to insuring the further strengthening of the labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover in the national economy.

Practical experience has proved the great importance of the comprehensive dissemination of progressive experience in the organization of the work and production, improvements in labor conditions and upgraded responsibility of management and, particularly, brigade leaders, foremen and chiefs of shops and sectors, and of the labor collectives themselves in strengthening the

labor discipline. In this connection particular attention should be paid to the extensive use of the brigade form of labor organization and incentive. In the 11th Five-Year Plan this must become an essential factor and its role in strengthening labor discipline must be enhanced.

The practical experience of a number of associations, enterprises and ministries proves that the brigade method of labor organization, properly applied, makes it possible to lower work-time losses, insure the rapid mastering of skills and professions by the young workers, and the reduction of cadre turnover. As a rule cadre turnover is low and labor discipline violations are insignificant in sectors extensively using the collective forms of labor organization and wages. Thus cadre turnover is far lower at the enterprises of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, Ministry of Power Machine Building and Ministry of Automotive Industry, where nearly one-half of all workers practice the brigade method of labor organization, compared with the associations and enterprises of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, and the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, where less than one-third of the workers apply the brigade method. Cadre turnover at the construction organizations of the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, USSR Ministry of Construction and Ministry of Transport Construction, where 25 to 34 percent of the workers operate on the basis of the brigade method, is almost half that of the other construction ministries.

Taking into consideration the effectiveness of the use of collective forms of organization of labor and wages in the various production sectors, systematic measures must be taken to apply the brigade method, set up comprehensive and related brigades, harvesting-transport complexes and detachments and brigades based on the hourly (non-assignment) wage system, and so on. The brigades must be given systematic aid in improving their choice and placement of cadres, and insuring the justified distribution of collective earnings based on the labor contribution of the individual to the achievement of the overall labor indicators. Upgrading the role of production-brigade councils and councils of brigade leaders is of major importance in the consideration of problems of production organization and of strengthening labor discipline and in hiring and firing workers. The effectiveness of the collective methods of labor organization and wages is directly linked to the choice of brigade leaders among the most skilled workers displaying a creative attitude toward the work and enjoying the respect of their fellow workers.

We must remember that all measures aimed at strengthening the labor discipline must be implemented with the direct participation of the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, strictly observing labor legislation and regulations in all brigade activities.

The condition of the labor discipline and order in production largely depends on the heads of the production subunits in charge of the respective

work sector, people who by virtue of their official position are directly exposed to all regulation violations.

With a view to upgrading responsibility, the indicators characterizing the condition of labor discipline, as well as those of the implementation of planned assignments, must become basic in assessing the results of the production activities of chiefs of shops, foremen and brigade leaders. The important social and economic problems of intensifying material and moral incentives (determining work results of the respective subunits, allocation of housing area and places in children's preschool institutions, and so on) must be considered and resolved with their mandatory participation.

The labor collectives play an exceptionally important role in strengthening production discipline and insuring the strict observance of internal regulations. Frequently the influence of labor collectives on careless workers is more effective than the use of one or another administrative penalty. The measures for social and disciplinary action themselves, applied toward the violators of labor discipline, must be carried out in accordance with the decisions of the workers' meetings.

Many among those who resign give as reasons adverse labor conditions and heavy manual work. Taking this into consideration, starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan assignments will be issued to ministries, associations and enterprises to reduce the use of manual labor. At the same time, the comprehensive plans elaborated for the reduction of the use of manual labor and for improving working conditions on the regional level, making extensive use of internal resources following the experience of enterprises in Moscow and Leningrad, in Zaporozhskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and Chelyabinskaya oblasts, the Latvian SSR and a number of other republics, oblasts and cities will play a major role in this respect.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan, as a result of the implemented measures, the share of workers engaged in manual work was reduced by one-half in Zaporozhskaya Oblast. During the five-year plan the number of workers engaged in manual work in Chelyabinskaya Oblast, which initiated a considerable reduction in the use of heavy manual labor based on comprehensive certification of all labor-intensive processes, was reduced by 47,000 people, while the working conditions of approximately 180,000 workers were improved.

Improving the system of population employment is of the greatest significance to lowering work-time losses. Available data show that the time for placing citizens on a job with the assistance of the corresponding services takes an average of 10 days less compared with looking for jobs independently. As the experience of a number of cities has indicated, the effectiveness of job placement services is substantially upgraded whenever the population is informed of job openings and hiring takes place with the help of special job placement bureaus. The activities of the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have a major influence on improving the work of job placement bureaus.

Available data show that nearly two-thirds of the resigning personnel in industry are young workers under 30 and that about three-quarters of them have worked at the enterprise no more than three years. Therefore, greater attention should be paid to the young people, specifically those whose first job it is. They must be comprehensively assisted in increasing their vocational skills and their involvement in the affairs of the collective; special commissions for work with the youth must be set up at associations, enterprises and organizations, the tutorship movement must be developed extensively and its prestige enhanced. The decree calls for awarding the honorific title of "Deserving Youth Tutor." The retention of young cadres is largely determined by the use of an effective system for their professional-skill promotion, quite successfully applied by a number of enterprises. Thus at the Volga Automotive Plant, having reached the highest grade in their mass skill, the young workers have the possibility, if they so wish, to master a more complex skill, such as instrument fitter, general fitter or tuner. Thus, as a rule, the highly skilled workers come from the youth reserve of the enterprise.

The creation of stable labor collectives is closely linked with the dissemination of progressive labor ways and means, and with improving the material and moral incentive system. Intensifying control over the application of existing wage and labor norming conditions and, particularly, the use of the norms of equal stress at sectors and jobs with approximately identical levels of labor organization and technical equipment plays a major role in strengthening labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover. This largely predetermines the development of the necessary consistency between the work contribution of the worker and his wage. In this case the labor collectives and public organizations must become more extensively involved in reviewing existing labor outlay norms and introducing necessary amendments to the existing regulations governing wages.

The effectiveness of the measures aimed at the further improvement of labor organization, norming and wages is largely determined by their influence on strengthening the labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover. Obviously in this respect we must continue to give proper priority in wages to individuals engaged in heavy and harmful labor conditions, night work and work in the northern and eastern parts of the country. Particular attention should be paid to increasing the interest of the young workers in mastering most rapidly specialized skills and upgrading their professional mastery.

The solution of the problem of retaining cadres largely depends on the type of attention paid to the entire set of problems related to improving housing and living conditions. The construction of housing projects and of residential and sociocultural facilities must be coordinated with the commissioning of the enterprise. Also important is the development of enterprise housing facilities located at an acceptable distance. The allocation of new housing must be improved, taking into consideration the

distance between the home and the job, and on the basis of such considerations create more favorable conditions for house training.

At the same time, the creation of housing-construction cooperatives in the immediate vicinity of associations, enterprises and organizations must be taken into consideration. The construction of individual house buildings for their own workers must be allowed. In order to create stable collectives, granting associations, enterprises and organizations the possibility to use more purposefully some of their available incentive funds for cooperative and individual housing construction is of great importance. In coordination with the trade union committee and in accordance with the recommendations of the labor collectives, today the heads of associations, enterprises and organizations have the right to give free material aid and partially repay bank loans for cooperative and individual housing construction for workers who have remained on their jobs no less than five years, or in the case of young workers, no less than two years. Should the worker resign without a legitimate reasons or violate the labor discipline, the free aid or funds for the repayment of the bank loan must be repaid to the association, enterprise or organization within a five-year term.

The practice of groundless recruitment by the local organs of enterprise and establishment workers for a variety of jobs unrelated to their production activities, a practice which has become widespread in recent years, has resulted in major unproductive labor outlays. This leads to major work losses, violations of the normal work of enterprises and the tendency to keep unnecessary manpower "in reserve." Order must be brought in this matter and lack of personal responsibility and dependence must be eliminated. Economic managers and public organizations must be strictly guided by existing instructions on the inadmissibility of holding meetings, conferences, athletic competitions, reviews of amateur art performances and other measures during working time.

Labor discipline is also affected by major shortcomings in the work schedules of enterprises, organizations and establishments providing population services. Statistical studies have shown that in 1979 over one-half of reception centers for household services and communications enterprises did not work past 1800 hours. Over 80 percent of the working time of housing-management offices and their repair services are during the day, when the majority of the population is at work; one out of three durable goods stores closes down at 1800 hours or at 1830 hours. This inconveniences the population and results in time losses on the job. Ministries, departments and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies must streamline the work schedules of the enterprises, organizations and establishments providing population services.

Encouraging those who have worked a long time and conscientiously at enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses is of essential importance in strengthening the labor discipline. In this connection the implementation of a number of additional measures has been considered expedient.

Thus the impeccable work longevity of workers, employees and kolkhoz members at a single enterprise, organization, establishment or kolkhoz will be taken into consideration in nominations for awards with USSR orders and medals for high labor accomplishments.

As we know, currently, with uninterrupted service longevity in excess of 15 years, or general service longevity of no less than 35 years for men and no less than 30 years for women, a 10 percent addition is added to pensions. In order to increase the pension advantages of workers with extensive, uninterrupted service longevity, the supplement will be raised from 10 to 20 percent for workers and employees who have spent no less than 25 years and, in the case of women with children, no less than 20 years uninterruptedly at work in the same enterprise, establishment or organization (if they are also entitled to a pension supplement for general service longevity). Let us point out that this 10 percent supplement to the pension will be over and above the maximum pension allowed.

In the 11th Five-Year Plan workers and employees with annual paid leave of 15 working days, engaged in basic and auxiliary production facilities at associations, enterprises and organizations in a number of production sectors of the national economy, will be granted additional leave for uninterrupted work longevity. On the other hand, workers and employees guilty of absenteeism without legitimate reasons (including showing up on the job while intoxicated) may be deprived fully or partially of such leave.

Granting unpaid leave is an extensively widespread practice at enterprises and construction projects. Over one-half of statistically determined losses of working time in industry are caused by non-appearance to work by permission of the administration. In some cases such leaves have been used to conceal absenteeism. With a view to bringing order in this matter it is established that unpaid leave may be granted to workers and employees only by decision of the head of the enterprise, organization or establishment, or else the head of the production unit, with a proper written order.

In the course of discussing the draft of the USSR Constitution, and in subsequent years, through numerous addresses at meetings and in the press the working people have submitted a variety of suggestions aimed at increasing responsibility for labor discipline violations. It was deemed expedient to adopt additional measures of influence against those who violate labor discipline and who change jobs frequently and for no reason whatever.

The heads of associations, enterprises, organizations and kolkhozes, and the trade union organizations must make more full use of their right to exert disciplinary and material influence against violators of labor discipline: deprive them of reduced payment cards to sanitoriums and rest homes, loss of seniority in obtaining housing, changing the period of the paid leave and other measures.

The procedure according to which workers and employees have the right to break the labor contract and resign, giving a one-month written notice to

the administration, rather than 14 days as stipulated in the previous legislation, is of the greatest importance. This offers more favorable conditions for recruiting new workers to fill job openings. Furthermore, the increased length of time of the resignation notice may, to a certain extent, eliminate cases of hasty resignations based on a variety of job misunderstandings of an accidental nature.

Individuals who resign without legitimate reasons two or more times within a single calendar year will lose their continuous work longevity. All this increases the measures for influencing drifters who disorganize the production process.

In order to reduce cadre turnover and improve the utilization of working time the organization of strict accounting for time losses and of cases of labor discipline violations is particularly important. We know, for example, that a considerable share of work-time losses, particularly within a single shift, as well as some cases of workers' absenteeism, are ignored. This creates the impression of false disciplinary success. The state organs and scientific and public organizations must make a systematic study and profoundly and comprehensively analyze the effectiveness of the various implemented measures to insure the fuller accounting and use of the work time and the strengthening of labor discipline.

Educational work is of great importance in strengthening labor discipline. The importance of socialist labor discipline must be profoundly explained within the party training network, economic training, Komsomol political education and other forms of mass propaganda and agitation. We must systematically raise the members of labor collectives in a spirit of pride in their profession and enterprise, and intolerance of any manifestation of disorganization and lack of discipline. It is important to decisively uproot cases of tolerance and liberal attitude toward the violators of labor discipline, by using for such purposes not only the measures of influence as stipulated in the labor legislation, but the opinion of the collectives and the mass-information and propaganda media.

The press, radio and television must vividly and convincingly prove the economic, moral and social significance of labor discipline. They must extensively disseminate the experience of collectives whose activities are characterized by high-level, conscious labor discipline.

In order to be successful the measures for strengthening the labor discipline and lowering cadre turnover must be comprehensive and stipulate a variety of economic and social measures. Resolving the problems earmarked in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" and the CC CPSU decrees "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" and "On Improving Work on the Preservation of Law and Order and Intensifying the Struggle Against Delinquencies," the Soviet people will take a new, major step in improving socialist labor discipline and upgrading production effectiveness and work quality.

The strengthening of labor discipline at all national economic levels and improving the utilization of labor resources are the most important reserve for the successful solution of problems in the further development of the socialist economy and the upsurge of the material and cultural standards of the people. Active and planned participation in this work is a matter affecting all working people and each labor collective.

5003

CSO: 1802

## HIGHER SCHOOL AT THE NEW STAGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 15-27

[Article by M. Zimyanin, CC CPSU secretary]

[Text] Life in our higher school is inseparably linked with the great accomplishments of the Leninist party and Soviet people and with the prospects of the future development of the country.

The ways of the development of the higher school are determined by the historical decisions of the 24th and 25th party congresses, their program for building the material and technical base of communism, the improvement of social relations and the upbringing of the member of the new society. The party has formulated a comprehensive and profoundly substantiated socioeconomic strategy leading to the implementation of these objectives. It is based on the dynamic and proportional development of production, its increased effectiveness, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the growth of labor productivity and the comprehensive improvement of work quality in all national economic units. It is a question of the active shifting of all public production to the tracks of intensive development and of improving final national economic results.

The creative toil of the Soviet people, the tremendous scope of the socialist competition and the achievements of Soviet science and their extensive application in the national economy, and the search for and mobilization of production reserves have already enable us to achieve certain successes. At the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan, implementing the decisions of the 25th congress, we have made considerable progress in the development of the national economy, the further upsurge of the material and cultural standards of the people, and the strengthening of our homeland's defense capability. At the same time he drew the attention to the need for most rapidly surmounting shortcomings in the work related to the fact that in a number of economic sectors ministries and departments have still not surmounted the force of inertia and insured a decisive turn toward the utilization of quality production factors. He emphasized that there are no alternatives to the party's course of upgrading effectiveness and quality.

The decisions of the November CC CPSU Plenum and the speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum equipped the party members and all working people with a battle program in the struggle for the successful solution of the corresponding problems of the further upsurge of the Soviet economy, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the enhancement of labor productivity and the utilization of all possibilities and reserves for further progress, insuring on this basis the further growth of the material and cultural standards of the people.

Recently the party and the government passed a number of new measures aimed at considerably upgrading social production effectiveness. This applies above all to the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on improving planning and intensifying the influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, and the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree on further strengthening labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover in the national economy.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" should be considered as closely related to these documents. At the present stage of development of Soviet society the level of communist conscientiousness and knowledge, the professional training of the people and their ability to see and creatively resolve ripe problems become the most important factors of socioeconomic development. The effective utilization of the intellectual potential of society and the development of science, culture and education determine today, to an ever greater extent, the pace of social progress and the utilization of the unquestionable advantages of the socialist social system.

The party's program for socioeconomic development is the basic guideline which enables us to clearly define the basic tasks of the higher school today.

At each historical stage the requirements facing the higher school have had a specific content consistent with the objective conditions governing the development of the country, its possibilities and the current tasks in building the new society. Today the content of these requirements is defined by three basic factors: the totality of conditions and tasks governing the development of the socialist society, the scientific and technical revolution, and the characteristics of contemporary world developments. The shifting of the center of gravity in VUZ activities to the quality of training and upbringing is a structural part of the implementation of the general party course toward upgrading the effectiveness and quality of all work and the solution of the new, big problems of the building of communism.

At the present time the higher school essentially meets the requirements of society in terms of the scale of training cadres of specialists. It is having an ever growing influence on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the further growth of the country's economic and

cultural potential. The graduates of Soviet VUZ's are selflessly working at all sectors of the building of communism and, together with the heroic working class and toiling peasantry, multiplying the material and spiritual resources of the homeland.

At the same time it is entirely natural that the higher the level of development of the socialist society becomes, the stricter become the requirements facing the higher school and the professional knowledge and ideological and moral qualities of its graduates.

As we know, in the past two years the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed the decrees "On the Further Development of the Higher School and on Upgrading the Quality of Specialist Training" and "On Upgrading the Effectiveness of Scientific Research Work in Higher Educational Institutions," reflecting the essence of the requirements of the time toward the higher school and, above all, the need to upgrade the role of VUZ's in socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress.

The all-round upgrading of the quality of the training and upbringing of specialists and strengthening the ties between the higher school and production and social practice have assumed prime significance among the entire complex of problems aimed at improving the higher school.

Naturally, such problems have been resolved throughout the history of the Soviet higher school. The basic stipulations governing VUZ training in general scientific and specialized subjects, reliance on the latest scientific, technical and cultural achievements, organic combination of theory with practice, and shaping a Marxist outlook among the specialists were formulated under Lenin himself, particularly with the 2 September 1921 decree signed by him on the regulation governing VUZ's in the RSFSR.

Noting the great importance of educated and highly skilled workers, V. I. Lenin said: "Without the guidance of specialists in various fields of knowledge . . . a conversion to socialism is impossible, for socialism requires the conscious and mass progress toward higher labor productivity" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 178). Anyone who has undertaken the great cause of building socialism, he emphasized, "must understand that it is only on the basis of modern education that this could be created and the lack of such education would turn communism merely into a wish" (ibid, vol 41, p 307). Lenin's ideas on the development of higher education under socialism were at the base of the 12 January 1925 RKP(b) Central Committee decree "On the Immediate Tasks in Establishing Ties Between VUZ's and Production," as well as of all subsequent party and government decisions on higher school matters.

At the present stage of development of Soviet society life demands of the VUZ graduates that they have extensive Marxist-Leninist and vocational-theoretical training, practical work skills and high political and moral standards. They must be able to make and implement, on a contemporary

level, scientific, engineering and organizational decisions. They must master the art of managing collectives and rallying and uniting them to promote the interests of the party and the people. A criterion of the effectiveness of the efforts of the higher school as a whole and of each VUZ individually is the success with which their graduates are resolving the steadily more complex problems of scientific and technical and social progress.

Through their teaching and educational activities the VUZ collectives try to implement these requirements of reality and of the scientific and technical revolution. The scientific-pedagogical practice of thousands of professors, teachers and scientists throughout the country offer outstanding examples of most-progressive experience.

Many Soviet VUZ's have become true training-scientific centers in which extensive studies of topical scientific problems are organically linked with the training of highly skilled specialists. Let us name among them, above all, our great institutions whose anniversaries are celebrated: Moscow University, Kazan' University, the Moscow Higher Technical School, Vil'nyus and Khar'kov universities and other VUZ's.

Yet we must not ignore the fact that substantial disparities exist in the quality of the theoretical and practical training of the future specialists in the various VUZ's and, occasionally, even within a single university or institute. Side by side with leading higher educational institutions which are truly working on the level of contemporary requirements, there are some whose work is below standard. Comprehensiveness in resolving the problems facing VUZ's in the fields of theoretical training and practical teaching of the students, ideological-educational work and development of scientific research is far from everywhere insured.

The emulation of leading VUZ's, faculties and chairs, and raising all of them to the level of the best, is a most important reserve for raising the general standard of the Soviet higher school. Naturally, the leading VUZ's as well must adamantly continue to upgrade the quality of training of specialists. In other words, a definite collective step forward must be taken on the basis of the best achievements of the higher school.

In 1918, in his work "The Forthcoming Tasks of the Soviet System," Lenin described the need to see to it, under socialism, that the power of the example become, above all, a moral model for the organization of labor in the new Soviet Russia. This Leninist statement remains topical. Our life offers numerous examples of the struggle for comprehensively upgrading work quality. Thus we find in the all-union socialist competition outstanding initiatives developed by the workers, such as "No Single Straggler," "A Workers' Guarantee for a Quality Five-Year Plan," and so on.

Naturally, in the higher school this should assume a different aspect. We must be concerned with preserving and increasing the valuable traditions in

teaching and the work of scientific schools found in a considerable percentage of VUZ's. At the same time the best achievements of VUZ work must be promptly reflected in the activities of each university, institute, faculty or chair. The dissemination of progressive teaching, scientific, organizational-practical and political-educational experience must be organized on a solid foundation and conducted systematically.

We must see to it that the content of the material taught fully reflects contemporary achievements in science, technology and culture, the interaction between science and production, the achievements of philosophical knowledge and scientific methodology, and the contemporary level reached in the levels of education and culture and, particularly, the mentality of the young generations. This is inseparable from the task of raising the student youth in a spirit of communist conscientiousness, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, readiness to defend the homeland, industriousness and discipline.

In the final account we must train broad specialists who can adapt rapidly to the conditions of a tempestuous scientific and technical and social progress, combining theoretical knowledge with the skill to resolve practical problems. In order to achieve this we must intensify special scientific studies, study and sum up practical experience more energetically and develop the most effective methods for teaching, practical training and education.

It is important not only to demand of the teachers high training standards, but to equip them with the most progressive training-method experience and systematically to upgrade their skills. In the field of training and scientific-methodological literature we must try to combine the collective experience of our higher school. Obviously we must practice more extensively the system of closed and open contests for such publications and involve in their writing and discussion the best teaching and scientific cadres in the country regardless of their titles of place work--in the central or outlying areas.

In a word, we must find the type of organizational forms which would contribute to the greatest extent to the promotion of collective principles in insuring the further progress of the higher school and the comprehensive dissemination of its progressive experience. In particular we must steadily upgrade the role of the councils of rectors, which unquestionably are doing useful work to improve higher education.

Today it is impossible to insure the high quality of specialist training without intensifying the desire to learn on the part of the students themselves. The headlong differentiation among scientific disciplines and the dynamic development of knowledge itself lead to the fact that with every passing year the importance of the intensification of the training process, the mobilization of the willpower and the spiritual and physical forces of the student, aimed at accelerating the process of knowledge, increases.

Developing in the student high exactingness toward himself and the vital need to work and the desire and ability to work creatively, and to expand and improve his knowledge, are among the main tasks of the higher school.

The proper distribution of the efforts and time assigned to theoretical courses, practical training and independent studies and recreation of the students is particularly important. The specific nature of the VUZ's is quite different and obviously there could be no universally applicable solution. Yet there are problems of equal importance to all. Along with giving the students a quantity of theoretical knowledge and an understanding of the problems of scientific discipline and the methodological equipment, and the all-advancement of the level of lectures and seminars, it is necessary to enhance the role of the student's independent work and to improve his preparedness for practical work, without forgetting the strengthening of his health. From this viewpoint, VUZ's, faculties and chairs, based on the experience and achievements of pedagogical thinking, should intensify the study of the real state of affairs and find the means for the optimum combination of all factors of student training and life. The USSR Ministry of Higher Education must also increase its attention to such problems.

Communist education is justifiably considered the most important front of the struggle for communism. Responsible for the ideological and moral nature of the future generations of Soviet intelligentsia, the higher school is in one of the most responsible sectors of this front. High quality specialist training cannot be achieved without systematic Marxist-Leninist education and without the intensification of all educational work.

The main content of the party's ideological work at the present stage was defined by the 25th CPSU Congress and the CC CPSU decree passed on the implementation and development of its resolutions: "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." The course of the implementation of the party's decisions, the instructions issued by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on problems of ideological activities, and the means for their further improvement were discussed in November 1979 at the all-union conference of ideological workers attended by higher school representatives. The VUZ party organizations must constantly check their activities against these important documents and systematically implement their ideas and concepts. A high scientific level must be reached in ideological work along with efficiency, concreteness and inseparable links with life, with the solution of economic and political problems, and the development of its aggressive nature.

As a whole the higher school is successfully implementing its educational functions. We can state with legitimate pride that it is educating not only skilled specialists, but ideologically firm people loyal to the party's cause. This is the great merit of the professorial-teaching collectives and the party and Komsomol organizations in the VUZ's.

Today the Komsomol is actively and creatively working in the VUZ's. On its initiative a mass patriotic movement developed among the students--the all-union agitation campaign "Let Us Implement the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," a competition in the field of the social sciences and "The Student and Scientific and Technical Progress" competition. The Komsomol organizations are actively participating in student sociopolitical practical work. The student detachments have become the flesh and blood of VUZ life. Every year 700,000 students, including up to 500,000 VUZ students, are building industrial projects, housing, schools and kindergartens, and participating in the gathering of the harvest.

Student initiative is comprehensively leading to ever new practical accomplishments. Following the great Leninist behest of learning and living like communists, and extending and multiplying the great traditions of their predecessors--the workers' faculty members, former veterans of the front and Virgin Land workers--the students of the 1980's are also trying to actively work in the social field and to participate in the building of communism.

At the same time, however, many unresolved problems and shortcomings remain in the education of the students. There are cases of careless attitude toward training and violations of communist morality norms. All this calls for intensifying individual educational work, energizing student groups and insuring closer ties between them and the educational staffs of chairs. The party committees must pay greater attention to problems of the conceptual content and methodology of training. They must promote the further enhancement of the role of faculties and chairs in political and educational work with the students. The level of effectiveness of educational work conducted by VUZ teachers must be considered an important component in the rating of their activities.

The 25th CPSU Congress called for insuring the organic unity among ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing. It provided a key to the solution of the problems of communist education at the present stage. The VUZ rectorates and party committees must promote the steady upgrading of the ideological and theoretical level of teaching of all disciplines and insuring the comprehensive organization of the educational process.

The teaching of the social sciences remains the core of all ideological work in the higher school. The primary duty of the social science teachers is to show vividly and convincingly, on a high theoretical level, the ideological wealth and invincible power of Marxist-Leninist theory and the tremendous creative contribute made to its development by the CPSU and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The development among the students of an integral scientific outlook and the ability to apply their sociopolitical knowledge in practical work should be the result of VUZ training. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, Marxism-Leninism is the base, the inseparable component of the knowledge of a specialist, whatever his field, since it is possible to creatively master a skill and

become an active participant in our building of communism and a promoter of party policy among the masses only by having profoundly mastered Marxist-Leninist theory.

A certain amount of work has been done in recent years to improve the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. In this case the CC CPSU decree "On the Work at the Moscow Higher Technical School Imeni N. E. Bauman and the Saratov State University Imeni N. G. Chernyshevskiy to Upgrade the Ideological-Theoretical Level of Teaching of the Social Sciences" has played an important role. It remains fully topical today.

Uniform curriculums for all higher schools and identical textbooks have been formulated and published. This represents a major step forward in resolving the problem of improving the teaching of the social sciences.

Yet we must acknowledge that in recent years a number of problems discussed by heads of chairs of social sciences have not as yet been provided with adequately complete solutions. The discussion of such problems by the party organizations indicates the need to continue to work intensively to improve the programs for the teaching of sociopolitical disciplines with a view to excluding from them elements of duplication, insuring subject continuity between secondary schools and VUZ's, and between subjects taught in the various courses. It is also a question of a more profound and systematic reflection within the social science courses of the topical problems of our time and the forthcoming tasks in the building of communism. Suggestions have been made on improving the training of teachers in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The contemporary ideological struggle in the international arena demands of us a further upgrading of the ideological armaments at the disposal of every teacher, specialist and student.

Together with the entire Soviet people, the workers in the higher school and the students fully support the foreign policy of the CPSU--a policy of strengthening the fraternal friendship and solidarity among the members of the socialist comity, the international solidarity with the revolutionary-liberation forces of our time and the strengthening of universal peace and development of cooperation among countries with different social systems based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Relying on the political maturity of the VUZ youth and considering its lively interest in world events, we must also interpret daily the meaning of such events and trends of social development and direction of the foreign political measures taken by the CPSU and the Soviet state. Under present-day conditions it is important to profoundly explain at the beginning of '80's, along with the great successes achieved by world socialism and the revolutionary-liberation and peace-loving forces, an increased counteraction to the positive processes of detente and social progress has appeared on the part of the aggressive imperialist circles, along with their aspiration to turn the

development of international relations back to the cold war and pursue a policy from a position of strength.

The international circumstances have become aggravated by the fault of the U.S. ruling circles who are interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries, claiming the role of global policeman. The gross pressure exerted by the United States on Iran, the organization of imperialist aggression and the factual undeclared war on Afghanistan represent a serious threat to peace. The Beijing leaders, inspired by great-power chauvanistic and expansionistic aspirations, are the direct accomplices of American imperialism.

In his answers to the questions asked by the PRAVDA correspondent, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the Soviet Union is inflexibly pursuing the Leninist foreign political course, which "combines systematic love of peace with firm rebuff of aggression. It has justified itself over the past decades and we shall continue to follow it. No one will divert us from this course."

Awareness of the inflexibility of the foundations and principles of the foreign policy pursued by our party and state, laid down by V. I. Lenin, must continue to be systematically strengthened within the system of student ideological-political education.

Ideological-educational work must systematically assert the class intolerance of the enemies of socialism and the peace, and toward anyone who engages in lies and slanders against our homeland. We must comprehensively enhance political vigilance and expose the reactionary nature of imperialism and its policy and ideology. We must develop in the young generations firm confidence in the correctness of the historical path chosen by the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal countries--the path of building socialism and communism.

The party also expects of the teachers in social sciences in VUZ's, accounting for a large percentage of the social scientists in the country, considerably to upgrade the effectiveness of scientific research. As Comrade M. A. Suslov noted at the all-union conference of ideological workers, without basic research in all directions of the social sciences, ideological, propaganda and educational work would be unable to fulfill its tasks to the fullest extent.

Of the late the social scientists have become ever more active in the elaboration of specific problems of the building of communism. They are participating in the comprehensive study and preparation of forecasts for socioeconomic development and the elaboration of draft normative and legislative stipulations.

The higher school social scientists must participate even more actively in the creative development of Marxist-Leninist science in close connection

with the extensive work they are doing in the field of the political education and communist upbringing of our students and all working people.

The solution of the responsible problems set by the party to the higher schools demands the comprehensive development and strengthening of relations between VUZ's and the practice of the building of communism. Life itself indicates the most effective directions of this cooperation.

This involves above all the joint purposeful activity of the higher school and the national economic sectors in training high-level specialists and active fighters for socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress. The use of modern equipment and the production areas of enterprises and organizations by the VUZ's, and the organization in them, if necessary, of structural VUZ subdivisions, and involving in the training process leading production specialists--authors of new equipment and technologies not as yet found in textbooks--contributes to upgrading the professional training of the students, developing their creative thinking and reducing the period of adaptation of the young specialists. In other words, this creates conditions for the practically simultaneous development of the processes of the installation of new equipment and the training of corresponding engineering cadres to handle it. However, the importance of this form of cooperation goes far beyond the framework of the training process. It represents a real way for professional creative growth for both VUZ teachers and practical workers.

Secondly, this means upgrading the skills of production workers and VUZ teachers, and retraining specialists in the latest scientific and technical developments. Selecting and synthesizing all their major achievements, the VUZ must play a determining role in resolving the complex problem of steadily enriching and renovating the knowledge of specialists in production. Metaphorically speaking, the VUZ must "accompany" the specialists throughout his entire life. Postgraduate training gives the higher school great flexibility in cadre training and in meeting the varied and rapidly changing demands of social practice. Today, every year, about two million workers in the national economy, including over 70,000 VUZ teachers, are upgrading their skills. The higher school has the responsible assignment of intensifying its methodological guidance of the skill upgrading system.

Better use should be made of the opportunities offered by the correspondence and evening education through which a considerable share of specialists are trained and which play an important role in social development and is a means for implementing the constitutional right to education. At the present time over 40 percent of the entire contingent of students is gaining an education while working full time. However, in a number of cases the level of specialist training within this system is lower than that of day schools and the training period is frequently extended. The decree on the higher school earmarks measures to improve evening and correspondence training. The successful solution of this problem is possible only through the joint efforts of the higher school and the sectorial ministries.

The third and most important direction in the creative cooperation between VUZ's and enterprises is upgrading the effectiveness of scientific research.

The higher educational system, which accounts for about one-third of the country's scientific workers and nearly one-half of all doctors and candidates of sciences, has a powerful scientific potential. Continuing the great traditions of the domestic university scientific schools, the scientists of our best VUZ's, together with the scientists of the scientific research institutions of the Academy of Sciences, and of ministries and departments, are working on the solution of major problems of contemporary science and technology and are in the forefront of socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress. Their work largely accounts for the fact that Soviet science is firmly holding leading positions in basic research and in a number of basic fields of knowledge. At the same time a number of applied problems are being worked on. In the 10th Five-Year Plan about 60,000 developments carried out by collectives of universities and institutes were applied in the national economy. In 1978-1979 Lenin and State prizes were awarded to 83 higher school workers for outstanding achievements in science and technology.

Giving such accomplishments their due, nevertheless we must point out that the VUZ's are still far from completely using their scientific-research opportunities. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Upgrading the Effectiveness of Scientific Research in Higher Educational Institutions" offers an entire system of measures aimed at increasing the role of the higher school among the country's scientific institutions and its development as an intersectorial research complex able to engage in research in all fields of knowledge and actively apply its results in the national economy. The decree calls for improving conditions for engaging in scientific research in the higher school and for strengthening the scientific-laboratory, experimental and experimental-design base, and for strengthening the ties between VUZ's and production, sectorial and academic scientific research institutions.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree was welcomed with great satisfaction by VUZ's and production facilities, and its implementation has been undertaken. However, this is no simple matter. It requires great persistence, a creative approach and the coordinated efforts of the higher schools, ministries and departments. The task is to achieve the fastest possible comprehensive implementation of the measures formulated by the party and the government.

Currently the extensive development of scientific research directly related to practical problems is based primarily on cost accounting. This must be comprehensively supported and developed. In this connection, however, it is important to prevent the appearance of disproportions between applied and basic research. The further growth of cost accounting relations should be organically combined the expansion of the financing of VUZ studies of

socially significant problems on a planned state basis. This would make possible the more rational utilization of the unique possibilities offered by the higher school: availability of skilled scientists in all fields of knowledge, steady influx of talented young people and the possibility to effectively engage in comprehensive intersectorial and interdisciplinary research.

The USSR Ministry of Higher Education, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences and ministries and departments must make full use of the possibilities to improve the management of scientific work in the higher schools as stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, particularly in terms combining the efforts of scientific-pedagogical workers in the formulation of comprehensive target programs. Our entire society is interested in upgrading the effectiveness and practical returns of VUZ science. The party considers this a major reserve for speeding up the building of communism.

One of the trends of scientific development in VUZ's is the further development of mass student creativity. Today hundreds of thousands of students are engaged in scientific research and are aspiring to reach the front line of scientific research. However, the potential opportunities for student participation in the solution of topical problems is practically far from exhausted. It is important to achieve its maximum development above all in the realms of practical activities in which the future specialist will work. It is a question of developing a truly mass movement among the student youth, a movement whose scope and effectiveness of influence on the future specialists would be no less, for example, than that of the activities of student detachments. The task of the VUZ's and above all of the VUZ Komsomol is to convert the creative energy of the young people into real accomplishments, channel the enthusiasm of the students toward reaching socially significant objectives and assist in the fast effective utilization of the achievements of science and technology in the national economy.

Finally, the fourth direction to be followed in strengthening cooperation between production and the higher school is improving the planning of the training, placement and utilization of specialists.

Let us note that a number of intolerable shortcomings exist in this area.

Today a considerable number of specialists do not work in their field or hold positions for which they are overqualified. Meanwhile, the share of practical workers without specialized training remains high among leading workers or people holding specialist positions. A number of ministries and departments fail to pay the necessary attention to problems of the professional growth of the young specialists and to providing the necessary housing and living conditions for their families. All this a manifestation of an irresponsible attitude toward the intellectual potential of the country bordering on open waste. It causes our society both economic and

moral damage. In a number of cases dissatisfaction with the work leads to disappointment in one's education and the desire to improve one's position through easy, and occasionally, illegal earnings.

The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems must insure effective control over the utilization of specialists. In particular the work initiated by the committee on drafting a list of positions requiring specialized training, to be filled exclusively by specialists with higher education, must be accelerated. The cadre certification system must be improved as well.

These measures are merely part of the extensive work to be done to insure the efficient utilization of the skilled workers. We must continue to improve the higher education system and its planned management.

Particularly topical today are problems of developing and improving the work of VUZ's in Siberia, the North, the Far East and the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR, and in securing these areas with skilled cadres.

We must point out that the training of specialists for the various economic branches and individual areas, so far, has been frequently based not on the factual prospects for their development, but largely on insufficiently formulated requests submitted by ministries and departments. Together with the respective ministries and departments, the USSR Gosplan must substantially upgrade the substantiation and accuracy of cadre training plans.

The creative cooperation between VUZ's and production facilities, scientific establishments and educational, health care and cultural institutions is one of the important levers for upgrading national economic effectiveness and insuring the social development and spiritual progress of our society. It is a matter of honor for all VUZ workers to increase their contribution to the solution of the practical problems of the building of communism in the course of the implementation of party and government decrees on the higher school.

The further improvement of the party's guidance of the VUZ's is the most important prerequisite for the successful solution of the varied and complex problems facing the Soviet higher school today.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Development of the Higher School and on Upgrading the Quality of Specialist Training" armed the party committees and VUZ party organs and all party members in the higher schools with an efficient program for action. Let us note with satisfaction that it was comprehensively accepted as a document of great practical-political significance.

The active creative work of the VUZ and scientific public gives birth to a number of valuable initiatives and new and more effective methods of activity of the party organizations in improving the training of

specialists, upgrading the level of teaching the social sciences and the ideological training of student youth, the development of VUZ science and the strengthening of comprehensive relations between the higher school and life and production work.

The party organizations of our leading VUZ centers--Moscow and Leningrad--provide a good example of the implementation of party and government decisions on higher-school matters. They have developed an efficient system of party management of VUZ collectives covering all aspects of their lives. The party organizations focus their attention on the basic problems of improving the training-education process and scientific activities. The scientific foundations for determining the need of enterprises and economic sectors for specialists are being successfully elaborated and duplication in cadre training eliminated under the guidance of the party organs in Moscow and Leningrad. Their experience must be actively used in improving the activities of the higher school.

Naturally the conditions under which the VUZ's in the various parts of our country operate may vary greatly. Each union republic, oblast or kray is engaged in a creative search for the best possible solution of problems formulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, based on local conditions.

The party organizations are adamantly working on upgrading the quality of the teaching of the social sciences and the effectiveness of communist upbringing. The VUZ's are elaborating and implementing comprehensive plans for work with the students throughout the training period.

Many VUZ centers have already organized a system for political information, agitation and propaganda based on a comprehensive approach to the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the student youth. The political information system created in the Ukraine should be supported. Members and candidate members of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, ministers and other party, soviet and economic leaders regularly meet with VUZ students and teachers.

The practice of holding single political days has been established comprehensively in the VUZ party organizations. It has fully justified its usefulness. In a number of places special courses have been initiated on most-topical ideological problems.

The party committees pay serious attention to strengthening the ties between VUZ's and production, and the development of their cooperation with enterprises, academy of sciences institutes and sectorial scientific research institutes. A number of republics are developing training-scientific-production associations based on the facilities of VUZ's and big industrial enterprises. Furthermore, base chairs have been set up in Moscow and Leningrad in the leading scientific-production associations and scientific institutes; in Rostov the leading VUZ chairs are assigned

sectors, shops and laboratories with a view to the joint study and elimination of production bottlenecks.

Ministries and party organs are paying greater attention to problems of the material and technical equipment of VUZ's. However, even greater daily efforts must be applied in this area. The party and soviet organs could do a great deal to improve the living and recreation conditions of the students. This is confirmed, for example, by the experience of Novosibirsk and Rostov, Khar'kov and a number of other cities where trusts managing student cafeterias, inter-VUZ polyclinics and rest centers have been set up by decision of the party obkoms.

The VUZ centers are also providing a variety of solutions to problems of improving the work of the higher school. Yet everywhere an insurmountable law is brought up: the course of the implementation of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on upgrading the quality of training and effectiveness of scientific research work in VUZ's becomes more successful the higher the level of organizational and political-educational activities of the party committees becomes, the more profoundly they penetrate into the essence of the matters and the more adamantly they work on surmounting departmental barriers and inertial forces.

The further intensification of the militancy of the primary party organizations in VUZ's, the upgrading of the vanguard role of party and Komsomol members, and the creation within each collective of a creative, well-wishing atmosphere, an atmosphere of high effectiveness and reciprocal exactingness, will insure the even more successful and fruitful participation of the higher school in the implementation of the plans for the building of communism and will upgrade its role in the life of our society.

The higher school is smithy for forging cadres for all national economic, scientific and cultural sectors. By its very purpose it must be the bearer of progress and train skilled specialists boundlessly loyal to the Soviet homeland and the communist party, people who can worthily continue the cause of the older generations of the builders of socialism. The implementation of the current and future plans for the building of communism greatly depends on the results of the noble toil of VUZ workers.

The recently held all-union conference of workers of higher educational institutions, which summed up the initial results of the fulfillment of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on the higher school, convincingly proved that professors, instructors, postgraduate students and students are mastering knowledge and are working with inspiration for the good of our great homeland, dedicating all their forces to the implementation of the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the successful implementation of the responsible assignments of the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Together with the entire Soviet people, they are closely united around their Communist Party, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by the loyal heir to the great Leninist

cause, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, unanimously supporting the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU.

Unquestionably, the higher educational institutions in the country will upgrade even further their contribution to the socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress of our homeland, confidently laying a path to communism.

5003

CSO: 1802

## **LENINISM AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

**Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 28-42**

**[Article by V. Zagladin]**

**[Text] The history of society is not aware of many examples in which the thoughts of the scientist and the effects of a policy in his lifetime become not simply the banner of one or another party, current or movement, but a powerful and effective tool for the practical reorganization of the lives of millions and millions of people.**

**The fate of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's thoughts and actions is entirely unprecedented from this viewpoint. The theoretical discoveries he made and the political conclusions he formulated immediately became the center of attention of the Russian and international workers' movements, and subsequently of all progressive mankind. They leave no one indifferent. There were virtually no "neutrals" in terms of Lenin's ideas. "For" or "against" Lenin, and "for" or "against" Leninism, was the question which invariably arose in the course of discussions of most vital problems of social development at the turn of our century. The same situation prevails to this day.**

**Naturally, neither eight decades ago nor today, when we are approaching the 21st century, have Lenin's supporters ever ignored a number of outstanding philosophers and politicians who have made or are making their contribution to the spiritual and political progress of mankind. However, they have always believed that no one has ever equaled Lenin in terms of depth, scope or extent of innovation of the problems he raised and the solutions he found.**

**The science of history is familiar with cases in which some discoveries (such as, for example, a planet or even a natural law) have been predicted by an outstanding thinker many decades prior to their factual confirmation and substantiation. Lenin as well predicted a number of things and all of his basic predictions were brilliantly confirmed by the factual events of our century and the processes which occurred in a great variety of parts of the globe, covering all possible realms of human social life.**

At this point we must make the major stipulation that Lenin was neither a soothsayer or a prophet. His was an extremely lofty intellect which was able to look far into the future, which he considered, however, not through the lens of imagination or speculative elaborations, but on the basis of the most profound achievements of the objective laws governing social development.

Today, however, we should speak not only of the greatness of Lenin the philosopher, who was able to look and see far ahead, and even not, above all, of this aspect of his genius. What is truly sensational and unusual compared with all his predecessors is that practically all of Lenin's theoretical discoveries or political conclusions became tools in the practical struggle waged by the million-strong masses of the working class, of the working people in the broad meaning of the term. Lenin became not only the ruler of the minds of our century, but the catalyst of unprecedentedly radical social change. The actions of the working class and its allies, inspired and organized by Lenin's thought, insured a progressive reorganization of the life of all contemporary society unprecedented in terms of depth or pace. "To millions of oppressed and exploited, and to all working people," stipulates the CC CPSU decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," "Leninism became the symbol of the social renovation of the world, the revolutionary banner of our epoch."

Is it astounding that, under such circumstances, those who are trying to prevent this renovation from making its way, for whatever reason, are fighting Leninism with such hatred?

The present intensive battle on the subject of Leninism confirms, yet once again, the accuracy of the concept that the world of ideas is the reflection in our mind of the material world. The reality of the objectively determined revolutionary change of society is the inviolable foundation of Marxism-Leninism. In turn the reality equally objectively predetermined by the aspiration of capitalism and of its various (conscious or subconscious) allies to stop the process of this transformation is the base of the current attacks mounted against Marxism-Leninism.

Furthermore, the fate of Marxism-Leninism is reliably backed by the conclusion that ideas and ideologies tremendously influence, in turn, both social realities and the material world. Marxism-Leninism is a vivid example of ideas beneficially influencing the development of society and acting, if one may say so, as one of its motive forces. Conversely, conservative, not to mention militant reactionary ideas of the bourgeois society, act ever more clearly as a hindrance to social progress, as an obstacle on its way.

Saying this, naturally, we do not intend in the least to deny the process of profound ideological and moral differentiation developing in the bourgeois world, in the course of which a critical and, occasionally, even a sharply negative opposition to contemporary capitalism is developing ever more clearly among bourgeois philosophers, sociologists, economists and historians.

Naturally, the majority of its representatives are still rejecting socialism as the real alternative to capitalism. Furthermore they frequently operate on the basis of anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist and anti-socialist positions, thus also clashing with the requirements of social development.

Occasionally discussions arise within the Marxist circle over how to behave toward such critics of contemporary capitalism. Some comrades tend to consider them as close allies and in general as participants in the struggle for socialism alongside the working class. In this case, referring to the fact that some petit bourgeois critics of imperialism refer in their works to one or another Marxian stipulation, they are even classified as Marxists. However, even a member of the big, non-monopoly bourgeoisie can criticize Marxism even quite seriously (and justifiably) because of the unquestionable gravity of the contradictions between monopoly and non-monopoly capitalism. Any petit bourgeois and even a bourgeois ideologue can cite Marx: the authority of the brilliant "Moor" is so high that it has become simply impossible not to mention his works when discussing capitalism. Yet does all this mean that one has become a Marxist or an equal partner of the working class in the anti-capitalist struggle?

Naturally, the members of the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie even more so, could shift (and, indeed, do) to the positions of fighters against the rule of monopoly capital. Some of them could convert (and, occasionally, do) to the positions of Marxism. However, the decisive rating criterion, the litmus paper on the basis of which we could determine the true position of one or another person in the ranks of the participants in the class struggle is his attitude toward Marxism-Leninism and socialism, toward live, real and victorious socialism. Actually, could we consider as a close ally, not to speak of equal partner of the working class in the struggle for socialism, a critic of imperialism (even though entirely sincere) who rejects the basic, the principal conclusions of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, such as, for example, the need for the elimination of private ownership of productive capital or the establishment of the rule of the working class and its allies as a necessary prerequisite for the victory of socialism? Could we consider as an ally or partner of the proletariat a person who, even though criticizing contemporary capitalism, rejects the reality of victorious socialism or the basic, the essential contradiction between these two social systems?

Naturally, such a critic of capitalism could find his place among the members of the anti-monopoly coalition. Here again, however, obviously, we cannot fail to see the limited nature of his possibilities and the narrowness of the range of his struggle, waged together with the proletariat, even against monopoly rule.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and its opponents is continuing. It is developing with the clear superiority of the ideas of the great revolutionary doctrine of the working class. However, this struggle is far from simple or easy. For, whereas Marxism-Leninism and its supporters rely on

the real facts of life and appeal to the mind of the people, its opponents, the anti-Marxists and anti-communists, exploit human prejudices created in the course of centuries-old domination of private ownership and greatly intensified today as a result of the flexible course taken by the monopolies leading to the creation of a "consumer society," and a result of the activities of the monstrous machine of imperialist mass-information media. Such prejudices are quite firm and durable. They represent an important base for sociopolitical and ideological conservatism and even for reaction.

We must also take into consideration the fact that the opponents of Marxism-Leninism take great pleasure in discussing human rights "in general" and even present themselves as the defenders of such rights (particularly in their support of those who violate the law in socialist countries). However, the moment the need arises to defend the class privileges of capital, human rights are forgotten and their zealous "priests" unhesitatingly resort to violence, including open police suppression of "Red unlike-minded people."

Nevertheless, the positions of Marxism-Leninism in the world are continuing to broaden and strengthen. Unquestionably, this is due to the contribution which this great doctrine and, to a tremendous extent, Lenin and his students, made to social development and, above all, to the development of the international workers' and liberation movements.

Before discussing this contribution thoroughly, obviously, we must mention a very important matter, namely, the question of the historical significance of Lenin's activities themselves, of the very fact of the appearance of Leninism as the extension and creative development of Marxism.

Let us explain this.

. . . End of the 19th century. The new year 1900 and the new 20th century were approaching. Mankind awaited their advent with a feeling of vague concern. A feeling that something previously unseen, the ripening of changes, could be felt in all realms of life. What kind of changes would these be?

On the one hand, one could think that, finally, the "Golden Age" of the history of mankind was finally approaching: in the last decades of the 19th century science had put in the hands of man such power, and opened to him such opportunities that the prospects left man breathless. On the other, however, many people were concerned with how scientific discoveries would be used for the good of man? Could it be that such discoveries would convert into something evil, become a new tool contributing to man's social and spiritual enslavement?

Scientific discoveries transformed equipment and technology and the entire aspect of social production forces. At the same time, inevitably, the structure of the society changed substantially. The size of the

proletariat, of exploited hired physical and mental workers, and blue- and white-collar workers, those scornfully referred to as "hired hands" by the ruling class of the oldest capitalist country, Great Britain, was growing ever more rapidly. What would such changes bring about? Not concealing their concern, the bourgeois sociologists were seeking for an answer to this question, naturally rejecting the conclusions reached by Marx and Engels as early as the mid-19th century. Yet since no answer which would calm the bourgeoisie could be found, the ruling social ideology was flooded gradually, yet ever more obviously, by a wave of pessimism. Scientific discoveries were proclaimed a "crisis of knowledge," and the disappearance of its "objective foundations." Changes in society were interpreted as the harbingers of apocalyptic upheavals. The future seemed unclear. . . .

In such complex and conflicting circumstances a very great deal depended on the position which the proletariat would assume--a class which had already proved to be the only systematic revolutionary class, which had removed from the hands of the bourgeoisie the baton of social progress. The Paris Commune had convincingly proved this.

However, it was precisely at that time that those who headed the leading social democratic parties in Western Europe abandoned the grounds of revolutionary Marxism and took the path of rejecting its most important postulates. Assuming the Haerocratic task of the father of revisionism, Eduard Bernstein rejected the need for a socialist revolution.

Like Bernstein and his followers, the leaders of the social democratic movement of the end of the 19th century not only failed to promote the great revolutionary legacy left by Marx and Engels to the working class, as was demanded by the interests of the class struggle at its new stage, but began to misshape and, subsequently, to destroy this legacy. This deprived the workers' movement, gradually, of one of its most important sources of strength--its ties with revolutionary theory. Social democratic leaders of the Bernstein type, Lenin wrote, "did not teach the proletariat any new means of struggle; they only moved backwards . . . preaching to the proletariat not the theory of struggle but the theory of concession--concession toward the worst enemies of the proletariat and the governments and bourgeois parties which are tirelessly finding new means for the persecution of the socialists" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 183).

At the beginning of the 20th century reformism hit, one after another, the West European social democratic parties. Gradually, yet ever more clearly, it combined within their policy nationalism and chauvinism. Objectively, the "super task" of the opportunistic leaders of the Second International was to suppress revolutionary Marxism in general, and to eliminate the revolutionary workers' movement as such. However, they were unable to accomplish this. An obstacle on this way was erected, above all, by Lenin and the Russian social democrats, the Bolsheviks. Naturally, there was an opposition to the right wing within the Western social democratic parties

as well. In a number of cases this opposition was quite active. However, its forces were still insignificant and, above all, it was still afflicted by a certain inconsistency in terms of a number of basic problems of theory and politics.

An objective assessment of Lenin's contribution to social development leads us to emphasize that his tremendous and incomparable historical merit lies, above all, in the fact that, having firmly rebuffed opportunism and defended Marxism as the true revolutionary ideology of the workers' movement, he developed, on its basis, answers to all basic new problems facing mankind in our transitional age.

"Emerging in the world arena of the class struggle as the loyal and firm follower of Marx and Engels, Lenin comprehensively developed their revolutionary doctrine. Possessing the unsurpassable gift of scientific foresight, deepest penetration into the very core of existing events and phenomena, and creatively applying the dialectical-materialistic method to the study of the new historical conditions, he enriched the essentially important stipulations of all component parts of Marxism, inaugurating a new stage in its development," notes the CC CPSU decree on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. This alone would have been sufficient for entering Lenin's name forever in the history of mankind. However, he did not content himself with this.

Lenin perfectly realized that even the best, the most important theoretical discoveries are of purely academic nature unless implemented in the practical activities of people, in the struggle of the working class.

The active and passionate defense offered by Lenin and the Leninists of the ideas of Marx and Engels, and the comprehensively substantiated firm rebuff of opportunism in all its varieties and manifestations were codified in the creation of the first revolutionary workers' party of a new type in the history of the proletariat--a party which not only adopted the Marxist ideas but undertook their practical implementation, charting a course toward socialist revolution and attaining its victory.

The Bolshevik party created by Lenin became a decisive proof of the fact that the revolutionary Marxist trend in the international workers' movement had been rescued. The establishment of communist parties after the October Revolution in a number of countries confirmed that it was essentially a question of a rebirth of a truly revolutionary workers' movement, a movement which was destined to head the total social renovation of the planet.

. . . History does not like "what would have happened if" questions. However, one could conceive that without this gigantic amount of work done by Lenin, the entire development of society would have been different. The pace of social progress might have been considerably lower than it factually was. The beginning of the socialist age in the development of mankind

would have been greatly delayed. It is not excluded that mankind would have experienced not two, but three or four world wars by now. This would have been fraught with truly catastrophic consequences. . . .

The most important feature inherent in Lenin and Leninism, a feature which largely determined the scale and nature of their contribution to global development, was revolutionary, communist purposefulness.

In the case of reformism and opportunism the objectives of the struggle, i.e., socialism, as Bernstein himself said, was of no particular importance. Furthermore, the less it was mentioned, the better. Following this "principle," the opportunists were ready to abandon any long-term plans and programs in the struggle for socialism. The pretext? Allegedly, such programs doctrinairily narrow the initiative and activities of the masses. . . .

Unlike opportunism, revolutionary Marxism had always proclaimed most clearly that socialism, communism should be the objective of the historical action of the working class. Marx and Engels, followed by Lenin, considered the steady aspiration toward this objective and the consistent vision of a socialist future, regardless of all obstacles and zigzags in development, the inviolable and necessary features of the proletarian revolutionary, of a proletarian revolutionary party. "Each struggle for any daily event," Lenin emphasized, "must be inseparably linked with the basic objective" ["Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 23, p 53).

Lenin's great historical merit was precisely that, having profoundly analyzed the real course of the socioeconomic development of capitalism at the turn of the 20th century, and having rejected all falsifications disseminated by bourgeois science and by the Bersteinians, he developed an accurate understanding of the basic characteristics of the new historical age and, realizing them, focused the entire energy of the Russian working class and its revolutionary party on the struggle for achieving a socialist turn in the destinies of the country. The theory of imperialism as being the eve of the socialist revolution became the priceless ideological-theoretical and methodological weapon of the revolutionaries of all countries.

As early as 1894, drafting a plan for the practical activities of the Russian Marxists, Lenin directed them toward combining the struggle against czarism and for democracy with the struggle for socialism. He continued the extensive development of this orientation in subsequent years, not forgetting to remind the Russian working class that, while it had no right to deviate from solving the "immediate and temporary non-proletarian problems," it should not allow "the participation of the proletariat in the solution of immediate democratic problems to dull its class awareness and class specificity" (ibid, vol 7, p 225).

On the path to the victory of the October Revolution and subsequently in the course of the building of socialism, Lenin faced the need to elaborate

once again (in the course of a constant struggle against his ideological opponents) a number of basic problems of the theory and policies of the labor movement. He resolved the problems he faced in a brilliant manner, guided by the same principle of strict orientation toward the victory of communism.

Basic political problems such as that of the relationship between the working class and the other social strata, the peasantry above all, and the intelligentsia in the period of the struggle for the socialist revolution and subsequently for socialism; the problem of the correlation between the alliance of social forces and agreements among political parties and organizations, and in this connection the need to compromise in the solution of current problems, yet reject compromise involving principle; the problem of the forms of the revolutionary struggle in general, and specifically of the peaceful or violent ways of the revolution, the relationship between revolution and reform, the use by the working class of institutions which were part of the structure of political system of the bourgeois society (above all the parliament and the administrative-economic organizations); the problem of power as the basic problem of any revolution and of a proletarian, a workers' power--the dictatorship of the proletariat--as the basic problem of the socialist revolution, and many other problems were considered and resolved in Lenin's works specifically in terms of the conditions of the country and on a principled basis.

Yet, whereas such complex problems faced Lenin in the period of preparations for and making of the revolution, many more problems arose following its victory! We must take into consideration that the political aspect of the preparations for the revolution and the struggle for it had already been the subject of theoretical Marxist analysis. However, the problems of building a new society under conditions in which it had to be undertaken in practical terms had never been considered by anyone before Lenin.

The cornerstones of the theory of the building of socialism, developed by Lenin, were the stages of the establishment and development of the communist system, and the decisive role of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia in creating the new society, as well as the place of the party as the leading force, battle vanguard and inspirer of this process.

Naturally, some elements of the course of the building of a new society, elaborated by Lenin in the 1920's, were dictated by the circumstances of the times. However, in this connection his works also contain universally significant and basic principles of socialist policy in various realms of social life. Thus, formulating the basic principles governing contemporary Soviet statehood, the 1977 USSR Constitution was based on Lenin's elaboration of the problem of socialist democracy. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers July 1979 decree on improving the system of planned management of the economy, and the decisions of the November 1977 CC CPSU Plenum proved yet once again, convincingly, the great vitality of Lenin's

stipulations on combining centralized planning with the development of the initiative of the working people and the utilization under socialism of commodity-monetary relations, cost accounting and material and spiritual labor incentives, and the basic principle of socialist democracy consisting of the ever fuller and comprehensive involvement of the working people in the administration of social affairs, starting with the production process.

It could be said, as a whole, that the scale of the Leninist contribution to the development of social thinking in the 20th century was determined to a decisive extent by the fact that it became the ideological-theoretical and political foundation of mankind's emergence on the path of creation, or to use the classical expression, of transition from its prehistory to its true history.

This meant, among other things, that Leninism was able to combine the development of the theory of social development along its entire front with the elaboration of the practical, strategic and tactical conclusions, based on this theory, applicable to the workers' movement--conclusions which insured the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. This means that in fact Leninism was able to achieve the merger of the workers' movement with revolutionary theory, thus enabling the working class successfully to fulfill its hegemonistic role in contemporary social development, the role of the creator of the new society.

Lenin's elaboration of the problem of the main content and general direction of the revolutionary process in the post-October period was of exceptionally important (and still topical) significance. This had not only a profound theoretical but tremendous practical meaning. In the first post-October years active discussions were taking place in the various circles of the workers' movement on the further development of the revolution.

The right-wing social democrats claimed that the October Revolution was "not a real revolution" (what kind of "real" revolution could take place in a peasant country? Kautskiy asked), and that it was a kind of "historical zigzag," while the "true" revolutions were still in the future, and that they were quite distant and would take place only in the developed countries exclusive in a peaceful way, rather "through talks" with the bourgeoisie "on a legislative basis." Briefly stated, according to the social reformists of the time, the October Revolution should be anathemized (which is precisely what they did) and "excommunicated" from socialism, and that . . . no mention should even be made of a revolution in the West.

Answering them, Lenin relied on the reality of the October Revolution, its practical measures to eliminate the capitalist order and engage in the socialist reorganization of the country, and its interconnection with global development. He stated that, No, the October Revolution is not a "historical zigzag" but a most important landmark along the main way of its development. Whereas the Paris Commune taught the European proletariat how

specifically to formulate the tasks of the socialist revolution (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch," vol 16, p 453), as a result of the October Revolution "compared with the Paris Commune the second universal-historical step was taken" (ibid, vol 38, p 307), a step forward "in the global development of socialism" (ibid, vol 36, p 50), even though, considering the backwardness of the country, it had proved to be inordinately difficult and had cost the Russian working class exceptional efforts and great sacrifices. The creation of a Soviet socialist state, Lenin claimed, made it possible to undertake the solution of the historical problem of "achieving the age-old ideals of socialism and of the workers' movement" (ibid, vol 38, p 303).

A discussion on the ways of the revolutionary process following the October Revolution was taking place at that time (occasionally quite sharply) in both the communist and the left-wing social democratic camps (let us recall that this was a period of division with the social democratic camp, a period of the appearance of the first communist parties). For example, the "left-wing" communists considered everything accomplished by the Russian working class only a kind of detonator whose purpose was to trigger a revolutionary explosion in the West. They were ready to risk everything, including plunging into a military adventure fraught with the loss of the gains of the October Revolution, for the sake of stimulating a socialist coup d'etat in other countries, such as, for example, Germany.

Today some opponents of Leninism, looking for means to fight socialism, and in an effort to prevent the further spreading of the realm of influence of its ideas, frequently try to use Trotskyite big and small groups for such purposes. The person of Trotsky is praised in all possible ways. He is depicted as a prophet rejected in his own country, who, however, had the key to the solution of all problems. At this point, our adversaries immediately undertake to blame the Soviet Union, for it is allegedly trying to "export revolution," and impose upon other countries or revolutionary parties its own experience, or promote a "destabilizing" policy in one or another part of the world.

The maliciousness and obvious falsehood of all such accusations are no secret, apparently, even to those who formulate them. However, let us now draw attention to another facet of the matter. "The export of revolution," and imposing one's experience, ignoring the specific nature of one or another country, and the desire to "destabilize" the situation for the sake of an alleged development of a "revolutionary circumstance" or, particularly, the cornerstone of petit bourgeois revolutionarism, one of whose varieties is Trotskyism. The result is that Trotsky is put on a pedestal and his methods, groundlessly ascribed to the socialist countries, are anathemized.

Is this illogical? Yes! However, one finds such types of "illogical" facts in the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie at will. What matters to it is that Trotsky opposed Lenin, the Soviet state and socialism in its Marxist understanding. It ignores everything else, the more so since

virtually no one in the West even remembers what was the essence of his postulates before or after the October period! Since this is so, logic could be ignored. . . .

However, the Soviet people have a long memory. They clearly realize the consequences which the implementation of extreme left-wing ideas could have brought about. Here again, and yet again, one is amazed by the topical nature of Lenin's views and actions.

Firmly opposing the "leftists," Lenin proved that what they essentially hold is not a communist or a revolutionary position in the least. "Perhaps," he wrote, "the authors assume that the interest of the international revolution demand that it be urged on and that war alone could provide such a boost. . . . Such a 'theory' would represent a total break with Marxism, which has always rejected the 'urging on' of revolutions, which develop as the gravity of class contradictions which trigger revolutions ripen" (ibid, vol 35, p 403).

Subsequently, as late as 1920, formulating his conclusion based on the study of the development of the events in the three years which followed the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that, "In the revolutionary sense, the international situation is focusing on the struggle between Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries. The main thing is to strengthen Soviet Russia and to make it invincible. . . ." (Ibid, vol 42, p 124.)

It was thus, gradually, in the struggle against such opponents, that Lenin's concept as to the place and role of socialism in the global revolutionary process was crystalized. Summed up, it could be described as follows:

The main trend of international development "in the revolutionary sense" is determined by the confrontation between "two methods, two systems and two economies--communist and capitalist" (ibid, p 75);

The main lever through which socialism influences global development is its strengthening, its economic policy, its creation of a technical and economic base for a new society and of superior production forces compared with the old system. "Once we have resolved this problem," Lenin pointed out, "we would win internationally and, probably, definitively" (ibid, vol 43, p 341);

The successes of socialist economic and sociopolitical development not only strengthen the new system in its confrontation with the old; these successes provide an attractive example to the working people in the capitalist countries. It would be a system "which would not convince through words," Lenin emphasized, "but prove through facts to the entire huge mass of peasants and petit bourgeois elements and backward countries the fact that a communist system could be created by the proletariat. . . . This task is of global significance" (ibid, vol 42, p 29). The progressive

development of all mankind greatly depends on the power of influence of the example of socialism on the world around it;

"Support of the revolutionary movement of the socialist proletariat in the progressive countries . . . and support of the democratic and revolutionary movements in all countries in general, particularly in colonies and dependent countries," are important elements of the socialist revolutionary line ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 36, p 76). Naturally, in this case it was a question not of "export of revolution" but of helping all nations to apply the principle of self-determination and support their inalienable right to independently decide their fate and choose the sociopolitical system they find suitable.

The elaboration of these concepts is the historical significance of Lenin's contribution to the determination of the theoretical foundations and practical directions of the international policy of the socialist state toward the other currents of the revolutionary process. Proceeding on the basis of strictly principled considerations, Lenin formulated an approach which would optimally combine the interests of the socialist society and its protection and develop with the interests of all other revolutionary forces, an approach which would make it possible to organize their flexible and effective interaction while strictly observing individual rights and excluding any interference in reciprocal internal affairs. It is precisely such an approach that insures, as confirmed by the entire subsequently development of events, the steady progress of the revolutionary process as a whole and of each of its directions in particular.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologues persistently blame Lenin for his conclusions, which they consider of an exclusively "Russian" nature. At best, they agree to "acknowledge" that these conclusions are "suitable" to countries with a low level of development. However, this has nothing in common with the truth.

Let us turn, above all, to the sources of Leninism. Any somewhat objective person could not fail to acknowledge that Lenin based his work far from exclusively on data applicable to Russia or, in general, to "underdeveloped" countries. He had studied and summed up data applicable to all countries and parts of the world, and to the entire global development in general.

What about the content of Lenin's works? Does it apply to Russia or to similar countries only? Let us take as an example Lenin's works on imperialism. It would be ridiculous to claim that they apply "only to Russia" and that, allegedly, their purpose is to substantiate the theory of the revolution for "underdeveloped countries." The truth is the precise opposite. It is precisely in these works that Lenin becomes the direct heir of Marx in the study of the laws governing the development of the capitalist system and as a most profound analyst of the processes of world capitalism, and above all of its economically most developed aspects. It

is no accident that Lenin left to his ideological heirs exceptionally interesting and most profound views on the characteristics of the struggle for socialism precisely in developed capitalist countries.

Thus analyzing the characteristics of the process of the growth of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism, Lenin determined that, ". . . State-monopoly capitalism is the most complete material preparation for socialism. It is its threshold, it is that step on the historical ladder between which and the step described as socialism no intermediate steps exist" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 34, p 193). All progressive forces of the workers' movement proceed today in their practical struggle on the basis of this stipulation.

True, here and there discussions break out as to the practical meaning of this statement that "there are no intermediate steps." The reformist elements in the workers' movement interpret this view in the sense that state-monopoly capitalism is "organized capitalism," which allegedly will itself develop into a new society. Occasionally matters go so far as to proclaim in state-monopoly capitalism "state socialism."

Another interpretation stipulates that state-monopoly capitalism (since there are no "intermediate" steps between it and socialism) will immediately develop into socialism, so to speak bypassing the transitional period. The struggle for the elimination of capitalism according to this understanding, somehow merges with the struggle for the building of socialism. This is no longer a reformist concept. Yet is such an interpretation of Lenin's thinking acceptable? In our view it cannot be considered entirely accurate.

Lenin himself, in a number of his works, turning again and again to the topic of the transition from highly developed capitalism to socialism, explained this thesis as follows:

From the economic viewpoint, it means that "in the most progressive European countries the objective conditions have already ripened for socialist production . . ." (ibid, vol 26, p 208).

On the socialist level, capitalism's stepping on this final rung of its historical ladder has led to a drastic intensification of the basic contradiction within bourgeois society--the contradiction between labor and capital. At the same time, the contradiction between the monopolies and the entire people arises and develops rapidly. Both contradictions blend, as though interwoven within a single cluster, undermining the foundations of capitalist rule. In the West, Lenin pointed out, class contradictions are stronger in accordance with more developed capitalism (see ibid, vol 38, p 1).

Therefore, we have a mature prerequisite for socialism and deep class contradictions. However, is all this sufficient for a socialist revolution? Lenin's answer to this question was in the negative.

Let us recall here that Western bourgeois works on Lenin frequently claim that since in the developed countries social development has not as yet brought about revolutions, allegedly, Lenin's conclusions themselves have been refuted. In fact, however, the course of events does not refute but confirms Lenin's prognosis, for the leader of the October Revolution, profoundly studying the dialectics of the revolutionary process, foresaw the very serious difficulties of the struggle for socialism in developed capitalist countries.

The high level of maturity of capitalism, Lenin proved, contributing to the growth of the objective prerequisites for socialism, also creates an experienced bourgeoisie which has become quite knowledgeable, and a refined mechanism insuring its political and ideological rule. It triggers division within the workers' movement; it contaminates the broad population masses with bourgeois and petit bourgeois prejudices, and so on. In order to surmount these obstacles, particularly skillful and systematic principled and, at the same time, very flexible policies must be pursued by the revolutionary vanguard.

Examining the possibilities for a struggle for socialism in developed capitalist countries, Lenin expressed his views on its prospects. We find in his works a most interesting formulation of the question that the struggle for democracy and against imperialism in general is, above all, the struggle for the masses, against the imperialist ideology constantly imposed upon them, and against the bourgeois-democratic illusions which have sunk roots in their midst. While the Comintern was active, frequently, in the course of heated debates (as, for example, with U. Terracini, on the third congress of the Third International) Lenin was forced to defend the thesis according to which gaining an influence among the broadest possible toiling masses, the working class above all, was of particular importance precisely in the developed countries where the bourgeois society had reached a high level of organization.

According to Lenin the struggle for democracy must be the central link in the struggle for the masses in the capitalist countries. Under imperialist conditions, in his view, this struggle comes quite close to the struggle for socialism. A transitional revolutionary-democratic state could be established as a result of profound anti-imperialist changes based on the will of the majority of the working people, thus radically undermining the foundations of the domination of big capital. ". . . This is not as yet socialism," Lenin wrote, "but no longer is it capitalism. It is a tremendous step toward socialism . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 34, p 194).

Naturally, Vladimir Il'ich tirelessly cautioned, the struggle for democracy is the most important part of the struggle for socialism. Nevertheless, it is merely part of it. It can never replace the whole--the solution of the main problem, which is the radical revolutionary socialist reorganization of the entire society.

The simple enumeration of these considerations indicates that Lenin, indeed, had a precise idea of the possible directions which could be taken in the development of the political struggle in the West. The fact that workers and democratic parties, following not only the communist but other directions as well, are reaching similar conclusions today merely confirms the depth and accuracy of Lenin's thinking.

In this connection we must note that it is precisely in this aspect of Lenin's legacy that, if one may say so, there has been no luck: it has been the least studied. Naturally, one could understand the bourgeois authors or the opportunists who claim that Lenin has said nothing about the developed capitalist countries. This approach is fully consistent with their general efforts to prove the alleged inapplicability of revolutionary, Leninist conclusions concerning the struggle for socialism in such countries. It is more difficult to understand some Western Marxist scientists who fail to pay the necessary attention to these Leninist ideas.

Elaborating many basic concepts applicable to the struggle for socialism in developed capitalist countries, naturally, Lenin paid the closest possible attention to an important current in the revolutionary process, such as the struggle of the peoples of the (then) colonial countries for national and social liberation.

We cannot fail to recall that the ideological currents which dominated in the West at the turn of the century--both bourgeois and social reformist--had factually blocked all the roads to independence and freedom to the enslaved nations, at least for the foreseeable future. Despite such gloomy "theories," Lenin believed that the colonial peoples will mandatorily and quickly achieve their freedom and, subsequently, socialism, and that the possibility for this was entirely realistic.

In his view, the possibility for such a development was the appearance, in the new age, when the imperialist system as a whole had become ripe for revolution, of a new, deeper and closer interconnection between the two basic directions of the revolutionary struggle: the proletarian, aimed against the domination of capital in general, and the anti-colonial, oriented against the capitalist colonial system. The close alliance between the workers' and the anti-colonial, the national-liberation movement, was useful to both. As to the peoples of the colonies in particular, this alliance enabled them to begin their progress toward socialism, not necessarily waiting "to walk the stations of the cross of capitalism," but to bypass it.

The accuracy and effectiveness of this conclusion was subsequently proved in practical terms: initially with the example of the Soviet republics in Central Asia and subsequently the Mongolian People's Republic. We know that, as the head of the Soviet Government, Lenin made an invaluable contribution to its practical implementation.

It is precisely the effectiveness of Lenin's solution of the problem that triggers to this day the fierce attacks on the part of imperialism. Naturally, they are particularly fierce against that part of Lenin's legacy which notes the significance of the alliance between the fighters for national freedom and the fighters for socialism. The intensified activities of our ideological opponents in this connection was quite noticeable in the period of the preparations and holding of the Sixth Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, in Havana. Attacks against this alliance are mounted even more fiercely in connection with the events in Afghanistan. However, imperialist activities in this direction are most obviously unpromising.

Today the aspiration toward socialism, bypassing capitalism, is inherent in the nations of tens of countries. Following this path they are achieving real, tangible successes. However, we should not forget the fact that the origin of their present successes are related to the Marx-Engels-Lenin doctrine, and above all to Leninism.

V. I. Lenin was the first Marxist theoretician and political leader to deal with the revolutionary process as a universal, a global phenomenon. This was the reason for which he faced a mass of new problems. He was able to resolve them through a profound study of the processes of internationalization of productive capital and trade and of the class struggle, which had become truly universal in the imperialist age. This analysis, closely linked with a dialectical-materialistic view on the world and its development as being an essentially single process, made it possible for Lenin to develop a new approach to a number of most important socioeconomic and political problems of a global nature.

Speaking of universal (or, to use the current term, global) socioeconomic problems, Lenin most frequently addressed himself to those among them dealing with the development of technology and its consequences; the energy problem (particularly coal and its utilization and, subsequently, electrification); the food problem (particularly in connection with the colonial problem), and so on.

Indicating the entire significance of these problems which had gone beyond national frameworks in the imperialist age, Lenin did not consider in the least the fact that their manifestation could lead to a rejection of the class approach to problems of global development (which is demanded today by some Western theoreticians). Conversely, in his view, progress in resolving the tremendous problems facing mankind is determined by the social climate and by who benefits from the struggle for such solutions.

Considering, for example, technical progress in terms of the utilization of coal, Lenin most clearly proved that under capitalism the practical application of the results of science "will inevitably trigger mass unemployment, a tremendous increase in poverty and a worsening of the situation of the workers. The benefits from a great invention will be pocketed by the

Morgans, Rockefellers, the Ryabushins and Morozovs, with their retinue of lawyers, directors, professors and other flunkies of capitalism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 23, p 94). The current situation in the capitalist world in which the biggest financial-industrial big shots shamelessly benefit from the "energy crisis," largely triggered by them, convincingly proves the most profound accuracy of this Leninist statement.

"Civilized Barbarism" was the title of Lenin's article on plans to build a tunnel linking Britain with France. He emphasized that, technically, the building of such a tunnel was possible and that the money could be found. However, British capitalism wrecked the plan, claiming that such a tunnel would be used to organize the "invasion" of England.

". . . The civilized nations," wrote Lenin in this connection, "have found themselves in the position of barbarians. Capitalism has done so that, in order to cheat the workers, the bourgeoisie is forced to frighten the British people with idiotic tales of 'invasion.' Capitalism has seen to it that a number of capitalists who would lose income from the digging of such a tunnel would do everything possible to insure the failure of this plan and to hinder technical progress. . . . Wherever one looks," Vladimir Il'ich went on to say, "at every step one faces problems which mankind could resolve fully and immediately. The hindrance is capitalism. It has accumulated mountains of wealth and has turned the people into slaves of this wealth" (ibid, vol 24, p 17).

Lenin considered the problem of war and peace the biggest political problem of a global nature. As early as World War I he reached the conclusion that imperialist militarism creates the danger of "undermining the very conditions for the existence of human society," since "the most powerful technological achievements are used on a scale that is so destructive and powerful as to lead to the mass destruction of millions of human lives" (ibid, vol 36, p 396).

A true scientific understanding of the trends governing the development of military technology enabled Lenin, subsequently, to reach the conclusion that, in the future, such a development will make war impossible. However, this conclusion did not mean in the least that Lenin relied on a spontaneous termination of wars as mankind realized their fatal nature. No, said he, wars are triggered by the exploiting system, and as long as such a system is not eliminated, the danger of war will remain. "A proletarian, a socialist revolution alone," Lenin wrote, "could lead mankind outside the impass created by imperialism and imperialist wars" (ibid, vol 38, p 87). Here again we come across Lenin's biggest scientific and political discovery in the realm of international relations--his concept of peaceful co-existence.

In 1917 the world split into two confronting system. Considering these new conditions, what kind of approach was to be taken in terms of the problem of war and peace? At that time there was no shortage of most gloomy prophecies concerning the future development of mankind.

Lenin countered such prophecies with a clear and optimistic idea: the idea of peaceful coexistence among countries regardless of their social system. Lenin based the possibility for its successful implementation, first of all, on the power of world socialism and its ability to defend itself; secondly, the fact that socialism had numerous and reliable allies, above all among the workers and national-liberation movements. Finally, thirdly, he linked this possibility with the objective interest of capitalism to develop economic relations with countries which had taken the path of socialist development (the more so since the first among them turned out to be the biggest country in the world).

Our age could be described with full justification as the age of triumph of Lenin's theory of peaceful coexistence. Detente and everything it has contributed to mankind, and the struggle waged today by the peace-loving and realistic forces against attempts to destroy detente clearly prove the tremendous potential of the idea of peaceful coexistence. Turning to Lenin's conclusions, formulated at the very beginning of the Soviet system, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated, in his answer to questions asked by the PRAVDA correspondent, that "the Soviet people, and our friends abroad, may rest confident that the Leninist foreign political course remains unshakable. It is formulated by the decisions of the CPSU congresses is being implemented in all our foreign political activities."

Assessing the works of outstanding political leaders and philosophers of the past, usually we try to determine the extent to which their ideas were original and their accomplishments contributed to meeting the requirements of the age.

Essentially, Lenin's ideas and actions cannot be considered merely innovative. On every occasion they were brilliant discoveries of essentially new directions of social progress. They did not simply reflect the needs of the age, but contributed to their very shaping. It would be no exaggeration to say that without Lenin the solution of the main problems of our century would have been inconceivable. It could be said that the aspect of our age developed under Lenin's influence and that the scale of accomplishments of the masses was inspired by his thinking. That is why, as the CC CPSU decree on Lenin's anniversary notes, "Lenin's richest possible ideological heritage and the revolutionary-critical spirit of his doctrine, consistency and firmness in defending the basic interests of Marxism against opportunistic distortions, his entire life, are an inexhaustible source of revolutionary thinking and action for the contemporary international communist, workers' and national-liberation movements."

In terms of the scope of problems covered, the depth of their formulation or extent of practical implementation of conclusions and recommendations, Marxism-Leninism has no analog in history. It is truly the peak of the spiritual development of contemporary mankind.

5003  
CSO: 1802

## GLORIOUS OFFSPRING OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 43-56

[Article by Hero of the Soviet Union and Fleet Admiral of the Soviet Union S. Gorshkov]

[Text] I

As an inseparable component of the Armed Force of the USSR, the Soviet Navy was created by the communist party 62 years ago. It has recorded many vivid and heroic pages in the history of our homeland and, today, is bearing high the banner of loyalty to the CPSU and the Soviet people, vigilantly guarding the socialist gains and peaceful toil of the Soviet people building a communist society.

The birth of the Soviet Army and Navy and their great history are inseparably linked with V. I. Lenin, who deserves outstanding credit for the substantiation of the military program of the proletarian revolution and the doctrine of the defense of the socialist fatherland. Having comprehensively summed up the tremendous experience of the revolutionary struggle, Lenin formulated the basic concepts of the need for the creation and comprehensive strengthening of the Armed Forces of the Land of the Soviets, clearly defining their tasks and historical purpose. He elaborated the scientific principles governing the defense of the country and the foundations of Soviet military doctrine and martial science.

The Soviet Army and Navy were the offspring of the Great October Socialist Revolution and one of the greatest achievements of the communist party and Soviet people. They appeared as the army and navy of the workers and peasants, the army and navy of the first socialist state in the world, imbuing the best revolutionary and combat traditions of the struggles waged by the peoples of our country for their freedom and independence and respect for the heroic past of the homeland.

Inheriting everything valuable and progressive of the history of the native navy, the Soviet seamen are justifiably proud of the examples of military valor of our predecessors. Hallowed by the glory of brilliant victories

over foreign aggressors, the Russian naval flag proudly flew over the Black, Adriatic, Mediterranean and Baltic seas. The victories at Gangut, Chesma, Tendra, Kerch, Kaliakra, Sinop and many others will be eternal memorable historical landmarks. Models of combat skill and courage were displayed by the seamen in the heroic defense of Sevastopol and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsk. The successes of the Russian Fleet commanded by the famous Admirals of the Fleet F. F. Ushakov, D. N. Senyavin, G. I. Butakov and S. O. Makarov, and the exploits of the seamen during the defense of Sevastopol in 1854-1855, headed by Admirals V. A. Kornilov, P. S. Nakhimov and V. I. Istomin are widely known.

The great chronicle of revolutionary traditions of the native fleet originated in the stormy years when the Russian proletariat became a powerful constructive force and, headed by the Leninist party, led the peoples of the country in the gigantic struggle against czarism and capitalism. As early as the first Russian revolution, Lenin's life-bringing ideas captured the minds and hearts of many seamen of the Russian Fleet who unhesitatingly stood up in the front ranks of the fighters for the cause of the working class and the toiling people. Uprisings in the fleet rolled like one wave after another, developing into a tempestuously rising stream, multiplying the strength of the mass actions of the working people, shaking up the threadbare empire and weakening the foundations of czarism. The "Potemkin" and "Ochakov," Revel', Sveaborg, Sevastopol and Vladivostok are the most outstanding points of the heroic struggle waged by the seamen on the eve of the October Revolution.

The legendary exploits of the heroes of the armed uprisings on the ships and units of the czarist fleet, and the fearless revolutionaries Lt P. P. Schmidt, conductor S. P. Chastnik, seamen G. N. Vakulenchuk, A. I. Gladkov, A. N. Matyushenko, A. M. Petrov, N. G. Antonenko and many others have justifiably become part of the history of the revolutionary struggle of our people.

It was precisely then that thanks to the tireless and truly heroic effort of the Bolsheviks, and under the influence of Lenin's ideas, that the revolutionary traditions which are now the pride of our fleet and of the entire armed forces of the country, were shaped and became the rules of life of the navy.

The best of these traditions were developed in the days of the storming of the Winter Palace, in October 1917, when the history of socialism on earth marked its beginning with the volley fired from the "Avrora."

One of the most important events which insured the victory of the proletariat was the fact that the Leninist party was able to create an armed bulwark of the revolution, rallying the Red Army with the masses of revolutionary seamen and soldiers. The close ties between the seamen and the workers tempered in class battles, and the constant leadership of the party's Central Committee, determined the tempestuous development of the

revolutionary movement in the fleets. Answering the call of the Bolsheviks the seamen of the Baltic joined the ranks of the rebels, putting at Lenin's disposal the most powerful and combat-capable ships, and insuring the full support of the entire Baltic Fleet. In a single battle line with the workers and revolutionary soldiers, and under the Red banners, the seamen overthrew the old world, inaugurating a new era in the history of mankind.

Following the assumption of power by the working class, the Leninist party called upon the revolutionary seamen to fight for the Soviet system and headed the combat activities of the navy at all civil war fronts. Under communist leadership the new workers-peasant fleet actively participated, within the Soviet Armed Forces, in the struggle against imperialist intervention and the domestic counterrevolution. Their historical victories over the joint forces of the intervention and reaction in repelling the first imperialist aggression launched against the Land of the Soviets, marked the beginning of the heroic combat path of the Red Army and Navy.

Joining the ranks of the Red Army, the seamen defended the gains of the October Revolution, firmly protecting the naval borders of their socialist homeland, not only aboard ship, but on the land fronts as well, displaying iron willpower and resolve to carry out their revolutionary and civic duty. Forever recorded in the battle chronicles of our armed forces are the names of P. Ye. Dybenko, N. G. Markin, A. G. Zheleznyakov, N. A. Khovrin, A. V. Mokrousov, I. D. Sladkov, P. F. Vinogradov, T. I. Ul'yantsev, V. F. Polukhin and many other famous organizers of the seamen's masses. Under their leadership the Soviet seamen displayed examples of courage, fearlessness and selfless service to the cause of the communist party.

The outstanding revolutionary and combat traditions were multiplied in peacetime, when the country undertook to restore the workers'-peasant Red Navy, healing the wounds of the war, rebuilding ships and raising ports and navy bases from their ruins. On Lenin's motion, at its March 1921 10th Congress, the Communist Party passed a decree on the Red Navy, indicating the need to rebuild and strengthen the navy, and replenish them with trained personnel loyal to the revolution. The Leninist Komsomol actively participated in this action. On 16 October 1922, at its Fifth Congress, the Komsomol resolved to sponsor the navy and directed to the navy as many as 9,000 men, including about 1,000 assigned to train in navy schools. The reinforcement of the navy with party and Komsomol members helped to strengthen it politically, raise the discipline, improve the combat and political training of the personnel, and speed up the repair and rebuilding of ships. A movement to collect funds for the Red Navy spread throughout the country.

Socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, carried out in our country during the first five-year plans, led to the creation of a new, socialist economy. All exploiting classes were eliminated. As a result of the cultural revolution the cultural standard of the people rose sharply. All this led to the growth of the economic and defense power of

the Soviet Union. A solid material base was created in the country which made it possible to raise the question of building an ocean-worthy navy consistent with the requirements of defending our homeland.

This was mandated by the complex international circumstances. Armed provocations had not ceased at the western, southern and eastern borders of the country. Militaristic Japan pursued an aggressive policy toward the USSR. Another hotbed of aggression developed in the West following the assumption of power by the fascists in Germany. The ruling circles of the United States, Britain and France, pursuing a course of international isolation of the USSR, directed the aggressors against our country. The Soviet state took measures to strengthen its defense by equipping the Red Army and Navy. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War our navy consisted of three battleships, seven light cruisers, 59 leaders and destroyers, 22 escort ships, 80 mine sweepers, 269 torpedo boats, 218 submarines, 2,581 airplanes and 260 coastal artillery batteries. All these forces were part of four big operative units: Northern, Baltic, Black Sea and Pacific fleets, and the Danube, Pinsk, Caspian and Amur flotillas.

Fleet command cadres were trained and raised, and many highly skilled specialists were trained through the efforts of the party and the people. Infinitely loyal to the homeland, able to master the latest combat equipment, they became the golden stock, the basic combat power of our navy. The intensive combat training of seamen and technical equipment supplied in the prewar years insured the high level of combat readiness of ships and units. Thanks to this, the fleet acquired a real ability to defend the country from aggression from the sea, in a single battle line with the armed forces. It brilliantly proved this ability in the first days of the war, engaging in a duel with the navies of fascist Germany and its allies on the seas washing the territories of our country. During the Great Patriotic War the unparalleled moral and political unity of our people, the firmness of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and the monolithic unity between front and rear were manifested most powerfully. The support and love of the whole people for the armed forces was one of the decisive conditions for their invincibility. Through its heroic toil our people hammered out victory over the enemy, supplying the army and navy with everything necessary--armaments, ammunition and food.

The Soviet Army and Navy forces continued to learn how to wage a dedicated struggle for the triumph of the great Leninist ideas from their people and their leading detachment--the communist party. Loyal to their oath, and deeply aware of their responsibility for the destiny of the homeland, they were fearless in fighting the enemy. Their iron firmness in defense and their insurmountable pressure of their offensive confused the enemy ranks. In the battles of the Great Patriotic War our navy carried out a variety of assignments in support of the Soviet Army in defensive and offensive operations. It fought the enemy forces in the naval theaters of the war and carried out its duty to the end. From the very first days of the war the Northern, Baltic and Black Sea fleets actively engaged the strong

enemy who enjoyed the support of three air fleets and, furthermore, benefited from important strategic advantages which enabled it to attack suddenly and gave it possibilities to maneuver.

Soviet submarines sunk German battleships and transports and mined their seaways; the aviation and surface vessels, particularly torpedo launchers, adamantly sought out enemy vessels, sunk them in coastal waters and destroyed manpower and equipment in enemy bases. Tremendous efforts were required in the struggle for naval lanes. Throughout the war the navy forces destroyed enemy transports carrying troops and supplies. Even when the submarines of the Baltic Fleet had to cross the Gulf of Finland, literally crowded with mines, to get to the open sea, the enemy constantly felt the impact of their strikes. The Northern Fleet controlled the only seaway open to the fascist troops, supplying reinforcements to Norway and northern Finland, and hauling nickel from Petsamo. The seamen of the Black Sea Fleet inflicted heavy losses to the enemy.

Having sunk about 1,300 enemy vessels, our navy had a great impact on the course of the armed struggle on the Soviet-German land front.

Military transports and their defense played an important role in the navy's combat activities throughout the war. They were vitally necessary in the Black Sea, in the defense of Odessa, Sevastopol and the Northern Caucasus, and in the Kerch-Feodosiya landing; in the Baltic--in the defense and evacuation of Tallin, Khanko and the Moonzund Islands, in reinforcing the troops at the Oranienbaum Bridgehead, and the subsequent liberation of the Baltic republics; and in the north--after the enemy had cut off the Murmansk Railroad. The fleets and flotillas carried out exceptionally important assignments by supplying the troops and the national economy with freight along the frontal waterways, particularly on Lake Ladoga--the only artery, the lifeline which supplied, food, ammunition and army reserves to blockaded Leningrad. During the war over 100 million tons of freight of different kinds were hauled by sea on all our fronts. The navy forces insured the hauling of 17 million tons of freight on the high seas. This meant thousands of trips by ships and aviation flights, and many hundreds of combat encounters with enemy surface ships and submarines. Carrying out their combat assignments, the seamen not only found the most accurate tactical and operational solutions, but proved their unquestionable superiority over the enemy in the use of new methods of armed struggle. At the same time the continental nature of the war left its imprint on the nature of our naval art.

The actions of the Soviet fleet against the enemy at sea were an important part of the overall struggle. However, the navy's main efforts were focused on resolving the most important problems of supporting the land forces, which carried the main burden of defending the country from the attacking enemy and whose activities, in the final account, determined the outcome of the war. Carrying out its assignments, the navy proved to be a powerful force capable of drastically changing circumstances in the coastal

areas of action of the land forces, and considerably facilitate them in carrying out their operational and strategic assignments.

During the war the navy assigned to the land fronts over 400,000 navy trained officers, petty officers and seamen. They constituted over 40 marine and marine infantry brigades, 6 separate regiments and a large number of separate battalions and detachments. High combat qualities were characteristic of these formations and units.

## II

Like our entire armed forces, during the years of severe trials, the Soviet seamen proved themselves worthy sons of their great people. The actions of seamen and naval officers were distinguished by mass heroism, iron firmness and endurance in defense, daring and irresistible strikes in their offensives, and high military skills which enriched Soviet naval art.

In the most difficult period of the war--the autumn of 1941--the glory of the heroic struggle of the defenders of the Khanko Peninsula spread throughout the country. In the course of 165 days they repelled Hitlerite strikes from the land, sea and air. The defense of Khanko is an example of unparalleled firmness and courage. Some days the enemy dropped 6,000 to 7,000 shells on the small territory of the base and launched 6 to 8 air raids. However, nothing broke the seamen. The enemy continuously felt the strikes of the Baltic forces. The daring Khanko landing operations led to the capture of 19 enemy islands in the proximity and the destruction of their garrisons: anticipating the enemy strikes, they showed models of fulfillment of the military duty. The attention of the entire Soviet people was focused on their struggle. "Decades, years will pass," wrote the defenders of Moscow to the base garrison, "and mankind will not forget the way a handful of heroes and patriots of the Soviet land, yielding not one step to the strong enemy forces, armed to the teeth, under the continuing artillery and mortar shelling, scorning death for the sake of victory, gave an example of unparalleled courage and heroism. Great honor and immortal glory to you, the heroes of Khanko! Your exploit is not only admired by the Soviet people, but inspires them to new exploits, teaching us how to defend the country from the cruel enemy, and calling for merciless struggle against the mad fascist beast."

The names of the navy fliers, Heroes of the Soviet Union A. K. Antonenko, L. G. Belousov and P. A. Brin'ko, the legendary landing forces of Capt B. M. Granin and many other Khanko troops became symbols of courage and combat activeness and military skill.

The very first period of the Great Patriotic War convincingly proved that heroism in our country was no isolated phenomenon, but a quality inherent in the mass of the Soviet soldiers. Mass heroism became the norm of their behavior in combat and one of the most outstanding combat traditions of our armed forces. This was manifested with particular clarity in the defense

of the navy bases, the heroic defense of Odessa, Moscow, Leningrad, Sevastopol, Stalingrad, Kerch and Novorossiysk, and the battles for the Caucasus and the Soviet polar area. In the battles for the hero-cities, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army troops, the Navy defeated the enemy. The adamant defense of our forces slowed down the advance of the enemy and destroyed a large number of enemy soldiers and officers.

"The selfless struggle of the defenders of Sevastopol is an example of heroism to the entire Red Army and the Soviet people." This was the high praise for the defenders of Sevastopol in the telegram of the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander in Chief.

Their military exploits proved to the entire world what the Soviet person, warmly loving his native land and people and the communist party, can accomplish. The immortal exploits of the five seamen of the Black Sea, headed by political instructor N. D. Fil'chenkov, of the seven Komsomol members, heroes of Pillbox No 11, and the personnel of many batteries, crews of big and small ships and submarines, and the daring Black Sea air-men vividly prove that a nation which knows why it is shedding its blood cannot be conquered.

All defenders of Sevastopol, from the rank-and-file seaman and private, to the admiral and general, lived with the single thought of defending the freedom and independence of their Soviet socialist homeland. Their immortal exploits will be remembered forever by the people as a living witness of the greatness of the spirit and inflexible will of the Soviet soldiers. One of the organizers of the city's defense--Major General of Aviation Nikolay Ostryakov, the bravest of the brave soldiers--was truly loved by the people of Sevastopol. Under his command, in five months only, the Black Sea fliers destroyed over 350 enemy airplanes. The general himself had over 100 combat missions. Sevastopol was greatly helped by the commands of the fleet battle ships. The Battleship "Sevastopol", cruisers, minesweepers and other ships frequently ran the enemy blockade, reaching the besieged city and, through their fire, supported our land units, helping them to repel the fierce enemy attacks. At that time reaching Sevastopol was a major exploit. The Hitlerites were doing everything possible to disturb our naval communications. They had assigned to this target about 150 bombers and torpedo launchers, submarines and torpedo boats. However, again and again, the Soviet ships broke the blockade around the besieged fortress, delivering reinforcements, ammunition and arms, and evacuating the wounded.

The seamen fought on sea, in the air and on land, courageously, firmly and skillfully, with great militancy. Every Soviet person is familiar with the names of twice Heroes of the Soviet Union flier Boris Safonov and torpedo boat seaman Aleksandr Shabalin, scout Viktor Leonov and many other famed heroes, who in the very first clashes with the enemy were able to prove high battle maturity and the skill to win regardless of the conditions.

Aleksandr Shabalin participated in the first battle waged by the torpedo boats of the Northern Front on the night of 12 September 1941, when it sank an enemy transport in fighting a fascist convoy. The seven enemy ships sunk by the torpedo boat under the command of this soldier-party member, and the daring and courage displayed in the landing vividly proved his individual courage, steel endurance, sober cunning and martial skill.

Navy airman Boris Safonov was the first of the veterans of the Great Patriotic War to be awarded twice the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. The regiment in which he served and which he commanded was the first to be awarded the title of Guards Regiment of the Northern Fleet. Within a short period of time Safonov personally brought down 22 enemy airplanes and destroyed several more in group battles. His subordinates were asked to engage in six to eight sorties per day. They fought the enemy airforce, dived on the front line of the fascists and offered cover to our ships at sea. This demanded tremendous physical and moral stress.

Our navy troops multiplied the great tradition of the Russian seamen-- hitting the enemy not through numbers but skill. Thus on 26 July 1941 a detachment of torpedo boats, commanded by Hero of the Soviet Union S. Osipov, attacked 26 enemy ships and transports, sank 2 minesweepers, a transport and an escort ship. In September a group of torpedo boats, commanded by Hero of the Soviet Union V. Gumanenko, sunk an enemy cruiser and two minesweepers, and damaged a leader. Such cases were no rare occasions in the combat activities of our navy.

The Soviet submariners displayed high combat activity and skill in destroying enemy communications.

However, it was the Baltic Sea submariners that found themselves in the most complex conditions. Surmounting all obstacles, they came out on the high seas of the Baltic and prevented the enemy from showing up in the area with impunity. Thus in one raid alone the submarine commanded by Hero of the Soviet Union Ye. Osipov sank four fascist transports. In the entire summer campaign of 1942, when the Hitlerites were doing everything possible to coop up the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic submariners sank tens of enemy transports and ships.

The same dedication was displayed by the artillerymen of the Baltic Fleet. Day after day ship, coastal and rail artillery engaged in skillful and effective struggle against enemy forces and artillery and was the shield of fire protecting Leningrad in the literal meaning of the word.

The fascist command threw its airforce against the artillerymen and conducted intensive counterbattery fire. However, despite enemy bombing and artillery shelling, the Baltic forces confidently focused their crushing fire on the enemy, destroying his manpower and equipment; in 1941, during the September fascist offensive on Leningrad, the Battleship "Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya" destroyed several enemy motorized columns and heavy batteries

and a great deal of manpower and equipment. The ship withstood 20 fascist air raids and hits by over 300 bombs. However, all fascist attacks were repelled by its antiaircraft crews, which brought down five and set six enemy airplanes on fire.

One-half of the airforce regiments of the Baltic Fleet were promoted to guards regiments and awarded the Red Banner Order for excellent performance of combat assignments. The First Guards Mining-Torpedo Regiment was the first to be promoted to a guards regiment. Under the command of Hero of the Soviet Union Ye. N. Preobrazhenskiy, in August 1941, that regiment was the first to bomb Berlin and a number of big industrial centers in fascist Germany.

Supporting the Soviet Army in the coastal areas, the seamen organized landing operations, capturing and firmly holding bridgeheads pending the arrival of the land forces. In the course of the four years of the war, in close interaction with the land forces and the aviation, they carried out over 110 sea landings. The Hitlerite attempts to land failed, for the Soviet seamen protected the flanks of our army from the enemy strikes from the sea vigilantly and reliably.

In the period of the victorious offensive of the Soviet Army, the combat activities of our seamen rose considerably. Skillfully interacting with the land forces and the aviation, they dealt crushing blows to the enemy. During the Crimean operation the Black Sea Fleet destroyed or damaged over 140 ships and vessels, most of which were sunk together with the enemy forces. According to data of the 17th German-fascist Army, from 3 to 13 May 1944 alone, 37,000 and about 5,000 Romanian soldiers and officers were drowned or declared missing in action during their evacuation by water. Nor were the fascists helped by considerably strengthening their protective convoys. In the Zapolyar'ye area, for example, on 15 July 1944 they tried to run a convoy consisting of 30 ships. The convoy was destroyed. Eight torpedo boats, commanded by Capt 2d Rank V. Alekseyev, sank two minesweepers, three escort ships and three transports and tenders. The Hitlerites felt the powerful strike of the Soviet seamen not only in the Black, Baltic or Barents seas, and their maritime flanks, but in theaters of military operations at a considerable distance from the sea.

Shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army troops, many Soviet Navy personnel actively participated in the defense of the enemy hordes at Moscow, Stalingrad, the Caucasus, the Zapolyar'ye, the Baltic, the Crimea and the Kuril Islands. Wherever Soviet seamen fought the displayed high combat skill, the ability to surmount all difficulties and adversities, selflessness and courage. The exploits of Stalingrad defenders Il'ya Kaplunov, who destroyed nine fascist tanks in a single battle, of Mikhail Panikakh, who destroyed a tank by sacrificing his own life, and of many other heroes, inspired the Stalingrad troops to defeat the enemy at the walls of the Volga stronghold. The words of PO 1st Class V. Zaytsev became the slogan of the city's defenders: "To us there is no land beyond the Volga!"

During the defense of Stalingrad he destroyed over 200 Hitlerites and was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union for his exploit. "In the battles for Novorossiysk," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "the heroes of the legendary Malaya Zemlya covered themselves with unfading glory. On a rough stormy night in February 1943, the landing army detachment headed by Maj Tsezar L'vovich Kunikov accomplished something seemingly impossible. Penetrating a fire curtain and overcoming the fierce enemy resistance, the landing forces took the western edge of the city. Initially they captured a small, yet very important bridgehead. Only truly fearless people could carry out such an assignment."

Acting together with Soviet Army units, the personnel of the Three-Time Order Bearer Danube Flotilla defeated fascists along the entire river, from the estuary of the Danube to Vienna. The Danube forces were models of courage and daring in the battles for the Austrian capital. The Vienna landing was unparalleled in daring and skill. The only remaining bridge was captured.

Together with the Soviet Army the seamen of the Twice Order Bearer Dnepr Flotilla had the high honor of participating in the battles for Berlin as well. In one of the sectors our forces, advancing toward the Reichstag, had to cross the Spree River. Under fierce enemy fire, skillfully maneuvering their small boats, the seamen of the Dnepr Flotilla transported to the opposite bank soldiers and officers, dragged pontoon bridges with tanks and insured the landing of forces in the central part of Berlin.

The seamen of Pacific Fleet and Amur Flotilla learned from the heroic accomplishments of the seamen on the Baltic, the Black Sea, the North Sea and the Danube and Dnepr. In the battles against imperialist Japan the Pacific Ocean and Amur seamen proved to be worthy heirs of the best combat traditions created in the fire of the battles against Hitlerite Germany. The Pacific Fleet seamen Nikolay Vilkov and Petr Il'ichev lived and died with the thought of our victory, blocking with their bodies, like Aleksandr Matrosov, the embrasures of an enemy pillbox which blocked the advance of the Soviet troops in one of the Kuril Islands.

Daring and courage, however, are merely one aspect of heroism. The other, no less important, is military skill. High-level training and excellent mastery of combat materiel and weaponry, discipline and organization, initiative and cunning, multiplied by courage enabled our troops to defeat the enemy in the most complex conditions. All these qualities needed by a soldier are acquired in the course of daily service and combat and political training. The combat activities of the seamen were highly rated by the Supreme Command. Tens of ships and units were awarded orders and the honorific title of guards units for heroism and bravery in the struggle against the German-fascist aggressors in the Great Patriotic War. Many tens of thousands of seamen, petty officers and officers, admirals and generals were presented high government awards. Over 600 seamen were made heroes of the Soviet Union.

Our armed forces owe their outstanding victories over the fascist armies above all to the wise leadership of the communist party. It was the communist party that raised such fearless troops. The communist party inspired their immortal exploits in the struggle for the freedom and independence of the homeland. Party and Komsomol members were the nucleus of the navy personnel. Their oaths sounded like the appeal of "fight the enemy to the last drop of blood!" "be brave and courageous to the end. Give an example of fearlessness, courage and heroism to the entire personnel!"

Political organs and party and Komsomol organizations carried out tremendous explanatory and propaganda work among the personnel, developing in the troops revolutionary vigilance, teaching them dedicated obedience to the military oath and the bylaws, and maintaining strict order and organization aboard ships and in units and subunits. The comprehensive content of precisely this work has been brilliantly described in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book "Malaya Zemlya."

Fighting the enemy, the seamen constantly felt the concern and attention of the Soviet people--the working people in the rear who created the weapons and combat materiel, who repaired the damaged and built the new ships, and who uninterruptedly supplied the navy with everything it needed.

The experience of the past war in which the Soviet Army and Navy had to fight an enemy which had treacherously attacked our homeland demands of us to maintain our weapons and combat equipment in a state of high combat readiness.

The outstanding command cadres have always been one of the most important sources of the undefeatable power and invincibility of our army and navy. Our commanders are loyal sons of their people. They hold in their hands the full power without which neither combat training nor combat operations would be conceivable. The commander must daily develop and maintain within his subordinates an awareness of the inviolability of the military oath. He must promote in them loyalty to the socialist homeland, an honest attitude toward the service, discipline, courage, endurance, cunning and readiness to fight the enemies of the homeland to full victory, sparing no efforts or life itself. The war proved that all these qualities are well developed in the Soviet seamen, for which their commanders and chiefs deserve great credit as experienced navy specialists and demanding and concerned comrades and educators.

The role of the commander in training and educating the personnel is exceptionally great. The communist party teaches us that discipline and order in the Soviet Army and Navy are based on the dedication, firmness and heroism of the command and political personnel, who are the vanguard of the armed forces. The comprehensive strengthening is assisted by the daily live and organic ties between the command personnel and the officers, seamen and soldiers serving in ships, units and large units, and the profound awareness of the justice of our cause and accurate political and military

leadership, providing that the subordinates are convinced through practical experience of the justice of the cause for which they are fighting.

Using the extremely rich experience of the Great Patriotic War, the navy command personnel are seeking ever new possibilities to insure the most effective upbringing and training of their subordinates, firmly relying on the help of political organs and party and Komsomol organizations.

The development of new means of armed struggle demands ever higher moral and combat qualities of the entire navy personnel. The main, the decisive role in modern wars as well is played by people who are strong in spirit, politically conscious, disciplined and firm, able to surmount all difficulties, people who have mastered to perfection combat equipment and weapons. This is well understood by commanders and chiefs at all levels and of all ranks. For this reason they spare no efforts and energy to promote such qualities in their subordinates.

### III

The defeat of the shock forces of imperialism largely predetermined the course of postwar historical developments. The formation and development of the world socialist system, the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system, the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in bourgeois countries and the intensification and aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism are the characteristic features of the contemporary world.

However, gaining the long-awaited peace on earth did not suit the imperialists. In the very first postwar years they resumed their preparations for war against the USSR, aiming at a revision of the results of World War II in their favor.

Virtually immediately after the war, when the Soviet Union was rebuilding its destroyed national economy, the United States and Great Britain proclaimed the existence of a "Soviet military threat" to conceal most monstrous and treacherous plans aimed against our homeland. In 1948 Winston Churchill called for subjecting the USSR to atom bombing. A plan for an atomic war was drafted in the United States, code named "Dropshot."

The false claims of the "Soviet threat" were started even before the war, when foreign reference works deliberately exaggerated our defense capabilities, including those of the Soviet Navy. This trend has been retained. Frequently the American press publishes false assertions according to which the Soviet Navy has severalfold more ships compared with the United States. In an effort to prove the superiority of the Soviet Navy some Western authors include in it anything which could remain afloat, including tugs and barges. At the same time, only big navy ships of the main classes--submarines, aircraft carriers, cruisers, minesweepers and others--are counted as part of the U.S. Navy. The sole purpose of this obvious lie is

to frighten the American taxpayers and the NATO allies. Admiral Turner, CIA director and official representative of the U.S. Administration, not distinguished by his sympathy for the Soviet Union, nevertheless deemed it necessary to acknowledge that even "authoritative publications in the United States cite statistical data violating common sense."

Accompanied by the myth of the "Soviet military threat," imperialist propaganda claims that the USSR is, allegedly, not a sea, but continental country alone, for which reasons it needs a navy only for the modest purpose of defending its coastal areas. Today's British prime minister, the heir of the infamous Churchill, who had once threatened to strangle our revolution in the cradle and who organized the intervention against Soviet Russia and, in 1945, initiated the cold war, Margaret Thatcher, even as leader of the opposition, proved her geographic outlook by questioning why the Soviet Union needed a modern navy, "a country surrounded by land. . . ." She was seconded by British Secretary of State for Defense Pym, who stated at Tory headquarters on 21 June 1979 that "the strengthening of the Soviet Navy presents a very serious circumstance. It is converting into a global ocean navy from a navy which could provide coastal defenses only."

These statesmen obviously refuse to consider objective facts. The Soviet Union is not only a great continental but a maritime power as well. Its shores are washed by the waters of 12 seas joining the basins of the 3 oceans. Over 40,000 of the 60,000 km of Soviet borders are maritime. Incidentally, their length exceeds by a factor of nearly five the coastal line of the former "ruler of the seas"--Great Britain. It is entirely natural that the USSR, like any other sovereign country, has the right to be concerned with the security of its borders, the maritime borders included.

Yet, as the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT pointed out in its 12 February 1979 issue, U.S. President J. Carter "claims that the U.S. naval nuclear power is sufficient to destroy Russia several times over." In January 1980, in his State of the Union message to Congress, the President proclaimed that, "We must pay any price to remain the most powerful country in the world." It is easy to see behind such statements the aspiration toward unconcealed hegemonism and preserving a domination over vast areas of the world's oceans, an aspiration which dates from President Truman himself.

Mainly relying on force and trying to turn history back, the imperialists have put together a variety of aggressive military blocs, including NATO, aimed, above all, against the Soviet Union. Launching a factual preparation for a new world war, they set up along the borders of the USSR powerful groups of armed forces and encircled the socialist countries with a chain of military and naval bases. The United States continues to pay particular attention to increasing its naval striking power, converting oceans and seas into launching grounds for strategic nuclear weapons.

In the 1950's aircraft carriers became the nucleus of the U.S. Navy. Starting with the 1960's a new submarine nuclear-missile system was developed: initially it was the Polaris system, followed by "Poseidon" and "Trident." Missile-carrying submarines within this system are constantly patrolling the world's oceans, ready to deliver nuclear-missile strikes against the USSR and its allies. Let us add to this the missile-carrying submarines of Britain and France, which together with the U.S. missile-carrying submarines could use as their launching grounds virtually all of the world's oceans.

The naval power of the imperialist states has been intensively used in the pursuit of their aggressive policy in the wars in Korea and Indochina, in the numerous conflicts in the Middle East and in the areas of the Hindustani Peninsula, Latin America, the zone of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and so on. U.S. naval forces are sailing thousands of miles away from their shores, systematically and extensively used as tools for pressure and military threats against countries whose systems are unsuitable to the American leadership. This is confirmed by the book published in the United States by the Brookings Institute, entitled "Strength Without War: The U.S. Armed Forces--A Political Instrument." It cites data according to which over the past 30 postwar years the United States has used its naval forces 177 times, and resorted to the help of aircraft carriers on 106 occasions.

Blackmail, threats and attempts to frighten a number of countries and governments have become the most important elements of American foreign policy. It was precisely the United States that imposed, through the NATO bloc, on a number of Western European countries the decision to deploy on their territories about 600 intermediate-range nuclear missiles. At the end of 1979, addressing the employers' council, President Carter announced an American program for the further increase in U.S. military efforts. These facts conflict with the interests of the peace and security of the peoples of all continents.

The latest events related to the aggravation of American-Iranian relations confirm the fact that the Pentagon is continuing to perform such police functions. The largest group of American ships, including the strike aircraft carriers and nuclear battleships, are concentrated not far from the Iranian shores, at the approaches to the Persian Gulf. This demonstration of force was undertaken in order to resume the active role of world policeman and aircraft-carrier diplomacy, using military force wherever U.S. imperialist interests are affected, be it in Asia, the Middle and Near East, Europe or any other part of the world.

Under conditions in which the United States and its closest allies have converted the world's oceans into huge launching pads for strategic weapons, a real threat has developed for the peoples of the world and, above all, the USSR and the other socialist countries. On the basis of this threat, as a responsive measure, the Soviet Union has been forced to

be concerned with the security of its borders and the borders of the other socialist countries, and to create a modern ocean-worthy navy capable of containing any possible aggression coming from the ocean and, if necessary, to retaliate.

Answering the questions of VORWERTS, the weekly of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that, "Under conditions in which the NATO countries have powerful offensive naval facilities we must think of corresponding defense in that area as well. We have created our ocean-worthy navy capable of fulfilling such defense tasks."

The creation of a powerful ocean navy may be justifiably considered by our people as one of the most outstanding labor exploits. It was made possible thanks to the powerful military-economic potential of our country, the major achievements of domestic science and technology, and the application of scientific methods in directing ship building.

The Soviet Navy has a formidable and perfect armament. However, our navy has been created not for purposes of aggression, but for protecting the security of our homeland and all members of the socialist comity, and to contribute to the preservation of the peace the world over. The people are the main, the decisive force of our navy. The Soviet troops of today are the worthy heirs of the revolutionary and combat glory of their fathers and grandfathers, and the loyal perpetuators of their heroic traditions. Loyalty to the homeland and military duty is passed on from fathers to sons, expressing the nationwide continuity of defending the socialist fatherland. The Soviet forces are true masters of military affairs, perfect masters of the equipment, boundlessly loyal to the Soviet people and the cause of communism. As patriots and internationalist, they vigilantly protect the revolutionary gains and peace on earth in the single combat ranks with the forces of the fraternal socialist countries.

Long ocean trips under different weather conditions have become to the Soviet navy men the main school for professional and combat training. The coordination of the crews is developed, equipment and armaments are mastered, combat skills and moral-political, psychological and physical training are perfected, and new and effective ways and means of action are found.

Continuing the combat traditions of the Great Patriotic War, our seamen are displaying firmness, courage and high skill in mastering the modern combat equipment. This is exemplified by the travels of submarines of the Red Banner Northern Fleet to the North Pole, under the ice of the Arctic.

Their group round-the-world trip confirmed the excellent sea training of the submarine forces. Sailing about 25,000 miles under water, they proved that no inaccessible areas in the world's oceans exist for the Soviet nuclear-powered ships.

Many submariners have been awarded orders and medals in peacetime for outstanding exploits and skillful use of combat equipment. Over 20 have been awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

On the eve of the 35th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite Germany the seamen are paying their respects to the heroism and courage displayed by the Soviet troops in the Great Patriotic War, remembering them in their hearts. The heroic exploits of the seamen-heroes of the Great Patriotic War play a tremendous role in the upbringing of the navy personnel. The task is for such great exploits to develop in the seamen high moral-combat qualities needed to defeat a strong and technically well-equipped opponent.

Under the leadership of the communist party our homeland has undergone many most difficult trials and won many victories. At each stage of its heroic path our fleet, in the common monolithic ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces, has been together with the people, increasing its combat and revolutionary traditions, serving it loyally and with dedication.

5003

CSO: 1802

## RED BANNER IMENI LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 57-64

[Article by Col V. Lebedev]

[Text] Holiday in the garrison city. The band is playing loudly and the bravura sounds of a march can be heard far in the distance, echoed by the tree-covered hills. The even lines of the parade drill stretch down the parade grounds. Epaulets, cockades and aiguillettes glisten in the dull autumn sun, and the sky-blue cap-bands shine. Along the ranks the red regimental flag is being paraded along the ranks with its honor guard.

Everyone in the line is following the flag with his eyes, mentally recalling the old airforce march familiar since childhood:

"Higher, higher and higher, we strive to fly our  
birds . . . ."

On the left flank, side by side, are young officers with fresh lieutenant's shoulder straps. The faces are tense, the cheeks are pink and the eyes are shining. It is perhaps just then that a warm feeling of involvement is born in their hearts, of being one with all troops of the famous regiment in which henceforth they will serve--mastering the equipment, lifting it to the skies, and day after day perfecting their military skills. It is in their honor that the entire regiment is on the parade ground today. It is as a sign of their entering the soldiers' family that the battle flag is paraded. It is to them that the expressive and solemn words of the unit commander are addressed. They are unable to conceal their emotion.

The short meeting has come to an end, yet the lieutenants, for a while, are slow to leave the ranks. It is then that they are approached by a thin, dark-haired lieutenant colonel. His open, inviting face is so warm that, unwittingly, one feels like smiling. The young officers have already met this man. They know that he is the chief of the political department, whose name Nikolay Maksimovich Bezborodov.

"Well, comrades," the lieutenant colonel says, "let us not violate traditions. I invite all of you to come with me to the unit's Battle Glory Museum."

Bezborodov notices a slight puzzlement expressed by one of the young officers and immediately realizing its origin, blocks the question:

"Actually, as helicopter regiment, our regiment's history is very short. There might have been no reason for a museum. However, we come from one of the first aviation detachments of the Land of the Soviets. Our equipment has indeed become different in recent years, but the old traditions have been retained. The regimental history contains many examples worthy of emulation."

At the entrance to the museum the young officers met with gray-haired front line veterans. The abundant orders and medals immediately show that they fought with glory and honor. By tradition it is precisely the veterans of the Great Patriotic War that acquaint the novices with the combat chronicle of the unit. The chronicle contains more exciting pages than needed.

1929. Conflict at the Chinese Eastern Railroad. Fliers of the Squadron imeni V. I. Lenin, together with ships of the Amur Navy Flotilla, deal crushing blows at the forces of the Chinese militarists who encroached on the Far Eastern borders of the Land of the Soviets.

The year is 1934. Regimental fliers participate in the rescue of the Chelyuskin expedition. One of the first Gold Star Medal of Hero of the Soviet Union is awarded to flight commander N. P. Kamanin (today reserve colonel general of aviation).

The year is 1938. Battles with the Japanese aggressors at Khasan Lake. Precise bombing strikes at enemy positions. For courage and valour in such combats, Sr Lt A. Borovikov was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Orders and medals were presented to 28 men.

The years are 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1945. The regiment's personnel participated in the combat operations against the Hitlerite aggressors at the various fronts from the first to the last days of the war. It has had thousands of sorties, bombing strikes at enemy positions and tank and motorized columns and rear-line targets. At dawn on 9 August 1945 regimental air crews took off and struck at the forces of the Kwantung Army. Orders and medals of the Soviet Union were awarded to many airmen for courage and daring displayed in defending the socialist fatherland and successfully carrying out command assignments.

The postwar years. The aviators of the Regiment imeni V. I. Lenin mastered new combat equipment, new tactics and most advanced armaments. Finally, the "profile" of the unit was changed--airplanes were replaced with helicopters, thus turning the unit into a helicopter regiment. Armaments, maneuverability and payload had all reached a new standard of quality.

Helicopters may unexpectedly appear anywhere and throw at the enemy the entire might of their terrifying weapons. Their crews can land troops

behind enemy lines and provide air support in carrying out combat assignments. Helicopter crews effectively interact with mobile subunits of land and navy forces. They can deal accurate, crushing strikes using missiles of various types, throw bombs and strafe the enemy with guns and machine guns. The combat helicopter crews can successfully fight tanks, hit missile and artillery systems, and destroy personnel, airfields and other targets.

Both possibilities and tasks are different. . . . The young officers assigned to the regiment obtain their initial information on such assignments at the Combat Glory Museum. Soon afterwards, however, they will gain an idea on how to resolve them through practical training.

"There will be no time to look around," says the chief of the political department. "Literally as of tomorrow you join the daily life of the regiment. Incidentally, we shall soon be facing major exercises. You will see if fact what a combat helicopter represents."

On that occasion the helicopter regiment, interacting with ships, was to provide support for a marine landing on a shore occupied by the "enemy."

Taking into consideration the nature of the assignments, fliers and navigators studied the area not only from the map, but from aerial photographs, laid out routes, and computed the nature of the flight and planned tactical means for surmounting the counteraction of the antiaircraft guns, maneuvers, flight procedures to the airport of the initial landing area, and the loading and unloading of the landing forces. Air actions were practiced in advance on simulators. This was particularly important for the young officers.

The "muster" signal cut through the silence of the base at the proper time. In a number of minutes the flight crews were at the airfield. Soon afterwards the combat helicopters took off.

They arrived at the rendezvous point with the landing forces at the precise time, even though clouds were gathered over the airfield and fog was creeping on the helicopter pads. The helicopters landed and marines and combat equipment were loaded. Once again the helicopters took off, gathered height, formed in battle order and flew in the required direction. The helicopter group was led Maj V. Yanshin, squadron commander, party member. They flew over hills, forests and lakes. Once again, however, the land and the rocky shore remained behind and the endless rough and cold sea, occasionally concealed by fog, spread around them.

Visual orientation became simply impossible: no single landmark was available and the eyes had literally nothing to "cling to." Yet they had to find their convoy ships and fly precisely over them. Meanwhile, the information was radioed that because of the developing circumstances the ships themselves had changed the meeting point. Now a great deal depended on scouting aircrews flying ahead of the main group.

"Where is it, why is it silent?" the squadron commander asked with concern. Very little time was left to reach the rendezvous point.

Then the calling signal of the reconnaissance aircrew was heard. He had found the ships and transmitted their coordinates. The helicopter group changed course. Despite the lack of guidelines the navigator of the leading helicopter led the group precisely to the ships which were supporting the landing. Guided by the flagship, the helicopters deployed and flew to the shore. They were to land a group which would capture and hold a bridgehead until the arrival of the main forces.

The white strip of the surf hitting the sloping shore could be noted in the distance. The squadron commander ordered landing to begin. Now the aircrew commanders were faced with rapidly determining landing areas. However, when everything was ready, the sudden instruction was received to change the landing area. New computations, maneuvers and searches were carried out in a number of minutes which were left to reach the new position. Finally, the landing was accomplished. Some of the helicopters remained stationary over the ground while the landing forces, using special attachments, jumped on the shore one after the other. The other helicopters landed, releasing armored troop carriers and self-propelled guns. Bursts of fire were heard and heavy engines thundered. The airborne troops rushed into battle, while the main force of the sea landing brilliantly coped with their complex combat assignment.

Summing up the results of the exercise, the command highly rated the activities of the aircrews of the regiment named after the great Lenin. This unit has long observed the inviolable law of considering each flight a combat flight, without indulgence of simplification. Every airman is aware of his individual responsibility, not only for his assignment, but for the common success. For many years the inviolable Leninist tradition has prevailed in the regiment: never to rely on accomplishments and mandatorily go further and achieve more.

This aviation regiment was awarded the name of V. I. Lenin in March 1924. It was awarded the Order of the Red Banner for combat accomplishments.

The unit's personnel consists of party and Komsomol members, people with higher, specialized secondary or secondary education. Over two-thirds of the personnel are rated excellent in combat and political training; 80 percent of the pilots and navigators are first or second class specialists.

The latest regimental award is the pennant of the USSR minister of defense "For Courage and Military Valor," and the challenge banner of the Red Banner Far Eastern Military District.

The regimental commander is Lt Col Vyacheslav Magometovich Archegov, a graduate of the Air Force Academy imeni Yu. A. Gagarin. He commands confidently, knowledgeably, strictly seeing to it that each aircrew is always

in a state of high combat readiness. V. M. Archegov is a first class flier himself. He has mastered his helicopter so brilliantly that the way he handles it indicates not merely mastery, but true art. He is a great parachute-jumping amateur with 580 jumps to his credit. Yes, the young fliers have something to learn from the commander.

Lieutenant colonel Archegov is personally responsible for the combat and mobilization readiness of the regiment, military discipline and political-moral condition of the personnel. Great demands are placed on the commander also for the proper maintenance of the armaments, ammunition, equipment, fuel and other material facilities of the regiment, and the successful implementation of the unit's assignments.

For over 10 years the regiment has been justifiably considered a leader in the socialist competition, one of the best in the Armed Forces of the USSR. On the centennial of the birth of the great leader the regiment's aviators initiated the all-army socialist competition in honor of Lenin's anniversary. The personnel honorably fulfilled its obligations and reached high-level combat training indicators. On the day of the anniversary the regiment was graded excellent. It has retained this honorific title to this day.

Lieutenant colonel Archegov assumed command of the regiment some two years ago. Within that time this unit has increased its successes with new military accomplishments. V. M. Archegov was awarded a merit promotion by the USSR minister of defense.

Squadrons and flights in the Regiment imeni V. I. Lenin are commanded by experienced officers, masters of flight and skillful instructors. High results have been achieved by subunits and aircrews headed by officers-party members V. Avdiyenko, N. Borzenkov, Ye. Kuznetsov, V. Oleynik, O. Tarasov and V. Dyadyura.

There is steady renovation of the regiment's personnel. Veterans deservedly retire and first class specialists such as fliers, engineers and technicians are promoted and transferred to other military collectives. However, the outstanding traditions with which the regiment is so rich remain alive. They are a powerful tool for the development of high moral and combat qualities.

Effective political-educational work has played a major role in the excellent results achieved by the regiment's personnel in combat training. In this area the importance of the comprehensive approach to education and to insuring close unity among all its components is always remembered. A variety of educational measures are extensively used in the regiment to develop in the aviators firm, willful and manly characters, and to accustom them to the highest possible levels of discipline, honesty and principled-mindedness. The credit for this goes, above all, to the political workers of the unit, who lead the the party members and the personnel.

The influence of the party members on all aspects of the many-faceted regimental life shows in air, fire and tactical training, in the study of the complex equipment and in the political and military education of the personnel. They are doing effective work to unite the military collective, promote love for their Red Banner unit and its battle flag and great valor and courage traditions. They also do a great deal in propagandizing the heroic exploits and courageous and noble actions of the aviators. The regiment has a gallery with portraits of heroes of the Soviet Union and new exhibits are added to the Combat Glory Museum.

Great attention is paid to publicizing the socialist competition. The experience of its champions and best people in the regiment is extensively covered in the wall newspaper, through a variety of visual agitation methods, in the broadcasts of the local radio center and at discussions of flights and exercises. The staff has a display stand entitled "Socialist Competition Screen." Regular photograph and radio newspapers and "flash" leaflets are issued. The air force flag is raised in honor of competition winners and the best subunit is awarded the Red Challenge Banner. The presentation of pennants, such as "Best Military Flier-Sniper," "Best Bomber" and "Best Flight Technician," is extensively applied. The names of socialist competition winners become engraved on a special cup exhibited in the museum.

A variety of methods for political and educational work within the military collective are used, and their influence on all aspects of military life is tremendous. In the Regiment named V. I. Lenin such work is conducted with initiative, skillfully and very effectively. It is headed by Lt Col N. M. Bezborodov, chief of the unit's political department. Allow me to write about this person in greater detail.

Practical experience has indicated that good political workers are people who not simply apply themselves and are able, but, above all, those who have a specific vocation for this complex work demanding total dedication. Let us frankly say that, in his youth, Bezborodov did not even conceive of such a career. His childhood, like that of his four brothers and two sisters, was difficult. However, all of them grew up as worthy people and almost all of them are with higher education. Kolya grew up in the difficult postwar years and, initially, fell behind his age group. He went to work early as a herdsboy and attended school after the others. However, it was already then that the dream of becoming a flier began.

He proved himself a persistent, purposeful and willful boy, and achieved his ambition: after graduating from the 11th grade he entered the Syzran' Higher Air Force School. After the very first year of training he began to be mentioned as a promising flier. This was particularly after a case which was long discussed at the school.

. . . On that day Cadet Bezborodov was in a training flight following his course in cloudy weather. Everything was normal and he was strictly

following the course by instrument. Landing time approached. However, coming closer to the airfield, Nikolay saw below a thick fog. Nothing was visible . . . no landing strip, no airport buildings, no guidelines whatever. Under those circumstances even an experienced flier could become confused. Like the entire crew, Bezborodov displayed firm self-control and skill and achieved a safe instrument landing.

That is how he passed his first flight test. He graduated with excellent grades and, unhesitatingly, the command made him an instructor of the young cadets. It was here that Bezborodov began to display the features of a true educator and instructor. He combined sociability and attention to the people with principle-mindedness and exactingness, and his rapidly growing methodological skill enabled him successfully to carry out his duties.

However, Bezborodov felt the need for greater knowledge of educational work. With his typical adamancy he began to read and subsequently developed a liking for writings on education. Communist convictions combined with the acquired knowledge turned in him into just about the most prestigious and skillful officer-methodist in the school. Confident of his forces, he decided to take a sharp turn and submitted an application to the Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin.

In Moscow Bezborodov faced obstacles which initially seemed insurmountable. The enrollment commission explained to him that flight officers may enter the academy only with a rank no lower than that of squadron deputy commander for political affairs. Bezborodov told the department chief that, as it seemed to him, he had found his vocation in educational work and he requested on an exceptional basis that the level of his knowledge be tested. This was accepted and he passed his examinations with superior grades.

After several years of academy training, the following was added to Bezborodov's file: "At party-political training as deputy commander of a helicopter squadron and subsequently as regimental deputy commander in charge of political affairs, he has proved to be a theoretically trained officer, good organizer in party political work involving various personnel categories. He has been very helpful in the work of the party and Komsomol organizations. He has actively participated in agitation-propaganda work. He has conducted seminars with heads of Marxist-Leninist training and political studies. He has organized topic evenings. He has actively engaged in the dissemination of progressive experience. He was member of the faculty's party committee of the academy. He has always participated in the work of the military-scientific circle of the party-political-work chair and the faculty's amateur artistic performances. He is a disciplined and dependable officer. He is of a balanced, sociable and modest nature. He can properly hold the position of deputy regimental commander for political affairs."

When assignments were issued, even though he graduated with excellent marks, Bezborodov began to doubt his own forces and, citing insufficient

practical experience in party-political work, requested that he be appointed, initially, as squadron deputy commander for political affairs. His request was thoroughly considered. In the final account, however, the commission's decision was different. Summoning Bezborodov, the general said briefly:

"It has been decided to appoint you deputy regimental commander. We rely on you, Nikolay Maksimovich!"

In the helicopter regiment Bezborodov quickly found a common language with the collective, became acquainted with the people and studied their practical and political qualities.

One of the characteristic features of the lieutenant colonel is that he loves people. To work with people is his vocation. The chief of the political department dedicates everything to this vocation: strength, knowledge, convictions and generosity of heart. He may help someone to settle personal affairs; someone else may be helped in his duties; someone else again, to choose a proper way to train and instruct the fliers. It is no empty talk in the regiment that he can communicate with anyone. Having profoundly studied the characters and inclinations of the people, he can influence his subordinates and inspire them to surmount new and seemingly unreachable heights in perfecting combat skills.

Nikolay Maksimovich is firmly convinced that no good results could be achieved by lofty words, which may alienate a person rather than convince him of the impropriety of his actions. In the course of his service in the regiment he has never raised his voice. In turn, discussing the words and actions of the chief of the political department, the aviators would often rather be chewed out rather than face his calm remarks and iron restraint.

To be able to convince a person and trigger the spark of something beautiful in his mind is a particular gift of a political worker. Lieutenant colonel Bezborodov has this gift.

Nikolay Maksimovich has yet another important party quality: the ability to discover the virtues of people, even if they are not immediately apparent. Having discovered something good in a person he is sincerely pleased. However, despite the entire softness with which he addresses his subordinates, the chief of the political department is exacting and forgives no errors. Yet he does not waste his time in petty matters and never postpones anything. He applies his strict exactingness above all toward himself. Hence the respect and trust of those around him. That is why the aviators conceal nothing from Bezborodov, but go to him at difficult times and with anxious hearts.

Soldiers, sergeants, ensigns, officers and members of the families of the servicemen have great respect and love for the chief of the political department. They turn to him whenever they need help. They know that

Nikolay Maksimovich will not refuse it. Should it be impossible to resolve a problem on the spot, he would mandatorily put it down, study it and seek advice, but not ignore it. Anyone who has ever dealt with him has become convinced of his responsiveness and sensitivity, and of the power of his words. That is the reason for which those he has helped in their civic development and combat maturing speak of him with such sincere warmth.

Following is an excerpt from a letter written by S. Khvorov, now in the reserve:

"It is only now that one begins truly to understand how much Lt Col Nikolay Maksimovich Bezborodov has given us. Just, responsive and concerned, he is also a strict and exacting political worker. He has always been both our commander and older friend worthy of emulation. He is a first-class flier. The door to his office is always open to all. There is probably no soldier in the unit with whom Nikolay Maksimovich has not talked. The people are attracted to him, for they know that anyone's trouble becomes his trouble, and anyone's joy becomes his joy."

The regimental commander and chief of political department are almost of the same age. They can communicate by half word. They respect one another and are deeply aware of their responsibility for their assignments. They work with inspiration and total dedication. It is no accident that both were presented with the order "For Impeccable Service to the Homeland in the USSR Armed Forces," third class. A display panel entitled "Masters of Instruction and Training" stands in the air force officers club of the Reb Banner Far Eastern Military District. The photographs of party members V. Archegov and N. Bezborodov, leading this inspired line, are in the top row.

The staff received the following instruction: A group of regimental aircrews would fly to a specific area and participate in an all-army tactical exercise. However, the nature of the mission of the helicopter crews was unknown to the commander or his deputies. Preparations, however, began immediately. Archegov and Bezborodov gathered the aircrew commanders, thoroughly discussed possible alternatives and reminded them of the conditions under which they would have to act.

"It is not excluded," the political department chief said, "that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, chairman of the USSR Defense Council and marshal of the Soviet Union, and Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade D. F. Ustinov, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of defense, may be present at the exercise."

The news excited the aviators and made them even more deeply aware of their responsibility.

On the eve of the exercise, on Lieutenant Colonel Bezborodov's initiative, experience was shared in the combat use of the formidable weapons of the

helicopters. The regimental commander described firing and bombing methods and missile launching. The best fliers shared their experience in interacting among crew members at low altitude flights and described means for hitting small ground targets with bombs.

Following this, the squadron commanders and their deputies for political affairs held quick meetings with the helicopter crews, discussing the effective deployment in battle order in surmounting "enemy" antiaircraft defenses and in assessing weather conditions in the area of the presumed tactical exercise.

The helicopter crews pledged to carry out their combat assignment faultlessly at a meeting held on the eve of the exercise.

. . . On that cloudy day the autumn air was disturbed by the powerful fire of tanks and artillery and the explosion of bombs and missiles, as though a devastating hurricane had hit the earth. The earth shook under the steel treads of tanks and the infantry personnel carriers traveling at high speed. In the course of that exercise the aviators of the Regiment imeni V. I. Lenin as well were undergoing an important test of battle maturity.

A difficult flight lay ahead: over the peaks of hills, under bad weather conditions, when the earth was fog covered and visual observation of what was going on below was complex. Archegov looked at the ranks. The expression on the faces of the fliers was serious and concentrated. The order followed:

"To the helicopters!"

In a few minutes the helicopters were in the air. The aircrews deployed in combat order. The camouflaged helicopters were barely over the tree tops. They were difficult to detect against a background of cloud-covered hills. The aircrews attentively watched the development of the "battle" below.

On the ground repelling the "enemy" counterattack was the culminating point. The earth shook from the bursting shells and mines, and the heavy mortar, machine gun and submachine gun fire. After a brief artillery barrage the tanks of the other side rushed forth. They were met with intensive artillery fire. Separating the counterattacking infantry from the armor, the mortars struck supported by self-propelled howitzers. However, the position of the defenders remained tense. A powerful steel wedge threatened to pierce their battle order. At that critical moment, unexpectedly, helicopters called by radio appeared over the battlefield. Two helicopters, drawing the attention of the antiaircraft, flew over the trees. It was followed, coming from behind the hill, by another pair, followed by yet another . . . Suddenly terrifying fire came out the helicopters. The first strike was followed by several more. This was first-class work! The helicopter crews struck the targets with their first shells. The "enemy" counterattack misfired.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev highly rated the air, tactical and fire training of the Leninist aviators. He presented Maj A. Petrushin an engraved gold watch and congratulated the other helicopter crews.

Impressed by what he had seen, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "During my trip to the east I met . . . also those who are carrying out their difficult service there--the great troops of our army, our navy, our border troops. Let me say one thing, comrades: The borders of the homeland are reliably protected from any surprise and their defense is in experienced and loyal hands."

Every day of the fliers, engineers, technicians and junior specialists of this leading unit is filled with concern for improving their skill further and seeking new possibilities for the successful fulfillment of their pledges. The personnel of the Helicopter Regiment imeni V. I. Lenin has appealed to all aviators of the Red Banner Far Eastern District to welcome properly the great Leninist anniversary. This will demand of everyone tremendous efforts, the mobilization of all physical and spiritual forces and dedication in combat training. The competition is taking place under the slogan of "Let Us Sacredly Implement Lenin's Behests and Improve Combat and Political Training, Increase Vigilance and Be Always Ready to Defend the Homeland and the Great Accomplishments of Socialism."

. . . There is incessant thunder over the airfield. Training flights are in progress. First to rise is the crew of pilot-sniper V. Archegov. His complex assignment is to follow an unknown itinerary, find small targets and destroy them with rockets. After the commander the helicopter of Lt Col N. Bezborodov--a first-class flier and experienced political worker respected by all--rises in the autumn blue sky.

A few minutes afterwards a report is received from the helicopters: Mission fulfilled and all targets hit with the first shell!

5003  
CSO: 1802

## BATTLE ORGAN OF ARMY AND NAVY COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 65-72

[Review of the military-political journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL]

[Text] Sixty years have passed from the appearance of the military-political journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL--the organ of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy. Following is an article written by its editors for the readers of KOMMUNIST, in which our military colleagues describe the great combat path of their journal and their creative daily work.

### History

The first issue of the journal came out in February 1920. It was the organ of the Political Administration of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, and its title was POLITRABOTNIK.

At that time the young Soviet republic was waging a fierce armed struggle against the foreign interventionists and White Guards. The journal spread the ideas of the Bolshevik party and V. I. Lenin's impassioned appeals to the fighters and commanders of the Workers'-Peasants' Red Army among the soldiers' masses, who were defending, arms in hand, the Soviet system, appealing for the dedicated defense of the gains of the revolution.

The military-political journal changed names and frequency of publication at different stages. The main topic, however, nevertheless remained tireless propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, interpretation of Lenin's military-theoretical legacy and of the decisions of party congresses and Central Committee plenums, and raising the defenders of the socialist state in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, friendship among the peoples, loyalty to the military oath, and military duty.

During the Great Patriotic War the journal called upon fighters and commanders to commit exploits for the glory of the Soviet homeland and the total defeat of the German-fascist aggressors. It was the adviser and

friend of political workers and of the large party and Komsomol aktiv, used by them as a valuable aid in their political-educational work among the troops. In breaks between battles there were collective readings of the journal. Occasionally this took place under artillery-mortar fire. Here is an event recorded from the history of the war.

The mail had just been delivered on the front-line positions. The political worker held in his hands the journal AGITATOR I PROPAGANDIST KRASNOY ARMI. Turning to the soldiers around him, he said:

"Comrades! Let me give you the content of this issue . . . ."

An enemy shell exploded nearby and when the smoke dispersed the soldiers saw a big "wound" on the journal: a fragment had pierced it precisely at the place of the title in red, and it seemed to everyone that it was human blood covering the pages.

For the past 30 years this unique copy of the journal has been carefully protected by the editors as a sacred relic. Clearly written on the cover is the following:

"Dear comrades!

"This journal, which had reached the front-line area, was pierced through at the very moment when, holding it in our hands, we were ready to read it. The journal suffered but was read and its words were spread among the troops.

"Guards Maj I. Bykov, 26 March 1945."

This precious relic reminds us of the hard times and of the fact that our journal covered the difficult paths of the war, always in the forefront, calling the Soviet people with the brave party word to battle, inspiring them to feats.

In 1968 the journal was awarded the Order of the Red Star by ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for services in mobilizing the military personnel to defend the homeland and on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

As one of the popular publications of the USSR Armed Forces, the journal takes to the troops the invincible Marxist-Leninist doctrine, explains party and government policy and the international and domestic situation of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal socialist countries. It propagandizes the successes of the working people of the USSR in the building of communism. It systematically covers problems of party construction and ideological work under the conditions of the steady development of our armed forces.

## Combat Readiness Has Priority

The decisions of the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, the USSR Supreme Soviet session and the CC CPSU decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," and the party's appeal to turn the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan into a year of shock Leninist work triggered in all Soviet people, including the armed forces personnel, a new upsurge of political and labor activeness. They are struggling even more adamantly to fulfill the decisions of the 25th party congress and the topical tasks of the building of communism, and for the comprehensive strengthening of the economic and defense power of our homeland and for upgrading further the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL participates, together with the entire military press, in the implementation of such assignments of national importance. Focusing their main efforts on disseminating the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and subsequent CC CPSU plenums and the instructions issued by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on defense problems, its editors regularly cover the work of commanders, political organs and party organizations in insuring the high quality and effectiveness of training and strengthening the combat readiness of units and ships.

Combat readiness is the peak of combat skill in peacetime and a key to victory in war. As stated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, combat readiness reflects, as in a lens, the tremendous efforts and material expenditures of the people to equip the army, conscientiousness, combat training and discipline among all military personnel, and the skill of the command personnel in guiding the troops, and many others. Covering such problems, the editors proceed from the fact that a high moral spirit and the profound ideological belief of the troops are the basis for achievements in maintaining a state of constant combat readiness. That is why the journal focuses on materials explaining the concepts of the Leninist doctrine on the defense of the socialist fatherland, the legacy of the great leader of the Soviet troops, the decisions of party congresses and CC CPSU plenums, and the conclusions and instructions found in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works.

The article "Guarding Revolutionary Gains," by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of defense, met with a broad response of the military public. The article clearly describes the tireless activities of the CPSU to insure the creation and further improvement of the Soviet Armed Forces, and to strengthen the defense capability of the Land of the Soviets. Also welcomed with interest by the readership was the article by Army General A. A. Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, "The Source of Power of the Armed Forces Lies in the Communist Party's Leadership." Some similar articles are "The Leninist Theory of the Defense of the Gains of Socialism," "Reliable Guard of the Gains of Socialism," "Responsibility to the Homeland," "In the Name of the Power and Safety of the Homeland (on

the Occasion of the Publication of D. F. Ustinov's 'Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i' [Selected Speeches and Articles])," and others.

The readers are always interested in articles explaining the content of the USSR Constitution and its chapter on "Defense of the Socialist Fatherland," and the requirements of the military oath and military regulations. Materials on such topics describe the tremendous importance of the patriotic mission of the Soviet soldier to defend our homeland, and the demands formulated by the Communist Party and Soviet Government concerning his moral-political and combat qualities.

The articles are authored by heads of party and soviet organs, military commanders, Great Patriotic War veterans, commanders, political workers, party aktivists and party members. Their words directly aimed at the readers are full of pride for our Leninist party--the organizer and inspirer of all our victories, our socialist system, our multinational homeland and our valorous armed forces. They call for adamantly upgrading combat readiness and reliably protecting the peaceful toil of the builders of communism.

The editors try to depict combat training as inseparably linked with moral-political and psychological training. They draw attention to the main problems resolved by the troops and the navy. This applies above all to the further advancement of the training and education process, upgrading the quality and effectiveness of exercises, the operational-tactical and specialized training of commanders and political workers, the technical training of the personnel, improving skills in the combat use of equipment and weaponry, and decisive struggle against routine, simplification and accommodations in military training. More articles are being published on personnel training directly in the field, the air, training grounds, and tank drill areas, on the surface and under water, development of combat activeness among the troops, and psychological firmness and endurance under complex battle conditions. The editors sum up and extensively cover in the journal the course and results of major exercises, such as, for example, "Berezina," "Neman" and others, in the course of which the operations of the troops are comprehensively tested under conditions as close to factual battle as possible, along with the effectiveness of party-political work.

The journal regularly describes the skill of commanders and staffs, purposefulness and continuity in the work of political organs and party organizations, and their role in resolving problems in complex and quickly changing circumstances of modern combat--in the course of headlong campaigns, high-pace offensives, powerful fire strikes, crossing water obstacles on the run, and practicing large-scale air and sea landings.

One of the decisive among the many factors characterizing the level of combat training of the troops and the navy is knowledge of modern weaponry and combat equipment and their mastery. The journal tries to purposefully disseminate everything new in the work of commanders, political organs and

party organizations contributing to the comprehensive training of the troops, the perfect familiarity with combat equipment and weaponry, maintaining them in a model condition and constant readiness for action, and the training of broad specialists, masters of military skills. The editors believe that, however high the technical equipment available to the armed forces may be, a person who has mastered the combat equipment to perfection remains the main, the decisive force in war. "This is particularly important now, in the age of nuclear missile weapons, when the outcome of a war," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "will be resolved by people who have mastered weaponry and combat equipment, who are morally and physically trained, and who are infinitely loyal to their homeland, party and people." The problems discussed were sharply raised in the articles "Heading Military Construction," "High Combat Skill is a Norm of Military Activities" and "The Man of the Times (On the Military-Technical Training of Political Workers)."

Success in the struggle for high combat readiness and effectiveness and quality of training would be inconceivable without properly organized army service, strong discipline, organization and order in subunits, units and ships. The editors are aware of this. They ascribe great importance to covering problems of party-political work aimed at strengthening military discipline. Analyzing it, the authors base their thoughts on Lenin's idea. He pointed out that in war "he who has the best equipment, organization and discipline gains the upper hand . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 116). The topical nature of this Leninist concept is emphasized in the articles "Concern for Discipline is Concern for High Combat Readiness," "Impeccable Discipline Is the Base for Success," "The Communists Are Fighters for Discipline," and others. The various aspects of the comprehensive process of strengthening military discipline are covered in their entirety in a variety of articles on topical theoretical problems of military construction and the practice of training and educating the personnel.

Socialist competition is a powerful factor in further upgrading the combat readiness of troops and the navy. The aspiration, in the course of the competition, to use Lenin's words, absolutely to go further, and absolutely achieve more, enable the troops to become true masters of military affairs, perfectly to master their entrusted weapons and combat materiel. This school year the socialist competition is taking place under the slogan of "Let Us Sacredly Fulfill Lenin's Behests, Improve Combat and Political Training, Increase Vigilance and Be Always Ready to Defend the Homeland and the Great Gains of Socialism." Implementing the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress of comprehensively developing the socialist competition further, and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor, military councils, commanders, political organs and party organizations keep up a spirit of creativity and initiative among the personnel, promoting their enthusiasm in combat and political training.

The journal's staff is directly applying its efforts in all this. Interpreting Lenin's principles of the competition and the party decisions aimed

at upgrading its effectiveness, the editors see to it that the readers acquire a deep understanding of the significance of the competition in resolving combat training assignments, and enrich themselves with the experience acquired in educating the troops in a communist spirit. Particular attention is paid to depicting the role of dedicated military work in strengthening the combat readiness of the armed forces.

The editors realize that the theoretical interpretation of the characteristics for improving the armed forces of developed socialism and the problem of training and educating the personnel are necessary prerequisites for the successful solution of all problems in the field of military construction. Lenin's instruction to the effect that without science it is impossible to build a modern army becomes particularly significant now, under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress. Publishing articles on the development of military-theoretical thinking, the journal draws the attention of the readers to the fact that military cadres must be armed with progressive views on the construction and training of the army and navy. Since the volume and complexity of the tasks facing Soviet military science are rising steadily, it is important to extensively involve in the scientific elaboration of military problems commanders, staffs and political organs, combining their creative efforts with the activities of military academies, scientific research institutions and other scientific centers. The problems of the elaboration of military theory, of strengthening the defense capability of the country, enhancing the combat power of the armed forces, and intensifying the effectiveness of party-political work in the army and navy, and mastering military pedagogy and psychology, are inseparably linked in the articles with the basic sociopolitical changes and uninterrupted improvement of socialist social relations, and of our spiritual and cultural accomplishments, which under mature socialist conditions have resulted in the broadening and strengthening of the social base of the armed forces and are contributing to the further growth of their combat readiness.

Let us point out that some materials on problems of combat readiness and the work of political organs and party organizations, as well as problems of combat training and troop upbringing still suffer from major shortcomings. Occasionally they are excessively general and provide routine explanations, which do not enable the reader to gain a deeper understanding of the problem. The articles do not always fully take into consideration the trends in the development of military affairs and in the specifics and assignments of the troops, changes which have occurred and are taking place in their technical equipment, organization and means of combat operations. The editors are aware of such shortcomings and try to avoid and prevent them.

#### High Effectiveness of Party-Political Work

The 25th CPSU Congress and the struggle for the implementation of its decisions enriched the content and ways and means of party-political work,

and contributed to upgrading its effectiveness. The activities of political organs and party organizations have become more purposeful, creative and militant. The sociopolitical activeness of the party members in units and ships has increased.

The problems of further improvements of party-political work, upgrading its effectiveness and intensifying the party's influence on the life and training of the troops are always within sight of the editors. "Party political work with the personnel and their ideological training," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "have always been, and remain, a powerful weapon of our army. The force of this weapon has been tested in the flames of battles. Today as well it frightens our enemies." Together with the political organs, the journal deems it its task to sharpen this weapon and to find new and modern methods for its use. Materials on party topics are published in the sections "Party Construction: Theory and Practice"; "Work of Political Organs and Party Organizations"; "High Quality and Effectiveness of Ideological Work"; and "The Subunit Political Worker."

The journal published a number of articles on main problems of party construction developed in the materials of the 25th party congress. Let us name some among them: "The CPSU--The Guiding and Directing Force of Soviet Society"; "The 25th Party Congress on Party Democracy and Party Discipline"; "Criticism and Self-Criticism Are a Norm of Party Life"; "The Leninist Principles of Party Membership"; "Ties with the Masses Are the Strength of the Party's Leadership"; "Collectivity and Personal Responsibility"; "Party Information"; and "Control of Execution Is a Live and Creative Affair."

These and other articles extensively explain the need to strictly observe the ideological, political and organizational principles of the CPSU and the norms of party life on which they are based, elaborated by Lenin and developed through collective party experience, reemphasized at the 25th congress.

Articles, correspondence and essays published in the section "Work of Political Organs and Party Organizations," specifically discuss the experience of party-political work, using it in order to upgrade the effectiveness of the training and upbringing of the personnel, the still-existing shortcomings in the activities of political organs and party organizations, and the means for upgrading further the party's influence on all aspects of troop life and training. The reader finds in the journal various genres of materials discussing the style of work of political organs and party organizations, the vanguard role of the party members in combat and political training, the growth of the party aktiv, the growth of the ranks of the CPSU and of the education of young party members, responsibility for the implementation of party decisions and the sociopolitical activeness of party members and candidate members. Such articles are published in accordance with a specific system and continuity, as though expanding and developing previous articles and taking into consideration the requirements of reality itself.

When the first party conferences following the 25th CPSU Congress were held, along with the accountability-election meetings of the party organizations, the campaign was covered the journal. A number of articles were published, including topic reports of meetings of primary party organizations and party conferences of big units and districts. The results of the accountability-election campaign were summed up in the articles "Party Work Must Be Highly Effective."

The editors noted that following the accountability and election conferences a number of party members joined the leadership of the party organizations while still lacking adequate practical experience. A new section was introduced, "Assisting the Party Aktiv." During the year it carried eight articles, some of which were, "If Elected . . ." "Collectiveness Is the Heart of Party Work," "In the Vanguard of the Competition," "A Party Member Is Summed Up for a Talk" and "The Speakers Suggested. . . ." Judging by the response of the secretaries of party organizations these materials were of help to the young aktivists.

Every year new replenishments of political workers join units and ships after graduating from higher military-political schools. The ever-growing requirements toward cadres formulated by the CPSU Central Committee call for improving further the skills of this large detachment of political workers. It is greatly helped by political organs and senior political workers. The journal as well makes its contribution to this project. It has a section on "The Subunit Political Worker." Here deputy commanders in charge of political affairs of subunits find necessary advice and recommendations, and become familiar with the progressive experience of other political workers. The editors intend to keep this section open and to describe the work of political workers of companies, batteries and subunits of equal size, and include their own thoughts, remarks and communications on their individual development and growth.

Another useful section is entitled "Writing You Is a Party Member. . . ." In this section the authors report cases of violations of norms of party life, oversimplification in combat training and facts of tolerance, irresponsibility or eyewashing. For example, the editors' attention was drawn to a letter by party member V. Nesterenko, chief of staff of a unit. He raised the important question of the unstable results of the combat and political training in a number of subunits. The letter's title was "From the Right to the Left Flank." He discussed in detail the reason for which, occasionally, some subunits turn from leaders to stragglers, what the responsibility of the party members is in this case and how to struggle for maintaining steady high training indicators.

The letter CPSU member, officer Ya. Levashov, and the answer of officer F. Komarov, "A Personal yet Not Private Matter," dealt with upgrading the educational role of the party reprimand. The letter "'Technology Is Everything to Me.' What About the People?" discussed the need for the active participation of engineers and technicians in propaganda, agitation and the

upbringing of the soldiers. A case of gross violation of norms of party life was criticized in the note "In Violation of Intraparty Democracy."

The letters by the party members supply the journalists with interesting thoughts and observations, enriching the topics of the articles and helping the journal to write against specific shortcomings which may lower combat readiness even to the smallest extent, and against any violation of the Leninist norms of party life.

It is justifiably pointed out, when discussing our armed forces of today, that they have become younger. Essentially one out of three party members in a unit or ship is a young person who has joined the CPSU ranks relatively recently. Taking this into consideration, the editors introduced the section "To You, Young Party Members," which will carry a series of articles aimed at helping the party reinforcements to study the CPSU program and bylaws and decisions of plenums and Central Committee decrees, and to become clearer as to their responsible duty and high party vocation. The section was opened with an article by Hero of the Soviet Union Col Gen A. Zheltov, "We Are Party Fighters," whose author has been member of the communist party for half a century. The journal also published the talks "Law of Party Life," "Obligations and Duties of the CPSU Member" and "The Party Assignment."

The journal steadily carries articles on the activities of political organs and party organizations in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and, particularly, its instructions on developing in the party members an active life stance and the requirement not to forget that every party member must be a highly idea-minded party fighter and leader in the ranks of the builders of communism. Let us cite the following example: In September 1978 a report was submitted to the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy by one of the heads of the political department of a large unit on the way the political department and the party organizations were carrying out the instruction of the 25th CPSU Congress on the development of the sociopolitical activeness of party members. The Main Political Administration suggested to the political administrations of the different services, districts, groups of forces and fleets to analyze the state of work of all political organs and party organizations aimed at fulfilling the requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress and the recommendations given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on developing in party members an active life stance and upgrading their vanguard role in their service, training and social life.

Somewhat later, the journal published an article by Col Gen I. Mednikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the political administration of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, on the sociopolitical activeness of party members. With the help of extensive data the author described the practical experience of commanders, political organs and party organizations in this direction, describing the way the group's political administration is guiding an important sector such as the development of the

sociopolitical activeness of party members and candidate members. The author expressed a view on how, in eliminating shortcomings, to continue to improve the efforts to develop in the party members an active life stance and to insure their vanguard role in service and training.

The analytical and publicistic approaches are the outstanding features of the best materials on party topics. However, as yet far from all articles discussing party have reached this level. Yet it is precisely this that offers our publications a great opportunity to improve party-political work.

### Molding the Soldier-Citizen

The party considers communist education an important front in the struggle for communism. It teaches us that success in this case depends on the people, on the level of their conscientiousness and on their readiness, desire and ability to build communism. Lenin's instruction that the state is strong with the conscientiousness of the masses, it is strong when the masses know everything, can judge of everything and undertake everything consciously, remains topical to this day (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 21).

The 25th CPSU Congress clearly defined the basic directions of ideological work at the present stage and indicate the way to upgrade its ideological standard and effectiveness--the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the organization of all types of education: insuring close unity among political, labor and moral upbringing, taking into consideration the characteristics of the various groups of working people. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" sums up the experience acquired in the field of communist upbringing and formulates an expanded program for ideological work in the light of the tasks formulated by the 25th party congress; it defines the strict requirements regarding its content, organization and method. This important all-party document is of essential significance to all ideological activities in the armed forces. It emphasizes the need for the further intensification of the educational role and the multiplication of the great traditions of the army and navy in which service is an outstanding training for labor and military skills, moral purity, courage, patriotism and comradeship.

Implementing the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, the military councils, political organs, commanders, political workers and propaganda cadres, and together with them, the military press, including KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, are focusing their efforts on reaching a higher scientific level of propaganda and agitation and its effectiveness and concreteness and ties with life and the solution of the problems facing the army and navy, and developing the combat and militant nature of propaganda and agitation.

The editors believe that developing in the Soviet people, in our troops, a scientific revolutionary outlook remains the core of ideological and

political-educational work. Through its publications the journal contributes to educating the reader in a spirit of boundless loyalty to the Leninist party and communist ideals, love for the socialist homeland, a spirit of proletarian internationalism, high civic mindedness and responsibility for securing the peaceful toil of the Soviet people and protecting the historical gains of socialism. It arms its readers with knowledge in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory and the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state. It promotes the achievements of developed socialism, the advantages of the Soviet way of life and the successes of socialist science, technology and culture. It extensively covers topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory of wars and armed forces, and theory and practice of military construction. It systematically exposes bourgeois and revisionist ideology and morality and the aggressive preparations of imperialism.

With every passing year the political training system for all personnel categories of the army and navy is improving. The journal as well contributes to the enrichment of its ideological content and enhanced quality. It systematically published articles and methodological information to assist the Marxist-Leninist training of officers, generals, admirals and heads of political training groups. The articles discuss problems of development of the Soviet state in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and instructions and recommendations contained in the works and speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The journal publishes methodological materials on each political training topic. This considerably facilitates the training of lecturers and group leaders.

The editors ascribe particular importance to the dissemination of Lenin's military-theoretical heritage and the profound interpretation to the soldiers of the nature of Lenin's ideas on the defense of socialist gains and the need to retain high vigilance and maintain the army and navy in a constant state of readiness. Publications of this nature include "V. I. Lenin--The Leader of the October Revolution and Founder of the First Socialist State in the World" and "V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on Party-Political Work in the Armed Forces."

The dissemination of Lenin's ideological-theoretical legacy becomes even more important in connection with the CC CPSU decree "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth." The editors drafted a special topic plan for the anniversary. Articles have already been published by USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member D. Kukin, "Leninism--An Eternally Living Revolutionary Doctrine," by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor K. Vorob'yev "Embodiment of Lenin's Ideas on the Armed Defense of Socialism," and others.

Arming the military cadres with Marxist-Leninist theory and with knowledge of the topical problems of CPSU domestic and foreign policy, military construction and ideological struggle at the present stage, the journal deems

it its task to help our cadres engage in military-educational work in the spirit of the requirements of the CC CPSU 26 April 1979 decree. Its implementation under conditions of daily educational practice in the troops was the topic of the article "Propaganda and Agitation--Scientificity, Effectiveness, Militancy." The experience of political organs and party organizations in this respect was described in the articles "Comprehensive Approach: Tangible Results"; "The 'Grave' Problem"; "Lessons in Vigilance"; "See and Influence Everyone"; and others.

The journal introduced the section "Ideological Work--High Quality and Effectiveness." It included the article by Capt V. Fesik "The Propagandist: Responsibility and Creativity." It marked the beginning of a discussion in the journal of the problem of the art of propaganda work, the ability to convince people and extensive familiarity with the creative laboratories of those who carry the party's word among the soldiers' masses. This discussion is still underway.

The journal actively assists the ever greater dissemination of single political days as part of the ideological-political work in the army and navy. On such days leading command-political cadres of military districts, groups of force and fleets, and formations and large units address subunit personnel during political-education work classes. The holding of single political days makes it possible to study more effectively public opinion and feelings, and exert on them unabated party influence. The editors summed up the initial experience in holding political days and everything positive in this innovation and provided a study of characteristic shortcomings. The result was the article "The Single Political Day," which was positively accepted by the troops.

The problem of military-patriotic education of the Soviet people, including the troops in the armed forces, and the development in them of qualities needed for the defense of the socialist homeland has always played an important role in the party's ideological work. We consider that the most important task of the journal in patriotic education is to help every citizen perform his sacred duty of being ready at all times, arms in hand, to defend the honor, dignity and independence of our homeland, and to defeat any of its enemies. For this reason the editors ascribe great importance to the systematic propaganda of the mass heroism of our people displayed on the battlefields in work for the good of the socialist fatherland, the further improvement of propaganda through the journal of revolutionary, combat and labor traditions, upgrading the activeness of Soviet veterans and enhancing the role of cultural and education institutions, museums and combat glory rooms. The journal extensively disseminates the memoirs of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, from which the troops learn ideological conviction and how to serve the common cause with dedication.

The journal steadily deals with the topic of morality. It has a special section entitled "Moral and Legal Upbringing," which has carried a number of articles on problems of the moral and civic development of the troops,

and their training in spirit of conscientious observance of the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, the Soviet laws, the military oath, the regulations and a communist attitude toward military labor. Such materials also describe experience acquired in this field and the influence which it has on upgrading the vigilance, the combat readiness and the strengthening of discipline in units and ships.

These days, when our country is preparing to solemnly celebrate the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 35th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the journal takes to the readers the high feeling of selfless toil and great combat accomplishments with which our people and their armed defenders are approaching the noteworthy anniversaries. The materials published recreate the broad view of the country's life. They describe the successes in the building of communism and the strengthening of unity between army and people. The editors pay particular attention to the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress on the comprehensive development of natural resources and the development of production forces in the eastern parts of the country, which are playing an ever-growing role in the Soviet economy. The journal published articles by P. Fedirko, first secretary of the Krasnoyarskiy Kraykom, "An Area with Great Prospects" by N. Khromovskikh, secretary of the Primorskiy CPSU Kraykom, "Opening to the Ocean"; by A. Filatov, first secretary of the Novosibirskiy Obkom, "Alliance Between Science and Production"; and by A. Latyshev, secretary of the Khabarovskiy Kraykom, "Rational Utilization of the Kray's Resources." Lively and intelligibly the articles describe to the military readers how the recommendations and instructions issued by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in the course of his visit to Siberia and the Far East are implemented, and the way they are contributing to the further socioeconomic development of the country.

The journal also carried a series of articles by heads of union republics on the implementation by the working people of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. Editorials and editorial articles steadily emphasize the importance of a realm of party organization activities in the army and navy such as strengthening relations with local party and soviet organizations.

The journal tries to describe in a lively and energetic style the accomplishments of the army and navy Komsomol. Secretaries of the Komsomol Central Committee, commanders of district troops, groups of forces and fleets, and members of military councils, such as heads of political administrations, and senior party and soviet officials, have addressed themselves to the youth through the journal. In their articles they raise questions of party leadership, Komsomol organization, the communist upbringing of youth and insuring the vanguard role of Komsomol members in military service and combat training. All this helps the heirs to the great revolutionary, combat and labor traditions to realize even more profoundly their duty: to be reliable assistants to their commanders and party organizations in resolving the problems set by the party to the army and navy.

The journal systematically covers problems of the international situation and foreign political activities of the CPSU, describing the tireless work of the party's Central Committee and Politburo and, personally, of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to insure the lasting peace and security of the peoples. Extensive coverage is provided of the life of the fraternal socialist countries and their armed forces. Usually such materials are published in the section "Among Our Friends in the Fraternal Armies." The section "On International Topics" carries materials describing the military preparations of imperialist countries and their aggressive blocs. The section "On the Fronts of the Ideological Struggle" carries materials exposing the falsehood of enemy propaganda and its malicious slanders of socialism and ideological subversion. The readers found useful the following articles in this series: "Real Socialism in the Twisted Mirror of the Falsifiers"; "In the Labyrinths of Bourgeois 'Sociological Propaganda'"; "Real Factors of Peace and Contemporary Pacifism"; "False and True Sources of Wars"; and "Legends of the 'Soviet Threat' and the Irrefutable Truth of History."

The extensive participation of writers is a tradition of the Soviet press. The editors of our journal try to support this tradition. We are always pleased to publish the striking and impressive words of the masters of publicism. KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKY SIL has opened its pages to M. Alekseyev, N. Zhernakov, N. Kambulov, V. Karpov, I. Tret'yakov and V. Fedorov. We hope that in the future as well writers dealing with military topics will continue to submit articles to the journal.

The journal's combat task is to raise the level of its propaganda to be fully consistent with the party's requirements and its Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Recently a strict and principle-minded discussion was held on this topic by the editors' party collective. The unanimous opinion was that even more energetic search must be undertaken for topics and genres. Petty tips, verbosity, edification and high-sounding statements should be decisively eliminated; literary skills must be sharpened and true publicism must be learned--impassioned, exciting and sharp--mandatorily combining high ideamindedness with an imagistic style.

The Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy has set the editors strict requirements concerning the content of the journal. They are providing the necessary help to promote the effectiveness of its materials and to increase its influence on the large military readership.

The 60th anniversary of KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL is a noteworthy event in the life of editors and our readers, celebrated on the eve of the great anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. Realizing their high responsibility, the editors and the entire personnel of the journal will continue to dedicate their forces and creative energy to be on the level of the requirements set by the party for the Soviet press.

5003  
CSO: 1802

## HIGH RESPONSIBILITY OF PARLIAMENTS AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 73-82

[Article by A. Shitikov, chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union and chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group]

[Text] The 25th anniversary of the adoption of the declaration by the USSR Supreme Soviet containing an appeal establish direct relations among parliaments was marked on 9 February. In this document, the supreme organ of state power in our country drew the attention of the peoples and parliaments of all countries to the fact that the situation which was developing at that in Europe, Asia and other parts of the world was characterized by increased tension in international relations and a threat to the security of the peoples. Ascribing exception importance to the fact that relations among countries, both big and small, must be based on principles such as equality, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-aggression, non-encroachment on the territorial integrity of other countries and respect for sovereignty and national independence, consistent with the interests of the development of friendly cooperation among nations under the conditions of a peaceful and tranquil life, the USSR Supreme Soviet emphasized that the observance of these principles insures peaceful coexistence among countries regardless of their social and governmental systems.

Relying on the inviolable unity of its nations and its inexhaustible resources, the declaration stated, the Soviet Union has clearly expressed the peaceful nature of the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and is fully resolved to secure the peaceful toil of the citizens of the country and to protect them from all foreign encroachments. As in the past, other nations will find in the Soviet Union a firm and insurmountable bulwark in the struggle for peace and progress.

The declaration pointed out the great opportunities and tremendous responsibility of parliaments in the preservation and strengthening of the peace, for it is precisely they that pass legislative acts on matters of war and peace. Based on this responsibility is the necessity for parliaments and parliamentarians to join efforts in the struggle for peace and the prevention of war.

Aware of this need, the USSR Supreme Soviet spoke out in favor of establishing direct relations among parliaments and the exchange of parliamentary delegations, emphasizing that this is consistent with the aspirations of the people to develop friendly relations and cooperation.

In the course of his meeting with French parliamentarians, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, pointed out the major role of such contacts, noting that "by virtue of the very nature of parliaments as organs representing the basic political forces of one or another country, relations among them are very important in developing an atmosphere of well-wishingness and reciprocal respect and insuring a better mutual understanding."

The adoption of this declaration laid down the beginning of active relations between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the parliaments of foreign countries. The establishment of a parliamentary group, whose members are all deputies of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet, was one of the important practical steps taken. Our group joined the Interparliamentary Union--an international organization which currently rallies corresponding groups of over 80 countries.

Let us note that at its 44th convention, held in Helsinki in 1955 (the first conference involving the participation of the USSR Parliamentary Group delegation), the Interparliamentary Union welcomed with satisfaction the declaration of the Supreme Soviet and called upon all parliaments to engage in immediate actions with a view to enhancing their authority and strengthening the peace.

Between the time of the adoption of the declaration and 1 January 1980 our country was visited by 217 official parliamentary delegations from 95 countries, invited by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Within that time Supreme Soviet delegations made 187 trips abroad and visited 86 countries, invited by foreign parliaments. Furthermore, we welcomed a large number of delegations, groups and individual parliamentarians visiting our country on the invitation of the USSR Parliamentary Group or other Soviet departments and organizations, or else on their own.

The USSR Supreme Soviet ascribes prime importance to the development of relations with the supreme legislative organs of the socialist countries. Such relations contribute to the further strengthening and development of relations of friendship and cooperation, comradely mutual aid among the fraternal countries and their unity and solidarity based on the principles of socialist internationalism. In this case the exchange of parliamentary delegations is actively used to promote reciprocal familiarity with the activities of legislative organs, study experience in the field of state, economic and cultural construction, and insure coordination of basic lines and practical actions in various international gatherings.

The study of reciprocal experience, unquestionably, helps the fraternal countries in the major work they are engaged in, in their efforts to

improve state construction and develop socialist democracy. Their active cooperation in international matters is an important contribution to asserting the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations among countries with different social systems.

Great attention is being paid to developing relations with the parliaments of capitalist countries. In the course of such contacts Supreme Soviet deputies engage in useful dialogs with their foreign colleagues, explain the principles govern the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and the provisions of the new USSR Constitution. The guests are offered extensive opportunities to comprehensively study the achievements of the Soviet people in the economic, social and cultural areas, and in the development of socialist democracy. Such contacts play a major role in the systematic implementation of the peace program formulated at the 24th CPSU Congress and developed and expanded in the 25th. They contribute to maintaining good-neighborly relations and the development of peaceful cooperation with countries belonging to different social systems.

Maintaining relations with the developing countries plays a considerable role in the activities of the Supreme Soviet. Unlike the imperialist countries, which try to keep the countries liberated from colonialism in a position of neocolonial dependence, the Soviet Union has concluded with a number of them contracts based on total equality and mutual benefit. This contributes to the strengthening of the political and economic independence of these countries. Let us particularly note the great significance of friendship and cooperation treaties concluded of late with countries which have taken the path of building societies without oppression and exploitation, such as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and South Yemen. Thus, fully consistent with the Soviet Afghan treaty and the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter, under conditions in which the Afghan revolution encountered gross foreign interference, our country responded to the repeated requests of the Afghan Government and introduced in the territory of that country a limited contingent of forces to help the people's regime block aggression.

Interparliamentary relations have become one of the important directions of the foreign political activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its deputies, activities which are of profoundly internationalist and humane nature.

The election in 1977 of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding party and state leader, and tireless fighter for the cause of communism and peace and CC CPSU general secretary, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and his reelection to this most important state position at the first session of the Supreme Soviet, 10th convocation, in 1979, marked a qualitatively new stage in the activities of the supreme organ of state power in the country and a most important factor in raising the level and effectiveness of his entire work, including, naturally, the field of interparliamentary relations.

Considering the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the development of interparliamentary relations from the viewpoint of their place and role in the struggle for strengthening and developing the principles of peaceful coexistence, let us emphasize that it is totally subordinated to the implementation of the tasks set at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the decisions of Central Committee plenums and the works and addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, determining the main direction of the struggle for securing peace on earth.

The pivotal task in this struggle is the cessation of the arms race and the prevention of a global nuclear war. The exceptionally topical nature of this task may be confirmed by the following data: According to United Nations estimates, arsenals of nuclear weapons stockpiled on our planet, which are of the greatest danger, are the equivalent of over 1.3 million bombs of the kind dropped by the United States on Hiroshima in 1945. According to some American data their overall power, in TNT terms, already exceeds 50 billion tons. Also very dangerous are the so-called conventional weapons. Annual global armament expenditures have reached the astronomical figure of over \$400 billion. Specialists have estimated that this is higher by one half of appropriations for education and higher by a 2.5 factor compared with funds allocated for health care. This is taking place under conditions in which half-a-billion people on earth, over over one-third of all mankind, are deprived of basic medical care, 500 million people are systematically undernourished, and 800 million are left illiterate.

The CPSU, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government and our over 264-million-strong people are working most firmly to strengthen the peace and peaceful cooperation, and put an end to the arms race and reduce armaments to the point of reaching universal and total disarmament under strict international control. The Leninist stipulation that disarmament is the ideal of socialism is being actually embodied in the numerous specific Soviet actions.

In the appeal to the peoples, parliaments and governments to all countries in the world, passed on 3 November 1977, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, pointing out that in our age "there neither is, nor could there be any alternative to peaceful coexistence," the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers appealed to them "to do everything possible to put an end to the arms race, ban the creation of new mass-destruction weapons and undertake a reduction of armaments and armed forces and disarmament!"

The USSR Supreme Soviet draws the attention to the need for the practical solution of this most urgent and vital problem facing mankind in the course of its contacts and relations with foreign parliaments.

In this respect coordination of actions among socialist countries along the parliamentary line with a view to promoting detente in Europe is of major

importance. Here the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members and the fruitful results of the Crimean meetings and the talks between L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of the fraternal countries are considered reliable guidelines.

Consultative meetings among members of parliaments of Warsaw Pact members have become regular. The first such meeting was held in May 1975 in Warsaw on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact. The second was held in July 1977, the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, in a period of nationwide discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution. All heads of parliaments who participated in it emphasized the decisive influence of the October Revolution on the course of the history and destinies of all mankind. They gave an exceptionally high assessment of the historical significance of the Leninist Decree on Peace, noting that, as in the days of the October Revolution, today as well the Soviet state is opening a path for human progress. They pointed out the international significance of the draft of the new USSR Constitution--the Fundamental Law of the first state of the whole people in the world, which legislatively codified the building of a developed socialist society in our country.

The participants in the meeting discussed a broad range of topical problems of strengthening the peace in Europe and throughout the world. They expressed their satisfaction that the principles and agreements codified in the Helsinki Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference are being implemented ever more profoundly in the practice of intergovernmental relations, including on the parliamentary level. In their appeal to the parliaments and parliamentarians of the signatories of the Final Act, the participants in the meeting expressed their conviction that the cooperation of members of parliaments of Europe, the United States and Canada, and their organizations and institutions could become an important factor in the systematic implementation of the Helsinki stipulations. They proclaimed their readiness to actively participate in the development of such cooperation and engage in the specific discussion of the foreign political initiatives formulated by the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members, aimed at improving the international climate and disarmament, as well in any other constructive suggestions aimed at developing relations among states and nations in a spirit of well-wishingness and trust.

Noting that twice in the first half of the 20th century Europe was the point of outbreak of world wars and is the part of the planet with the highest concentration of armaments and armed forces, and that strengthening security and establishing cooperation on that continent would contribute to securing the peace throughout the world, the representatives of the socialist countries submitted to the Interparliamentary Union the initiative of holding a meeting of parliamentarians of European countries. This initiative met with positive response, as a result of which three interparliamentary conferences on cooperation in security in Europe were held.

At the first meeting, members of parliaments of Europe, the United States and Canada, held in Helsinki on 26-31 January 1973, in an atmosphere of reciprocal understanding the participants discussed a broad range of problems and formulated suggestions on problems of security, economic relations and cooperation in the fields of science, technology, education and culture, and contacts and exchange of information. All this was reflected in the unanimously adopted concluding document. The conference noted progress in normalizing circumstances in Europe, convincingly proving the possibility for successful cooperation among countries with different social systems based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and in the interest of strengthening the peace. Its participants expressed themselves in favor of holding regular meetings which would enable the parliamentarians of countries in Europe, the United States and Canada to consider and develop ideas and suggestions on specific aspects of European cooperation and security.

In accordance with these recommendations, a second conference was held in Belgrade, between 31 January and 6 February 1975, to discuss the question of assisting security, cooperation and detente in Europe. It called upon the governments represented in the European Security and Cooperation Conference, whose work was continuing, to invest all possible efforts to insure the fastest and successful completion of the conference. The parliaments of the European countries, the United States and Canada were adamantly called upon to their contribution to attaining this objective.

The third conference took place in Vienna between 3 and 9 May 1978. The debate which developed at the plenary and commission meetings was focused on the practical implementation of the stipulations of the Helsinki Final Act and, particularly, on the initiatives and actions of parliaments and parliamentarians aimed at intensifying relations among European countries, the United States and Canada, and strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe and insuring the continuation of detente.

In their addresses the members of the Soviet delegation explained the stipulations of the new USSR Constitution and the foreign political principles of our party and state, and measures for their practical implementation. They firmly rebuffed the attempts of some Western delegates to lead the conference away from the main problems of the contemporary international situation. Acting together with the representatives of the fraternal countries, our delegation drew the attention of the participants in the conference to the measures insuring military detente in Europe, formulated at that time by the Soviet Union, and the new Soviet peaceful initiatives, formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, as well as the motion calling for a European conference on environmental protection, energy and transportation. (Let us note incidentally that the Interparliamentary Union, responding to this suggestion, held in 1979, in Geneva, an interparliamentary symposium on environmental problems in Europe, in which a delegation of the USSR Parliamentary Group actively participated.)

The final resolution adopted at the Vienna conference, totally within the framework of the Helsinki agreements, dealing with practical measures for their implementation, created useful prerequisites for the active struggle for detente in Europe by parliamentary groups aware of their responsibility to the nations, and for promoting the basic suggestions aimed at resolving the ripe and urgent problems of detente in the military area. It emphasized the major importance of the successful completion of the European Conference and spoke of the aspiration to contribute to the implementation of the intention expressed by the European countries, codified in the Final Act, to make detente both a continuing as well as an ever more viable and comprehensive process, universal in its scope.

Despite the fact that, recently, by the fault of aggressive Western militaristic forces and, above all, of certain U.S. circles, the detente process has been noticeably hindered, it has sunk deep roots and has all opportunities to remain the dominating trend in international life. The Soviet Union, whose words have never deviated from its actions, together with the fraternal socialist states and all peace-loving forces, is dedicating tireless efforts to insure the further intensification of political detente, expanding it with military detente, and efforts to put an end to the arms race. Attentively following international events and profoundly analyzing occurring changes, the CPSU Central Committee and the leading state organs of the Soviet Union are continuing, despite complex and conflicting circumstances, to steadily pursue the principle-minded course of insuring the Soviet people, their friends and their allies the possibility for peaceful toil.

The principle-minded, purposeful and profoundly substantiated policy of the Soviet state, and the active personal efforts of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev are yielding positive results. Let us mention among the most important events of great international significance last summer's conclusion of a treaty between the USSR and the United States on limiting strategic offensive armaments (SALT II). Subsequently a complex and intensive struggle developed on the ratification of this treaty by the U.S. Senate. Its opponents, enjoying the support of the military-industrial complex, interested in the further arms race, and utilizing the powerful propaganda apparatus, devoted tremendous efforts to prevent the ratification of the contract. Meanwhile the present American Administration, which is ever more openly taking a course toward the restoration of a policy "from a position of strength," adopted, in the first days of 1980, the decisions to postpone the problem of the ratification of the SALT II treaty for an indeterminate period, thus factually negating its own declarations of its desire to limit strategic armaments. In an attempt to justify this step in the eyes of the American and world public, and reject responsibility for the outcome of the treaty, Washington resorted to slanderous fabrications concerning the role of the Soviet Union in the events in Afghanistan, and to irresponsible actions, deliberately aggravating the international circumstances.

Reactionary forces in the capitalist countries are yelling all together about a fabricated "Soviet military threat" or "threat on the part of the

Warsaw Pact countries." Following the orders of the militaristic circles, the various U.S. and NATO services are maliciously fabricating false data on the numerical strength of the Soviet Armed Forces, the amount of their armaments, the growth of the USSR military budget and many other fabrications. The Soviet Union is falsely ascribed plans of dealing a so-called first strike at the United States and other NATO countries, which allegedly forces them to continuously rearm.

The groundlessness of all these claims may be confirmed, for example, by comparing the following facts:

While in the 1970's the Soviet Union did not increase its armed forces by a single soldier, tank or missile, the number of nuclear charges in Europe at U.S. disposal, according to the Western press, approximately doubled since 1970. In 1977 nearly 18,000 American soldiers entered the European NATO countries; another 17,000 joined them in 1978.

Whereas in recent years the Soviet Union has not only not increased, but has even reduced its defense expenditures, an unrestrained growth of military expenditures was noted in the United States and the other NATO countries. In 1975 U.S. military expenditures totaled \$82 billion; they rose to \$104.3 billion in 1977, \$116.6 billion in 1978, \$130 billion in 1979, and appropriations for 1980 call for \$141.2 billion. The real growth of such expenditures in 1981 will reach almost \$160 billion. NATO's direct military costs rose from \$104 billion in 1970 to \$188 billion in 1978 and, as resolved at NATO's Washington session, must be annually increased by 3 percent (in real figures).

The 1975 Soviet State Budget called for a defense budget of 17.4 billion rubles, or 8.4 percent of all budgetary expenditures. The 1980 State Budget, recently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, called for 17.1 billion rubles in such appropriations, or 6 percent of all budgetary expenditures.

The authors of the myth of the "Soviet threat" know perfectly well that no such threats have ever existed or exist. However, they proceed from the fact that the persistent reiteration of such fabrications would work in their favor. "The claim of a threat from the east," wrote Gerhard Kade, vice president of the Vienna International Peace Institute, in his book "The Lie of the Threat. On the Legend of the 'Menace from the East,'" "has turned into the lie of the century." Indeed, despite the various efforts, including some on the part of certain Western military specialists, aimed at shattering the legend of the "Soviet threat" and prove what it really is, namely, a means for disinformation and psychological warfare, the legend is being stubbornly maintained.

Discussing the slanderous speculations of imperialist propaganda, in his meeting with a working group on problems of disarmament of the Socialist International, on 1 October 1979 Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that this lie

is needed, like a smoke screen, to the initiators of the arms race, including those who are trying to turn Western Europe into the launching pad for American weapons aimed at the USSR. These forces are playing a dangerous game with fire. The Soviet Union, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated, does not threaten anyone and does not intend to, and will not attack anyone. The entire people of our country, ranging from its leaders to any worker and peasant, are sincere and are aspiring with all their hearts to maintain a firm peace and, building their defense, are not doing anything more than is absolutely necessary to ensure their own security and the security of their allies.

The inflexible peaceful course of the Soviet Union, stemming from Lenin's Decree on Peace, and the constant concern displayed by our state for the future of mankind were vividly confirmed in the new peaceful initiatives formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on behalf of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, in Berlin, on 6 October 1979, and substantially expanded in his answers to the questions asked by the PRAVDA correspondent on 6 November. These initiatives, justifiably described as the socialist program for strengthening the peace in Europe, contain entirely specific suggestions covering all basic components of military detente on the continent, such as reduction of nuclear armaments and of conventional weapons, and developing a measure of trust. Formulating its proposals, the Soviet Union did not aim at acquiring any unilateral advantages. Their implementation would benefit all European countries and would provide a solution to the dangerous growth of armaments.

The members of the parliaments of Warsaw Pact countries actively supported these initiatives at their regular meeting, held in Prague on 16-17 October 1979. The appeal to the parliaments of the members of the North Atlantic Alliance, adopted at the outcome of the meeting, stipulated that the world is going through an important stage when a question of vital importance to the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world is being resolved: Will there be a new spiral in the nuclear-missile armament race, with all the entailed dangerous consequences, or will militaristic plans be reliably blocked and further success be achieved in strengthening the peace in Europe and beyond. It was pointed out that the plans for deploying on Western European territory new types of American nuclear missiles, aimed at substantially changing the strategic circumstances on the European Continent, and disturbing the developed balance of forces, are also aimed at giving NATO military superiority. The attempts of one of the sides to achieve military superiority, the appeal stated, are clearly doomed to failure. The socialist countries would be forced to take the necessary additional measures to guarantee their security, having no other choice.

Expressing the profound conviction that there could be no more honorable and responsible task facing parliaments and parliamentarians than insuring the peaceful life of the peoples, the participants in the meeting called upon the members of parliaments of NATO countries to raise their voice in opposition to the plans for deploying on the European Continent the new

American nuclear missile weapon, whose implementation threatens the circumstances in Europe and throughout the world with a new aggravation.

Let us note that soberly thinking people in the parliaments of some NATO countries have been found, preferring talks to militaristic plans. However, as the December meeting of the NATO Council indicated, along with the decisions it passed, most politicians of NATO countries did not find in themselves sufficient courage or goodwill. With the active support, above all, of the FRG and Britain, Washington gained the approval of the plan for the production of qualitatively new types of American nuclear missiles of intermediate range, to be deployed on the territories of some Western European countries: Cruise missiles and Pershing 2 ballistic missiles aimed at the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and at securing the NATO bloc military superiority in Europe.

Adopting such militaristic decisions, the NATO strategists refused to benefit from the favorable conditions existing for strengthening detente and taking measures to reduce armaments. They ignored widespread international objections. They ignored the voice of reason and refused to consider the warning of the Soviet Union that they are disturbing the foundations for talks on limiting nuclear missiles of intermediate range on the European Continent. They rejected the suggestion of the members of the socialist comity on undertaking immediate talks and took the path of further increasing their military potential.

These decisions, radically conflicting with the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act, and seriously hindering efforts in the areas of political and military detente, were fully supported by the present Beijing leaders, who zealously encouraged the "missilization" of Europe and act, essentially, as the allies of the imperialist circles.

Throughout the world the broad popular masses are showing greater concern for their future. They express their firm resolve to erect an insurmountable obstacle on the way to the implementation of the sinister plans of the Pentagon and of the most aggressive leaders of the North Atlantic bloc concerning its nuclear missile rearmament, and wreck the intrigues of the instigators of a new round in the arms race.

The appeal of the World Peace Council states that the decision passed under U.S. pressure, supported by other NATO forces, indicates that, violating the national interests of the European peoples, the United States would like to shift the consequences of the arms race to Western Europe and turn it into its missile-launching pad.

This policy is fraught with great danger affecting other parts of the world as well. Along with plans for deploying nuclear missiles of intermediate range in Western Europe, the U.S. Administration announced a new program for increasing armaments, aimed at insuring "from a position of strength" U.S. interference in the internal affairs of countries in many parts of the

world. The officially approved NATO decision on the part of the Chinese leadership as well cannot fail to concern the peace-loving forces.

The appeal of the World Peace Council met with the warm support of all countries. An ever larger number of people of different convictions and views, and political leaders are becoming aware of the threat to detente stemming from NATO's decision and are actively joining the struggle against the deployment of new systems of American weapons in European countries. Parliaments and parliamentarians of signatories of the Helsinki Final Act must play an important role in this struggle. They have already gained useful experience in strengthening security and developing cooperation on the European Continent.

As to USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, they expressed their views on this matter at their second session and at the meetings of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Commissions on Foreign Affairs of both chambers. In particular, delegates to the meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium emphasized, discussing the problem of parliamentary relations between the USSR and countries participating in the European Security and Cooperation Conference, emphasized that in this case the systematic struggle against the peace-threatening NATO plans, aimed at increasing, quantitatively and qualitatively, the military potential of this bloc in Europe, is a major area of work. It is necessary to contribute to the implementation of measures aimed at adding military to political detente by working to implement the idea formulated by the socialist countries of holding a European military detente and disarmament conference and assist, in a constructive spirit, in the preparations for the forthcoming meeting to be held in Madrid by the participants in the European Conference. The Fourth Interparliamentary Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe, to be held in May 1980 in Brussels, could be a useful contribution to the implementation of such important measures.

The Soviet Union firmly supports the strengthening and multiplication of everything possible developed in the course of the years on the European Continent through the collective efforts of big and small countries.

The USSR has frequently called for initiating talks on nuclear missiles of intermediate range. However, these should be honest talks, on an equal basis, observing the principle of equal security. Yet NATO's decision has removed the ground from under such talks and destroyed their foundations. The Soviet Union rejected NATO's conditions aimed at holding talks "from a position of strength." NATO's current position makes talks on this problem impossible. Talks could be held only if NATO's decision is either revoked or its implementation factually terminated.

The entire peace-loving public on earth is offering growing support to the foreign political actions of the Soviet Union and to its new peace initiatives and suggestions on restraining the arms race and developing trust and cooperation among nations. "The policy of detente--and everyone knows how

much the socialist countries have done to insure its success--" Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "created great hopes. They must be justified. We are in favor of eliminating the 'war of nerves' in the 1980's, relieving them from suspicion and fear and, above all, from the arms race."

The Soviet Union will continue to follow its inflexible foreign political course, defined in the resolutions of our party congresses, combining systematic peacefulness with firm resistance to aggression.

5003

CSO: 1802

## TEN YEARS OF CONGOLESE LABOR PARTY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 83-94

[Article by Denis Sassou-Nguesso, CLP [Congolese Labor Party] Central Committee chairman and president of the People's Republic of the Congo; initial experience of a ruling party of a vanguard type in an African country]

[Text] The active involvement of the Congolese people in the struggle for liberation from colonial oppression may seem to some foreign observers unexpected and spontaneous, whose appearance would be hard to understand.

Naturally, this is not so. A line exists which marked the beginning of the historical period in the course of which the national-liberation movement of the Congolese people became aware of its existence, called for independence and launched a struggle for achieving it. This line was World War II, which shook up mankind to its very foundations and which wrecked the hopes of imperialist circles to the effect that the national-liberation movement would be reduced to naught. The contribution of the communists to victory was too great for the peoples to forget the objectives of the national and social liberation for whose sake the struggle was waged. The communists defeated the hitherto undefeatable Nazi hordes in the battlefields of Russia. The communists organized the partisan movement in France and headed the struggle against fascism. In this struggle forces from overseas colonies fought with them, side by side. The peoples of the colonies too paid with their blood for the liberation of France and other Western European countries from the brown plague. All this led to the appearance of a new situation in the world and indicated to the colonial peoples possibilities for struggle and for the defeat of imperialism.

Nevertheless in the immediate aftermath of the war, the peoples of the colonial countries remained oppressed. However, they quickly became aware of this cruel truth. They no longer accepted the colonial system and mounted a struggle which forced imperialism to maneuver, and to reorganize old and establish new relations within the colonial empires. France as well was forced to grant certain rights to its colonies. In particular in the Congo elections for local representatives to the French parliament made

it possible for the Congolese people to organize its political parties, which, true, were set up on the model of the French and were something like their colonial variant.

After the Congo acquired its independence, in August 1960, the country's president and vice president became, respectively, the leaders of the two main political movements--the priest Fulbert Yulou, of the Democratic Alliance for the Defense of African Interests, and Jacques Opango, from the African Socialist Movement. The political system soon organized by Fulbert Yulou was nothing but a system of national betrayal. This soon brought about a profound crisis in the country's socioeconomic development.

Realizing that the policy of these corrupt leaders was conflicting with the expectations, the Congolese people took to the streets demanding the resignation of the priest-president. The days of 13, 14 and 15 August 1963 will be forever recorded in our history as the revolution of the "three great days."

The trade unions and the youth were the main motive forces of the popular movement. The main trade union organizations belonged to different political currents. The same was characteristic of the youth movements. However, the readiness of the masses to fight for freedom, clearly manifested in the course of the revolution, required unity. That is how a unification committee was set up by a number of trade unions, born in the struggle against Yulou's policy; in turn, the youth movement set up a consultative council. Finally the most farsighted trade union leaders established close relations with both civilian and military progressive figures.

However, at the same time, it was generally understood that the cost of setting up such a vast, yet essentially disparate, union would be high, for the right-wing and regionalistic forces obtained, under such circumstances, a more favorable opportunity to exert their pressure, the true meaning of which became clear far later. Nevertheless, despite the difficulties, the progressively leaning leaders firmly followed the chosen path, trying to strengthen the new system. This position alarmed the internal and external enemies, who realized that they would be unable to turn the course of events in their desired direction. The reactionary and imperialist forces began to resort to a policy of threats. The initial gains of the popular movement were still unstable and the leaders lacked experience. It was important to rally all forces against the main enemy. Division was considered a menace which could threaten all achievements. In order to withstand, the revolutionaries had to unite. All forces had to be rallied within a single party, a single youth, a single women's and a single trade union organization.

In July 1964, under the pressure the popular masses, such a united party was organized: the National Revolutionary Movement (NRM). The desire for unity was expressed in its slogan, "One Nation, One Party, One Ideal, One Struggle."

However, could the NRM implement the aspirations of these impoverished masses which had rebelled in 1963?

Before answering this question, let us describe, even though briefly, the classes and social groups then existing in the Congo. This would also enable us to understand how the NRM undertook to resolve the problems of the revolution. Indeed, as everywhere else, the characterization of classes and their interrelationships in the African countries is of exceptional importance in assessing arising political and social problems. Regardless of some claims, Black Africa is no exception to the rule formulated over one century ago by the authors of the immortal "Communist Party Manifesto." Yet, it should not be forgotten that, under African conditions, the various classes have their profoundly specific features and major characteristics.

Before colonization, these countries had social groups which had reached various stages of precapitalist development. Colonialism changed the Congo's social structure, enslaved the production forces and virtually uprooted the old social relations. French imperialist rule was based on political subordination, a specific characteristic feature of which was the direct and cruel rule provided by the mother country. The colonial countries were doomed to deep stagnation. Even though weakened, the contradictions inherent in the obsolete social structures had not fully disappeared. Meanwhile, new antagonisms, created by the colonizing process, were appearing and accumulating.

Strengthening its domination of the African nations, imperialism brought to life a process of unification of various classes and social strata, somehow relegating the background their internal contradictions. To a certain extent this situation explains the absence of clearly distinct classes in Black Africa. Naturally, however, this does not explain the full core of the problem.

The gain of political independence by a number of African countries in the 1960's led to the fact that, once again, the internal social processes within African societies resumed their dynamics. Unquestionably this was consistent with the common interests. At the same time, however, it brought about an inevitable aggravation of contradictions. Presently there are three basic classes in the Congo: the bourgeoisie, the working class and the peasantry.

Imperialism imposed upon the country an economy aimed at extracting natural resources to serve French interests. The need to organize and manage this colonial economy, and the high cost of attracting middle and higher echelon specialists from the mother country force imperialism to open a local school for the training of the "cadres" it considered necessary. As indeed happened, it was precisely such cadres that were to inherit the management of the state apparatus with independence. To this day they hold important positions in the state, using their official status for personal

enrichment. These corrupt elements eagerly want to see the Congo become a country firmly tied to the imperialist chariot. The economic dependence of the country suits them. For this reason the party describes them as the bureaucratic, the mercantile bourgeoisie.

There is also a middle national bourgeoisie which consists essentially of timber industrialists and contractors, as well a petit urban bourgeoisie, which resembles that of the rest of the world.

The Congolese proletariat consists of industrial and agricultural workers. Numerically it is insignificant. This is determined by the level of development of production forces. This also explains the predominance of unskilled manpower compared with the other proletarian elements. Obviously this circumstance adversely affects the organization of proletarian ranks.

The organic links developed between the proletariat and the rural workers are of double significance. On the one hand, they determine the predisposition of the proletariat to form a real alliance with the peasants; on the other, this slows the awakening of its class awareness. This is affected by the absence of combat traditions and background influences.

Finally, there is the lumpen proletariat consisting of the unemployed and people relying on accidental jobs for their subsistence.

The peasantry is divided into two strata. The higher stratum is that of the more-or-less prosperous peasants who frequently use female workers in their farms, as a consequence of remaining vestiges of polygamy, and pygmies kept in a semi-slave, semi-serf status. The peasants within this stratum occasionally engage in small-scale trade. The poor peasants essentially cultivate land belonging to family clans. This does not relieve them from the payment of fees to the semi-feudal elements of the tribal rulers. In the Congo the latter have clearly distinguishable features. Here they have never been fabulously wealthy big princes, living in splendid palaces, as was the case, for example, in India or Indonesia. The Congolese feudal lords live in virtually identical huts as the simple Africans and are rather leaders of tribes and clans, a peculiar tribal bureaucracy. Our countryside faces the need for urgent modernization, which in addition to everything else, should uncrown the semi-feudal class representing obsolete values.

The still very young urban strata are in the process of development. However, they account for a substantial part of our social reality and require special attention.

Let us also note the relative weakness of the positions of imperialist capital in the Congo. This has made the country one of the weak links in the imperialist chain.

Briefly stated, such were the circumstances in which the Congolese revolution began to develop, aimed at engaging in radical reform, the elimination

of the exploitation of man by man, and the building of just and prosperous society.

However, a revolutionary system cannot exist without revolutionary power which could interpret problems of socioeconomic progress on the basis of progressive positions without any political wavering.

Therefore, the question arises of whether or not the national revolutionary movement was a broad, a mass movement which rallied people sharing vary different convictions, capable of meeting the expectations of the impoverished masses who rose in 1963.

At its 2 July 1964 constituent congress the NRM defined its main objective. It specified, in particular, that scientific socialism was the only political choice which could insure successful progress. The revolutionary power organs and laws, set up under the pressure of the masses, were to promote the implementation of this task. Unquestionably this choice of development was based on the numerous outstanding successes achieved by the USSR since the Great October Socialist Revolution in all areas, and the support which the members of the world socialist system are steadily granting the national-liberation movement the world over.

Consequently the NRM was faced with the task of leading the Congolese people to the building of a new society, on the basis of scientific socialism, a society which would be independent from imperialism, exploitation or any other form of oppression. Rebellng against Yulou's policy of national betrayal, nepotism and irresponsibility, the people wanted social justice.

In reality, however, the NRM was not a vanguard party, even though its basic document (charter) and a number of programmatic statements were consistent with the expectations of the Congolese revolutionaries and all working people. Unfortunately, the heterogeneousness of the movement prevented it from elaborating a single political line, for it consisted of a conglomerate of elements ideologically representing classes with antagonistic interests. The consequence was the development of several political lines, each of which was consistent with the interest of one or another social group. All this turned the NRM itself into an arena of acute political struggle.

The mere proclamation of socialism as a scientific doctrine in the absence of a leading proletarian nucleus, capable of organizing comprehensive and constant control over its implementation, makes the proclaimed objective hard to achieve. Despite the temporary compromise achieved by all forces within the NRM, its heterogeneousness hindered the effective activities of the movement. The alliance established after the "three great days" of August 1963 faced the danger of breakdown.

The need for unity was consistent with the profound interests of the popular masses. However, the initial years of independence were

characterized by tribal disputes. The people wanted unity for the sake of waging a single struggle--the struggle for the liberation of the Congo from French neocolonial yoke. All this, put together, was the reason for the breakdown of the NRM. Initially the youth organization, the National Revolutionary Movement (YNRM) split. This was followed by a division within the trade unions where the leading group drastically separated itself from the bulk of the working people. Things were no better within the ranks of the Revolutionary Alliance of Congolese Women.

At that time the armed forces consisted of a regular army and civil defense units established to defend the 1963 revolution. The country's leadership tried to pit one against the other, thus creating an atmosphere of political instability and uncertainty. Within the regular army itself contradictions intensified between left-wing progressive military and right-wing elements supporting the political leadership.

Under those circumstances all popular forces called for the abolition of the NRM and the creation of a party of a new type, which would truly reflect the interests of the broad masses. The country's political leadership responded to such legitimate demands with a series of reactionary conspiracies. Popular resistance to reactionary intrigues led to the 31 July 1968 uprising which placed Mariani Nguabi at the head of the revolutionary struggle. A national revolutionary council was set up to head the struggle until a party of a new type could be organized in accordance with the wish of the people--the Congolese Labor Party.

Therefore, the CLP was born as a result of the long confrontation with colonialism, imperialism and their puppets, as a party representing the interests of the broadest possible popular masses and revolutionary forces, and their desire to have a militant organization, structured on a scientific basis, whose purpose would be to implement the ideals of the revolution of the "three great days." It rallied people who had proved their sincere support of the people's cause.

That is how the vanguard party developed, a party whose organizational structure, orientation and final objective are based on the revolutionary experience of parties of a new type, the most outstanding example among which is Lenin's party.

Together with the Congolese Labor Party, the first ruling party in an African country to proclaim Marxism-Leninism as the base for its activities, was born the People's Republic of the Congo, whose flag displays the labor tools of the Congolese working people: a hammer and hoe under a gold star, surrounded by palm fronds. This is the first Red proletarian flag on the African Continent, where previously imperialist forces ruled unchallenged and where anti-communism and religious prejudices raged.

The courageous People's Republic of the Congo hurled a threatening challenge to colonialism and imperialism. In close cooperation with other

world revolutionary forces, it launched a struggle for the true liberation of the people, and for a just, peaceful and prosperous society based on socialist ideals. Despite its adverse encirclement in the African Continent, the great Congolese people confidently relied on the international solidarity of the revolutionary peoples of the world and, in particular, on the socialist countries. However, imperialism neither could nor wanted to allow such a "dangerous" development of events. It hoped to stop, at all costs, the spreading of the "communist virus." The Western countries feared that the Congolese example would be followed by other nations. Therefore, the imperialist circles resorted to force. Hardly established, the CLP was forced to fight base provocations and conspiracies in the economic and political areas.

One of the numerous reactionary sallies was the 23 March 1970 action of the Kiganga group, which was firmly rebuffed by the people's masses. It was precisely thanks to popular support that the group was completely defeated.

Despite its youth (at that time it was only three months old), the CLP won at that time one of its first major victories and rallied its ranks even further. Unquestionably the CLP was unable to avoid certain crises in the process of its establishment. However, it emerged out of each trial even more mature and with an even greater awareness of its responsibilities.

Throughout the entire decade it had to wage a difficult struggle in the economic field. With the support of the people, whose happiness it considers the purpose of its existence, the party repelled all the strikes of imperialism, which was trying to strangle the country's weak economy using all possible means.

The bureaucracy and the mercantile bourgeoisie permanently dreamed of defeating the revolution. Occasionally their agents were able to penetrate CLP ranks and even assume responsible positions within it. On each occasion, however, the party and the people rebuffed them mercilessly. The CLP countered the hostile activities of political and economic extortionists with a policy of total trust in the people, a policy of building up the national economy.

A great deal has already been accomplished along this way.

The CLP replaced the neocolonial fascist-type army, which was nothing but a weapon for repression, with an army of a new type--a national people's army, totally democratized, with good ideological and political training, inseparably linked with the people, whose security it protects. In order to upgrade the defense capability of the country, a people's militia was set up alongside the regular army. It is commanded by regular military personnel.

The CLP provided conditions for the democratization of national life. The people are really participating in the management of governmental affairs

and in making decisions on most important problems. This is vividly confirmed by the activities of the people's organs elected democratically by the people themselves.

Profound reforms are underway in the field of education. Colloquiums and seminars sponsored by the party revealed the need to change the school system and develop truly people's schools. The initial steps have already been taken in this direction. Our purpose is to put an end to the obsolete educational system in which the students received only general knowledge unrelated to real, current needs, which made such knowledge inapplicable and added the students to the ranks of the unemployed. The party believes that the school must be closely linked with society and meet its specific requirements and the tasks of building socialism, toward which the Congolese people are aspiring. To this purpose the educational system was nationalized so that a curriculum consistent with such objectives could be applied.

The victories achieved in the country by the CLP, which has acquired a certain economic potential and is steadily promoting the development of the economy, triggered the hatred of imperialist forces. In a fit of mad rage, they decided to commit the most base action: President Marian Ngouabi was murdered on 18 March 1977.

The murder of the president and the assumption of power by the right wing were not, as we may see, a historical accident. These events logically stem from the fierce struggle which was mounted by imperialism and its puppets within the country since 1963 and even earlier, opposing the revolutionary-patriotic forces of the Congolese people.

Following the commission of the crime, the right wing, headed by Yombi-Opango, captured the majority within the party's military committee, usurped the power and implemented a number of measures to frighten the people and to suppress their desire to fight imperialist rule and oppression.

However, loyal to its combat traditions, the Congolese people immediately rose to a merciless struggle against the lackeys of world imperialism. The left-wing forces rallied within the party, from the primary cells to the military committee and in the mass social organizations which played a decisive role in the historical victory of 5 February 1979.

The third extraordinary CLP congress, which took place in an atmosphere of firm opposition to the exploitation of man by man and against imperialism and its local stooges, was a turning point in the development of the country and of the entire liberation struggle of the Congolese people.

The congress met at a time exceptionally favorable to progressive forces of our country. Countering the efforts of the right wing to block the revolutionary process and, particularly, to hinder the normal functioning

of party institutions, the revolutionary-democratic forces uncompromisingly opposed the liquidationist line and the entire right-wing current within the party. The struggle waged by the masses both within the party and the social organizations was a decisive factor for the restoration of the Central Committee and the summoning of the third extraordinary CLP congress on 5 February 1979.

The congress faced tasks of historical importance. It had to continue the line of the 12 December 1975 declaration and the decisions of the party conference. It had to provide an accurate analysis of the situation which had developed in the course of the progress of our revolution in the fields of politics, economics and culture. It had to bring to light the main reasons for the slowdown of the revolutionary process.

The Central Committee confirmed that the basic contradiction of the present stage remains the contradiction between the Congolese people as a whole and foreign monopoly capital, mainly French, dominating our country, together with its servants, represented by the bureaucratic and mercantile bourgeoisie. The Central Committee indicated other contradictions as well, namely:

The contradiction between national unity and manifestations of tribalism and regionalism;

The contradiction between the basic and most exploited classes and the national bourgeoisie;

The contradiction between mental and physical workers. As in the past, these and other contradictions indicated by the Central Committee are secondary in terms of significance and will be definitively eliminated only following the elimination of the main antagonism which pits us against international imperialism in general, and French imperialism in particular.

The current stage of the revolution is a necessary and an objectively determined stage. It is a preparation for a period for the building of socialism. The current stage is, consequently, the stage of the national, democratic and people's revolution. It is national since its task is the total elimination of the domination of French imperialism which controls the national economy and, consequently, which retains the levers of political pressure. It is democratic, for our revolution is aimed establishing the rule by the overwhelming majority of the people, and because it is based on the popular masses (particularly on the workers, peasants, military servicemen and revolutionary intelligentsia), and is their own cause. Finally, our revolution is popular, since its purpose is to lay the economic, social and cultural foundations of the forthcoming stage, the stage of the socialist revolution, to prepare the objective and subjective conditions, and to rally and mobilize for the building of the new life the broad impoverished masses, under the banner of the proletariat and its vanguard--the Congolese Labor Party.

The CLP Central Committee confirmed that the difficulties described in the 12 December 1975 declaration and reemphasized at the November 1976 party conference remain entirely topical. In order to insure the proper solution of the problems at the present stage, the Central Committee deems it necessary, above all, to focus the attention on the following political problems:

**The problem of the party:** The vanguard Marxist-Leninist party must lead the struggle of the working class and the popular masses, aimed at the building of socialism; it must choose its members most demandingly in order to preserve the purity of its class nature;

**The problem of the proper utilization of party cadres:** The political leadership guiding all activities of the Congolese Party must be dynamic, integral and consistent in order to be able to wage a decisive struggle for total independence and socialism, and counteract energetically and firmly any bourgeoisification tendencies;

**The problem of left-wing forces:** They must not represent merely a sum total of elements accepting the party program; it is equally essential, while fully accepting the program, that they actively work for reaching the final objective of our struggle--the building of a socialist society in the Congo;

**The problem of the National Unity Front:** The Central Committee report asserts the leading role of the CLP as the only political organization capable of heading the struggle of the Congolese people for the building of socialism. Voluntarily united in their mass organizations, the popular masses must rally around the CLP. Within such mass organizations, headed by the party, every citizen can freely and democratically participate in discussing the problems of our revolution;

**The problem of the state apparatus:** Today the task is to break down the existing state apparatus, inherited from colonialism and used as a tool for neocolonial rule, and replace it with a revolutionary, democratic and people's state apparatus which will truly serve the cause of the progressive development of the country and through which the popular masses will be able factually and effectively to participate in management. Our party believes that, in accordance with current tasks, lessons should be drawn from the experience of the people's regime organs if such objectives are to be implemented, and that the political leadership of the country should trust the popular masses and invest the people's regime with full political and economic meaning, upgrading its effective responsibility. In other words, decentralization must be promoted gradually by steadily;

**The problem of international cooperation:** Emphasizing the particular significance to our country of relations with the socialist countries, the program of the CLP also points out that, "In the building of socialism we must rely, above all, on our own forces. Foreign aid is only supportive."

Consequently cooperation with the socialist countries means an alliance among anti-imperialist forces, offering internal and external guarantees to all revolutions. The party establishes relations with all communist and workers' parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality, independence and reciprocal respect, and actively contributes to the consolidation and development the communist party front the world over.

Cooperation with bourgeois-democratic countries should in no case apply to ideology. It will be based on reciprocal interests and with no harm whatever to our objectives and ideological principles.

As was already pointed out, the Central Committee defined the present stage as the stage of the national, democratic and popular revolution. Economically, this means the laying of new foundations for an independent national economy, which we conceive as being the following:

A comprehensively developed economy;

An economy all whose aspects are organically interlinked;

An economy essentially relying on our own natural resources, raw materials and labor means;

An economy possessing its own basic equipment and capable of functioning autonomously thanks the existence of national cadres;

Above all, an economy producing the basic industrial and agricultural products needed to meet the requirements of the broad popular masses and to upgrade their living standard.

Our country has great possibilities to develop a dynamic process of national liberation aimed at building a socialist society in the Congo. Hence the need for selecting and defining a strategy aimed at breaking with the system of international capitalist division of labor. This strategy, elaborated at the third extraordinary CLP congress, relies on an internal base and internal motive forces of development. It is based on the interrelationship between agriculture and industry. In this case the leading role of industry must secured with reliance on agriculture. We must earmark the main stages of development and the intermediate objectives in terms of our overall strategy; we must define the basic tasks, formulating the quantitative indicators and deadlines for meeting them; we must consider the resulting alternatives and priorities in resolving problems.

Naturally, this strategy must be implemented in accordance with specific Congolese realities and the historical experience of other nations who have gained or are achieving their freedom. The struggle against foreign dependence means to the Congo, a small and underpopulated country, above all, the establishment of a comprehensive and integral national economy, and

firm acquisition of the right to engage in talks and cooperate with other countries strictly on the basis of equality. Therefore, it is a question of a steady aspiration to reach a position in which economic and political solutions will be made on an ever more independent basis in terms of other external decisions. This requires not only a proper understanding of the nature of the given stage in the struggle waged by the Congolese people, but a precise definition of the real social forces, their capability to fight and their relations within the production system, i.e., within the organizational structure of the national economy.

At the present stage of our revolution the organizational structure of the national economy is based on the social structure of, and differences among, the basic social forces called upon to implement the tasks at this stage, on the one hand, and the social forces linked with imperialism, on the other. In the second case it is a question of the mercantile and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which leads a parasitical existence at the expense of the state, and the foreign capitalists who have settled in our country. It is precisely they who constitute the base of the Congo's foreign domination.

The forces which oppose them are the broad popular masses, i.e., the proletariat, the semi-proletarian strata, the lumpen proletariat, the peasantry, the petit bourgeoisie and revolutionary intelligentsia, and the national bourgeoisie (embryonic in practical terms).

Taking into consideration the social stratification and correlation of economic forces, it could be said that the economic content of the contemporary revolutionary stage is characterized by the existence of a state, cooperative, mixed and private sectors. We believe that with the decisive support of the people's masses in controlling the economic and political life of the country, the state sector will rapidly become dominant in all areas of national economic activities. The state must organize and effectively engage in controlling all command economic positions: industry, the basic transport and energy infrastructure, banks, foreign trade and finance.

The mixed sector must gradually develop into a state sector. In turn, the state must become the main partner in mixed enterprises and provide factual control over their management, rather than remaining a silent partner. The activities of the private sector must be subordinated to the interests of the state sector, rather than be used as an instrument to subvert it.

The interdependence between agriculture and industry must be manifested not only in reciprocal commodity deliveries, but embodied in the vitally necessary alliance between workers and peasant masses. Congo's agriculture, conceived in the broad meaning of the term (land, timber, water), must support overall economic development as a whole and industrial development in particular, insuring food supplies to the rural and urban population; supply industry with minerals and manpower; and release financial resources for accumulation and industrialization.

However, in order to implement this role more dynamically, in turn, agriculture must be supported by industry. This is the leading role of industry which will make it possible:

To increase farm crop yields and labor productivity;

To lower the dependence on adverse weather conditions and to struggle against agricultural pests and plant diseases;

To modernize labor tools and renovate crop-growing technology;

To insure the rational allocation of production forces.

Congo's rural population accounts for over 50 percent of the entire population of the country. Unquestionably, purchases of industrial consumer goods, equipment, labor tools, insecticides, fertilizers and construction materials will provide a good impetus for the upsurge of the national industry.

The further development of the close interconnection between these two economic sectors will make it possible to strengthen the organic ties and combat solidarity between the urban working people, the working class in particular, and the rural working people.

In order to implement the long-term and the present strategy and to insure the further building of a socialist economy, we must combine the solution of problems such as mobilizing the popular masses, effective utilization of natural resources and finding accurate technological solutions. We also need alliances with the truly independent countries in the area.

One cannot predict the duration of the stage of the national, democratic and popular revolution. It depends on objective conditions, the correlation of forces within the country and abroad, and the level of conscientiousness of the masses. The dedicated struggle of the people alone could shorten the length of the current stage. From the economic viewpoint this struggle is an organic part of the overall plan for the country's development.

Allow me to emphasize, in conclusion, that the CLP, which recently celebrated its first decade, is systematically and steadfastly guiding the revolutionary struggle of our people and is offering a model of courage and daring. Today it numbers about 7,000 members. As to the social breakdown of the CLP, it consists of 55 percent workers and petty employees, 22 percent of representatives of the revolutionary intelligentsia and 14 and 9 percent respectively peasant and military servicemen.

Even though distant from the countries of the socialist comity, under the leadership of the CLP our country did not yield to enemy pressure and repelled all attacks organized by the imperialist circles. Presently in

other countries on the continent as well--Mozambique, Angola, Benin and Ethiopia--parties of a vanguard type have assumed the power, making their contribution to strengthening the revolutionary movement in Africa. This enables us, yet once again, to see the justice of Lenin's words to the effect that all countries will reach socialism, but each one will reach it in its own way. As in the past, today the Congolese people follow the course of the imperialist struggle and are loyal to the cause of the international communist movement.

5003

CSO: 1802

## CHINA: SOME TRENDS IN THE DOMESTIC SITUATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 95-106

[Text] The activities of the Chinese leadership over the past year clearly proves that it remains on its former chauvinistic positions and is not abandoning its great-power objectives and the line of heating up pressure and provoking a global conflict. Beijing is pursuing a policy deeply hostile to the socialist countries, the international revolutionary movement and all progressive forces. At the same time, without changing their former strategic plans, the Maoists are engaged in extensive tactical maneuvering in their search for more effective means for the implementation of their hegemonistic plans.

Beijing's growing activeness in the internal arena has retained its clearly manifested anti-socialist direction. It is becoming an active factor in global politics. However, this is a negative factor which substantially complicates the international circumstances. The role which it plays in world affairs is fatal, above all because the purpose of its policy is to cause as great a damage to the interests of world socialism as possible, to cooperation among countries with different social systems and, to a certain extent, to the existing system of international relations at large. This policy has offered imperialism new opportunities for engaging in large-scale provocations and intrigues against the socialist world and the national-liberation movement. The reactionary forces are doing everything possible to make use of them. In the global confrontation between the socialist and capitalist world systems, the Chinese leadership has factually taken the side of imperialism, acting as its junior, subordinate partner.

Foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. This classical definition is fully applicable to Beijing. Therefore, in order to properly understand the first, we must, above all, analyze the second, directly affecting the life of the Chinese people and imbued with hegemonistic aspirations and a spirit of militarism. To substantiate this let us address ourselves to contemporary Chinese reality and the facts of the present, in their entire variety.

The internal political maneuvering of the Beijing leadership remains one of the characteristic features of this reality. Its main objectives are to remain in power and consolidate its power, and to find effective means for converting China into a militaristic superpower and reduce the social tension rising in the country which worsens the political stability of the military-bureaucratic regime. This has determined the basic lines of such maneuvering, as follows:

Shifting the center of gravity of the entire work of the party, state and military apparatus to modernization, which now includes not only agriculture, industry, armed forces, science and technology, but "perfecting the political system";

Revision of the economic program: attempt to engage in a new "big leap" which would change the course of "regulating" the national economy;

Changed approach to the class struggle. It is no longer proclaimed the main contradiction within Chinese society. Yet it is also being stated that it should neither be "considered abated" nor "artificially fanned";

Increasing the effectiveness of the party and state apparatus;

Reinterpreting individual Maoist concepts in terms of contemporary needs.

Such maneuvering is occurring under conditions marked by economic difficulties, political instability, ideological confusion and factional struggles. Many new slogans are primarily declarative; a number of them are not implemented as a result of the open or concealed opposition of various strata within Chinese society, including the party and the armed forces.

#### Economics and Economic Policy

The situation within the PRC national economy remains tense. Attempts to rescue it from the state of chaos have yielded limited results.

The growth of output of basic industrial and agricultural commodities, noted in 1978, was merely of a "restorative" nature, in the admission of the Chinese leadership. Meanwhile, implementing previously formulated ambitious concepts which called for accelerating the pace of economic upsurge, the total inconsistency between them and China's real possibilities, considering its backward economic and scientific and technical potential, became apparent at the very beginning of 1979. This failure was a most severe defeat of the post-Mao Zedong leadership in the field of domestic policy.

According to official data, 20 to 30 percent of the production capacities of industrial enterprises remained unused as a result of electric power shortages; 43 percent of the entire industrial output declined in quality

compared with previous indicators; industrial raw and other material outlays for 55 percent of the output were higher than before. Profits and revenue from taxation per 100 yuan capital assets in industry dropped by more than one third. One-quarter of the biggest enterprises became unprofitable.

The increased accumulation norm (in 1978 its level exceeded 36 percent of the national income), disorganization of the economic mechanism, including capital construction, and arbitrariness and errors in planning and designing led to an increased number of unfinished projects. The disproportion between the military and civilian production sectors intensified even further. Let us recall that as early as 1978 direct military expenditures within the state budget were more than double the allocations for agriculture, equaling an amount approximately matching that of all capital investments in industry. The use of the agrarian sector of the economy as a source of funds for general economic development and for the militarization of the country factually led to the "bleeding" of the countryside and to undermining the already weak material base of agriculture.

The drastic aggravation of the situation in the national economy forced Beijing to retreat and proclaim at the Second Session of the National People's Congress (June-July 1979) a course toward "regulation" to be followed for three years (1979-1981). Compared with 1978, last year the overall volume of capital investments was reduced 20 percent (HONGQI, No 10, 1979). The planned growth rates of industry as a whole (8 percent as against the former 13.5 percent), and of its most important sectors were reduced.

In the course of this "regulation" particular attention will be paid to agriculture. The share of agricultural capital investments would be raised from 10.7 percent in 1978 to 14 percent according to the 1979 plan. Such measure could contribute only to the partial solution of the problem. The planned volume of appropriations is a minimum amount needed to maintain the relatively low level of output. It is obviously insufficient in terms of any serious modernizing of agriculture (according to Chinese data agricultural mechanization alone would require about one trillion yuan).

In 1979 certain amendments were made in the economic policy including the abandonment of a number of stipulations while emphasizing others which could yield greater results. Essentially, these corrections may be reduced to the following:

The slogan of "Steel Base" was criticized and allocations for the development of electric power, the fuel base and transportation were raised;

The slogan "Grain-Crops Base" was amended, emphasizing the rational combination of all agricultural sectors;

The stipulation of the comprehensive creation of districts of the dazhai-type<sup>1</sup> was damped down;

The existing system for managing the national economy and the individual enterprises is being reviewed and, in a number of areas, an economic reform is underway on an experimental basis;

Measures are being taken to improve the price-setting and taxation systems and the price ratios between agricultural and industrial output;

Experimentally, some material-incentive methods are being applied;

The private plots of peasants have been returned and a marketplace trade of the goods produced by their private plots is being restored.

However, many of the proclaimed stipulations are not adequately backed by a consistent system of specific economic measures. "Regulation" meets obstacles such as the incompetence of cadre personnel, vestiges of equalization, unresolved problems of financial and material sufficiency, and so on. Mistrust in the possibility to implement the "four modernizations" program remains widespread among the working people. The solution of these problems will require far more time than the the planned three-year period, as acknowledged by the Chinese leaders themselves.

In 1979 the "regulation" course "failed to achieve a true and decisive implementation" (GUNREN RIBAO, 10 November). Essential changes were not achieved in settling the basic disproportions between heavy and light industry and between the fuel-energy and processing industrial sectors.

Beijing's propaganda continues to depict the transition to "regulation" as just about an objective law of economic development under socialism. In reality, this course has the nature of a stopgap. It is the direct result of the Maoist distortions of the theory and practice of the building of socialism, a consequence of the violation of socialist economic laws and a proof of the faulty economic policy pursued by the Chinese leadership.

"Regulation" based on forced correction of some bankrupt economic management methods does not change in the least the anti-socialist and anti-people's objectives of the production process in China. The accelerated growth of military-economic power remains the pivot of the country's modernization program. With the third highest volume of outlays for military purposes in the world, in terms of national per capita income China holds 125th place. In 1979, while capital investments in the national economy were generally curtailed, only direct military allocations rose 20 percent. The accelerated militarization of the country is one of the main obstructions on the path of its economic progress.

The great-power nationalistic objectives of the Beijing leadership do not assign a proper role in economic policy to upgrading the prosperity of the people. According to the Chinese representative to the United Nations, the average per capita income of the PRC population does not exceed \$152. Last year's report submitted by Ye Jianying, chairman of the National People's

Congress Standing Committee, delivered on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the PRC, "the gradual and even improvement of the material and cultural life of the people" is mentioned only at the end of the list of tasks included in the modernization program. This improvement plays a subordinate role. It is the means rather than the aim of production, since naturally the implementation of the tasks would be impossible without stimulating the production activity of the working people, which has reached a critically low level. The assignment has been formulated to insure a stable level of consumption of "most important commodities." However, what kind of stability could there be when, according to official data, 100 million people in the country are undernourished. Only 6 to 10 percent of the population's demand for meat and 10-12 percent for eggs may be satisfied. The consumption of vegetal oil (basic nutritional fat) is only two kilograms; sugar, 2.3 kilograms and fishing industry products, 2-3 kilograms per capita per year. As of 1 November 1979 the prices of meat, poultry, fish, milk, eggs and vegetables were raised 20-30 percent.

As a whole, as before, the Beijing leadership lacks a comprehensive scientifically substantiated program for economic development which could help to upgrade production effectiveness, management and planning, raise the labor activity of the masses and insure the radical solution of socio-economic problems.

In 1979 a number of essentially new aspects of both domestic and foreign order were manifested, confirming the growing threat to the socialist gains achieved by the PRC and a new, dangerous stage of erosion of the socialist economic base of Chinese society.

Bank accounts and property confiscated during the "Cultural Revolution" have been returned to the former Chinese capitalists. The previous high wages they were paid have been restored.

Some varieties of private enterprise are being energized. Trade-industrial "family-type" enterprises are being created. Beijing is openly proclaiming the need to "combine planned with marketplace economy" (RENMIN RIBAO, 30 August). Appeals have been made to "give a green light" to private artisans. In the countryside a trend is noted toward breaking down cooperative ownership as a result of a conversion to a system of assigning labor and economic functions to so-called "workers' teams" and even to individual farmsteads.

A course has been charted toward upgrading the role of the state-private sector, emphasizing mixed enterprises which will be organized with the participation of foreign capital. In addition to the adopted "Law on Mixed Companies Based on Chinese and Foreign Capital," bourgeois lawyers are assisting in the drafting of a number of important legislative acts according to which foreign capital will enjoy special rights.

A number of specific features are characteristic of the mixed enterprises planned in China. In this case the share of foreign capital is not

restricted. This means that control may be concentrated in the hands of foreign monopolies. The establishment of such enterprises could assume a broad scale: over 100 offers have already been received from Western companies (FINANCIAL TIMES, 5 October). In addition to the area of light industry, such enterprises will be created also in a number of heavy industrial enterprises holding key positions in the national economic structure.

Under Chinese contemporary conditions the course of involving monopoly capital directly in the production area conceals the real danger of harming or even losing national sovereignty over part of the enterprises or national economic sectors, and the even greater involvement of the country in the orbit of the international capitalist division of labor.

The restoration of petty (private artisans and "family" workshops in the production and service areas) and the state-capitalist (mixed enterprise) economic systems may stimulate the development of individual economic areas. In the field of production relations, however, this step may be fraught with far-reaching socioeconomic consequences.

Beijing is creating mixed enterprises. This is part of its overall political course of alliance with imperialism. Whereas previously it was a question of a deformation of the socialist foundations of Chinese society as a result of the utilization of the economic base for anti-socialist objectives, we can now mention also the danger of the growth of uncontrolled private economic trends, weakening the positions of the state and cooperative sectors in the economy and introducing forms of economic management alien to the socialist base but inherent in a marketplace economy. This is confirmed by the statements of the Chinese leaders themselves. Deng Xiaoping, for example, claims that the Chinese economy will be a mixture of the socialist system and the "marketplace economy," characterized by collective ownership and preservation of private property, including funds invested by foreign capitalists.

### The Social Situation

The situation of the basic classes and strata in Chinese society indicates that the policy of post-Mao Zedong leadership is not insuring the stabilization of the social circumstances in the country, but on the contrary is triggering additional contradictions and frictions, which added to the unresolved accumulation of socioeconomic problems may bring about new political upheavals.

China's loose social structure has not been corrected. The working class is deprived of the possibility to control the state system and guide society. Considerable divisions are noted among the workers, triggered by disparities among their individual categories, as well as within individual groups (cadre workers, students, seasonal workers and others).

Unemployment has become China's most important social problem. As reported by Li Xiannian, at a CCP Central Committee meeting held in the spring of

1979, the overall number of unemployed in the cities alone has reached 20 million. The problem of employment is complicated by the fact that the "regulation" of the national economy stipulates not only a slowdown in the pace of development of heavy industry and a reduction in the volume of capital construction, but the closing down of entire enterprises under the pretext of their unprofitability, reduction of non-production personnel, raising output norms, and so on. In turn, this will lead to the fact that job openings for new projects will be essentially filled by available manpower (RENMIN RIBAO, 21 August).

The Chinese press has reported that last year jobs were found for about 7 million people. However, this figure does not even cover the number of graduates of urban secondary schools who did not pursue their studies in universities.

According to the local press the Beijing leaders intend to resolve the problem of urban employment essentially through the organization of "cooperative enterprises," above all in trade and services, and to continue to resettle the "surplus" population in the country. This will increase social frictions even further, particularly as a result of the considerable gap in the levels of earnings and social insurance existing between workers and employees in the state sector and those engaged in cooperative activities. The appearance of enterprises involving foreign capital participation may become yet another source of friction.

The material and cultural standards of the Chinese workers are exceptionally low. In 1978 the average wage of state enterprise personnel was 644 yuan per year (about 22 rubles monthly); 81.4 percent of the workers and employees have not graduated from secondary schools. As acknowledged by GUNREN RIBAO, "Some workers and employees question the party's course and policy."

The situation of the peasantry remains difficult. There are about 300 million able-bodied people in the countryside engaged mainly in agricultural production; over 28 million peasants are employed by the enterprises of communes and in production brigades. The average per capita income of the rural population is about 80 yuan; however, it is below 50 yuan in over one-quarter of the production brigades.

The cultural standard of the Chinese peasantry is extremely backward. As was noted at a recent all-China conference on problems of public education, since the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" efforts to eliminate illiteracy in the countryside have been totally abandoned and have not been resumed to this day. Among the active population in the Chinese countryside the rate of illiteracy has reached 30 percent; over 40 percent have not gone beyond grammar school. In some districts 8 out of 10 people are illiterate. Also very weak is the training of rural cadre workers of party and administrative organs and technical personnel. It was mentioned, at that conference, that the absolute majority of individuals within this category in the communes "have no understanding of modern science and technology."

Last year the purchase prices of basic agricultural commodities were raised and "free markets" were opened. Greater attention began to be paid to distribution according to labor and to the development of auxiliary industries. The former singling out, based on political characteristics, of the stratum of the "poor and low middle class," which was pitted against the remaining rural population, has been factually abandoned. Such measures have somewhat reduced the social stress in the countryside. However, they benefit, above all, the middle and prosperous peasantry. The poorest strata, particularly the large families, as the press reports, are still subject to equalizing allocations based on the number of mouths to feed. In its 17 September editorial RENMIN RIBAO pointed out that "the party's policy is being implemented unevenly in the countryside." The influence of the "extreme left line" has not been eliminated as yet, and "cases of refusal to implement and obstruct the party policy in the countryside are manifested in communes and brigades . . . ." Discontent for low-paid labor is widespread in some areas, profiteering is flourishing and many people take jobs in the cities without permission.

The Chinese intelligentsia numbers about 25 million. The percentage of engineering and technical workers engaged in industrial production is low, numbering less than 1.9 million. Over one-half of all engineers and technicians are without higher education.

The present Beijing leadership is paying greater attention to the intelligentsia, considering it one of the basic forces in the implementation of the modernization program. Virtually all intellectuals who were subject to repressive measures during the "Cultural Revolution" or other political campaigns have been rehabilitated. The question has been raised of substantially increasing the number of professionally trained individuals holding positions in management organs and enterprises. Once again the slogan of "Let 100 Flowers Blossom and Let 100 Schools Compete" has been raised. This means, among other things, "freedom" of scientific discussion.

Meanwhile, the big character posters which showed up last summer in Beijing expressed indignation at the fact that former bourgeois specialists, trained in Japan, the United States and Western European countries, were raising their heads in the PRC and were trying to use the campaign of criticizing the "leftist line," not only for the sake of strengthening their position, but undermining within Chinese society the prestige of socialism. Using the slogan of modernization, they are factually leading China along the capitalist way.

As in the past, the creative intelligentsia fears greatly for its future on the basis of previous political campaigns. The Chinese press is appealing to it to "abandon its fear" and participate more actively in modernization.

Today the national bourgeoisie is considered in Beijing as "part of the people." As mentioned, former capitalists have been granted a number of

economic benefits. Their role in the country's political life is rising considerably. Many of them are being given leading positions in state institutions and public organizations. There have been rallies sponsored by "democratic parties" and by the All-China Association of Industrialists and Merchants. These organizations have been declared "critical unions . . . serving socialism." The objective here twofold: one the one hand, as stated Ulanfu, head of the United Front Department of the CCP Central Committee, it is to call upon the national bourgeoisie "to serve the cause of modernization and unification of the homeland"; on the other, it is to earn the goodwill of foreign capitalists and gain respectability among them by emphasizing the "separate course" which distinguishes China from the countries of real socialism.

The situation of the cadre workers ("ganbu") has not changed substantially. Their bulk, the middle level in particular, consists of those nurtured by the "Cultural Revolution." Drastic turns in the political and ideological lines have led to the fact that many workers, including superior personnel, "do not understand with sufficient depth the spirit, course and political concepts . . . pursuing them without zeal and even harboring a feeling of antagonism" (RENMIN RIBAO, 5 September). The Chinese press notes that the alienation between the graduates of the "Cultural Revolution" and the rehabilitated cadres remains and that they have no common language.

The youth is particularly sharply affected by the unresolved socioeconomic problems, unemployment above all. As Chen Muhua, candidate member of the CC CCP Politburo, stated, 12 percent of primary school graduates are unable to pursue their education in secondary schools. Over one-half of graduates of incomplete secondary schools are unable to enter 10th-grade schools, and only 5 percent of 10th-grade school graduates go on to higher educational institutions. All those deprived of the opportunity to pursue their studies need jobs.

The Beijing leaders believe that the solution to this situation remains assigning young people to rural, mountain and border areas. Addressing a conference of "leading representatives of the literate youth," Hua Guofeng emphasized that this course "helps not only to modernize the countryside, but to strengthen the country's defense capability" (RENMIN RIBAO, 30 August). Kang Yonghe, head of the leading group of the State Council on the Placement of Educated Youth, claimed that "in our country, with its large population and economic backwardness, the assignment of secondary school students to rural and mountain areas is a historical inevitability and not in the least an arbitrarily conceived concept."

Hua Yaobang, CC CCP Politburo member, said at the same conference that "the five million members of the literate youth now in the countryside must go wherever assigned by the party." Bearing in mind that in the past 10 years over 60 million people have been sent to "sink roots in the countryside," it follows from this statement that most of them, despite the ban of the authorities, have returned to the cities. Many of them, unemployed, are

forced to engage in stealing, blackmarketing and prostitution. The crime rate is rising.

The modernization program, as planned, forces Beijing to seek support above all among social strata such as the skilled workers, the "strong" peasants, the intelligentsia and the vestiges of the national bourgeoisie, since the urban and rural poor are unable to effectively contribute to reaching the objectives, lacking the necessary political and economic qualities. This is logical. However, the material situation of the millions of poor people, considering the accelerated modernization aimed essentially at increasing the military potential, would be hardly improved. For this reason, the gap between the overwhelming majority of the population and said strata and the party-administrative upper levels could broaden. The grounds for the dissatisfaction of town and country working people remain.

The social origins of this discontent are found in the fact that the Maoist course does not meet the vital interests of the working class, toiling peasantry or people's intelligentsia. Such interests sharply conflict with the policy and ideology of the leadership and with Maoism, which dooms the people of China to endless sacrifices and privations. An additional reason for the increased severity of the contradictions between Maoism and the people with their vital needs, is Beijing's reliance on allowing the penetration of foreign capital in the country. This will inevitably intensify the exploitation of the Chinese working people and, therefore, increase their opposition to the leadership's policy.

Realizing this, the Beijing leadership has begun to "tighten the screws." While continuing to juggle with words of "democracy," it is persecuting the opponents of the existing system and organizing political trials. Today even the Western information organs, which usually embellish the situation in China, are forced to note that "police repression has been applied against 'democratic actions'" (reported by France Presse). This shows the real worth of Chinese propaganda claims about the "splendid political and economic situation," and that, allegedly, "an atmosphere of political stability and unity has already developed" in the country and that 1979 was noted by an "unusual development of democracy."

In their efforts to suppress discontent, the Chinese authorities do not stop even at revising the stipulations of the PRC Constitution. It was no accident that in its 10 December issue, enumerating the "democratic rights" of the citizens, GUNREN RIBAO did not mention the rights stipulated in article 45 of the constitution, such as the right to strike, the right to "extensively express views and opinions, extensive discussions and large-character posters." In its 1 February 1980 issue RENMIN RIBAO stated that the large-character posters are not an "ideal form of development of democracy."

Unquestionably, we should not overestimate the forces of the spontaneous anti-Maoist movement in China. The very fact that it exists does not mean

in itself that it would be able to undermine in the immediate future the foundations of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship. However, it would be equally wrong to underestimate its significance and influence, particularly under conditions of the present rather restless circumstances prevailing in the country.

### The Political System

The feature which distinguishes China's present situation is the energized activities of state and public institutions, particularly units of the state apparatus related to the economy. A number of new ministries have been established (geology, justice, virgin lands and some machine-building sectors). The decision was passed at the second session of the National People's Congress to reorganize the "revolutionary committees" (as local authorities) into "people's governments," consisting of assemblies of people's representatives (APR) and subordinate to them. The lower APR will be accountable to the higher ones. "Experimentally" direct elections for deputies for district APR are being held by secret ballot.

Beijing has proclaimed its wish to convert to governing based on the law. A number of legislative acts were approved at the second session of the National People's Congress: criminal and criminal procedure codes, laws on the organization of local power and administrative authorities, courts and prosecutors' offices, a law on elections and a law on mixed enterprises with the participation of foreign capital.

The November meeting of the National People's Congress Standing Committee passed the decision to ratify the effectiveness of the majority of about 1,500 laws and other legal acts passed between 1949 and 1966. This, in fact, recreates the legislative system which existed prior to the "Cultural Revolution." The idea would be to restrict the arbitrariness and illegality to which the people's masses have been subjected for many years. However, the Beijing leadership hopes to use this system, above all, for the sake of strengthening the present regime and to suppress "on legal grounds" those who oppose its policies. This is made clear perhaps by the fact alone that, addressing the session of the NPC Standing Committee, Xhao Cangbi, minister of public security, highly rated the decree passed as early as 1957 on the labor reeducation of individuals (who have violated the law without being subject to criminal penalties), since its practical implementation makes it possible to engage in extrajudicial persecution of the opponents of the present regime, above all the young people who refuse to obey the orders of the authorities.

The leadership's measures in the field of state structure and legislation are aimed at strengthening and contributing to the creation of a "new image" of China, as distinct from the period of the "feudal-fascist dictatorship," as the 1966-1976 period is now officially described.

Steps are being taken to strengthen the authority of the CCP and discipline within its ranks. This is done for the sake of upgrading the effectiveness of the party as a tool for the implementation of the modernization program.

One-half of the 37-million-strong CCP membership consists of those who joined its ranks since the "Cultural Revolution," when acceptance into the party was simplified and the main criterion was loyalty to Mao and his line. The Chinese press acknowledges that characteristic of this segment of CCP members are anarchy, factionalism and ignorance of basic norms of party life, and that they are "incapable of playing a vanguard role." Another segment of party members (accepted prior to the "Cultural Revolution") is equally not monolithic. It includes "orthodox" Maoists, who insist on the literal implementation of all of Mao's instructions and behests, and pragmatists who call for amending some Maoist concepts in accordance with the requirements of a changing situation. The circumstances within the party were complicated as a result of the rehabilitation of the victims of the "Cultural Revolution" and of the leaders who were disgraced in the course of the previous decade (today virtually all living members of the Politburo elected at the Eighth CCP Congress, in 1956, have been rehabilitated).

Despite the purges, as RENMIN RIBAO complained "grouping, assuming new aspects, is continuing to damage the party's body." Let us add to this the problems related to rehabilitation of "settling accounts for the past," the "wall of alienation" separating the members of the senior generation and those promoted by the "Cultural Revolution" and divisions among the veterans themselves. "Reciprocal friction, contradictions and questions," wrote the journal HONGQI, "are more numerous today than at any other time preceding the Cultural Revolution." In other words, the CCP has practically not progressed toward becoming a united organization, and is imbued with factionalism from top to bottom.

The bulk of the CCP membership do not participate in party work for all practical purposes. An ever higher percentage of them display a passive attitude, lack of orientation and lack of understanding of the leadership's policies. The party organizations are, in fact, idle and only small groups among their leaders remain active. Meetings are held irregularly. Party education has been reduced to the simple reading of resolutions or newspaper articles.

There is neither unity nor ideological harmony among party cadres. There are frequent cases of disobedience of the instructions issued by superior organs and even CC CCP decisions. HONGQI acknowledged that only one-third of cadre workers conscientiously support and promote the line of today's leadership. The lower and middle level party cadres, confused by the struggle in the upper echelons, display uncertainty and hesitation. They adopt a wait-and-see position and avoid the solution of any problem.

Provincial conferences are equally irregularly summoned. There is no united structure within provincial party committees. Members of "standing committees," appointed from above, rule undividedly. Usually, they also hold leading military and administrative positions.

The focusing of party, administrative and military positions within single individuals is most characteristic of the higher level of China's leadership: 13 of the 17 state council vice premiers are members of the Politburo and 4 are deputy chairmen of the party's Central Committee. The majority of Politburo members are people one way or another linked with the army, including cadre military commanders of basic military districts and armed services, as well as district commissars.

The combination of party with administrative functions creates conditions for the development of local strata not controlled from below. As confirmed by letters published in the press, the party leaders not only fail to explain to, but frequently even fail to inform the rank-and-file membership of the instructions issued by the center, including documents of CC CCP plenums, surrounding themselves with toadies and yes-men, tolerating no critical remarks and trying only to please their superiors. Their work style has remained unchanged for many years (RENMIN RIBAO, 28 June 1979). "Abuses of official position, string pulling, arbitrariness, subjectivism, incompetence, inertia and conservative thinking are exceptionally widespread" in the party (RENMIN RIBAO, 30 June).

The Chinese press is constantly writing of the need for a rebirth of the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, strict observance of party discipline, elimination of sectarianism and guaranteeing the rights of party members. A period of three to five years has been allocated for the restoration of a "correct style" within the CCP and for eliminating the influence of the "Gang of Four." In September-October 1979 the CCP Central Committee held a conference on problems of organizational-party work. The conference adopted a "document on strengthening the structure of leading units, the reform of the cadre system and the skillful completion of the efforts to implement stipulations in the field of cadre policy, strengthen the education of cadre workers and party members, and improve the organizational life of the party." However, judging by materials published in the local press, so far all of these intentions remain on paper only.

The CCP is not acting as a leading, guiding, organizing and binding force of Chinese society. It still does not have a program. It has been deeply contaminated by petit bourgeois nationalism. It has no intraparty democracy, principle-minded criticism and self-criticism, creative initiative and conscious discipline. It is not a vanguard of the working class either organizationally or politically. Even after Mao's death the CCP proved to be unable to return to the ideological-political platform of Marxism-Leninism and has remained a political organization of a Maoist type.

The Beijing leadership continues to enhance the role of the army as a support of the existing regime. This was mentioned, for example, by Hua Guofeng during his visit to one of the military units, on 1 January 1980. The importance ascribed to the armed forces is manifested not only in the

fact that military personnel predominate in the higher power echelons. It may be traced also in their active participation in the center and locally in the implementation of most important measures, including the maintenance of "order and unity" and struggle against "criminality." The army and its representatives are extensively popularized as "models and examples" for the implementation of the leadership's stipulations. Military expenditures, already excessive in terms of China's economic backwardness, are being increased (in September 1979 Deputy Chief of General Staff Yu Xiuquan stated that "in 20 years we hope to catch up with the two super-powers--the United States and the USSR--in the development of military technology and power"). The size of the armed forces is being increased. Measures are being taken to "strengthen the political education and combat training" of the troops and their "organization and discipline" and "combat readiness." Army control over the militia, the construction of underground shelters (involving the multimillion population masses) is rising. Intensive moral-political indoctrination is being carried out among the people in a spirit of preparations for war, particularly following the failure of China's aggression against Vietnam.

Yet in the army as well differences are noted among the various groups within the officers' corps and within the rank and file concerning domestic and foreign policy. There is no single understanding of the political, ideological and economic concepts of the Beijing leadership. Lack of understanding and, frequently, opposition within army circles has been the fate of the campaign promoted under the slogan that "Practice is the Only Criterion of the Truth." It is "considered unnecessary." The ideological line of the CCP Central Committee is being described as "incorrect" (JIEFANG RIBAO, 8 September). Doubts have been expressed concerning the new instructions in the field of economics. A purge has been underway in the armed forces since 1978, proclaimed as a necessary measure. People who are "continuing to engage in factionalism and group forming" are being purged from army ranks.

The article in the 23 December issue of RENMIN RIBAO was quite characteristic. The newspaper noted in its editorial that "some comrades have still an erroneous understanding of relations between army and the local power organs, and between the army and the people."

It appealed for adopting, once again, the principle of "three supports and two implementations" (support of industry and agriculture and of the broad "leftist" masses, and implementation of military control and military-political education), formulated by Mao during the "Cultural Revolution" with a view to establishing a military-bureaucratic regime. According to the newspaper the only stipulation is the need to "purge" this principle from "previously committed errors" and achieve a "correct interpretation of its nature and proper attitude toward it on the part of cadre workers, the mass and, particularly, the youth."

A study of the situation in the basic units of the country's political system indicates that the maneuverings of the Beijing leadership introduce

in its functioning a number of new elements compared with the past. However, such changes have not as yet affected the essence of the regime, which retains the main features of a military-bureaucratic dictatorship.

#### On the Positioning of Forces in the Leadership

China's present leadership is a peculiar coalition of leaders, rivals in the struggle for power, yet supporting similar views on the conversion of the country into a militaristic superpower and supporting anti-socialist positions in foreign policy. The differences existing among the various members of this coalition are related to the tactics, choice of specific ways and means for achieving objectives, strengthening the existing system and establishing priorities in resolving the modernization problem,

Arbitrarily, three basic groups may be singled out in the current leadership.

The right-wing pragmatic groups is exerting a considerable influence on the organizational-party and propaganda apparatus, the military organs and the provincial party committees. It favors a more decisive rapprochement with the imperialists and making use of the possibilities of the Chinese bourgeoisie to insure the accelerated modernization of the country, without being excessively restrained by ideological doctrines. Its supporters consider it necessary to criticize more boldly Mao's errors and to reinterpret his role in PRC history. However, they do not support in the least a full break with Mao and his legacy. They merely insist on reinterpreting Maoist concepts in a pragmatic spirit. This group operates as fighters for "democracy," development of science and culture, and broad contacts with the West.

The "veterans" group consists of individuals who spent many years as members of Mao's closest retinue. They reached their high positions thanks to their adaptability to the zigzags of Maoist policy and the fact that they played an active role in the elimination of "Four." They fear that any sharp reevaluation of the role of Mao's personality and of the "Cultural Revolution" could weaken their own positions. Therefore, having favored in its time the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and his restoration to political activity, today they are restraining his aspiration toward excessive concentration of power in his hands and are trying to strengthen the existing balance of forces under the slogan of "Preserving the Unity and Stability of the Leadership."

The group promoted by the "Cultural Revolution" enjoys great influence locally, among the various groups of relatively young cadres in the party, state and military apparatus. However, its members are subjected to intensive pressure on the part of Deng Xiaoping and his group.

Recently extensive reshuffling took place within the military apparatus and among party and state cadres, particularly on the provincial level. All

this confirms the continuing organizational-political crisis within China's leadership and the divisions within it.

Assessing development trends at the higher echelons of the system, it is necessary to emphasize the inevitability of a subsequent power struggle. Obviously, this struggle may become particularly severe in the period of preparations for the 12th CCP Congress.

#### Maneuverings Around Maoism

The present leadership does not share a unanimous attitude toward Mao's ideological legacy. Those promoted by the "Cultural Revolution" and some leaders of the older generation are in favor of preserving Mao's authority as the supreme leader and "Mao Zedong's ideas" as the ideology of the party and the country. They are trying to do this by separating Mao from Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four," ascribing to them full responsibility for the failures and errors committed in the 20 years following the Eighth CCP Congress.

The "pragmatist" group favors a revision of a number of Maoist leftist concepts which hinder a right-wing opportunistic policy of setting up a "united front" on a nationalistic and hegemonistic platform within the country, and extensive alliances with imperialism in the international arena.

Currently emphasis on the universal importance of the "theory of the continuation of the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat" has been lowered. Changes have been made in the Maoist concepts of the "class struggle" as the ideological base for domestic CCP policy.

A certain new emphasis has been introduced in ideological doctrine on foreign politics. Thus the thesis of the struggle against the "two super-powers"--the USSR and the United States--promoted by Mao in the theory of the "three worlds," has been replaced by the concept of the "struggle against hegemonism." Today, essentially, the only "enemy" of China and of the peoples the world over is the Soviet Union with its allied fraternal countries. The former reliance on an alliance with "Third World" and the developing countries has been dampened. Priority is being given to an ever greater extent to a rapprochement with the big imperialist countries and their military-political alliances.

The report on the 30th anniversary of the PRC acknowledges the failures and errors of the preceding period, but only those which it is no longer possible to ignore. It speaks of the ruinous consequences of the "Cultural Revolution," but the method of the "Cultural Revolution" itself and Mao, its initiator, are not criticized. The stipulation that such assessments contained in the report are merely of a "preliminary nature" confirms that the struggle on such items is continuing.

The report firmly defends the prestige of Mao and his "ideas" as banners around which both party and country must rally. It thoroughly praises Mao's "unfading services," stating that without Mao, allegedly, "the Chinese revolution could not have won and there would be no PRC." His "ideas" are presented as a kind of integral "scientific system," as the "quintessence of CCP collective wisdom" and "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism under China's conditions. According to the report, the political-ideological campaigns promoted in the country under the slogans of "Practice is the Criterion of Truth" and of a "Realistic Approach" aimed at "restoring the true aspect of Mao's ideas" and "create a firm foundation for the planned and gradual implementation of the four modernizations."

The purpose of this document, which as the CC CCP plenum decision emphasizes "is to direct the activities of the entire party, all armed forces and the entire country over a long period of time," is not to revise Mao's course on the basis of principled positions and to pit the new policy against it, but of including within this course the measures taken in the past three years and present them as the extension and further development of the course as a single entity, consistently implemented throughout the three decades of PRC existence.

The struggle on the attitude toward Mao's ideological legacy within the Chinese leadership reveals both the similarity and essential differences in the approach to his "ideas." Common to all factions within Beijing's leadership is support of the Maoist great-power and hegemonistic ideas, anti-Sovietism, belief in the "inevitability" of war and course toward the country's militarization. A similarity exists also in the fact that all Chinese leaders are parasitically relying on the prestige of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism in the international arena and within China itself, and that all of them are in favor of retaining the Maoist "banner."

Yet considerable differences may be found in the tactics of these factions. The representatives of orthodox Maoism are trying to amend it on the methodological and ideological foundations of Maoism itself.

The decision of the CC CCP Plenum (September 1979) and the report it approved on the 30th anniversary of the PRC indicate that an influential group has developed within China's leadership favoring the even greater strengthening of social-chauvinist trends within Maoism. This is confirmed by statements that Mao discovered the Chinese "way to socialism" and the active use of the concepts formulated at the Seventh CCP Congress (1945) on Mao's "ideas" as "Sinicized Marxism," and references to individual stipulations borrowed from the documents of the Eighth CCP Congress from which the Marxist-Leninist and internationalist content has been removed.

The pragmatic revision of Maoism is expressed in the new interpretation of problems of the basic contradiction of Chinese society, the class struggle under socialism, the correlation between politics and economics, the attitude toward the objective laws of social development and the role of the objective and subjective factors.

As we know, Mao always emphasized that the class struggle is the main contradiction during the entire socialist stage. Addressing the 9 October 1957 CC CCP Plenum, he said: "The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist ways is, unquestionably, the main contradiction facing our society at the contemporary stage . . . ." At the Plenum held in the autumn of 1962 he proclaimed that, "One must never forget the class struggle."

Following his death, the Chinese leadership asserted its loyalty to this concept. In an article on the occasion of the publication of the fifth volume of Mao's selected works, Hua Guofeng wrote: "The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the contradiction between the socialist and capitalist ways, are the main contradictions within socialist society" (HONGQI, No 5, 1977). At the first session of the NPC, fifth convocation (February-March 1978), he emphasized that, "In order to accelerate socialist modernization in the four areas, the class struggle must be considered as a decisive link and we must firmly follow the course of the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and Chairman Mao's great theory of the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Subsequently, however, in December of that same year, at the CC CCP Plenum, the slogan of the "Class Struggle Decides Everything" was replaced by "The Four Modernizations Decide Everything." At the second session of the NPC the thesis of class struggle as the main contradiction within society was replaced by Mao's 1957 stipulation to the effect that "this tempest of the class struggle" has come to an end in China.

The present loose formulation offers opportunities for political maneuvering. On the one hand, it appears as though foundations are being laid under a certain abatement of mass political campaigns and, above all, in a conspiracy with capitalist and private ownership elements within China and with imperialism in the international arena. On the other, the possibility is retained, should it become necessary, to apply the method of the "class struggle" against those who disagree with the leadership's policy. The new interpretations of the class struggle are accompanied by a revision of the criteria of class affiliation. In particular, there has been a withdrawal from the former Maoist stipulation that the ideology and political views of a person are the main criteria of class affiliation.

Today the Chinese leadership is forced to recognize that over the past 20 years objective economic laws have been grossly ignored in the PRC. Unlike previous statements according to which "the ideas of Mao Zedong are a spiritual atom bomb," and that "economic incentives in the national economy are revisionist rubbish," the decisions of the December 1978 CC CCP Plenum emphasize the need "to act strictly in accordance with economic laws, pay the necessary attention to the effect of the law of value and combine ideological-political work with measures for economic influence with a view to insuring the full mobilization of the production activity of cadre workers and rank-and-file working people."

Certain amendments are being introduced also in Mao's postulates on the scientific significance of the subjective factor under socialism and the determining role of the superstructure in terms of the base, used by the Maoists in an attempt to justify their voluntarism. Today such views are ascribed to the "Gang of Four" and as "nonsense."

One of the most significant political and ideological maneuvers of the present Chinese leadership, aimed at strengthening its positions and preserving Maoism as the "ideological compass," is the attempt to reinterpret the decisions of the Eighth CCP Congress in a right-wing opportunistic and anti-Soviet spirit, and to use them for great-power purposes. The report on the 30th anniversary of the PRC, for the first time since 1957, provides a positive assessment, on a high official level, of a number of conclusions adopted at the Eighth CCP Congress, which as we know formulated an overall scientifically substantiated general line for the building of socialism in China and drafted a course of cooperation and friendship with the USSR and all other revolutionary forces.

However, the Beijing leaders select from the decisions of the eighth congress only those domestic political circumstances which, one way or another, are consistent with the present course in terms of economic development and establishing order in the country.

As in the past, the basic decision of the eighth congress of replacing in the CCP bylaws the stipulation that Mao's "ideas" are the party's ideological foundation with the thesis that "in all its activities the CCP has been guided by Marxism-Leninism," is being totally ignored. Equally ignored is the fact that eighth congress emphasized the tremendous role of favorable international conditions for the success of the Chinese revolution and the building of a new life in China. The political report of the CCP Central Committee submitted to the congress stated that, "Without the great international solidarity of the proletariat of all countries and without the support of the international revolutionary forces the victory of socialism in China would be impossible." On this basis, the eighth congress formulated as a prime task in foreign policy the further strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union and all other countries within the world's socialist system. Today's leaders reject in its entirety this essential stipulation, replacing it with the task of "creating the broadest possible united international front for the struggle against Soviet social imperialism."

China's development in more than 20 years has proved that the decisions of the Eighth CCP Congress are the real alternative to the adventuristic course of the present Chinese leadership. The leadership is forced to take this into consideration. That is precisely why it is hastening to falsify and distort the decisions of the Eighth CCP Congress so that it may disarm the healthy forces within the party and the people.

The campaign of correcting Maoism and the articles in the Chinese press cautiously criticizing Mao's deification, created comments in the foreign

press in the sense that allegedly China is "rejecting the cult of Mao's personality" and "pulling Mao down from his pedestal." Is this the case? The Chinese leaders themselves provide the answer. Interviewed on British television, Hua Guofeng stated that, "There are those in the West who say that we are 'sweeping off' a number of Chairman Mao's ideas. To the best of my knowledge, it is even claimed that we are 'dethroning' Mao. The facts are entirely different. Even a superficial study of the situation in China would prove that it is precisely the opposite that is taking place."

Naturally, indeed, sooner or later, there will be a de-Maoization in China in the more distant future, for it is only as a result of a total break with Maoism that China would be able to resume a healthy development in the socialist way. Today the purpose of a criticism of Mao's deification, whenever allowed, is to strengthen the positions of the current regime. In fact, acknowledging that Mao is a deity and that "each one of his words is truth" would make any correction of the course impossible. The development of events in the country indicates that the attitude toward Mao's ideological and political heritage is an acute problem around which there will be a long period of struggle in Beijing.

The ideological "rubbing out" of Maoism does not change its anti-socialist and anti-Marxist nature. Furthermore, the main elements of this ideology are strengthened: a militant great-power nationalism, implanted within the PRC, and unrestrained hegemonism in foreign policy; hostility toward scientific communism and world socialism, which has assumed the form of anti-Sovietism; reliance on war and violence as, allegedly, the only means for resolving all social and economic problems; and rapprochement with the most reactionary forces of the capitalist world on the basis of hostility toward world socialism.

Characteristic of contemporary ideological life in China is ideological ferment and a growing disorientation on the part of the broad masses and cadres on a number of problems.

The practice of recent years has shown that, whatever its form, Maoism is incapable of providing a constructive answer to problems affecting the country's development. As was pointed out by the first secretary of the CCP Committee of Heilongjiang Province, "For many years everything was reduced to fighting various deviations and, usually, the leftist deviation was criticized as being rightist. There was only destruction. Nothing was created. Destruction replaced creation. Specific ways and means for the solution of serious problems were studied extremely scantily" (HONGQI, No 7, 1979).

The extent of the ideological ferment is explained, in particular, by the fact that, even though it is officially recognized that "shortcomings and errors" existed in Mao's activities, so far no direct statement is being made as to their specific nature. The criticism of Maoist experiments and campaigns affects not their substance but, as a rule, secondary aspects.

Thus describing the period of the "Cultural Revolution" as the domination of a "feudal-fascist despotic dictatorship," the Chinese leaders and propaganda avoid its general assessment and claim that Mao's "motivations" were accurate. Statements that the "extensive, storm-like mass class struggle" has ended in China and shifting "the center of gravity of the work" to economic problems are presented as Mao's long-standing instructions, which were not implemented "by virtue of a number of reasons."

No one knows what stipulations are included in the concept of Mao's "scientific system of ideas." Split and misdirected cadre workers, rank-and-file party members, members of the intelligentsia, the young people and many ordinary Chinese are following with growing puzzlement the sharp turns of the political leadership, becoming ever more disoriented.

The circumstances are worsened by the fact that, even though following Mao's death, the present leaders seem to have realized the need and significance of economic development, they are still displaying their inability to abandon the voluntaristic methods inherent in Maoism and to formulate scientific plans. They are forced to reassess several times the situation in the country and to review forthcoming tasks. Such turns in the party and society, slowing the solution of vital problems, intensify disillusionment and doubts and broaden the gap between the leadership and the people.

The inability of the Chinese leaders to make a firm break with Mao's "ideas," support of Maoism and simultaneous attempts to "renovate it," trigger confusion and ideological-political ferment in all Chinese social strata.

Therefore, considered as a whole, including the economic situation, social processes, ideological struggle and deployment of forces in the leadership, the situation in China is characterized by its extremely conflicted and tense nature.

The scale of economic and social problems which arose as a result of Maoist economic mismanagement and the extent of the harm caused by Maoism to the Chinese people and to socialism in that country are truly colossal. The Chinese revolution is experiencing a severe crisis.

In order to retain their control over the country, the Beijing rulers engage in a variety of political maneuverings. Amending some Maoist slogans and stipulations, they also try to retain intact the great-power, chauvinistic and petit bourgeois-nationalistic nature of Maoism. They are trying to present the current circumstantial variant of Maoism as the "creative development of Marxism-Leninism," retaining Maoism as "the ideology of the party and the country." They have proved incapable of drawing the necessary lessons from the failures of Maoism. They are retaining its cleaned-up dogmas. This inevitably results in new political, social and ideological complications in the country.

Characteristic of China is the existence of two basic trends. On the one hand, we note a certain stabilization of the present regime and a certain streamlining of the economic and political structure of the state. On the other, there is an ever clearer growth in the discontent with the existing regime among the various strata of Chinese working people, greater mistrust on the part of party members, military personnel, the conscious segment of the workers and some of the young people and the intelligentsia in the policy of the leadership, and an intensified ideological disorientation affecting a considerable percentage of China's population.

Beijing has entered the new decade of the 20th century with the ideas of strengthening, at all costs, the existing anti-people's regime and mobilizing all internal resources, while at the same time attracting foreign capital in order to insure its hegemonistic course in the international arena.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. That dazhai was a big production brigade in one of the districts of Shanxi Province, famous as a self-supporting farm of the barracks type making do with practically no outlays on the part of the state and pledging to yield maximum output by taking away from the peasants any of the added and even part of the necessary product.

5003

CSO: 1802

ON THE CENTENNIAL OF THE BIRTH OF NIKOLAY IL'ICH PODVOYSKIY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 107-119

[Edited by Academician B. Kedrov]

[Text] Nikolay Il'ich Podvoyskiy is one of the representatives of the old Leninist guard about whom, to this day, one finds it hard to speak in the past tense. Physically dead, spiritually he remains forever in the combat line of the builders of the new society. Nurtured and raised by the great Lenin, these people were so far ahead of their time ideologically and morally, that the farther the Soviet society they created advances toward communism, the clearer the truly communist features of their characters become. Strong, fearless, energetic, independently and boldly thinking revolutionary fighters like Podvoyskiy are the best example of how one must dedicate one's entire being, like Lenin, to the historical cause of the working class and the communist party.

Close to railroad and textile workers, as student of the law school in Yaroslavl', in 1901 Nikolay Podvoyskiy joined the RSDWP. From the very beginning he became Lenin's consistent supporter. With a richly gifted character, a creative and socially active person, passionately hating all injustice and rushing into battle for the liberation of the working people, he understood and accepted with his mind and heart the Leninist truly revolutionary strategy and tactic, and made his own the objectives of the Bolshevik party.

Nikolay Il'ich intensively engaged in self-education and in broadening his political outlook. He made a thorough study of Marxist literature. Solid theoretical training and organizational and oratorical talents rapidly raised the young Bolshevik to the leadership. He headed a Marxist circle at the railroad depot in Yaroslavl' and addressed very successfully workers rallies and meetings. In 1904-1905 he was chairman of the Bolshevik students' committee and member of the Yaroslavl' RSDWP Committee and one of the leaders of the political strike of the textile workers. He was member of soviet of workers' deputies in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and an organizer of workers' combat units in Yaroslavl'. One must admire his firm behavior in Yaroslavl's jail, where he was hurled, half dead, savagely beaten by police

and reactionaries, and wounded in 17 places! An excerpt from the the recommendation issued in its time to Podvoyskiy by V. I. Nevskiy, party member since 1897, speaks for itself: "N. I. Podvoyskiy was detained when the police broke up the central, Petersburg and Moscow committees at the beginning of 1908. Comrade Podvoyskiy found himself in jail only because of his loyalty to the party, since, defending the party property, he refused to abandon his post and go into hiding." ". . . His main short-coming--his desire to work boundlessly--comes from the powerful sources of his nature as an organizer," V. I. Nevskiy noted further.

Both then and subsequently, whatever the responsible positions assigned Podvoyskiy by the party, together with other firm Leninists he followed Lenin's way.

Nikolay Il'ich always displayed infinite respect for Lenin, a truly enthusiastic love, with a deep understanding of the leader's historical role. This is clearly visible from his published recollections "Lenin v 1917" [Lenin in 1917] and "God 1917" [The Year 1917]. However, family archives have preserved many other writings, frequently unrelated, theses indicating that, to the very end of his life, he supported the genius of the revolution, restoring in his memory, bit by bit, everything that was characteristic of Lenin, and particularly his work style. Following are only three such remarks: "Lenin hated most of all literary pretentiousness and un consequential judgments, judgments for the sake of judgments": "how lovingly and how elegantly, with what amazing mastery was Vladimir Il'ich able to direct the thoughts and actions of the people to the required channel": "energy is his power. Lenin is fearless. He is politically invulnerable. Lenin's ideological depth is immeasurable. Lenin never conceals from the people a single one of his definitive and profoundly considered thoughts." Here is another brief acknowledgment in a brief letter to his wife: "I experienced tremendous happiness in working with Vladimir Il'ich." Occasionally, Podvoyskiy heard Lenin address to him critical remarks, which were sometimes quite sharp. However, as he acknowledged himself, they were always entirely justified. He not only acknowledged them but drew from them proper conclusions.

Nikolay Il'ich loved and was able to interestingly speak about Lenin, particularly when addressing young people.

N. I. Podvoyskiy is best known as one of the heroes of the Great October Revolution and as a noted military leader who dedicated many of his forces to the cause of the victory of the revolution and its defense from domestic and foreign enemies, the creation of the Red Army and the training and political instruction of its personnel. As early as the February bourgeois-democratic revolution he made a serious study of military affairs and quite legitimately headed the military organization of the Bolshevik party, putting to use all of his uncommon ability to insure the growth of its influence in the Petrograd garrison and in the front and rear army units and fleets.

Podvoyskiy played a major role in organizing the welcoming of Lenin at the Finland Station. He was a delegate to the historical Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDWP(b) and at the sixth party congress, at which he submitted a report on the work of the military organization. He was member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee, its bureau and operative three-man commission in charge of the October uprising, and during the uprising chairman of the military revolutionary committee. He was one of the leaders in the storming of the Winter Palace. He commanded the Petrograd Military District in the period of the liquidation of the Kerenskiy-Krasnov mutiny. Subsequently he was people's commissar for military affairs of the RSFSR, chairman of the all-Russian collegium for the organization and formation of the Red Army, member of the Higher Military Council, chairman of the Higher Military Inspectorate, member of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council and Ukrainian people's commissar for the army and navy. . . . These and other similar landmarks in Podvoyskiy's biography offer a sufficient idea of the high trust he enjoyed on the part of Lenin and the party, and the popularity he enjoyed among revolutionary soldiers, seamen, Red Guards and Red Army men. According to many people who worked with him at that time, Nikolay Il'ich was considered an authoritative person in the party and was known and loved by literally everyone in the armed forces.

Podvoyskiy's popularity was helped by his total dedication in carrying out party assignments, bubbling energy, initiative, courage, the ability to inflame the human masses with his enthusiasm and his confidence in the possibility to accomplish the seemingly impossible.

"Podvoyskiy is a delight, energetic and sincere, touching in his zeal that everything will be done immediately," wrote A. M. Kollontay in February 1919. In its 5 September 1918 issue, reporting an attempt on his life at the Tsaritsyn Front, the newspaper IZVESTIYA VTsIK I MOSKOVSKOGO SOVETA RABOCHIKH I KRASNOARMEYSKIKH DEPUTATOV described the tremendous amount of work he was doing, noting in particular, ". . . Comrade Podvoyskiy went on reconnaissance and subsequently, in the offensive, he was in the front line as a rank-and-file infantryman. His individual courage and inordinate resourcefulness have greatly contributed to the upsurge in the Red Army units, particularly noted in recent battles. . . ." Here is a note made by Nikolay Il'ich himself: "I have always tried to teach the workers to act within the collective, for the sake of the collective, together with the collective and under the control of the collective."

All these qualities allowed Podvoyskiy to work most usefully for the people as chief of the Universal Training and in special-purpose units, extensively to develop the physical culture movement in the country, at whose origins he stood and made a considerable contribution to the organization of higher technical education and in the development of a new, socialist intelligentsia. As member of the Central Control Commission, elected at the 13th-15th party congresses, he did a great deal of fruitful work with the party organizations in VUZ's and collectives of the creative

intelligentsia, helping them in the ideological restructuring of the old professorial cadres and artists, and in the communist upbringing of young engineers, scientists, musicians, actors, painters and literary workers.

Generally speaking, Nikolay Il'ich was a very colorful personality distinguished by great vitality, extensive education and a variety of interests. A modest, responsive, attentive and tactful person, he easily established friendly relations with workers and soldiers, men of science and the arts, party and non-party members, members of the Komsomol and pioneers. Whenever he met someone, he sought and tried to bring up the main thing--infinite loyalty to the ideals of the October Revolution and readiness to fight to the end for their practical implementation. He particularly respected the working people, something which is still warmly remembered within the Trekhgorka Collective, of whose party organization he was a member since 1918. This is confirmed by the numerous notes he made for himself and his letters to his children. Incidentally, all of them, on the insistence of Nikolay Il'ich, went through the proper training for factory-plant labor.

In the first months of the Great Patriotic War, even though having suffered from several serious heart attacks, Podvoyskiy voluntarily undertook to head the defense operations in Krasnaya Presna. Answering the question of who he is and on whose order he is doing this, he gave the following note to the military commissariat: "I am working in the field of universal training and in organizing the defense of Moscow as a volunteer, as a party member. I am retired. N. Podvoyskiy." The words "as party member" are the most accurate epigraph to the rich biography of this outstanding person.

N. I. Podvoyskiy was an experienced journalist and literary worker. He wrote a great deal. Before the revolution he was one of the heads of the legal Zerno party publishing house and participated in organizing and publishing the newspapers ZVEZDA and PRAVDA. In various times he also edited the Bolshevik journal VOPROSY STRAKHOVANIYA, and the newspapers SOLDATSKAYA PRAVDA, RABOCHIY I SOLDAT and SOLDAT. He was the author of fiery leaflets and appeals, articles on current politics, military, economic and cultural construction, pamphlets and books.

Ascribing tremendous importance to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, he used any possible opportunity to disseminate it among the masses and was concerned with increasing his own knowledge in this area. "One must study theory not for the sake of acquiring a philosophical education, but to be able to act," wrote Nikolay Il'ich on his 67 birthday.

Following is a type of introduction to the publication of "Pis'ma o Dialektike" [Letters on Dialectics] by N. I. Podvoyskiy and the theses he wrote on these letters. Both are published for the first time.

Naturally, these manuscripts are dated and do not take into consideration a number of subsequent scientific achievements. We must also bear in mind

that they were written even before the publication of Lenin's "Philosophy Notebooks." Nevertheless, they reflect the intellectual world of a revolutionary of the Leninist school and this alone is of tremendous interest.

R. Vid

#### Letters on Dialectics

. . . The purpose of these letters is to promote the mass, militant dialectical education of progressive, skilled workers trained by the state to provide engineering and technical management of the building of socialism, i.e., the dialectical upbringing of the army which must build socialism exclusively on the basis of a truly scientific theory and methodology.

The letters on dialectics represent the first steps in the mandatory application by engineers and technicians in the course of the practical building of socialism of the laws governing Marxist-Leninist dialectics, so that in front of the entire army of builders, rapidly, decisively and clearly, confidently and skillfully, sharp quantum leaps be promoted in the building process and enable such turns to prove, in practical terms, to the labor army the power of Marxist theory and the need for mastering it without delay in order to insure the fastest possible development of unparalleled successes in the building of socialism. Equipping the army of future builders with Marxist-Leninist dialectics, these letters on dialectics will teach it the skill in the Leninist way to accomplish the following:

1. Take circumstances into consideration;
2. assess means and forces;
3. plan;
4. earmark and choose accurate ways;
5. select the decisive directions, sectors and units for the maximum utilization of forces and means;
6. mobilize the main forces and means for the fastest possible mastering of the decisive link in the process;
7. adopt the most advantageous tactic in the utilization of means and forces and utilize, to this effect, the most economical means;
8. steadily to control and determine success in the course of such building, always striving for maximum results of forces and means spent on each completed construction project.

In order for the letters on dialectics to have the characteristics, power and nature required by the objective, it is necessary, above all, for each principle expressed in the letters to be backed by a required, mandatory number of vivid examples borrowed from the specific sciences, which at this time hold a decisive position.

The sharpened profoundly scientific content of the letters on dialectics and the clear method of their structure, form of presentation and technical treatment should make thinking operate under the highest possible pressure and be so refined as to easily turn practical engineers and technicians in the building of socialism into an army which could defend Leninism at each point in the course of the building of socialism, at each specific construction sector, without difficulties in theoretical battles, steadily and with ever greater force, converting each such sector into a Leninist

fortress and into a battle center for the inviolability and purity of Leninism and starting point for repelling attacks launched against it by capitalist and opportunistic forces hostile to the working class--a center for proving the practicality and rationality of Marxism-Leninism as the true foundation of the science for the practical building of socialism.

The strict and clearly practical direction followed in the letters on dialectics and the inviting nature of their structure, calling for the merciless rejection of obsolete technical methods and means of building, should also call upon the army of engineers and technicians to engage in a general Marxist-Leninist revision of each concept within each specialized discipline, whether general technical or economic, and on the basis of this revision learn, learn, learn and learn fearlessly, mercilessly in a Leninist way to throw out of each discipline any theoretical or practical rubbish and clean science of weeds, confusions and distortions, restructuring it in such a way as to make it effective, full of unrestrainable bubbling energy, sparkling, gaining by leaps and bounds ever new positions, hating obstructions, always ready to fight and unrestrainedly tempestuously strive forward, deeper and higher.

In addition to this direct task, the thus structured and developed letters on dialectics will provide a gigantic leap in the dialectical rearming of the entire youth and all children of the working people of the USSR. This must become the task of the subsequent work on the letters on dialectics.

Podvoyskiy, June 1928.

### Dialectics

(Outlines of General Principles)

Twenty-Five Dialectical Theses<sup>1</sup>

N. I. Podvoyskiy

(In place of a preface<sup>2</sup>)

1. Clear presentation of principles.
2. Always support statements and suggestions as to the need for something with a detailed study of the circumstances, conditions and basic political lines.

#1. Distinction between dialectics and evolutionary theory: 1. By the topic; 2. by the method for resolving problems. As we expand the content of "evolution" the first distinction becomes unnecessary.<sup>3</sup>

"Development" in the broader meaning of the term compared with "progress," and so on; "development" of geological structures, outer space, chemistry.

However, what is retained in dialectics is a change in simultaneousness (a qualitative hierarchy of things) unlike genetic development.<sup>4</sup> Mendeleev's periodic system of chemical elements and hierarchy of organisms to the genetic (Darwin's) viewpoint in biology.

#2. Importance of "qualitative" dialectics (dialectics "in simultaneity"), specifically wherever: 1. The genetic order is unknown; 2. where there is generally no development in time (in the abstract sciences, such as logic and mathematics).

Pan-arithmetic,<sup>5</sup> pan-geometry, pan-mechanics, pan-energetics, logical monism.

#3. Dialectics is a formal science; it is the kinematics of quality changes. Consequently it is a method and does not predict anything concrete.<sup>6</sup>

#4. Dialectics itself is dialectical: There is no pas-par-tout (universal dialectical truths).<sup>7</sup> There is a Hegelian idealistic viewpoint on dialectical laws. The general part of dialectics is small, but is as important to research as the multiplication table is in computations.<sup>8</sup>

#5. The first dialectical principle is everything is motion. The trite understanding of this concept must be rejected. Dialectics does not deal with accidental processes, but only with their systematic forms of immanent causes.<sup>9</sup>

#6. Dialectics in simultaneity. Classification and chain method. Appearance of the metaphysical method. The natural sciences, dealing with slow processes, could not note the dialectical nature of things. The metaphysical method had a broader field of research: 1. In the abstract sciences, dealing with permanent relations (applicable to mankind); 2. in the specific sciences: dealing with objects which had not noticeably changed in the entire period of human existence (for example, non-dialectical chemistry<sup>10</sup> is applicable to the present cosmic period). However, the developed static viewpoint of consecutive phenomena was, whenever possible, applied to phenomena in simultaneous condition. The result was a viewpoint which divides things into sharply similar and sharply dissimilar, i.e., the so-called classification method. Classification of numbers, classification of chemical elements and compounds, and Mendeleev's system.<sup>11</sup> Classification of organisms according to Darwin's (genetic) method. Animal-plant. Chain method.<sup>12</sup>

#7. Second principle of dialectics. The second principle of dialectics is based on the chain distribution of matter: one should not think in terms of drastic opposites (or similarities).<sup>13</sup>

First assumption: Gradually similarities turn into opposites and consequently similar objects always contain the latter (i.e., their opposites)

in an embryonic state. For example, man and monkey are related as being the offspring of anthropoids, but are also different as species. Each object gradually converts (logically (justified)) into its opposite. There are positive and negative values, forces and roots. An ellipse gradually converts into a circle.

Second assumption: Differences gradually convert into similarities (and various types always include similarities).

There is a logical (logically justified, natural) conversion of things into each other. Gradually metals convert into metalloids (nonmetals). The curve and the straight line come closer to each other, forming a polygon with an infinite number of sides. There are intermediate fluctuations between heat and light. The inorganic world converts into organic.

Application (on the reciprocal conversion of mathematical steps).

(To #7. Logical and factual transition among objects.

(To #7. It does not follow in the least from the circumstance that there is always a mental (logical) transition among all things that such a transition factually exists, either simultaneous or consecutive. Therefore, in the area of fact one must not mandatorily think in terms of drastic transitions, nor consider mandatory the existence of transitions: . . . (for the fourth principle see #10)).

#8. Combination of opposites.<sup>14</sup> Animal-plant. Dynamic balance. Balance of an uneven lever. Virtual velocities. Balance under the influence of two forces. River (in the Heraclitean aspect of dialectics). Heraclitean concept of being as a balanced (stationary) flow. Dispute with the Eleatics. Heraclitus' concept of change as a violation of the dynamic balance (the balancing of the profit and loss of a flowing mass). The organism is a flow. The same applies to society (see principles 9 and 15).

(To #8. Bookkeeping is the Heraclitean method for the presentation of the economic process.

(To #8. All processes are quite close in terms of their nature to the "flow," as Heraclitus imagines. This is made apparent by the fact the bookkeeping can conveniently present any economic process as a flow of economic objects within a given economy.

(Any profit of the economic substance is a flow of profits, an asset; the loss of substances is a flow of losses, the debit. Understandably, any process in nature could also be presented in a bookkeeping fashion as a double flow of profit and loss. It is noteworthy that even where no profit and loss of substance exists, but only quality change, bookkeeping presents this in a Heraclitean way, as a process within a separate economic item entitled "profits and losses." Thus when the wine turns into acid without

changing the quantity of the substance, it presents the process as though the wine was a total "loss" and was replaced by a "profit" of vinegar. This method of bookkeeping entries is the most practically convenient and logical. Consequently, perhaps it would be worth it to imagine in a bookkeeping, i.e., Heraclitean, process any process in nature, even a process in which there has been no change in the sum total of matter.)

#9. Time dialectics. First, second and third principles. (First principle: Everything is in motion.) Second principle: Everything converts into its opposite. Non-radical changes apply to a static situation (ontogenetic changes). (This is not rejected by the non-dialecticians.) In sociology. Among utopian socialists. For the latter only one form is essential. The others are either ontogenetic or pathological. Bourgeois philosophers. Opportunists. Dialectics and the third principle. Motion is the prototype of the dialectical process. In motion there is no distinction between substantial and unsubstantial change. Generally speaking, however, this is merely an argument with the non-dialecticians.

#10. Fourth principle. Conservatism of the non-dialecticians. Acknowledgment of the slow change of one kind into another--this is, nevertheless, progress compared with the statement that there is no conversion; yet since there is a conversion (it would be non-dialectical to claim that there appear) not species (but varieties).<sup>15</sup> Same in sociology. Consequently, we should not confuse the socialist-opportunists who recognize the slow conversion of capitalism into socialism with bourgeois social reformers who totally reject this conversion. Opportunists: (Quantitatively one-sided, one-dimensional) evolution, there are no leaps or catastrophes. The opposite prevails in dialectics: (Natura fit saltus) (fourth principle).

#11. Fifth principle (conversion of quantity into quality). Qualitative leaps (changes in the tga and (the degree) of the angle). Qualitative leaps and conversion of quantity into quality. Heating water. Letting the pendulum swing.<sup>16</sup> The qualitative leap is based on unstable balance.

#12. Sixth principle (conversion of quality into quantity<sup>17</sup>). In turn, a quality change could determine a quantitative leap (replacing undivided with divided labor increases labor productivity).

#13. Fourth, fifth and sixth principles: Partiality in dialectics even though this is of great practical significance. One may reject them while remaining a (conservative) dialectician (the opportunists).<sup>18</sup>

#14. The 14th principle (there is no absolute truth, truth is relative).<sup>19</sup>

The truths of logic and mathematics are relatively general, i.e., universally applicable to our experience. Truths in physics and, particularly, chemistry are relatively not universal. Bismuth and rubber expand with cold. Burning ice.<sup>20</sup> Evaporation (and boiling) of water at standard temperature in vacuum. Law of expansion of gases. Color heat.

Mechanics. Probable non-universality. Newton's formulas of universal gravitation. Law of electric attraction (and repulsion--Coulomb's Law).

Mathematical laws could be different. Lack of clarity of such a concept.

Laws of logic.<sup>21</sup> Dialectics does not reject but merely intensifies their understanding. They are universal to our experience, universal and subjective, unlike the laws of geometry. The laws of logic are the expression of the organization of the brain as an apparatus for knowledge. They are equivalent to instinct in the practical area.

The laws of mathematics are universal only factually. Logically they are not (justified).

Hume, Kant and analytical judgments. This is tautology. Kant's example. Tautology is also of experiential origin.

There have never been universal truths in biology: This contradicts the fact of development. The toxicity of a poison (which may be useful in small doses), the adverse effect of oleum ricini (and its administration to children), etc.

Sociology. Theft. Prostitution. Homosexuality. Infanticide. Patricide. Morality truths (are relative and not universal). The truth about a republican system (and its relativity).

#15. First variant. Seventh principle (there are no abstract truths. Truth is concrete).<sup>22</sup> Truths must not stand above reality.

#16. Eighth principle: Abstract truths are merely tendencies rather than actualities.<sup>23</sup>

There should be no confusion between abstract truths and tendencies. The law of inertia. Gravity in the movements of the planets is a tendency. Reality is the algebraic total of all operating tendencies. The populists, Bernstein, Tugan-Baranovskiy, confuse virtual law with topical law. Marx' abstract method. Accumulation of tendencies.

#17. Second variant of the seventh principle. Truth must not be expressed in more general terms than allowed by its realm of application. In this sense as well it must be specific.

Specification and individualization of some truths (social, for example). Striking analogy between the ancient (slave-owning) world and the capitalist age, which, however, was not the base of identical consequences. "The laws of the capitalist society" apply specifically only to European societies: there are no laws in general. Could individual laws exist? The Malthusian "abstract" law is applicable only to animals.

(To #17. Examples of the seventh principle.

(To #17. Let us explain the second variant of the seventh principle with examples. Specific truth must always mention the conditions to which it applies. Thus the stipulation that "rain benefits plants" is an abstract and, therefore, erroneous stipulation, for rain is useful before the harvest and harmful between the harvest and the gathering in. Consequently, the following stipulation would be accurate: Rain is useful to the plants before the harvest, and not in general (making abstraction of conditions). "Water evaporates (boils) at 80° Reamur." This is erroneous, for one should add, under one atmosphere pressure. The stipulation that "expropriation leads to the appearance of capitalism" is abstract and erroneous, for additional efforts are needed: a certain level of technology, and so on. Thus, as we already mentioned, conditions in the ancient world, strikingly similar to precapitalist conditions did not lead to capitalism, since the level of technology was still so low that the expropriated craftsmen were unable to work as free (hired) workers, but only as slaves. In the same way the expropriation of the Franks under Charles the Great resulted only in serfdom law. The expropriation of the Russian peasantry led only to the work-off system, and so on. Equally abstract and wrong is the concept that wars are harmful, because many wars have been beneficial, exposing to the losing nations the ulcers in their own system and forcing them to change it.<sup>24</sup>)

#18. Initial contradiction as the reason for the development of contradictions in time. Ninth principle. (Principle of immanent contradiction.)

Everything in Heraclitus and Hegel is a river, the profit and loss of matter, contradiction, expressed in material terms. This viewpoint is acceptable only in biology and sociology. In general, it could be said that the process is determined by immanent reasons, frequently, but not always. The immanent development of a geological structure is only relative, for it is mainly the result of heterogenous reasons (wind erosion, and so on). In any case, the given formation does not depend exclusive on the nature of the previous formation. Here the contradiction lies not in the object itself, but in its connection with external forces. In its true meaning, the principle of immanent contradiction is applicable only to organized matter. However, even in organized matter an immanent contradiction, specifically, may not be found from the very beginning. From the very beginning, specifically, we find only the reason for the immediate stage of development of the contradiction (at the second stage of things we find, specifically, the causes for the third stage, and so on).

Biology (acorn and oak).

Transformation of artisan into capitalist production. The growth of labor productivity in the "consumer" economy predetermines the appearance of a capitalization fund for the "commercialized" economy. Second stage. The growth of the "commercialized" economy protects the owner from work. Third stage, and so on.

Why is it that the initial (immanent) contradiction, specifically, is found in organized matter only? A certain means must exist as a result of the expediency of their organization aimed at a specific target. The initial contradiction is immanent because organized matter is emancipated from external conditions. Has expedient development been established in its social forms? Formula for the ninth principle: Through their own development, all substances create within themselves the reason for their destruction.

(To #18. An initial contradiction, even within organized matter, exists only for the immediate stages.

(To #18. Consequently, therefore, organized matter has an immanent, internal contradiction only to the extent determining the development of the contradiction in time to the level representing the next stage, rather than the dimensions of the final contradiction in time. Consequently, we can say, even in terms of organized matter, that total contradiction can only develop rather than exist from the beginning (see principle nine).

Ninth (principle of the first variant). Fifteenth principle:<sup>25</sup> Through its own development each object creates within it its own contradiction (leading to negation). See the ninth principle (#18).

#19. Second variant of the ninth principle ("random").<sup>26</sup>

Here again systematic development is determined by immanent reasons, but both are random. The effect of external reasons here is eliminated through their reciprocal neutralization. Systematizing in the development of geological formations is determined by the following: 1. The length of the period of geological formations, thanks to which, as random, external reasons neutralize each other; 2. the power of the developing forces eliminating the effect of other reasons. The cosmic process. Reasons for harmony in galactic systems.

#20. Tenth principle (ninth as a tendency). In any case, as the reason for a virtual systematic development, the immanent reason is always operative. The abstract method reveals both.<sup>27</sup> The law of virtual drop of profits. Price evolution based on cost evolution.

#21. Principle of three-term development (11th).

Engels and Plekhanov on the subject. Applicable only to organized matter. Random in terms of others.

In a three-term development the second stage is not merely an intermediate stage between the first and the second [sic], but an independent stage. We have here the disappearance of the old and the appearance of a new one, separated in time. The second stage represents the "watershed" between them. In the organism this is the time of death of the old and the birth

of the new species. Popilionaceae and single multiplication. Multiple multiplication. In the higher organisms the second stage is at the end of the development of the new organism. Multiplied division, budding. The birth of a "reserve army" of the species and additional multiplication. Restoration of the generations of individuals in the species. Restoration of generations of cells within the individual. Multiplication of cells through division. "Reserve army" of cells. Other elements in the organism. Natural selection has not "foreseen" everything. Therefore, organized matter as well is not organized. Philogenesis. Here the principle is applicable only at random<sup>28</sup> (i.e., the principle of three-term development. Naturally, as of a certain moment it could be said that this is the beginning stage of a new type. In precisely the same manner, until the stipulated moment, we could claim that we are still dealing with the old type. The intermediate points between the two could be marked as a condition in the period of the second term of development, which is merely the transitional condition between the two end contradictions).

(To #21. Universal nature of the ninth principle in its expanded understanding.

(To #21. Third variant of the ninth principle (contradiction in communication).

(If a constant relation exists between an object and its external characteristics, it is these characteristics that determine its systematic development. Here not the reason for development, but the connection with the latter is immanent. In this sense this development as well could be considered immanent and, considering the connection with the reasons as the reason for development, the reason itself could be considered immanent. In such a case, the corresponding unorganized matter (dead matter) would contain an inner contradiction and an immanent specific reason for development.

(In any case, this will be a separate variant (third) of the ninth principle.

(Taking into consideration these three variants of the ninth principle and the 10th principle, which in fact is the fourth variant of the ninth principle, we find that all objects, one way or another, contain an internal contradiction which is the reason for the dialectical process occurring within them.)

(#22. The social realm is further analyzed on the basis of that same principle of three-term development.

(#23. The "initial" contradiction in organized matter is the absence of divided functions in which two (or more) functions are still combined within the single organ. The second and third stages are the areas of separation of the functions. The functions become separated in both essence and time.

(Therefore, the three-term development is as follows: 1. Initial situation (thesis); 2. stage of destruction of the initial situation, known in dialectics as negation (negation of the first stage, antithesis); 3. Elimination of the second, which in dialectics is known as negation of the negation (synthesis). This is a circular movement representing a separation (from the initial point) to the extent to which we take into consideration the distance covered, but is always an approach (to the initial point) if we consider the distance which remains for completing the cycle (what this actually means is a spiral motion).

(#24. In unorganized matter the phenomenon of "pure negation" (i.e., without a simultaneous restoration) may occur accidentally only. The nature of the initial situation (thesis) predetermines the nature of the development of the contradiction in time. The nature of the synthesis is predetermined by the nature of the thesis. The nature of the object determines the form of development of the contradiction (and its resolution) (principle 13).)

(To #24. The effect of the two forces is only figurative. It is an example of contradiction of the second type. Generally speaking, naturally, here again, as everywhere else, a contradiction exists.

(To #24. In the case of the effect of two forces, in my view, it is not a question of contradiction and conciliation other than in the figurative sense. Naturally, this applies only to the analyzed form of contradiction, i.e., of the second type. Generally speaking, naturally, there is a contradiction here, for any process (and, consequently, the effect of forces) is determined by a contradiction (see preceding note to #21). However, at that point it is not a question of two forces, but of forces in general, even though a single one. All force contains within itself a contradiction, since it determines not only the condition, but the change in this condition, and consequently the status and elimination of this initial condition ( $A + \text{non } A$ ). Furthermore, the contradiction develops here not in accordance with the three-term type, but in its simpler form (two-term). Consequently, there is no synthesis here, but merely an eternal repeated negation.)

#25. Laws of metaphysical and dialectical logic.

The " $A = A$ " identity law, according to the dialectician, is applicable only in the case of (relative) being.<sup>29</sup> In the dialectical case we have " $A = A = \text{non } A$ " (the sensible concept of simultaneity and sequence).

The law of "contradiction" (" $A \neq \text{non } A$ ") is, in the dialectical case, as follows: " $A \neq \text{non } A = \text{non } A$ ."

The law of the "excluded third" (" $A = B \text{ or } \text{non } B$ "). In the dialectical case it is  $A = B = \text{non } B$ .

In fact the law and the formulas of metaphysical (or, rather, formal) logic are entirely accurate if understood more deeply than the metaphysicists

interpret them. The dialecticians must replace the negated (or, rather, restricted) laws with other laws.

The  $A = A$  formula does not claim in the least (as is done by the metaphysicists) that  $A$  is invariable (the dialectics of "sequence") or unequivocal (the dialectics of "simultaneity"), but only that "it is equal to itself, whatever it may be (being or not being), i.e., that it expresses a tautology: tautology plays a major role in thinking."<sup>30</sup>

The formula of the law of "contradictions" considers the same from the opposite side from the one ascribed to this law by the metaphysicists.

The law of the "excluded third" is true if formulated as follows:  $A =$  "pure  $B$ " or non-"pure  $B$ ."<sup>31</sup>

"Related" laws must also be understood correspondingly.

The law of "identity in conclusions": If  $A = B$  and  $B = C$ , then  $A = C$ .

The law of "contradiction in conclusions."

Related laws in conclusions.<sup>32</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

The above materials were written by N. I. Podvoyskiy at the end of the 1920's. They prove his great interest in Marxist-Leninist dialectics and the tremendous importance he ascribed to it, not only theoretically, but practically, in connection with the tasks of building the new society in our country. These materials reflect the author's work on the meaning of the letters on dialectics (1929) prepared for publication by the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII.

Podvoyskiy did all his philosophical together with the old party member, philosopher Vladimir Filippovich Gorin-Galkin (1863-1925), whose student he considered himself to be. In his time (September 1908) V. I. Lenin let Gorin-Galkin read the manuscript of his book "Materialism and Empirio-criticism," before sending it to Russia to the Zveno publishing house. Following the publication of the work (May 1909) he sent as a gift a copy to Gorin-Galkin with a note expressing his gratitude for the help received.

V. F. Gorin-Galkin worked with the Podvoyskiy for almost seven years (1919-1925). Podvoyskiy's private files contain the preparatory materials written by Gorin-Galkin (in coauthorship with Podvoyskiy and on the latter's initiative).

Presenting the general principles of dialectics, Podvoyskiy followed the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin. He tries to develop a common system for

these principle as a specific sequence of their presentation and interpretation of their content. The 15 dialectical principles may be broken down into 5 groups or sections: I. The universality of motion and its dialectical consequences (including the first 3 principles). II. The quantum nature of motion. Conversion of quantity into quality and viceversa (including the next 3 principles, the 4th being considered as a specific case of the 3d). III. The question of truth (including 4 principles: 14th, 7th in 2 variants, and 8th). IV. The internal contradiction of motion and connection (this includes 4 variants of the 9th principle, and the 4th variant is also the 10th principle, while the 15th principle is the application of the 9th). V. The 3-term development. Negation of the negation (formed of the last 3 principles--11th, 12th and 13th).

Such is the inner structure of the work. After writing 25 theses on dialectics in their initial aspect he subsequently expands and refines them as individual expansions described as "Dialectics--Additional Addenda." It proved to be convenient in their publication to include these "addenda" in the main text, linking them with the corresponding theses.

As a whole, such materials should be considered not as a finished work prepared by the author for the press, but merely as strictly rough drafts. Nevertheless, they are of great interest to researchers who study the condition and development of philosophical thinking in our country in the 1920's.

For myself let me add that for three years--from 1920 to 1922 (with breaks) and subsequently in the mid-1920's, I worked directly with Podvoyskiy and on numerous occasions had the opportunity to discuss philosophical topics with him and with Gorin-Galkin. That is why I am familiar with this material on the basis of remembered personal impressions as well.

As to markings: The angular parentheses [rendered as regular parentheses or ignored for the sake of clarity] are used for words or their endings added by myself. Square brackets [also replaced with parentheses in the translation] represent the "Additional Addenda" included in the basic text. The braces [given as parentheses in the translation] contain the text I have included from the rough draft by Gorin-Galkin, filling in missing pages.

1. Most of the published work was typewritten in 28 half sheets. On the cover Podvoyskiy wrote:

"Twenty-five theses of revolutionary workers' (Marxist) dialectics."

On the back of the first page Podvoyskiy made some editorial corrections which I took into consideration. The originals of the materials may be found in Podvoyskiy's personal files kept by his daughters Ol'ga Podvoyskaya and Nina Podvoyskaya-Sverdlova.

2. The text I entitled "In Place of a Preface" was written by Podvoyskiy on a separate sheet and has been included here as a guide to the subsequently described general principles and theses of dialectics.
3. This is a case in which the concept of "evolution" is interpreted as coinciding with concept of "development," i.e., is to be understood in the broad meaning of the term.
4. The term "change in simultaneousness" means the connection among objects existing simultaneously in space (the author describes this also as the "qualitative hierarchy of things" or "qualitative dialectics"). On this subject the "Philosophy Notebooks" name two dialectical principles: "The first principle of development . . ." and the "second principle of unity . . ." "Furthermore, the universal principle of development must be combined, linked and put together with the universal principle of the unity of the world, nature, motion, matter, etc" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 29, p 229). This could have been learned by Podvoyskiy only later, with the publication of the 12th Leninist Collection, which came out in 1930 and which contained part of Lenin's summaries of Hegel's "Lectures on the History of Philosophy."
5. "Pan-arithmetic," and so on, means universal arithmetic, i.e., an arithmetic to which the character of universality had been given.
6. The words "formal science" must be understood in the sense that dialectics is a science of an extremely general nature and that it cannot be reduced to specific (concrete) manifestations. The universality of dialectics and of its basic laws and categories means, naturally, not its formal nature (such as formal logic and mathematics), but its profound meaning and, at the same time, its concreteness, its inseparable link with living reality, politics and the struggle of the working class. At this point let us cite an excerpt from those same Leninist "Philosophy Notebooks": "Excellent formula: 'Not only an abstract universality, but a universality which embodies the wealth of the specific, the individual, the separate' (the entire wealth of the separate and the individual!!! Tres bien!" (ibid, vol 29, p 90). This formula is equally applicable to dialectics itself as a general science in its Leninist understanding.
7. Here the author emphasizes precisely the concreteness of dialectics, which cannot be considered as a "master key" applicable to all cases in life. The very important thought is expressed that "dialectics itself is dialectical." In other words, its understanding, use, interpretation and, respectively, it be strictly consistent with its very spirit and meaning, i.e., be dialectical.
8. Mentioning the fact that the general part of dialectics is small, the author bears in mind dialectics as a method of knowledge whose

presentation could and should be made in a way accessible to the broad masses. Let us recall that Marx had intended at one point to express the rational features of the method discovered by Hegel, who had also made it confusing, briefly, in a way accessible to good common sense (Marx' 14 January 1858 letter to Engels. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 29, p 212).

9. I.e, it dealt with processes of a natural character.
10. Obviously, "non-dialectical chemistry" means chemistry using the concept of the permanency of chemical elements. However, in terms of its content this line as well was profoundly dialectical, as is confirmed, in particular, by the periodic system of elements mentioned in the same paragraph.
11. Here the author pits the old and artificial systems of elements which sharply divided metals from nonmetals ("metalloids"), against Mendeleev's system, which he considers as expressing changes in simultaneity, i.e., as the concretizing of "quality" dialectics. He classifies among the old artificial systems the pre-Darwinian systems which pit the existence of transitional forms between animals and plants ("animal-plant").
12. By the "chain method" he means a method based on the establishment of a systematic organic connection between studied objects.
13. I.e., he acknowledges the absolute or immovable identity of things ("to think in drastic . . . similarities").
14. Meaning their unity. See note 10.
15. In this case the author defends Darwin's view on the development of new species as a process of slowly developing quality (species) changes within animate nature.
16. This example is borrowed from the study of the resistance of materials. Exceeding the stress limit leads to the break of the threads (plates) of the tested material, proving the instability of the resulting balance.
17. Usually, following Engels, both transitions expressed in #11 and #12 are considered various aspects of the same basic law of the dialectics of the transition of quantity into quality and back. The author has divided them into two separate principles, interpreting them as "partiality in dialectics."
18. The author considers a "conservative dialectician" a person who would dogmatically acknowledge dialects, while in fact would remove from it its revolutionary content.

19. This principle should have been numbered seventh. However, the author forgot to number it and noted this only when he had reached #13. In order not to amend his numbering, he marked this principle as principle number 14. The statement that there is no absolute truth, naturally, is inadequate, for as we know, each relative truth contains a grain of absolute truth. In this case the author means the universality of the dissemination of scientific truths: their tremendous dissemination is described by him as relative truth, while their unlimited dissemination, as absolute truth.
20. It is a question of the relative nature (in the sense of non-universality) of assertions such as matter contracts with cold, that ice is cold, and so on. "Burning ice" is a particular hard phase of water existing under special conditions (at high pressure and high temperature).
21. The author bears in mind the laws of formal logic, which, as Engels stated, are suitable for "household use" (our own experience), in other words, under conditions in which dialectics is not given priority. Being basic, these laws are something self-evident, premises and conditions for accurate thinking. In that sense the author compares them with instinct (on the subjective nature of the laws of formal logic, see note 30).
22. This is a universally known stipulation of Marxist dialectics.
23. Apparently, here the author has in mind the abstract possibility contained within abstract truth and the conflict between real possibility which reflects a specific truth. In other words, this means the correlation between possibility and reality. "Tendency" is to be understood as a certain component of the overall complex motion.
24. It is not merely a question of lost wars which weakened the reactionary social system of states waging such wars (such as, for example, czarist Russia, which lost the 1904 war against Japan, which contributed to the 1905 revolution; the same occurred in 1917). What he has in mind here is also the national-liberation and, in general, the just wars waged by peoples and classes for their liberation from social oppression. The author describes as "harmful" wars the wars of conquest, the unfair wars, and consequently the imperialist wars.
25. Like the 14th principle, the 15th principle was numbered by the author as being the last, even though it follows immediately the 10th (see note 19).
26. This variant takes into consideration not only the immanent reasons, but the factors of a seemingly "random" nature, in other words, "this and that." Hence the term "random."

"This and that" means, in this case, apparently, the nature of things and their manifestation.

28. Several pages are missing after that, describing the end of #21 and the following three paragraphs-theses: #22, #23 and #24. The content of #24 could be determined partially on the basis of the "Additional Addenda." The content of the missing paragraphs was determined on the basis of Gorin-Galkin's manuscripts.
29. By "being" the author means objects in a state of rest or thoughts about objects.
30. It is true that a formal-logical law of "identity" (abstract identity) plays a great role in thinking. It is precisely this law that plays such a role, rather than tautology, as the author assumes. The meaning of this law is that in his views (in thinking) man should remain close to the topic he has chosen and not arbitrarily jump to other topics. Consequently, he must use, in their accepted definitions, the concepts with which he operates, rather than change them arbitrarily, using other definitions, and so on. In precisely the same manner, the law of contradictions demands that man should not become self-contradictory in his judgments, and so on. It is in this sense that we could say that the laws of formal logic are subjective, as mentioned in #14. In other words, the realm of the rational application is human thinking which tries to function accurately.
31. The law of the "excluded third" should be understood in the same subjective meaning as the one used in the first two laws of formal logic (see note 30). In the dialectical case, when the unity of opposites is revealed, it precisely turns out to be the third law, which is to be excluded from the viewpoint of formal logic. In this connection, Lenin's "Philosophy Notebooks" contain the following entry: "Then," Hegel jokes, "there is no third. There is a third in this very thesis. A itself is the third, for A could also be +A and -A. 'Thus the thing itself is that third which should have been excluded'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 29, p 124). Lenin further expressed his view on the matter as follows: "This is witty and true. Any specific object, anything specific has different and frequently conflicting relations with everything else, ergo, it is both itself and something else" (ibid).
32. This marks the end of Podvoyskiy's rough draft of 25 dialectical theses. They are followed "Additional Addenda" which are included here as part of the respective theses.

5003  
CSO: 1802

## DIPLOMACY OF SOCIALISM--A WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 120-123

[Review by Academician I. Mints of the book "Istoriya Diplomatii" [History of Diplomacy], Vol 5, Book II. Edited by A. A. Gromyko, I. N. Zemskiy, V. A. Zorin, V. S. Semenov and S. L. Tikhvinskiy. Authors: V. N. Beletskiy, A. P. Bondarenko, A. V. Gorev, Yu. V. Dubinin, I. N. Zemskov, M. S. Kapitsa, S. P. Kiktev, N. I. Kostyunin, M. A. Kukanov, N. I. Lebedev, V. P. Nikhamin, R. S. Ovinnikov, V. F. Petrovskiy, B. I. Poklad, Yu. N. Rakhmaninov, A. V. Rubanov, V. G. Spirin, F. I. Stanevskiy, L. F. Teplov, S. L. Tikhvinskiy, A. A. Shvedov and V. V. Shustov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 766 pages]

[Text] History put our country in the forefront of the battles for a peaceful life, for the happiness of the working people and, from the moment of its birth, the Soviet state has been sacredly and steadfastly fulfilling the difficult and noble mission of serving as a bulwark for peace and social progress of mankind. In its first foreign political act--the Decree on Peace--drafted by V. I. Lenin, the young Land of the Soviets firmly rejected the policy of plunder and violence in the international arena, proclaiming the imperialist war "the greatest crime against mankind," and called upon the people to engage in a universal struggle for peace. ". . . We must help the peoples to intervene in problems of war and peace," said Lenin at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, submitting his Decree on Peace ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 16).

It is precisely Lenin who deserves the historical credit for formulating and elaborating the basic principles and concepts which became the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy, whose task is to serve not the interests of the exploiters but of the working class and all working people and be a powerful weapon in the struggle waged by the peoples for peace and socialism. ". . . We promise the workers and peasants to do everything for peace," Lenin said. "And we shall do so" (ibid, vol 36, p 343). This pledge has been strictly kept in all sectors of CPSU and Soviet governmental international activities.

The Leninist principles of foreign policy, imbued with tireless concern for the peace and friendship among the peoples, developed and enriched under the new historical circumstances, represent the inviolable principled foundation of Soviet diplomacy. They remain the scientific class criterion in the study of the history of international relations. The first three volumes of "Istoriya Diplomatii" dealt with one such study in the field of diplomacy--Russian, Soviet and global--covering the period to the beginning of World War II (1939). This was the only major work written from Marxist positions covering the age-old development of foreign political practices of countries. Written by a group of noted Soviet scientists and diplomats, it drew universal attention. It was translated into foreign languages and became the base for teaching the subject in higher educational institutions.

The interest displayed by the public at large in "Istoriya Diplomatii" led to its second edition and to continued research. Volumes four and five were added to the first three, the fifth consisting of two books. The first of the volumes, published by Politizdat as early as 1975, presents to the reader the historical-diplomatic panoramic view of the period of World War II. The books of the last volume, the first of which was published in 1974, and the second in 1979, consider, respectively, the periods from the end of the war and the beginning of the 1960's, and the 1960's-1970's.

This concluding work of the multiple-volume definitive study offers a profound and vivid idea of a time marked by most headlong changes in the entire aspect of the world, when sociohistorical processes had greatly speeded up. Drafted by a collective of Soviet scientists and diplomatic workers, the book contains extensive data on the history and practice of socialist and bourgeois diplomacy, and a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of an important historical period, of the foreign political activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state and, personally, of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The books gives the full picture of two worlds and two foreign political courses. It clearly depicts the confrontation between the forces of peace and progress, on the one hand, and the reactionary forces which support the arms race and the outbreak of military conflicts, on the other.

The period covered in the book was saturated with major historical events whose significance could hardly be overestimated. The tireless struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, and the powerful peaceful offensive mounted by the Soviet Union, together with the fraternal members of the socialist comity, brought about a turn in the development of intergovernmental relations from tension to detente and to improvements in the international climate.

"The changes for the good in the world, which became particularly tangible in the 1970's," notes Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "were described as detente. These changes are tangible and specific . . . . They are found in the reaching of the initial, even though still modest, agreements blocking some

channels of the arms race. They are part of a widespread network of agreements covering a number of areas of peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems."

Characterizing the socialist comity as an alliance of an entirely new type, a fraternal family of peoples, headed by Marxist-Leninist parties, and joined by a common outlook and common lofty objectives and relations of comradely solidarity and reciprocal support, the authors emphasize that it is a decisive factor in safeguarding and strengthening the peace the world over.

With the help of extensive factual data the authors convincingly show the way this new historical comity of peoples and states gathered strength and consolidated within that period, and the way the process of the further strengthening of the international positions of world socialism developed. In this connection noteworthy is the thoroughness with which the authors have considered the international aid given the peoples of Czechoslovakia in the protection of their socialist gains, the failure of the imperialist blockade of Cuba, the victory of the heroic people of Vietnam and other events.

The work describes the important forms of cooperation within the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members in the field of socialist economic integration, whose tool is CEMA, and interaction in the ideological area. They emphasize the particular significance of the regular Crimean meetings conducted between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of the fraternal countries, focused on problems related to long-term cooperation among socialist countries and the further development of their interaction in resolving domestic and international problems. It was reasserted in the course of the 1979 Crimean meetings that, inflexibly pursuing a policy of peace and peaceful cooperation, the members of the socialist comity are following a consistent line of restraining and opposing the arms race, and of a clear orientation toward detente and support of the right of the peoples to free and independent development.

The authors offer an overall idea of the exceptionally complex process of contemporary international life, the system of global intergovernmental relations in a period marked by the bankruptcy of the cold war policy, the failures of bourgeois diplomacy and the revealed total hopelessness of a policy from a position of strength. They analyze the process of political detente based on changes in the ratio of forces in favor of socialism. Revealing and showing the real nature and consequences of detente is particularly important today, when the supporters of imperialism are using particularly refined methods in their attempts to hinder the further normalizing of international circumstances.

The reader will see the way, together with the diplomacies of the other socialist states, Soviet diplomacy is systematically promoting detente and the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations and the

persistence with which it submits proposals on removing from the practice of governmental relations a variety of obstacles on the way to the preservation of the peace, such as repetitions of the policy "from the position of strength," the doctrine of "detering communism" and others. The work totally disproves the fabrications of bourgeois propagandists, showing the objectively historical need for detente and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The authors describe the way the socialist countries are factually proving their aspiration to add military to political detente. This makes the new work particularly topical.

Particularly noteworthy is the authors' emphasis on the importance to contemporary international relations of the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system and the appearance of tens of independent countries in Asia and Africa, most of whom assumed anti-imperialist positions. In the 1960's-1970's the colonial system virtually ceased to exist. As a result the realm of imperialist rule was noticeably narrowed and the possibilities for imperialist expansion and aggression were greatly reduced. The foreign political decisions of the 23d CPSU Congress, the formulation of a peace program by the 24th congress and the adoption by the 25th congress of a program for the further struggle peace and international cooperation and freedom and independence of the peoples took into consideration the impact of these important factors on world politics.

Noting the truly epoch-marking shift in the ratio of forces in the international arena in favor of peace, democracy and socialism as a consequence of the establishment of the world socialist system and the breakdown of colonial empires and the increased attractiveness of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the authors prove that all this forced imperialism to adapt to the new historical conditions and motivated soberly thinking leaders of bourgeois countries to approach the problems of war and peace more realistically. France was the first of the Western states to re-evaluate its relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries in accordance with the new circumstances prevailing in the world. Starting with the mid-1960's, President de Gaulle took the path of energizing relations with the socialist countries. This path was subsequently followed by a number of other countries, including the FRG and the United States.

Naturally, the authors have extensively focused their attention on Soviet-American relations, since the development of the international situation as a whole largely depends on their condition. Analyzing the positive aspects of these relations, such as agreements on most important problems (the prevention of nuclear war, limitation of strategic offensive armaments and others), they also point out that the conflicting and uneven nature of the foreign policy pursued by the U.S. Government hinders the radical solution of most important global problems.

The authors provide a thorough study of the diplomatic struggle for settling in Europe the results of World War II--a struggle which ended with a most important political action: the adoption of the Final Act of the

European Conference in Helsinki. The transition from confrontation to talks and from cold war to detente is successfully depicted by the authors, taking as examples relations between the Soviet Union and France, the FRG, the United States, Britain and other countries (see pp 168-250).

Problems of foreign policy of developing countries are extensively dealt with in the book. The aid and support offered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are of tremendous importance to the socioeconomic development of the liberated countries, the strengthening of their state independence and their ability to counter imperialist pressure.

Also extensively depicted in the book is one of the most important laws of our age, discovered by Lenin in his time, namely that the working class and working people of any country can deal by themselves with their internal class enemies--feudal lords and capitalists--and that popular victories can be threatened only by the interference of foreign imperialism.

The final years of the period covered in the book have been saturated with considerable successes achieved by the national-liberation movements in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Iran, successes whose importance would be difficult to overestimate. Yet either directly or through their puppets, the imperialists have been able to mount or retain for a number of years a number of serious conflicts aimed at suppressing the liberation struggle (Middle East, Namibia, Rhodesia), and thus hinder for a while the progress of historical development. The reasons for the protracted crisis in the Middle East are analyzed with profound knowledge of the problem (see pp 469-532).

Most developing countries are pursuing a policy of nonalignment, favoring the diplomatic solution of problems of universal and total disarmament, the creation of nuclear-free zones, the banning of nuclear weapons and the abolition of racial discrimination. Noting that the extent to which this policy has been systematically implemented by the various countries has varied, the authors, nevertheless, prove that, as a whole, the developing countries are an important factor in world politics, exerting a positive influence on the development of intergovernmental relations. The book quite aptly illustrates the view expressed by Comrade L. I. Breznev to the effect that "the contribution of these countries to the common struggle for peace and security of the nations is already significant and could fully become even more substantial."

The reader will be interested also in the chapters dealing with the role of diplomacy in the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Asia and Africa, and the new aspects in the foreign policy of the Latin American countries continuing their struggle against the United States dictate and exploitation. No less interesting is the interpretation of new factors of global diplomacy as the emergence of African countries in the international arena and the strengthening of their role in the United Nations.

The most important of all problems of international life today is the restriction and termination of the arms race. This is the most important trend in the activities of Soviet and all socialist diplomacy. The conclusion of the new Soviet-American SALT treaty was a major step in this respect. It proved that, with goodwill, mutually acceptable solutions could be found even for the most complex problems affecting national security. The authors describe the specific initiatives displayed in recent years by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. They note that a number of important agreements were reached on restraining the arms race and banning the development and manufacturing of new mass-destruction weapons. A new vivid confirmation of the resolve of the Soviet Union to restrain the arms race and take the path of real disarmament is found in the historical initiative expressed in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Berlin speech on 6 October 1979.

The authors depict the difficulties and problems caused by the fact that the policy pursued by the present Chinese leadership comes closer to the positions of the aggressive imperialist circles, and that they are trying to wreck detente and prevent disarmament. They try to promote mistrust and hostility among countries. The authors describe Mao Zedong's and his followers' abandonment of the socialist principles of foreign policy. Taking up the ideas of great-power chauvinism, the Beijing leaders are openly counting on the heating up of international tension.

Related to the description of one or another diplomatic problem, the authors frequently describe the specific participation of the people's masses and their organizations and political parties in resolving the problem of war and peace as the most important factor of contemporary development, and their contribution to the positive changes occurring in international relations.

The readers will be greatly interested in the addenda which describes the methods and organizational forms of contemporary diplomatic activities--contacts, talks, correspondence, protocols and foreign political information.

The unquestionable merit of this work is the profound theoretical description of the trends governing the development of intergovernmental relations on a global scale. Essentially, with the help of extensive data, each chapter shows the contrast between the two opposite foreign political courses reflecting the class content and contradictions between the two sociopolitical systems. The authors convincingly prove how as a result of the growth of the economic and defense potential of the socialist comity the ratio of forces changed in the international arena, the way the world socialist system became a decisive factor in global development and the way it is influencing ever more strongly the development of the international circumstances. Substantively, and using a number of examples, the authors prove that the power of Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy is found in its class and party nature and scientific base.

Let us say in conclusion that the authors have successfully painted a broad historical canvas of the tempestuous process of development of foreign policy and diplomacy in the world in the 1960's-1970's. Clearly depicted on this canvas is the fact that territorial problems which were the stumbling block in intergovernmental relations have been resolved in Europe, while as a result of the European Conference in Helsinki, a charter for peaceful coexistence was adopted and, essentially, the policy "from the position of strength" was rejected. The strategy of "local" imperialist wars failed in Asia. Following the crumbling of the last, the Portuguese, colonial empire, the desire of the former colonies and semicolonies to strengthen their political and economic independence became ever more clear.

Naturally, the process of detente has been hindered by the aggravation of international circumstances recently created by American imperialism. However, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev notes, we look at the future with optimism. The policy of detente is deeply rooted. It is supported by powerful forces and has every opportunity to remain the leading trend governing relations among countries.

This book crowns the second edition of "Istoriya Diplomatii," to which two volumes have been added. It is a major contribution to Soviet historical science and to the study of the role of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the development of the historical process aimed at the final triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

5003

CSO: 1802

## A MULTIPLE PARTY SYSTEM UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 80 pp 124-128

[Review by B. Arkhipov, candidate of historical sciences, of the books "BZNS: Vernyy Soyuznik Bolgarskikh Kommunistov. K 80-Letiyu Bolgarskogo Zemledel'cheskogo Narodnogo Soyuzn" [The BZNS: Loyal Ally of the Bulgarian Communists. On the Occasion of the 80th Anniversary of the Founding of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] by G. A. Cherneyko, Mysl', Moscow, 1979, 183 pages; "Soyuznicheskiye Partii v Politicheskoy Sisteme Stran Sotsializma" [Allied Parties in the Political System of Socialist Countries] by L. F. Shevtsova, Nauka, Moscow, 1978, 189 pages]

[Text] The attitude of communist and workers' parties toward other democratic parties and social movements is considered by Marxism-Leninism as a structural component of the problem of raising a political army for the socialist revolution. The proletariat can fulfill its historical mission of destroying the exploiting society and building a new system only by leading the working people and all revolutionary, anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

The profound observance of the general laws governing the struggle for socialism, combined with the skillful consideration of the specific circumstances in each separate country, a creative approach to the solution of specific problems and the choice of ways and means for involving the masses in the process of building a socialist society are mandatory conditions for the successful activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class.

The fraternal communist parties have introduced a great deal of new aspects in developing the problems of the building of socialism through the example of successful cooperation with allied parties representing the interests of some non-proletarian population strata. The study of this experience, of the nature of a socialist multiparty system and the direction of its development in the course of revolutionary changes is of major theoretical and practical significance.

Currently the task of uniting the democratic forces has assumed particular importance. This is due to the tremendous widening of the social

frameworks of the anti-monopolistic and anti-capitalistic struggle. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, "The class struggle of the working people against monopoly oppression and the exploiting order is rising. The revolutionary-democratic and anti-imperialist movements are assuming ever broader dimensions. . . . New generations and social strata and new parties and organizations are joining the revolutionary process."

The communist parties try to rally the efforts of the various detachments of the general democratic movement and give to their struggle a purposeful and revolutionary nature. The supporters of capitalism and their reformist stooges deliberately slander the communists by stating that their efforts to create a single front of democratic forces is merely a tactical maneuver and that, allegedly, they use the democrats only in the course of the power struggle. Such claims by ideologues hostile to communism are aimed at promoting mistrust for the communists and to isolate them from the people's masses. That is why the profound study of the experience available to a number of socialist countries of cooperation between communists and allied parties makes it possible to expose the lie of our ideological opponents on the incompatibility of socialism with a multiparty system. The successful experience of including allied parties within the political system of the socialist countries makes it possible for the democratic forces in such countries who are as yet to undertake the socialist reorganization of their society to determine what road to take and "what camp to join," without fearing an alliance with the "treacherous" communists.

In recent years scientists from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries have written a number of works making a definite contribution to the theoretical elaboration of problems related to the implementation of the leading role of communist and workers' parties under the conditions of a multiple-party socialist system. The monographs by G. A. Cherneyko and L. F. Shevtsova are of unquestionable interest in terms of the further theoretical interpretation of the experience of a multiparty socialist system. With the help of specific data they trace the characteristics of multiparty systems in various fraternal countries and analyze the specific nature of cooperation in the course of the building of socialism by Marxist-Leninist parties together with allied parties, and the direction of their ideological-political development. The authors also consider the prospects for the further development of interparty cooperation within the socialist political system.

Let us note, above all, that the authors properly rebuff bourgeois and revisionist critics. The attacks mounted against Marxism-Leninism on the problem of a multiparty system under socialism are reduced, essentially, to the claim that, allegedly, it does not agree with the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which, allegedly, acknowledges one party only--the party of the working class. The existence of non-proletarian parties within the political system of a number of socialist countries is presented by such "theoreticians" as being "of propaganda value." In their attacks on socialist multiparty systems, the bourgeois and revisionists deliberately confuse them with party pluralism under capitalism.

The authors substantively prove that socialist party pluralism is radically different from that of a bourgeois society torn by antagonistic contradictions between the working and the capitalist classes. The irreconcilability of class contradictions is reflected also in the activities of the parties representing and defending the interests of the confronting classes. Boasting of the "democratic nature" of the bourgeois political system, the supporters of capitalism consider it as the result of the existence of a number of bourgeois parties. In itself, however, the number of parties is not an indicator of the democratic nature of a given system. The existence of several bourgeois parties means that the various clans within the capitalist class are engaged in a power struggle, which does not affect the foundations of the existing social system. One of the tasks of this struggle within the ruling class is the desire to mislead the people and to create the illusion that a "free" choice is being made of authorities consisting of representatives of "different" parties. However extensively the big capital parties may engage infighting, the class objective in any bourgeois state is to prevent the revolutionary party of the working class from assuming the leadership of the state without shying from applying the tradition of falsifying, with the help of unfair and clever electoral systems, the will of the electorate, clearly expressed in the course of the elections. Thus the Italian Cabinet has been repeatedly changed since 1947 and has included even representatives of parties which had garnered not more than two-three percent of the vote. However, not once have the communists been included in the government, even though over one-third of the electorate has voted for them. Furthermore, even at the slightest hint that communists may join the Italian Government, a police shout could be immediately heard coming out of Washington. Is this not an example of unceremonious interference in the affairs of sovereign countries and a model of bourgeois "freedom" and "democracy"?

Unlike bourgeois, socialist party plurality exists under conditions where class antagonisms have been either surmounted or are totally absent. It is as manifestation of cooperation among friendly classes and toiling strata with coinciding basic interests. Under specific national-historical conditions it insures the manifestation of specific social interests of certain classes and population groups and their corresponding reflection in state policy.

The anti-communist ideologues frequently deliberately substitute the problem of party plurality with that of the need for political opposition under socialism. However, there are not objective conditions, no class base, for political opposition in socialist countries. It cannot occur in a society in which the basic interests of all classes and population strata are to implement programs for the building and development of socialism.

The existence of non-proletarian democratic parties in countries which have taken the path of the building of socialism is based on objective reasons. For a long period of time the class structure of such countries included sufficiently broad toiling strata whose basic interests coincide with those

of the proletariat, yet display certain specific differences as well. It is precisely this circumstance that creates an objective base for political parties of a non-proletarian nature reflecting such specific interests. ". . . Petit bourgeois democracy," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is no accidental political formation or exception, but a necessary product of capitalism, in the course of which not only the old, pre-capitalist . . . middle peasantry is the 'purveyor' of this democracy, but so is cultural-capitalist cooperation, based on big capitalism, the intelligentsia, and so on" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 410).

The question of the attitude toward petit bourgeois parties following the victory of the socialist revolution was practically resolved, for the first time, by the Bolshevik party. Lenin considered that, objectively, there are no obstacles to an alliance between the party of the victorious proletariat and the parties of the petit bourgeois democrats "for there is no radical difference between the interests of hired labor and the interests of the toiling and exploited peasants. Socialism can fully satisfy the interests of both. Socialism alone could satisfy their interests" (ibid, Vol 35, p 102).

The cooperation between communists and petit bourgeois democratic parties, followed by some of the working people who have not yet adopted Marxist-Leninist positions is one of the possible means for establishing relations with the non-proletarian masses and for involving them in the building of socialism.

Describing the process of development of political cooperation between the proletarian vanguards of a number of European socialist countries with non-proletarian parties, the authors note that the Marxist-Leninist parties used Lenin's instructions on the possibility and necessity to involve the non-communist parties in the socialist political system (see L. F. Shevtsova, pp 10-14). A separate chapter in the work on the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BZNS) discusses the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the development of this peasant organization (see G. A. Cherneyko, pp 17-39). "The circumstance," writes BZNS secretary Petur Tanchev, "that the BZNS was the only non-Marxist peasant party in Europe and throughout the world to welcome the victory of the Great October as 'breaking the dawn' is a historical fact." Aleksandur Stamboliyski, the leader of the Agrarian Union, considered the revolution the most outstanding event of the times, which would result in the liberation of toiling mankind" (G. A. Cherneyko, p 5).

The characteristics of the socioclass and political structures of each one of the party systems in the countries of eastern and southeastern Europe which, following the defeat of fascist Germany, entered the path of the building of socialism, the attitude of the leadership of the non-communist parties toward socialism and toward cooperation with the communists, the developed traditions of joint work within a national or the Fatherland Front, in the course of the anti-fascist struggle, and the nature of the

political line followed by the communist and workers' parties toward the other parties and groups had a decisive impact on the development of the party systems in those countries.

In the course of the establishment of the political system of the new society, all these factors influenced differently the establishment of one or another party-political structure. Depending on the specific-historical conditions of the individual country, some of these factors assumed greater or lesser influence over the process of developing the political mechanism of class cooperation. "In the final result, the development of a one-party or multiple-party form of alliance and cooperation between the working and the non-proletarian segment of society in one or another country was the result of the influence of the sum total of all mentioned factors" (L. F. Shevtsova, p 15).

The experience of the victorious socialist revolutions indicates that one of the specific characteristics in the building of socialism is that some fraternal countries have a single party while others have several. Therefore, the existence of a single party or a multiple-party system in a socialist system is not a principial but a specifically practical matter. It is resolved by each country in its own way, on the basis of its specific conditions and existing traditions.

"In principle it is possible and, in practice, even likely," said Comrade Janos Kadar at the 19 November 1978 expanded Plenum of the MSZMP Central Committee, "that in the future, when a larger number of nations will take the path of socialist development, the number of countries in which, as a result of historical traditions or other reasons, several parties will exist, will increase.

"Our path was different. In Hungary--with the exception of brief periods--there were virtually no bourgeois rights and freedoms and class conflicts were exceptionally grave. It was under such historical circumstances that our current conditions developed, whose essence is the power of the working class and one of whose uncharacteristic features is the existence of a single party within our political system. In our country the classes of land-owners and capitalists have been eliminated. Our society has only toiling classes and neither to please the capitalists criticizing us nor for the sake of the theory of the existence of possibly new ways of socialist development, shall we set up in our country bourgeois or petit bourgeois parties which would represent classes no longer extant."

Using extensive factual data, the authors describe the experience in cooperation between Marxist-Leninist and allied parties in laying the foundations of a socialist society.

This cooperation developed and strengthened in the course of the struggle. First of all, within the non-communist parties themselves a struggle took place against the rejection of socialist ideals by some of their party's

leaders. Within the peasant parties this was linked above all with the need to surmount "agrarianism," peasant "solidarism," the concept of the peasantry as a "single" stratum and the "stratum" approach to the consideration of social development problems.

The process of evolution toward socialism was less painful within the BZNS. This is explained, above all, by the existence of old democratic traditions and a strongly progressive current within this oldest peasant groups and the long experience in cooperation with the Bulgarian Communist Party, the beginning of which was laid as early as August-September 1923, in the course of the preparations for the first anti-fascist armed uprising in the world (see G. A. Cherneyko, pp 51-54).

The final victory in the struggle against groups opposing socialism within the BZNS (those of Gemeto, Petkov, Obbov and Dragnev) was consolidated at its 27th congress (1947), which, on behalf of the majority of united agrarians, called for an alliance with the BCP and voted in favor of socialism. Under the new conditions, the BZNS became a class organization of the small and average toiling peasants. The class principle on which the party had been previously structured was rejected once and for all. Georgi Dimitrov, who addressed the 27th BZNS problem, described its decisions as historical.

The struggle against the anti-socialist elements within the allied parties in Poland and Czechoslovakia was sharper and more extended. Within these parties as well, however, in the 1950's most members consciously adopted the socialist positions (see L. F. Shevtsova, p 58).

Secondly, the cooperation between communist and non-communist parties strengthened in the struggle for surmounting within the communist parties of sectarian-doctrinaire views on party plurality, based on lack of understanding of the laws governing socialist development and the underestimating of the specifics national and specifically historical conditions within the individual countries.

The ideological-political evolution of the allied parties in the 1950's, and the elaboration by the communist parties, in cooperation with them, of specific methods for involving the petty town and country producers in the building of socialism were of decisive importance in the definitive winning over of the non-proletarian masses on the side of socialism.

The further ideological and political evolution of the non-communist parties in the course of the building of socialism, and their acknowledgment of the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, which indicated the maturity of the allied parties, led to the creation of socialist multiple-party political systems in Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. "The finding of specific ways for the ideological and political transformation of previously liberal-democratic and petit bourgeois parties into socialist political organizations, and

the development of effective ways and means of interparty cooperation which made it possible to combine the interests of non-proletarian strata with those of the working classes, was a major contribution of such countries to the theory and practice of the international workers' and communist movements" (L. F. Shevtsova, p 111).

The authors draw the convincing conclusion that in countries with a predominant petty commodity system, the specific experience in leading petit bourgeois masses to socialism in the course of active cooperation between communist parties and allied parties in Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, will be of great help after they have made their socialist revolutions.

The authors pay great attention to the tasks and position of allied parties in building a developed socialist society. They cite extensive factual data proving that the allied parties are making a substantial contribution to resolving the socioeconomic problems of building a developed socialist society and laying its material and technical foundations.

All this supports the claim that the institution of party plurality has far from exhausted all its possibilities. Naturally, the processes occurring in a society building developed socialism, such as the substantial reduction of the petty commodity sector, the reduced numerical strength of the peasantry, the enhancement of the conscientiousness and educational level, the creation of a new socialist intelligentsia, the quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class, progress toward socio-class homogeneity and the growth of Marxist-Leninist party ranks also at the expense of representatives of the peasantry and the intelligentsia, proving the increased influence of the communists on such population strata, all lead to a narrowing of the mass base of the allied parties. However, there are still no grounds for the conclusion that the prerequisites for their activities are withering away.

By virtue of the rather strong general nature of their ideological programs the allied parties still retain a certain attractiveness for people who, even though supporting the socialist platform and conscientiously participating in the building of socialism, have remained loyal to some of their previous philosophical concepts and display, in particular, a religious outlook. The need for ideological and educational work among such population categories, their involvement in active socially useful work and offering them the possibility for political self-expression are essential prerequisites for the activities of the non-communist parties at the present stage.

The authors convincingly describe the efficient and constructive nature of interparty cooperation within the framework of the political system of the fraternal socialist countries. The allied parties approve the strategy of building a developed socialist society elaborated in the programs of the communist parties. In turn the Marxist-Leninist parties acknowledge the

political autonomy of the allied parties, which (with the exception of the BZNS, which has adopted the BCP program for its own) have their own political programs. To a certain extent these programs concretize the tasks formulated the Marxist-Leninist parties concerning social strata under the influence of allied parties. The ideological eclecticism of some of the programs of the allied parties reflects the transitional condition of the awareness of the masses following them. On the one hand, they gravitate toward the old mental stereotypes. On the other, to an ever greater extent they are experiencing the influence of scientific communism and the practices of the building of socialism and the socialist way of life.

Some of the shortcomings of the monographs include a certain schematism in the study of the intraparty life of allied parties, particularly at their present stage of development. Let us note that G. A. Cherneyko has been able to describe far more completely the internal life of the organizations of the united agrarians. He has extensively described the international relations of the BZNS. The BZNS leaders have noted the great influence on the strengthened role of their party in international relations as a result of the activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who under contemporary historical conditions has enriched the Leninist theory of the workers'-peasant alliance and the role of the peasantry in the global revolutionary process. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and reports at the highest forums of the CPSU and the international communist and workers' movements have played an important role in the process of rallying the democratic agrarian parties, organization and movements, and their involvement in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and social progress.

The peace program formulated at the 24th and developed at the 25th CPSU congresses, was adopted by the united agrarians as their own and they are struggling for its implementation through the methods specific to this peasant party.

Citing clear examples of active foreign political activities of the BZNA, G. A. Cherneyko emphasizes that the broad peaceful offensive mounted by the USSR and the world socialist comity continues to have an exceptionally favorable influence on the growth and strengthening of relations between the BZNS and the progressive agrarian parties and related organizations and their unification in the anti-imperialist struggle. The BZNS maximally contributed to the implementation of the Helsinki agreements and to strengthening the international prestige of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Unfortunately, the international activities of allied parties and their struggle for lasting peace, security and cooperation are not subject in L. F. Shevtsova's book to the attention they unquestionably deserve. We must also point out the minor yet annoying errors found in her book (misspelling of some names and inaccuracies in presenting the structure of the BZNA organs).

However, this does not reduce the value of these monographs, which extensively describe the phenomenon of socialist party plurality and the specific refraction of the general laws of the socialist revolution under the specific conditions of the individual countries. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "A profound understanding of such general laws and reliance on them, combined with a creative approach and a consideration of specific conditions within the individual countries, were and remain an inseparable characteristic of the Marxist-Leninists."

The experience of cooperation between Marxist-Leninist parties of a number of socialist countries with allied parties in the course of the struggle for socialism is a clear example of such a creative approach. The monographs by G. A. Cherneyko and L. F. Shevtsova represent a major contribution to the study of this experience and, unquestionably, will be welcomed with interest by the scientific and propaganda cadres of our party and the broad readership.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Kommunist" 1980

5003

CSO: 1802

- END -

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

9 MAY 80

~~RECEIVED~~

DD