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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 6, April 1980



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Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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LEADER OF THE PEOPLE

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[Text] So much has been written about Lenin, the leader, and so thoroughly, that it would be rather difficult, virtually impossible, to add any new features to his description. However, it is absolutely necessary to interpret ever more profoundly and completely his tremendous personality in order to more clearly understand and feel the comprehensiveness and range of the historical deed to which he dedicated his entire life. The better the working people the world over become familiar with their leader and teacher, and the more organically Lenin's image becomes part of their hearts, and his ideas, of their minds, the easier and faster will the birth pains of history pass, as it brings birth to the future universal communist brotherhood of nations.

Ul'yanov's short life is known to us to its last instants. Yet, the long life of Comrade Lenin must be written about and described anew.

"A giant of scientific thought and a true leader of the people," states the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," "the fiery revolutionary, creator of the Communist Party, and of the first socialist state in the world, Lenin dedicated his entire outstanding and heroic life to the great and noble cause of the struggle for the social liberation of the proletariat and of all oppressed masses, and for the happiness of the working people."

Like Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin became the embodiment of the revolutionary reorganization of society on the basis of communist justice and Marxism-Leninism--the highest accomplishment of scientific social thought and the theoretical substantiation of the inevitable victory of socialism and communism, and of the ways and means of struggle for true freedom. Lenin's name is the symbol of historical truth, militant goodness, and active humanism. Lenin holds a particular place not only in the minds of those who, one way or another, work for social progress. Lenin is always with us, on our side, leading us. That is why the people's love for him is also the love of the living for a living person.

In Lenin we love the splendid person who rose to the peak of a prophet as a result of the power of his inordinate qualities, but who always remained simple and understood by everyone. Even though an unequalled leader of the people, Lenin did not rise above the people from which he came. He lived the people's life. He suffered when the people suffered and was happy when the people were happy. A principle-minded leader and good comrade, a patient instructor and a sincere friend of the working people, he gave them the type of total, consciously infinite love which no one has been able to give.

Il'ich's feeling for the people is noteworthy for its natural purity. It is worthy of the most human of all persons. Highly selfless, beautiful in his simplicity, always himself, never concerned with the way others would see him, hating grandstanding, phrase-mongering, and ostentatiousness, Lenin was admirable for his moral impeccableness and integrity. He helps us to discover and to develop what is best within ourselves, and to strive to reach the highest meaning of humaneness.

Any social class which strives toward and achieves domination must be politically organized and raise from its own midst leaders who would most fully express its interests and would be able to defend them through practical measures. In this sense the working class is no exception, even though its leading role in society may be only conditional, even following the victory of the socialist revolution. This faces the proletariat with the problem of leadership in a way entirely different from that facing the exploiting classes.

Defending, above all, the interests of big industrial-financial capital, as a rule, the leading bourgeois political personalities try to present themselves as the executors of the will of the people, allegedly concerned day and night with the prosperity of all people's strata. Serving the "strong of this world," they deliberately mislead the labor majority as well as the less wealthy segment of their own class, for the preservation of whose rule they will do everything. As we know, all means are good for achieving the wrong purpose of strengthening the privileged position of the bourgeoisie and exploiting and oppressing the working people. These leaders achieve their desired political objectives through wits, trickery, bribe, force, demagoguery, or simply slight of hand.

The leaders of the petite bourgeoisie, who are also distinguished by their extreme inconsistency, also do not shy from using many such means. The half worker-half owner who holds a middle position within the social structure of the capitalist society, the petit bourgeois, reacts to the course of the struggle between labor and capital sensitively and largely in a state of confusion. His cherished dream is "to become somebody," i.e., to become rich. For this reason he fears the working class which favors the elimination of exploiting private ownership--the prime reason for social ills. However, he is no less afraid of big capital which is

always ready to proletarianize a careless petty owner. For this reason the petite bourgeoisie may support the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat or, conversely, oppose it. Reflecting such moods, the petit bourgeois leaders swing from the super-revolutionism of anarchy to liberal dithering and loyal service to the most reactionary forces.

The proletariat is the only class which does not nurse a grievance. Having no narrow egotistical selfish interests, as the most exploited among all oppressed classes, it does not try to rule anyone. Being a constructive toiler by nature, the working class justifiably hates anyone who lives at the expense of someone else's labor, and openly proclaims him its class enemy and wages an irreconcilable struggle against him. The proletariat calls to itself as allies the other toiling strata, including the petit bourgeois population strata of town and country, from whom it does not conceal its true intentions: to lay as the foundation of the social system the public ownership of productive capital and the principles of collective toil of equal workers.

This honesty displayed by the working class in its relations with other classes and unique humanistic universal-historical mission, which is the inner content of contemporary human progress, objectively demands that its leaders possess special qualities. Very few among even unquestionably outstanding individuals prove to be able to develop such qualities. "The duties of the honest leaders of the people are inhumanly difficult," noted M. Gor'kiy in his essay entitled "V. I. Lenin." Yet, a true leader of the working class must mandatorily be a true leader of the people.

Gaining the trust and recognition of the proletariat, a class with such uncompromising straightforwardness, is a great accomplishment. However, this is merely half of the requirements facing a proletarian leader. He must be trusted and followed by all working people, for such is the logic of the revolutionary movement in the age of imperialism and the struggle for socialism and communism. Tenaciousness, common sense, the moral strength of the toiling people and their ability to patiently withstand difficulties for the sake of a better future and, above all, hatred for the oppressor, are the prerequisites for the victory of historical truth which triumphs in the socialist revolution. However, only a person unquestioned by the people may release and utilize the revolutionary energy of the toiling masses which has remained hidden so far. Through its heart, an age old experience, passed on from generation to generation in accordance with the social inheritance laws, the people can feel who is with it and for it with an open heart and who, claiming to be the people's friend, occasionally misleads even himself. The forgotten and ignorant masses may accept "benefactors" for a while. However, they never trust them entirely or share with them their profound expectations and thoughts.

The international working class has raised from its midst a number of outstanding political leaders who followed the founders of communist ideology and Marx and Engels, the universally acknowledged teachers and leaders of the working people. The names of the best leaders of the International Association of Workers--the leaders of the First International, and the fearless and selfless heroes of the Paris Commune will remain forever engraved in the grateful memory of subsequent generations. Unfortunately, there have also been many people who were raised to the crest of the rising waves of the revolutionary workers movement by the force of circumstances but who were unworthy to become its leaders. Some of them were unable to do so because of intellectual limitations; others, because of moral weakness; others again, because of excessive ambitions. There also were people who combined all these negative qualities. In the final account they turned into common bourgeois, into concealed servants of the bourgeoisie, into all kinds of "correctors" of revolutionary theory, and opportunists of various hues. "Marx earned the honorable hatred of that scum for openly condemning them as traitors" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 25). There have also been "leaders" who loved not the revolution but their own role in it and who served the proletariat somewhat until they became famous. Consequently, it was natural for the people to reject them.

It may seem that mentioning such individuals, when speaking about Lenin, would be unsuitable and even sacrilegious. Yet, facts are facts: He grew and tempered as a leader in the constant struggle not only against the open enemies but with this kind of brotherhood as well. His genius matured in the fierce battles against home-grown and foreign pseudorevolutionaries and against the leaders of the Second International who had betrayed the cause of the working class.

V. I. Lenin focused within himself all the best qualities of the proletarian revolutionary, the true leader of the people. He raised and trained a great cohort of leaders, today known as the Leninist party guard, whose authority was acknowledged by the masses. Under Lenin's direct influence or under the influence of his example and ideas, the international working class raised a galaxy of Leninist-type leaders--noted leaders of the world communist movement, holding high the banner of the Great October Revolution.

Naturally, a person becomes a leader thanks to his individual outstanding mental and organizational abilities providing, however, that such abilities always serve the cause in the best possible way, enabling him to do his historical work better than anyone else. From the very beginning of his revolutionary activities, Lenin invariably proved to be the most outstanding example of historical process and the most consistent fighter for it, theoretically and practically superior to all his Marxist contemporaries, whether domestic or foreign. He did not pursue the

personal objective of establishing himself as a leader. The party, the people, history, legitimately assigned him this role.

Even while he was very young, but having profoundly mastered and felt the trueness of the revolutionary Marxist doctrine, Lenin was able to find the only true solution to the then main problem: that of combining scientific socialism with the mass workers' movement. He must be credited with debunking the revolutionaries who had drifted into populist theories, "legal Marxism," and "economism." He deserves credit for substantiating the then denied fact of the development of capitalism in Russia.

He was one of the founders and leaders of the predecessor of the Bolshevik Party, the Petersburg "Alliance of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class," the first truly Marxist and truly revolutionary organization of the Russian proletariat. The immortal accomplishment of Lenin, the leader, is the substantiation of the need for the publication of an all-Russian printed organ of the revolutionary social democrats, the arduous and successful struggle for the publication and distribution of ISKRA, and the development of the ideological and organizational foundations of a proletarian party of a new type--a mass, militant, internationalist party, guided by progressive theory and capable, under the new historical circumstances, to lead the working class and all working people to victory in the socialist revolution.

As the founder of Bolshevism, the ideological-political current which, for the first time in history, set as its immediate goal the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and successfully struggled for achieving it under the conditions of upsurge or decline of the revolutionary movement, Lenin was a clear example of a leader always firmly standing on the grounds of a realistic policy, resolving in the best possible way the problems of the strategy and tactics of the struggle of the working class for its liberation, drawing useful lessons even from temporary defeat. He predicted the first Russian revolution. He spoke convincingly of the inevitability of an armed uprising as early as the summer of 1905. He hastened to return to the homeland from exile and headed the fighting masses when the uprising broke out. The leader of the Bolsheviks did not become discouraged following the defeat of the 1905-1907 revolution which he considered as the "dress rehearsal" for the future victorious onslaught of labor against capital. He drew most important theoretical and practical conclusions from this experience. The party was forced to retreat. However, it retreated without disturbing its battle order, mastering the new forms of struggle discovered by Lenin, in the period of the reactionary offensive.

The extent to which the toiling masses were aware of Lenin's leading role in the liberation movement is clearly shown in the way he was solemnly met by the soldiers and sailors at the Finland Station, in April 1917. The bourgeois-democratic revolution had taken place: What

now? The people believed that the leader would point out the way to true freedom. They were not wrong. The famous April theses left no doubt that Il'ich would lead the socialist revolution to victory. It would be impossible to overestimate the decisive significance of Lenin's leadership in the summer and autumn of 1917 in rallying the revolutionary forces and preparing for the October armed uprising, and for the creation of a state of the working class, a society of free labor.

Both as the head of the young Soviet government and as the most prestigious person in the party, V. I. Lenin played a tremendous role in the strengthening and defense of the gains of the Great October Revolution from domestic and foreign counterrevolution and in the development of peaceful socialist building. As chairman of the Defense Council he mobilized all the forces of the people for victory in the civil war and the liberation of the country from foreign intervention. He convincingly proved the possibility to build socialism in a Russia that was wrecked and surrounded on all sides by very strong enemies. He formulated and began to implement the plan for the building of a new society. There was virtually no single major party or state problem at that time which was being resolved without Lenin.

The people's masses infinitely trusted their leader because at all top historical moments he found the only proper solution leading to the final objective, based on the objective situation. He always acted in the interest of the working people and accurately pointed out the future. He seemed to live a thousand lives, undertaking the most difficult projects and always succeeding.

Lenin's fellow-fighters--Russian and foreign communists, plant and rural workers, intellectuals, soldiers, seamen, and anyone who had the luck to work or meet and talk with him, and listen to his speeches to the public--unanimously note that one of Vladimir Il'ich's principal qualities was the depth of his relations with the people's masses, the workers and peasants in particular. Better than anyone else, Lenin understood and felt the physical and spiritual suffering of millions of oppressed people deprived of the possibility to lead a human life and enjoy the benefits of modern civilization. However, it was not compassion, however strong it might have been, that distinguished, above all, Lenin's attitude toward the people.

The outstanding German revolutionary Klara Zetkin, who knew Vladimir Il'ich well, wrote: "This attitude was not based, as was the case with many other people, on a tearful sympathy. It had firm roots in his consideration of the masses as a historically revolutionary force. Lenin saw and valued in the exploited and subordinate people fighters against exploitation and slavery. He saw and valued in all fighters the builders of a new social system bringing an end to all exploitation and enslavement of man by man. The destruction of the old foundations of oppression and exploitation by the masses was considered by him closely linked with the creation of a system without oppression and exploitation which was

also the work of the masses." This is extremely clearly and accurately put.

To Lenin the concept of "mass" was always political. In the struggle against czarist despotism he deemed it necessary to rally all forces opposing autocracy. Formulating the idea of proletarian hegemony in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, Vladimir Il'ich did not separate it from the other categories of working people but called for the establishment of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. At the same time, in his book "Two Tactics of the Social Democrats in the Democratic Revolution," he wrote that in the period of immediate struggle for socialism the question may be formulated differently: The proletariat will be allied with the poorest peasant strata.

V. I. Lenin was the first Marxist to consider, in the formulation of the program tasks of the party of the working class, the specific means for the liberation of all working people, of all the exploited and oppressed. For this reason he thoroughly worked on programs for the agrarian and national problems. He comprehensively developed the Marxist concepts of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the close ties between the workers and the national-liberation movements. According to Lenin, as has been today fully confirmed, the socialist revolution will be not only the struggle waged by the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries but the struggle of those whom imperialism oppresses and deprives throughout the world, including colonies and dependent countries.

The attitude of the leader of the Great October Revolution toward people was characterized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in the following warm words: "Lenin lived for the people and among the people. He was inseparably linked with the revolutionary workers movement in Petrograd, Moscow, and other proletarian centers in Russia. Wherever fate took Lenin, wherever he may have been and whatever he may have been doing, he was tied to the people with thousands of links. Meetings and talks with workers and peasants, with soldiers, and with men of science and culture were something Lenin organically needed. This was the need of the politician to compare his conclusions with the experience of the masses, to test broad summations against individual cases and the individual destinies of those who made the revolution and built socialism."

In Lenin's eyes the toiling masses were not a gray and faceless accumulation of people, a shapeless flexible crowd out of which leading heroes could mold anything they wanted. They were not a passive material for social experimentation. He was able to see in the mass of individuals a single individual. He was able to see the person in the "mass man." The big sociophilosophical and political concepts of history, people, and class did not conceal from him living people with their destinies, expectations, experience, and views. He expressed a specific interest in the thoughts of those he spoke with. The views of the working people

on one or another matter interested Vladimir Il'ich to such an extent that he never omitted the opportunity to ask for them. Talking with people, he himself spoke little but was able to listen in such a way that his interlocutor unwittingly revealed his thoughts. The American socialist, the journalist Albert Reece Williams, who wrote beautifully truthful books about Lenin, properly noticed this outstanding Leninist feature: "He was able to make his interlocutor tell him everything he knew on what interested him and there was hardly anything that did not! Frequently, to their own amazement, his interlocutors found that they knew more than they themselves suspected. We were professional reporters. Lenin, however, was the greatest reporter of all times."

Also characteristic of Lenin's attitude toward the people is the fact that the leader deemed it mandatory to make a profound study of the needs of the toiling masses and to be familiar with their aspirations and moods, and to study their requirements. This enabled Lenin to knowledgeably resolve all vital problems related to the development of the revolutionary movement, and to find the most effective ways and means for the enlightenment and development of a class self-awareness and organization of the proletariat and its rallying around the Bolshevik party. Vladimir Il'ich understood, as a dialectician, that it is possible to teach the working people only by simultaneously learning from them, accepting and refining within oneself the best features.

The organic unity between the leader and the masses enabled him to determine with extreme clarity the periods of upsurge and decline in the revolutionary movement and the ripening of a revolutionary situation and, consequently, to formulate accurate and effective political slogans, acceptable to the working people, and to make the accurate party decisions which, subsequently, became the most important landmarks in the history of the people. Noting Il'ich's exceptional attentiveness to the masses, in 1924 M. N. Pokrovskiy, the noted Soviet historian and Bolshevik of the Leninist school, wrote: "Abroad, in Paris, Lenin could hear the growing of the proletariat grass in Russia, for unquestionably, even in exile, he was able better to guess the mood of the working masses than many people on the spot. He was an incomparably sensitive agitator who was able to tell the audience precisely what it wanted to hear and what it had to hear. . . . You will not find in Il'ich a single purely theoretical work lacking a propaganda approach." This is indeed so, for the ties between the leader and the masses were inordinately strong and Lenin considered turning to the masses as natural as breathing.

Lenin's respect for the people was manifested also in the fact that in both his printed works and speeches he never simplified the problem under consideration. Yet, he wrote and spoke without using "scientific" terminology and, whenever possible, in a simple style, accessible to anyone. Listening to Lenin, even the most ignorant and forgotten people began to understand most complex social problems. N. K. Krupskaya recalls that when in Petersburg Vladimir Il'ich was instructing workers in

a Marxist circle, one of them told her with a feeling of satisfaction that, "He speaks to us seriously."

Studying the moods of the masses and seeking their advice, the leader never followed them but successfully used this to lead them along the proper way, converting their questions and requirements into an effective factor for the development of the revolutionary movement and the building of the new society. Following are two examples.

The nations hated the imperialist war, the hellish altar on which the working people of the European countries have brought so many sacrifices in the struggle for the predatory interests of the ruling classes, alien to them. They thirsted for peace and demanded peace ever more loudly. Lenin was quite familiar with the antiwar feelings of the majority of soldiers who were ready to throw down their arms and, ignoring the appeals of the bourgeois governments to struggle until victory was won, to go home. Was it not tempting for a leader seeking popularity to gain political capital through antiwar actions? Yet, this method was not deemed suitable to one who thought not only of the present but of the future. Both at the front and at the rear the simple people heard Il'ich's voice fearlessly asking them not to throw their arms down but to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and to assume control of their own destinies, thus enabling them to gain a lasting peace! The result is known. The peoples understood and accepted the truthfulness of his words.

The expropriation of capitalist ownership and the making of productive capital the property of the whole nation is one of the basic tasks of a socialist revolution. Naturally, following the victory of the Great October Revolution, the workers in plants and factories were impatient to take them over faster, and to expel the owners and their stooges, the more so since, naturally, the absolute majority of the latter were counterrevolutionaries. Sympathizing with such moods and unquestionably approving them, Lenin was in no hurry. Cases are known in which, answering the puzzled questions of the workers as to why the delay, he thoughtfully and firmly answered the following: If you are ready knowledgeably to manage the enterprise, if you know how to manage a production process, wherefrom to procure raw materials, where to market the goods, and how to organize accounting, take over; if not, begin by learning, for chaos in economics harms the revolution. Instead of a "superrevolutionary" hasty nationalization, the Soviet system calmly led matters beginning with the establishment of workers' control over the production process.

Do not flatter the masses, was Lenin's slogan. At the same time, his short and clear program, entitled "Ties With the Masses," (in the "Plan for Theses" on the "Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions Under the Conditions of the New Economic Policy") shows what he considers absolutely mandatory for the proper and effective leadership of the working people:

"Live in the thick of the masses. Be familiar with their mood. Know everything. Understand the masses. Be able to approach them. Gain their absolute trust" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 497).

Vladimir Il'ich proved daily through his own example the way this appears in practical terms. During his commuting between Petrograd and Moscow (from March 1918 to 1923) he addressed a great variety of listeners in the capital about 250 times, sometimes twice or three times daily! Considering the incredible busyness of the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in this most difficult period experienced by the young socialist state, this is an overwhelming figure. It was for the sake of such addresses, meetings, and talks with the working people that Lenin gave up his rest.

Il'ich always welcomed the workers as people close to him, sharing with them his profound thoughts and caring for their opinions. He was very responsive to the peasants and generously gave them his attention. "'Messengers' appointed at peasant rallies came to Moscow, to Lenin, on foot, from all parts of the country. Lenin even had assigned a special day for hearing the peasant 'messengers'," writes V. A. Karpinskiy, editor of the newspaper *BEDNOTA*, from whom, incidentally, Vladimir Il'ich demanded regular reports on the number and content of letters written by peasants reaching his newspaper. As we know, the peasants' views were considered and scientifically developed in the famous report to the 10th RKP(b) Congress on replacing the requisitioning of farm produce with taxes paid in kind, which marked the transition to the new economic policy. The people responded to the leader of the multimillion strong toiling peasant Russia, so greatly concerned with it.

Naturally, Lenin did not pander to what the ownership side of the double nature of the peasant dictated to him. He believed and knew for certain that with the help of the working class and under the leadership of the Communist Party the quality of the working person would predominate in the peasants' mass which will become aware, in the final account, of its true path to a new life. The kulaks immediately objected to the revolution. Born in the course of the building of socialism, strengthened, and now equal to the working class from the ideological-political and cultural viewpoints, the collectivistic class of the kolkhoz peasantry is one of the greatest living monuments to Il'ich.

Every leader must be able to predict the course of events, to feel their historical connection, and to be able to separate within them the main from the secondary. Naturally, to a certain extent, many outstanding historical personalities have possessed a certain historical perspicacity. However, they had no firm grounds on which to stand. In the proletarian leaders Marxism became such grounds--the scientific theory of social development, the purposeful and streamlined outlook.

Yet, standing on the grounds of such an outlook and accepting its theory is not enough. The soil must be cultivated and the shoots of the new, the creative, must be grown. Theory must be developed. A number of entirely honest proletarian revolutionaries proved unable to master its comprehensive-dialectical flexibility which was based, precisely, on the trueness of its basic stipulations, rather than oppose them and, therefore, fluctuated between dogmatism and revisionist vulgarity. After Marx and Engels, Lenin was the first to fully understand and accept Marxism as a theory of development demanding, above all, its steady development, without any rejection whatever of its previously acquired fundamental knowledge. It is precisely this that gives the Marxist doctrine the faculty to organically master new specific social data and to create an ever more expanded and full theoretical canvas of the real dynamics of history.

Seeing in dialectical materialism "the living soul" of Marxism, Lenin thoroughly clarified and explained the inseparable link, the interpenetration among its three constituent parts--philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism--merged within a "single piece of steel," forming an outstanding entity and loosing their revolutionary-creative power if artificially separated. It is only in scientific socialism that the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism and Marxist political economy, which constitute its foundation, factually assume flesh and blood. In the same way, socialism, even though partially breaking its ties with this foundation, invariably degenerates into an eclectic concoction of idle hair-brained schemes, taking a step backwards, from science to Utopia.

To Lenin a revolutionary movement without progressive theory is as inconceivable as would be a progressive theory without a factually growing struggle waged by the working class and all working people for their social liberation. Throughout his life, the only theory he defended and developed was the one based on practice and tested through practice. That is why the endless struggle which Vladimir Il'ich waged, orally and verbally, against all kinds of conscious or subconscious Marxist "reformers" was of such a principle-minded nature that it could not fail to win over any honest and thinking person within the socialist revolutionary movement. Taking into consideration here the invariable triumph of Lenin's thoughts he defended, either confirmed by life or once again substantiated through concepts and conclusions--a now universally known fact--the unbreakable link between the activities of Lenin as a leader and Lenin as a theoretician will become obvious.

For example, Lenin's foresight was clearly manifested in the way he struggled for what he considered the only correct draft of the first paragraph of the bylaws of the just organized Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. Many delegates attending the Second RSDWP Congress, even those who were Lenin's devoted friends and fellow workers and who, subsequently, became convinced Bolsheviks, found his irreconcilable position

puzzling. Should there be fights here, when forces were only beginning to rally? It seemed to them that retreats were necessary, compromises, unity. Yet, he did not yield, for he could see that efforts were made to nip the party in the bud. The working class needed a combat political organization of revolutionaries rather than something stillborn. Lenin did not reject compromises but never accepted them on matters of principle.

Principle-mindedness is the blood sister of courage. How great this courage had to be to be able to state at that time that, "Before uniting and for the sake of uniting we must begin by firmly and clearly separating ourselves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 358). This was not merely a question of individual courage, since the Bolsheviks, in their majority, performed miracles of courage, but of political courage, i.e., of the ability to assume personal responsibility for a decision which, should it prove erroneous, could discredit a person and entail the blame of later generations. Lenin's entire activity consisted of making precisely such responsible political decisions. Not only making them but, sometimes, defending them in such complex circumstances that with even a most minute lack of confidence in one's rightness, one would have to give up. Here Lenin the leader was always helped by Lenin the theoretician, distinguished by his incomparable political farsightedness, based on impeccable scientific knowledge and historical optimism.

The energy, conviction, and moral strength found in Lenin are worthy of admiration. It was his lot to always convince his fellow workers of his rightness, and to teach them to encompass in a single penetrating look the picture of the world exploding in a revolutionary storm. Being not only a leader of the masses but a leader of leaders, Lenin was able to do this patiently, with amazing tactfulness, never imposing his conclusions and decisions, but achieving the agreement of the leaders, the party, and the people, frequently correcting himself under the influence of the general opinion. Vladimir Il'ich always closely listened to the course of the historical process and always formulated problems as required by the given moment. He spoke only the truth, however bitter it might have been, and his assessments of the activities of his comrades, the Central Committee, and the Soviet government he headed, were distinguished by their accuracy. Lenin did not fear to admit incompleteness, errors, omissions, or miscalculations.

Even the rich and powerful Russian language has not enough words to characterize Lenin--the leader of the people--in his entirety. His figure stands out against the background of contemporary history. Yet, who knows what new aspects will be found in it, in the light of the communist future which Lenin saw with such clarity and for whose inevitable advent he invested such efforts! This person, under whose leadership the revolutionary toiling masses of Russia inaugurated a new era in October 1917, this person who literally hammered out the world's communist movement and, because of this, earned the recognition of the working people

of all countries in his own lifetime, will remain forever an inexhaustible source of wisdom and inspiration to posterity:

From here, looking back, you will see, first, Lenin's head. A shining path from the slavery of tens of millenia to the age of the commune.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin lives in us--today's perpetuators of his cause. He lives in the great accomplishments of our party and Soviet people who built a developed socialist society, and in the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries. He leads the international working class, the fighters for national liberation, in the just fight. His wise words are heard at party plenums and congresses, and at communist gatherings in different countries.

The CPSU domestic policy is imbued with concern for the good of the working person. Its foreign policy is peaceful and proletarian-internationalist in its essence, justifiably described by us as Leninist. We frequently and justly repeat Leninist norms of party life, Leninist principles of socialist democracy, Leninist friendship among peoples, Leninist style of work, and Leninist life stance.

Solemnly celebrating the 110th anniversary of the birth of the greatest leader of the people, again and again we think of the way each one of us works and lives like Lenin, and how loyally and properly we implement his wise behests.

5003

CSO: 1802

L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH ON ACCEPTING THE LENIN PRIZE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 14-16

[Speech delivered by L. I. Brezhnev on 31 March 1980]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Allow me, above all, to express my profound gratitude to the Lenin Prize Committee for the high award presented to me. I also thank the comrades who spoke today for their good words (applause).

This Lenin prize is for literature. I, as you know, am not a literary but a party worker. Yet, like every party member, I consider myself mobilized for party propaganda. I consider it my duty to actively participate in the work of our press.

V. I. Lenin taught the party workers to always sharpen their pen, to help "write the history of our time," and to write in such a way as to help as much as possible the practical work of the party and the working class. I wrote as I could in plant and front line newspapers. I published in oblast, republic, and central editions, trying to assist thus our common party cause. Finally, I decided to put together my thoughts born of my experience.

I wished least of all for the books "Malaya Zemlya," [Small Land] "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], to be taken as memoirs. Working on my notes I was thinking not of myself and even not so much of the past than of the fact that the experience of the past may be useful to the people today.

I have seen a great deal in my life. I grew up in a workers family and began work in a plant. I will always remember this time gratefully. I also worked in the countryside and became familiar with peasant life and the work of the farmer. I covered with the troops of our valorous army many thousands of kilometers (lengthy applause).

All this taught me to highly value and to profoundly respect the toiling Soviet person--his modesty, patience, labor persistence and courage in battle, goodness to people, and infinite loyalty to the great Leninist cause--the cause of the happiness of the people.

I was raised by our Leninist party. Throughout my conscious life I have been in communist ranks. That is precisely why I wrote, above all, about the communists--the active fighters, their ideological convictions, and their spiritual beauty.

Naturally, I am pleased that the books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye," and "Tselina" earned the recognition of the readers domestically and abroad. On this occasion I would like to thank all those who shared with me their impressions of the books. I am grateful to the party committees and to the creative and other public organizations which discussed them. I am grateful to our literary workers for their good response. I warmly thank my old comrades in the front and in peacetimes who also responded to these works.

Time flies and cannot be stopped. This imposes upon us particular responsibility for the growing generation. Meeting with young workers, kolkhoz members, students, and members of the armed forces, I sometimes think that to them events which are, in fact, not so distant, have become legendary.

Not only those can see the Great Patriotic War in movies but the virgin land epic as well, have already entered mature age.

The youth of today are also undergoing practical training in the science of the building of communism. They are mastering this science in the huge construction projects, in laying the already legendary Baykal-Amur Main Line, developing Siberia and the resources of the Nonchernozem, developing science and technology.

However, the young men and women must also turn to the sources of the establishment of socialist social relations. They must have a good idea of the creation of the gigantic economic and spiritual potential of the state. Awareness of the continuity of our affairs will enable them to better understand the tasks of the present and the accomplishments which our people expect in the future.

It is good, therefore, that veterans--shock workers of the First Five-Year plans, soldiers of the Great Patriotic War and heroes of the postwar restoration--are taking part in the upbringing of the growing generation. Our thanks to them for their great patriotic work which is so necessary and useful (lengthy applause).

Many of the letters I have received from readers express the wish for the author to continue with his recollections. How to answer this?

I believe it is my duty to share with the new generations everything valuable from my experience. I keep thinking about it and, should I find time, and should I be able to, I shall continue with my notes (applause). Please believe that I consider the award presented to me today as an instruction for the future.

Once again, I think of Lenin's words on the tasks of party journalism: To write about our time in order to help as much as possible the practical cause of our party and people. This is also the main task of our journalism, our mass propaganda, the party's entire ideological-educational work. On a broader scale, it is also the task of our artistic literature and art in general.

What could be more important or nobler than to plunge into practical life, to help the people to more clearly understand the meaning of this life and the direction of its flow, and to help make this life better, more correct, brighter and richer, not only materially, but spiritually? This is the measure with which the party approaches ideological work in all its aspects. This is the measure I used in my modest contribution to this great project.

The farther along we progress toward the building of communism, the stronger our economy and the more secure the life of the people becomes, the more important become the tasks of the sociopolitical, cultural, moral, and esthetic upbringing of the people. We cannot allow gaps in material and spiritual development. This would cause a number of difficulties.

The more educated the Soviet people become, and the more their knowledge broadens, the more important the level, the quality of ideological work becomes.

In my view, callous and thoughtless formalism, and a tendency to use clichés and verbal chattering are the most terrible enemies in this case. What is most necessary is to give a life, a creative nature to all educational, information, and propaganda work, at all levels and in all directions.

I have already had the opportunity to mention this. The rule must be to address the people in a simple and clear language, frankly, and effectively. The time has come to abandon high-sounding words, clichés, and automatic repetitions. We must learn to write involving in each sentence our own living thought and personal feelings.

This appears unquestionable. Yet, how difficult it is to achieve!

As you know, last spring, the party's Central Committee passed a special expanded decree on improving ideological and political-educational work. Last autumn a big all-union conference of ideological workers was held. A great deal has been accomplished to implement the decisions. However, it would be erroneous to consider that enough has been accomplished. No relaxation is possible in this case. Tremendous adamant work remains to be done in literally all directions indicated in the Central Committee decree so that ideological work can be truly raised to a new level and be consistent with the requirements of the time and the requests of the Soviet people.

Comrades! Our country has entered the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan. It is a year of active preparations for the 26th Party Congress which will define the strategy of our further progress in the building of communism. It is also the year of the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth. This anniversary gives a new impetus to the entire work done by the party and the people. We have extremely rich revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions. However, with every passing day, we gather new experience.

We realize that, as a whole, the 1980's, which have already numbered their initial months, will be a period of resolving a variety of complex problems related to the further development of our economy, science, culture, and social relations. We have everything necessary to cope with these tasks, eliminate shortcomings, and make the life of the people even better. The result will depend on us, on the millions of working people in plants, fields, farms, scientific laboratories, and management organs. The result will depend on the discipline, conscientiousness, and application of every Soviet person wherever he works. There is no other road to success.

The entire history of our party is a history of serving the interests of the working people. The meaning of all communist activities is the struggle for the happiness of the working people. Naturally, it is also the protection of their rights and freedoms as codified in our constitution. Our entire experience, the developing international circumstances, and, particularly, recent facts, make it incumbent upon us to keep our powder dry, to be persistent and consistent in defending the cause of the peace, and to remember our historical responsibility for the fate of the homeland and of all mankind.

For my part, I shall continue to do everything I can for the successful implementation of our party's Leninist policy, a policy of steadfastly

upgrading the living standard of the people, insuring the peace and security of the country, and building the communist future.

For the sake of this it is worth living and struggling and sparing neither time nor effort (tempestuous and lengthy applause. All rise).

5003

CSO: 1802

LENINIST UNITY OF WORDS AND DEEDS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 17-32

[Article by V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee]

[Text] Celebrating the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth, the Soviet people turn, again and again, to the ideological legacy of their teacher and leader. History is unaware of any other political leader, revolutionary, and philosopher such as he, who has done so much for the working people, for the freedom, prosperity, and power of his homeland, and for all oppressed and exploited people on earth. Embodying the profound knowledge of the laws of social development, the brilliance of the mind and the power of its actions, Lenin's great doctrine became the banner and the invincible weapon of the fighters for the social renovation of the world.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth" states that the intransient significance of Leninism is that it profoundly and accurately expresses the interests of the working class and all working people, and the requirements of global social progress. It makes it possible to provide proper answers to the most burning hot vital problems of our time, teaching the bold and creative solution of ripe problems, and arms us with a scientific understanding of the future of social development.

Creatively developing the theoretical legacy of K. Marx and F. Engels in terms of the new historical conditions, Lenin enriched its structural components with new concepts and conclusions. Important among them is the Leninist doctrine of the proletarian party of a new type and of its historical tasks, and ways and means of work. V. I. Lenin factually combined theory with practice and defined the efficient mechanism enabling the party to implement its role as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society.

In its entire purposeful revolutionary-reorganizing activity, the CPSU has been invariably guided by the eternally living and creative Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and by the great Lenin's behests. It clearly defines strategic and tactical tasks on a profoundly scientific basis and skillfully finds effective ways and means for their solution. In terms of their nature, objectives, and results, CPSU activities are the highest practical embodiment of revolutionary theory and of the Leninist work style which is applied in the course of the systematic exercise of the domestic and foreign policy formulated at the party congresses, and the party's organizational and ideological work.

Lenin taught that the party's basic activity which determines its content and direction is its political line; following the formulation of this line anything, including the fate of the policy itself, is decided by organizational work. The source of effectiveness of the party's leadership and the prerequisite of our successes lie in the ability not only to formulate a program or a policy, or determine the means for the solution of specific problems but their practical implementation. ". . . We must do everything possible to accomplish and most closely see to it that party-mindedness becomes not merely words but action," Vladimir Il'ich emphasized, ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 19, p 110). This was said as early as 1909 but remains topical to this day!

Unity of words and deeds presumes the purposeful, the creative practical implementation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and a continuing scientific study of practical experience and reality. This is a mandatory prerequisite for the elaboration of profoundly planned and comprehensively substantiated decisions and practical measures. This is particularly important today, when party and people are undertaking the solution of ever more complex, broader and largely new qualitative problems.

The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Reports to the 25th Party Congress and the Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" particularly emphasize the need for securing the unity of words and deeds as the most important feature of the Leninist work style and a basic principle of communist upbringing. The fullness with which this unity is achieved in practice directly depends on the level of party guidance and influence in each specific sector of communist building.

Under socialism unity of words and deeds stems from the unity of interests of society, the collective, and the individual. This requires the steady and purposeful work of the party organs and organizations aimed at the comprehensive utilization of the advantages of developed socialism, and the advancement of the mechanism of economic management and administration and of the entire system of socialist social relations. It is precisely such an approach that insures, in

the final account, the conversion of Marxist-Leninist ideas into the personal convictions of each Soviet person, and into an alloy of knowledge, communist conviction, and active practical participation in building the new society.

The path and objectives of the communist party are most fully reflected in the decisions of its congresses, Central Committee plenums, and other party documents. That is why, at the present stage, the strict implementation of party decisions and directives and of the socioeconomic program formulated at its 25th Congress is, above all, the highest criterion of the observance of the Leninist principle of unity of words and deeds.

The party has always considered that giving one's word or making a pledge is a firm obligation. It firmly opposes irresponsible assertions. It insures unity between its slogans, on the one hand, and practical work, program tasks, and organizational activity, on the other. "In the Leninist party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasizes, "words are not different from deeds. The course toward victory of the socialist revolution, the course toward socialism, and the course toward the building of communism are the party's word expressed in its three programs. The victory of the October Revolution, the triumph of socialism, and successful progress toward a communist future are the deeds of the party, the deeds of the entire people."

The period which followed the October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which paid great attention to the strengthening and development of the Leninist norms of party life, the intensification of intraparty democracy, and the improvement of all sides of party and state management of society, plays a particular role in the practical implementation of the principle of unity of words and deeds. In the past 15 years, thanks to the selfless toil of the people and the fruitful activities of the CPSU, important qualitative changes have taken place in the life of the country. The advantages of real socialism have become more apparent and the role of the party and its prestige among the masses have risen.

This is a great service of the CPSU Central Committee whose activities are characterized by a scientific approach, purposefulness, broadness of scale, far-sightedness, and realism. On the basis of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the inviolable Leninist principles of party leadership, the Central Committee is showing a model of ability to determine the main, the basic feature of the work, find the proper ways, and choose the most effective ways and means for achieving planned objectives.

The party members and the entire Soviet people justifiably note the tremendous contribution of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding figure of the Communist Party and Soviet state and the international communist and workers movements, to the elaboration and implementation of the

domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and of its economic and social strategy, and the establishment in our country of an atmosphere of efficiency and real social optimism. The outstanding qualities of a Marxist-Leninist such as the comprehensive knowledge of life, theoretical depth of thinking and organizational talent, political perspicacity, and Bolshevik principle-mindedness have been fully embodied in his comprehensive activities in the responsible positions of CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. The volumes of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's collected works "Leninskiĭ kurs" [The Leninist Course], his books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], and other works which sum up, in a concentrated fashion, the universal-historical experience of the leading activities of our party under contemporary conditions, and express the basic stipulations for further improvements of party work and of the entire system of social relations, represent an invaluable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

Using the tried arsenal of political and organizational means for achieving end results, the party offers guidance in all realms of social life. It unites, coordinates, and directs the activities of state and social organizations, and leads the broad toiling masses to the implementation of assignments.

As we know, economics is the most important sector of the struggle for communism. Its successful development largely depends on the extent of the systematic and purposeful implementation of decisions aimed at the implementation of the party's economic strategy, the increased influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, improvements in managerial and planning activities, and increasing the role of the state plan, the five-year plan above all, which is a major instrument in the implementation of CPSU economic policy and the main method for planning the economic and social development of the country and the base for the organization of economic activities of enterprises, associations, and ministries. The imperative of the time is to raise to a new higher stage both planning and the organization of the implementation of state planning assignments.

Today we are relying on highly developed production forces, a powerful industry, large-scale mechanized agriculture, and progressive science. Penetrating ever more profoundly into the essence of the economic laws of socialism, and using the advantages of the developed socialist society, the party is systematically implementing its program stipulations and firmly following the Leninist course.

The November 1979 CPSU Central Committee Plenum studied with Leninist principle-mindedness the work done by the party and the people in the first four years of the current five-year plan and clearly defined the forthcoming tasks. "We could note with satisfaction," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at that plenum, "that, implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress since the beginning of the five-year plan,

we have made considerable progress in the development of the national economy and the further upsurge of the material and cultural standards of the people, and in strengthening our homeland's defense capability."

Soviet Ukraine as well has achieved substantial successes in the development of the economy and culture. Taking a summing up indicator as the national income, since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan it has reached 301.7 billion rubles. This is 23 percent above the figure reached over the same period in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. A total of 87 percent of the growth was the result of higher social labor productivity.

In the first four years of the five-year plan industrial output in the republic rose 104 billion rubles, or over one-third compared with the same period in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Within that period 3.7 billion rubles were earned above the annual planned figures. The volume of superior quality goods nearly quadrupled. Since the beginning of the five-year plan over 1,600 new enterprises and big production facilities have been commissioned. The Zaporozh'ye and Uglegorsk Thermoelectric Power Plants reached full capacity and so did the first section of the Chernobyl' Nuclear Power Plant, the coal mines imeni Geroyev Kosmosa and Velikomostovskaya No 10, the petroleum refinery in Lisichansk, the blast furnace at the Kommunarsk Metallurgical Plant, the Azovstal' Oxygen Converter Shop, the new capacities at the Severnyy and the Dneprovskiy Ore Mining and Concentration combines, and a number of complexes for the production of chemical fertilizers and chemical fertilizer raw materials. The Gorlovka-Odesa Ammonium Pipeline has been commissioned, and the construction of the Severo-Krymskiy and Glavnyy Kakhovskiy main canals has been completed. New textile enterprises and sugar refineries have been started up.

The line of developing basic economic sectors is being firmly followed. The republic is increasing the capacity of its fuel-energy complex, metallurgy, machine building, chemical industry, and enterprises producing consumer goods. Extensive work is being done on the reconstruction and expansion of operating enterprises, mechanization and automation of production processes, and the installation of new equipment and use of progressive technology. Production and scientific collectives are participating in the implementation of 184 all-union and 79 republic comprehensive scientific and technical programs of major national economic importance.

The party's course toward an all-round upsurge of rural production forces is being systematically pursued. Despite the severe weather conditions of 1975 and 1979, this made it possible to increase the average annual agricultural output by 2.5 million rubles or 9.5 percent compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The republic averaged an annual output of 44.4 million tons of grain or 4.4 million tons more than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

The experience of the party organizations provides a number of convincing examples confirming their increased ability not only to formulate a plan of action but to implement it. Let us consider Donetsk, a big industrial, scientific, and cultural center. Formulating specific measures for the implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the city party organization paid particular attention to straggling collectives. The state of affairs of each enterprise was studied in detail. The results of this work and the conclusions and suggestions were considered at a city party committee plenum. Complex groups were assigned to help the straggling enterprises, consisting of gorkom members, scientists, and specialists. Base enterprises, in which progressive experience courses were organized, were designated for each production sector.

The city and rayon party committees organized control over plan fulfillment on a 10-day basis. This provides a permanent clear picture of the implementation of assignments and makes it possible operatively and efficiently to help the collectives in the elimination of shortcomings. Greater attention began to be paid to the competition under the slogan of "No single straggler!" and to expanding mutual aid based on the workers' relay principle of "Coal-Coke-Metal," and to sponsorship of leading over straggling collectives.

This effort has already yielded good results: Today the city has virtually no lagging enterprise or association and the number of shops failing to cope with assignments has been reduced by one-half. The growth rates of output here are outstripping the tasks of the five-year plan. In the past four years industrial output was 182 million rubles above the plan.

While accurately rating accomplishments, the party members have not stopped being self-critical. At the November 1979 CPSU Central Committee Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev indicated the major unused opportunities for accelerating progress and surmounting difficulties and unresolved problems. The plenum particularly emphasized the importance of further strengthening discipline at all work sectors and intensifying control over the implementation of plan assignments and decisions. It called for replacing workers who failed to cope with assignments or to react to criticism, more boldly promoting energetic and creatively thinking and initiative-minded people, and uprooting manifestations of lack of discipline and various violations.

Our republic has a number of bottlenecks and shortcomings in the coal industry, metallurgy, capital construction, agriculture, transportation, trade, and consumer services. Along with objective reasons, this is explained also with the fact that not all cadres have learned as yet to properly struggle for upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. Implementing the decisions of the November plenum and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism further, the Communist Party of the Ukraine

Central Committee pays great attention to upgrading the efficiency, organization, and coordination of the management apparatus. It focuses the efforts of party organizations and collegiums of ministries and departments on improving planning, comprehensively resolving problems of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, intensifying cost accounting, and increasing the role of economic levers and incentives. We are promoting further improvements in the work with cadres in order to comprehensively establish a creative approach and high responsibility for assignments, and decisively eliminate anything conflicting with current requirements or incompatible with the Leninist work style.

The Soviet people realize that success does not come by itself. It is the embodiment of the work, knowledge, convictions, and active life stance of the multi-million strong masses. Our people trust the party and link to it its hopes and expectations. In turn, the closest possible links with the people are an inexhaustible source of the party's vital energy and the blood vessels which feed it, which give it a knowledge of life, experience, and insurmountable strength.

Always concerned with the further strengthening and development of the new historical community--the Soviet people--the party insures the further advancement of socialist democracy, the extensive involvement of the working people in administering production and the country's life, and the energizing of the activities of social organizations. The recently held elections for the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and local soviets of people's deputies proved, yet once again, convincingly, the unity of words and deeds of the communist party. In the years since the previous elections a new major step forward was taken in strengthening the country's economic and defense potential, and raising the material and cultural standards of the people. Ubiquitous extensive work was done to carry out the voters' instructions.

The advantages of socialist democracy, which insures real rights to the Soviet people, are particularly clear against the background of the most unpardonable demagoguery of bourgeois politicians. The working people in the capitalist countries are becoming ever more convinced of the fact that the many electoral campaign promises in the field of domestic and foreign policy are never fulfilled. They are immediately forgotten following the elections and the pledges given by the bourgeois parliamentarians are rudely and unceremoniously violated.

The word of the CPSU is firm. It is implemented in its practical accomplishments. In our republic the average monthly wages of workers and employees and kolkhoz members are rising at a faster pace than stipulated in the five-year plan. Per capita social fund payments and benefits have reached 391 rubles. Today they are 63 rubles higher than at the beginning of the five-year plan. From the beginning of the plan, 43 million square meters of housing areas--nearly 1.3 million more than stipulated in the five-year plan--have been built with state funds alone.

In the republic at large nearly 6.5 million people have improved their housing conditions. Science, culture, public education, and health care are developing successfully. Social insurance is improving.

Particular attention is being paid to disabled Great Patriotic War veterans, and the families of dead soldiers. Over the past four years alone they were given over 30,000 comfortable apartments; the handicapped were given 43,000 motor vehicles and 6,000 motor tricycles free of charge; every year about 60,000 handicapped are being issued cards for sanitoriums and rest homes. Specific measures are being taken to further improve the material status of Patriotic War veterans and veterans of the USSR armed forces and their families in connection with the recently passed CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree.

These are merely some of the really tangible results of the social program formulated by the party. Other processes, whose influence on our entire life would be difficult to overestimate, are taking place as well. They include the gradual elimination of class distinctions, the planned elimination of major disparities between town and country and between mental and physical labor, the all-round development and rapprochement among nations and nationalities in our country, the growing moral-political unity of our society, the organic integrity and dynamism of the social system, and its political stability. Our people are confidently laying a path to communism under the tried leadership of its vanguard, the Leninist party.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine--one of the combat-tested detachments of the CPSU--numbers 2,872,000 members. They are rallied in 25 oblasts, 136 city, 561 rayon, and 65,773 primary party organizations.

Guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, the local party committees are engaged in the comprehensive and purposeful implementation of party directives. They are improving the style and method of their work. Key problems of economic development are under steady control. Problems of upgrading the effectiveness of industrial output and capital construction, insuring the national economy with fuel-energy resources, promoting the further upsurge of agriculture, improving the work of all types of transportation, implementing the party's social program, and further improving the communist education of the working people are systematically considered at Central Committee plenums and Politburo and Secretariat meetings.

In the period following the 25th CPSU Congress, the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee heard reports submitted by all oblast and a number of city and rayon party committees, primary party organizations, ministries, and departments covering various aspects of their activities. Central Committee members and candidate members, party committee

secretaries, ministry and department workers, specialists, and scientists are recruited to study the situation and draft the necessary materials. This makes possible the profound study of the items and the elaboration of correct and most expedient solutions. The role of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee secretariat and departments, and of the oblast party committees has increased in organizing the implementation of party decisions and intensifying control work.

Comprehensive investigations conducted by party committees on the fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the socioeconomic tasks of the five-year plan are an effective work method. Based on the results of these investigations, the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee studied the results of the work of the oblast party organizations in 1979 and over the past four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Similar work was done by the city and rayon party organizations and in the various economic sectors. Great attention is paid to further improving the work style and methods of soviet and economic organs and to providing practical aid in situ.

In the Leninist understanding, the main purpose of control is precisely that of insuring unity between decisions and execution, prevent possible errors and shortcomings, and be able to promptly correct and "provide factual aid, small perhaps yet factual" (see "Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 127; Vol 53, p 68). Thanks to systematic control discipline is being strengthened at all production management levels. The responsibility of the workers for the conscientious implementation of their obligations is being increased. Progressive labor and management methods and the achievements of science, technology, and progressive experience are being applied more energetically. At the same time, the efficient and extensive investigation of execution helps to block cases of bureaucracy and indifference and manifestations of complacency and conceit--of anything which conflicts with the Leninist work style and the laws and norms of our life.

The strength of the party's leadership lies in the unity, the indivisible dialectical interconnection between the passionate and convinced communist word and the specific, practical action. The way this Leninist requirement is implemented may be seen in the example of the activities of a number of party organizations in the republic, whose experience we support, and adamantly propagandize and disseminate. For a number of years Chernigovskaya Oblast has been successfully coping with the production and procurement of basic agricultural commodities. Its achievements are based on constant efforts to intensify farming and upgrade its standards. At the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan it drafted a comprehensive long-range work plan which called for increasing yields per hectare. The planned measures were comprehensively discussed by the primary party organizations and labor collectives, at party committee plenums and sessions of local soviets of people's deputies.

Raising the fertility of the woodlands by drastically increasing the use of organic fertilizers and the skillful use of chemical fertilizers, land reclamation, and the restoration and utilization of all previously abandoned farm land and insuring the preservation of all land resources became the main directions of the project. A comprehensive study was undertaken on a permanent basis of results of the economic activities of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, taking into consideration the effectiveness of the utilization of the land, fertilizers, equipment, and all productive capital. Instead of simply yields, previously used as the main yardstick of the level of economic management, a more objective indicator became the most important oblast criterion in assessing the work: Production output in accordance with the natural fertility of the land and the created production potential.

Improvements were made in cadre training and the management of all production units was strengthened. Conferences and congresses of agricultural specialists are held; progressive experience courses are operated on the basis of the best kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The responsibility of managers and farm specialists for end work results has been increased considerably. Active use is being made of a cadre reserve training method such as the practice under experienced tutors-managers. A system of publically defending the socialist obligations of labor collectives and individual workers was established.

All this yielded positive results. In the first four years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan gross harvests in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Chernigov area rose 18-21 percent for grain, potatoes, sugar beets, and other farm products; meat, milk, and egg production rose 15-30 percent compared with the average annual level in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Many hundreds of thousands of tons of crop and animal husbandry goods were sold to the state above the plan. The experience of the oblast party organization in improving the utilization of the land was approved by the CPSU Central Committee.

Today no success is possible without a sharper feeling for the new, daring in the formulation and implementation of tasks, or healthy dissatisfaction with achievements, which makes it necessary to search and utilize ever new possibilities. At the same time, studying the activities of a number of party committees in the light of contemporary requirements, we see that, even though frequently their workers seem to apply a great deal of effort, they do not always yield the necessary results. What is the reason for this? Naturally, no simple answer would be possible. A number of shortcomings in the management of economic and cultural construction may be explained by the inability of some cadres to find the real ways for surmounting arising difficulties, complete projects, and adamantly work to reach targets. Not everyone has learned to see the real possibilities of his sector, rayon, or enterprise. Not everyone knows how and is able to apply the best achievements of science and progressive experience, modern and effective forms of labor organization, production, and management, and moral and material incentives.

I recall the proceedings of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. One of the first to take the floor was the famous Donetsk miner Hero of Socialist Labor V. N. Pikharev, brigade leader at the mine imeni Abakumov. His speech was practical and full of party enthusiasm. Well acquainted with the problems of the coal industry, he submitted a number of suggestions and, at the end of his speech, asked a somewhat unusual question: Whom do we consider a leading worker? He answered it as follows:

"Usually, a person who successfully copes with production assignments, who has produced above-plan goods in terms of tons, meters, or high percentages. Naturally, all this is very important. However, to do excellent work is not a merit but our sacred duty. A leading worker finds it insufficient merely to work well. If you are a leading worker everything taking place in the collective during work and after the shift, everything around you, becomes important. I cannot conceive of a truly leading production worker without this."

Supporting this thought with action, back from the congress, Vladimir Nikitovich extended a helping hand to the brigade headed by V. Vorob'yev, in the neighboring mine imeni Chelyuskintey. This good example was followed by many others. At the Donetskugol' Association alone 62 brigades and sectors assumed sponsorship of neighboring collectives. The initiator, who was among the first in the republic to reach a 1,000 ton load per face, is seeing to it that this indicator becomes the norm of his trainees.

What are currently the roots of such an active life stance adopted by thousands and thousands of our outstanding working people and of their aspirations to back their word, their pledge, with specific accomplishments? For example, what was the source of strength of L. K. Kondrat'yeva, A. T. Solotova, and P. G. Volkovinskaya, weavers at the Darnitskiy Silk Combine, who initiated the movement for increasing labor productivity by expanding the area of equipment services and raised the number of serviced looms by a factor of 2.7? What were the motives which encouraged the workers' brigade headed by A. A. Baranovskiy of Il'ichevsk Port to launch the initiative of accelerating the processing of ships and achieving outstanding results by improving the technology and organization of loading and unloading operations and the maximum utilization of the equipment, riggings, and other equipment? Or else, what motivated the 114,000 leaders in the competition and 6,000 labor collectives in the republic who, assuming high and stressed socialist obligations, already last year reported the completion of their five-year plans?

Hero of Socialist Labor N. I. Milyan, leader of a fitters' brigade at the L'vov Buses Plant imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, described this quite well and accurately, as follows:

"The stipulations of the five-year plan are task number one for every Soviet person. They establish the main directions to be followed in the country's socioeconomic progress and embody the hopes and aspirations of the working people. All of us know that the more forces, heart, and industry they invest in the work they perform, the more abundant will be the fruits of our common field. Therefore, the five-year plan is also my own individual working plan. Therefore, the party's word is my own word and the party's deed is my own deed."

These words by the labor veteran are deeply meaningful.

The city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations play an exceptionally important role in the practical implementation of the Leninist principle of unity of word and action. Most of them in the republic work effectively, displaying useful initiatives, trying to develop, so to say, their own style, and find, in accordance with specific conditions, the key to the solution of one or another problem. Encountering difficulties which, occasionally, could be many, the heads of such party committees do not give up but mobilize all forces, seek reserves, and use all possibilities for the implementation of assignments, thus backing the familiar aphorism, "He who wants to do the work finds the means; he who does not, seeks excuses."

Two years ago the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee approved the experience in organizational and political work of the party organization of the Sumy Machine Building Association imeni M. V. Frunze in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. Here the party members undertook to develop and apply one of the first comprehensive systems for production effectiveness control in the country's machine building.

The association's party committee set up groups of specialists, and production leaders and innovators. They made a thorough study of the situation, and defined ways for the optimum utilization of reserves at each shop, sector, or workplace. They also collected and summed up the suggestions of the working people, subsequently discussed at workers meetings and meetings of the party-economic aktiv of the association. All this became the base of the organizational-political measures for the five-year plan and was taken into consideration in the elaboration of the comprehensive control system which makes it possible to achieve maximum returns from production capacities. The association's party committee organized the study of the system by working people within the party training, Komsomol political education, and economic training systems. The method and quality offices, the FRUNZENETS domestic newspaper, and the plant's radio newspaper promoted an extensive propaganda campaign. Visual agitation facilities were used more energetically. The course of the application of the system, and tasks related to its improvement and study and dissemination of vast experience are systematically

studied at party committee sessions and party meetings. the implementation of decisions is steadily controlled.

The new comprehensive system makes it possible to achieve maximum returns on production capacities. The association has already raised the shift coefficient of the equipment in basic production facilities. The volume of output per square meter of industrial area has increased and outlays per ruble marketable production have been reduced. The production of goods bearing the state Emblem of Quality rose by a 4.5 factor and today exceeds 45 percent.

Here is another example of a good experiment worthy of emulation. The labor collectives of the Zaporozhskaya Oblast resolved to work under the slogan of "Shift Manual Work to Machines." Promoting this movement, the oblast party committee directed the efforts of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations toward accelerating the pace of scientific and technical progress and raising labor productivity. Explanatory work was conducted with the extensive participation of the party and economic activists. Currently comprehensive plans are being implemented for the drastic reduction of the share of manual labor; creative relations have been established with scientific collectives. A contract for scientific and technical cooperation is also being implemented with a view to further improving utilization of manpower resources and reducing manual labor in the national economy, concluded between institutions of the Ukraine SSR Academy of Sciences and enterprises and organizations.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the oblast's industrial enterprises have already implemented over 4,000 organizational and technical measures aimed at saving on labor resources. Over 500 mechanized, assembly, and automated lines have been installed. Over 4,500 progressive technological processes have been applied. The pace of modernization of operating equipment has been increased. The labor of 32,000 people in industry and construction, and of 19,000 people in agriculture has been additionally mechanized. Heavy work operations have been totally eliminated in a number of production facilities, consequently not only raising labor productivity but lowering cadre turnover.

Practical experience confirms that insuring the unity of word and action at any work sector begins at the stage of the study and summation of the facts and of a specific situation, and the sober assessment of reality. Subsequently, it becomes very important to define and formulate clear and substantiated program-target tasks. However, this too is insufficient. Proper plans for their implementation must be elaborated. Above all, the main link must be defined. Available material and manpower resources must be assessed and means for their most effective utilization, found. Naturally, it is necessary to draft a planned and authoritative solution, organize the implementation of plans, determine the personal responsibility of individuals, and develop effective control of execution.

In this respect instructive experience has been acquired by the Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast party organization. In this oblast, where a number of large enterprises were built during the first five-year plans, any further increase in output largely depends on the pace of reconstruction of operating machine units, shops, and production lines. In 1977, when the collectives of the Yuzhnyy Ore Mining-Concentration Combine and the Krivbas construction organizations suggested that the concentration factory be reconstructed without stopping the production process, the oblast party committee not only supported their initiative but contributed to its dissemination among other enterprises. The local party committees did a great deal to coordinate the operations of organizations under different departmental affiliations, and provide party-political support. The oblast party committee undertook to resolve the complex problems involving ministries. All this contributed to the reconstruction of the most important projects at a high pace.

Naturally, the successful solution of important economic-political problems would be difficult without the powerful cadre potential developed in the oblast. For many years, since the time when Comrade L. I. Brezhnev headed the oblast party organization in the postwar period, a feeling of individual responsibility for assignments and the ability to surmount difficulties and resolve problems with initiative and competence, has been steadily developed in the local cadres.

At the beginning of the five-year plan the rich ore deposits of the mine imeni Dzerzhinskiy, in Krivoy Rog, declined. At that time, on the initiative of P. K. Savorskiy, director of the ore mining administration, and with the active support of the party committee, scientists, engineering and technical personnel, and the entire collective were drawn into resolving the problem of concentrating magnetite quartzites. A number of organizational and technical hindrances arose. All of them were surmounted. Without interrupting the output, the collective of the enterprise built a new concentration factory yielding a concentrate with a high iron content; the old concentration capacities will be outstripped by a factor of more than 3.

Yet, when the project was initiated, there was a large number of skeptics and nonbelievers. However, the collective supported the director, knowing that his word will never differ from his actions, and that he always carries out his plans. These qualities were developed in him by the workers' collective, and the Komsomol and party organizations of the Bol'shevik Ore Mining Administration, where he began his career as a tractor driver. He developed these qualities also in the course of his training at the Krivoy Rog Ore Mining Institute, and in the course of his work as mining foreman, chief of sector, party committee secretary of the ore mining administration imeni Dzerzhinskiy, and as first secretary of Dzerzhinskiy Rayon party committee in Krivoy Rog. The practical experience and authority of the leader grew. P. K. Savorskiy is a deputy of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. He is a member of the city party committee.

He was a delegate to the 25th CPSU Congress and the 26th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

Making a decision, a manager must have his strategy. He must plan the formulation and resolution of problems on a long-range basis. He must not only have an overall view of the problem and not simply understand the importance to the collective of resolving it, but be able to assess the factual possibilities at the disposal of the enterprise today and tomorrow. He must organize matters in such a way that everyone may work with total dedication. A proper assessment of the capabilities and creative possibilities of every worker and helping him to develop his initiative means bringing into action major reserves for improving the work.

Unity of word and action is a mandatory feature of the Leninist work style and a most important prerequisite for the successful practical application of revolutionary theory. "The real test of a party member," Lenin pointed out, "is his understanding of how, where, and when to convert his Marxism into action" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII" [Leninist Collection XXXVII], p 249). The efficiency and socialist initiative of a manager or worker are closely linked with his idea-mindedness, conscientiousness, social activeness, and moral purity. A truly communist idea-mindedness creates a superior type of efficiency based on the struggle for the interests of the working class and the entire people.

Increasing the personal responsibility of the party members for the fulfillment of program and statutory requirements, plans, and obligations, is of major importance in insuring the unity of word and action and in promoting efficiency. The problem of enhancing their vanguard role is resolved, above all, by accepting into the party the best representatives of the workers, kolkhoz members, and labor intelligentsia. Last year the CPSU accepted 87,971 new members from the republic, the overwhelming majority of whom are employed in material production. The breakdown of the new party replenishment is as follows: workers, 57.8 percent; 14.5 percent kolkhoz members, and 23.2 percent national economy specialists. Over three-quarters of the workers accepted as candidate party members are working in industry, transportation, communications and construction. A considerable percentage of them are employed in heavy industry, in sectors playing a decisive role in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in creating the material and technical foundations for communism.

To an ever greater extent the ranks of the party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhoses are growing through the acceptance of mechanizers, agronomists, zootechnicians, engineers, and other specialists. This reflects the increased availability of technical means in agriculture and its conversion to an industrial base. Over four-fifths of all employees joining the party are national economy specialists and workers in science and culture. The party committees also pay great attention to strengthening the party stratum in health care, trade, and consumer services.

The work of most party committees, and primary party organizations in the republic is characterized by a well planned creative approach to tasks, purposefulness and efficiency, comprehensive consideration and utilization of progressive experience, critical analysis of achievements, aspiration to complete projects and, consequently, achieve even better results, and close ties with and reliance on the masses. This has become a characteristic feature of their daily activities.

For example, this is the firm foundation for the successes achieved by the party members in L'vovskaya Oblast in the application of a comprehensive quality control system; of the city of Kiev, in improving creative returns from the cooperation between science and industry; in Khar'kov, in accelerating the installation of new equipment and use of progressive technology; among the Donbas miners, in daily extraction of 1,000 tons of coal per day per face, or 500 tons of coal per day from lean sectors; among farmers in Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast, in increasing the output and improving the quality of agricultural goods; in Kievskaya Oblast, in developing the fodder base and increasing the output of animal husbandry goods; in Yampol'skiy Rayon, Vinnitskaya Oblast, in increasing sugar production per hectare in sugar beets; and among the crop growers and animal husbandrymen of the Chernigov area who decided to fulfill their five-year plan for the sale of all commodities to the state by the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

In recent times alone, a number of leading workers and innovators who successfully fulfilled their high socialist pledges were awarded the USSR State Prize and the Ukrainian SSR State Prize. They include V. P. Strizhak, a turner at the Novokramatorskiy Mashinostroitel'nyy Zavod Production Association, V. D. Timchenko, head of a miners clearing brigade of the mine administration of the Torezskoye Torezantratsit Production Association, L. M. Samokish, steel smelter at the Donetsk Metallurgical Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, V. K. Mironenko, excavator operator at the Yuzhnyy Ore Mining Concentration Combine imeni XXV S"yezda KPSS, A. P. Sologub, machine milking operator at Shpit'kovskiy Sovkhoz, Kievo-Svyatoshinskiy Rayon, Kievskaya Oblast, L. G. Polupan, head of a crop growing team at the Ukraina Kolkhoz, Dzerzhinskiy Rayon, Zhitomirskaya Oblast, and many others. Progressive experience is multiplied as it is mastered by the broadest possible masses, becoming a powerful material force which speeds up scientific and technical and social progress.

Naturally, it would be erroneous to claim that the firm blending of words with actions is inherent in absolutely all party organizations and labor collectives. A number of shortcomings may still be found here. It frequently occurs that instead of effective decisions the party organizations adopt documents in which general appeals abound and which, as a whole, may be correct but, because of their vagueness, looseness, and unspecified recipients, do not mandate anything specific to anyone. It is difficult to control the implementation of such decisions, at

which point live organizational work is replaced by paper shuffling--collecting information, list-making, and adopting repeated and, frequently, just as vague decrees on the same problem.

Some rayon party committees and primary party organizations suffer from an excess of meetings. They hold innumerable conferences and engage in similar actions sometimes involving just about everyone. Unquestionably, if the practical advice of many people is needed, the necessary exchange of views becomes equally necessary. In practical terms, however, such requirements are rare. What is important, in all cases, is not simply to hold a conference but to insure the necessary benefit from it, and the effectiveness of its decisions and recommendations.

One can frequently hear someone saying, almost with pride, that "the conference went well." Yet, what is the meaning invested in this concept? Occasionally, it is believed that if the meeting went smoothly, it was good. It is as though people met merely for the sake of talking. What is important is the discussion of constructive suggestions and for the collective judgment to provide interesting thoughts for a decision, thoughts which would have a positive influence on subsequent work. The main criterion in assessing a conference or any other measure is the extent to which words were backed by action, and whether or not matters improved afterwards, and whether returns were good.

The republic's party organization is firmly fighting manifestations of formalism. Many party committees draft specific and profoundly planned comprehensive calendar plans for measures, taking into consideration their interconnection and overall effect; days are assigned for meetings conducted by elected officials. The time for such meetings and the people to be invited are determined. However, not everywhere has the necessary order been established on such matters and, to this day, unfortunately, a number of measures are being implemented which frequently fail to yield necessary returns.

Pretentiousness and idle talk are particularly intolerable in party work. They directly clash with one of its basic principles-- unity of word and action. We do not tolerate such cases and assess them on a principled basis.

Promoting the full and comprehensive implementation of Lenin's requirement of unity of word and action in daily practice, the party organizations and the republic party organization ascribe tremendous importance to promoting in leading cadres and in all party members a feeling of duty. "'Duties' and 'duty' have the same root," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at his meeting with the voters of Baumanskiy Electoral District in Moscow. "One must always remember one's duty to the people--one's party, official, and human duty. Without the steadfast fulfillment of this duty, without the ability to firmly link words with actions, there neither is nor could there be a true party or soviet worker."

Indeed, life has proved that the higher the feeling of duty is, and the more strongly the realized need to fulfill it becomes an organic requirement of a person, the more the unity of his words and actions finds a practical manifestation.

Let us emphasize once again that the development of criticism and self-criticism within the party organizations and labor collectives is of exceptional importance in the upbringing of cadres. The attitude toward criticism is the testing stone in determining the level of efficiency, principle-mindedness, and idea-mindedness of every worker and, even more so, of a party member-manager. This was noted yet once again by the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee in considering cases of persecution for criticism allowed of late by some managers of the Ivano-Frankovskiy Instruments Manufacturing Plant. A number of instructive thoughts arise in the study of such phenomena, including the following: The Soviet people sharply react to even the most minor violation of the principle of unity of words and actions, of deceiving the state, padding accounts, or any other manifestation of dishonesty and filth. Unfortunately, cases of delayed and superficial consideration of some alarm signals delay the exposure of the culprits and frequently cause moral traumas to honest people. That is why it is so important to attentively consider signals and not leave unpunished a single case of suppression of criticism, as required by the party bylaws and the Soviet constitution.

Reality faces cadres at all levels, particularly the leading workers, with ever new and steadily rising requirements. The contemporary manager, as was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, must organically blend within himself party-mindedness with profound competence, and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the work. At the same time, whatever his sector, the manager must take into consideration sociopolitical and educational aspects. He must be responsive to the people and to their needs and requirements. He must give the example at work and in his life. Unity of words and actions is practically impossible without the observance of these rules.

The republic's party organizations have acquired extensive experience in work with cadres. As throughout the country, the broadest toiling masses are the base for the promotion and for improving the structure of leading cadres in the Ukraine. It is precisely from the thick of the workers and kolkhoz members that most managers and personnel of party, soviet, and economic organs, and social organizations have come. Over one-half of the personnel of oblast, city, and rayon party committees, and the absolute majority of managers of industrial enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses began their careers as workers or kolkhoz members.

For example, the members of the Krymskaya Oblast party organization are well familiar with the way V. I. Il'in grew up, was tempered, and developed as a manager. Actively involved in social affairs, he combined work as rayon party committee secretary and, subsequently, oblast Komsomol secretary, with studies at the agricultural institute. Following graduation, he requested to be assigned to work in a straggling kolkhoz. In the course of the eight years he headed the farm he attended the real school of life and learned the main thing--work with people--and gained prestige. Therefore, his election as chairman of the rayon executive committee and, after a while, as first secretary of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon Party Committee, was entirely natural. V. I. Il'in was recently elected secretary of the Krymskaya Oblast committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine.

The advantages of our system, of the Soviet way of life, could be fully attained only when each collective and all our cadres work conscientiously, with a profound understanding of the nature of the tasks set by the party. Equipping the people with such knowledge and educating all working people in a spirit of high idea-mindedness, loyalty to the socialist homeland and the cause of communism, and a communist attitude toward labor and public property, as the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasizes, is what we consider our most important task.

We could confidently say that the implementation of the measures elaborated by the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee and the republic's party committees and organizations on improving ideological and political-educational work is yielding good results. The scientific standard of propaganda and agitation has been raised noticeably. Ideological work has become more tangible and purposeful and closely linked with the live practice of the building of communism. The organization of the Marxist-Leninist and economic education of cadres has been improved. The patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the masses has become more effective. The struggle with the opposites of communist morality has intensified.

The republic's party organizations have succeeded in better combining ideological with organizational work. They have increased their influence on the solution of the main problems formulated by our party at this specific time. This has resulted in the higher political and labor activity of workers, kolkhoz members, the people's intelligentsia, and our youth. This is most convincingly confirmed by the powerful scope of the socialist competition in honor of the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. A total of 545,000 leading workers and production innovators, and over 30,000 production collectives in the republic have pledged to fulfill the five-year plan by 22 April. They are backing their word by outstanding accomplishments, reaching ever higher levels and multiplying the power of their beloved fatherland.

Responding with all their heart to the party's call of making the final year of the five-year plan a year of shock labor, the working people of the Soviet Ukraine adopted high socialist pledges in order to welcome the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress with new accomplishments in all sectors of the building of communism. The workers in industry pledged to produce above-plan goods worth 915 million rubles, including the additional production of five million rubles' worth of consumer goods; the rural working people pledged to grow and harvest 53 million tons of grain, or three million tons above the plan, and to sell to the state no less than 1.1 million poods of grain, 50,250,000 tons of sugar beets, 3,730,000 tons of meat, 14,040,000 tons of milk, and over 8.5 billion eggs. A great deal will be accomplished also in the reconstruction and technical re-tooling of production facilities, in the practical utilization of achievements of scientific and technical progress, improving the living and working conditions of the people, and organizing population services.

The party organizations of Soviet Ukraine consider the honorable fulfillment of everything planned by our communist party their sacred duty and the practical implementation of the Leninist unity of word and action.

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HIS IDEAS BELONG TO ALL.

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 33-37

[Interview with Jacques Duclos, taped by V. Sedykh, PRAVDA correspondent, in January 1974. Published for the first time]

[Text] At that time I was a young activist and, even though not a delegate to the congress of the French Communist Party, held in Lyons, I actively participated in all preceding debates. During the proceedings, the horrible news arrived: Lenin had died. We knew that Vladimir Il'ich was sick, as the French reactionary press had written about it. However, each one of us, including myself, hoped that, perhaps, the bourgeois press was exaggerating the danger, and that Lenin was not all that gravely ill.

The ideas for which Lenin fought and his doctrine continue to live. Actually, Marxism-Leninism has won in all areas and it was thanks to it that the Soviet Union and the international workers movement were able to surmount thousands of difficulties on their way. Immediately following Lenin's death the question arose: How will events in the Soviet Union develop further, and will socialism be built in a single country? Some people lacked optimism. They believed that this was impossible and that, since no revolutions had occurred in other countries, one should abandon the game, surrender. However, Lenin's thought and Marxism-Leninism provided new impetus to the struggle for building socialism in a single country. This was no second-rate country. This was the Soviet Union--a great power in terms of territory and natural and human resources.

Consequently, the first Marxist-Leninist victory was the founding of the Soviet Union which became one of the most powerful countries in the world.

This victory triggered tremendous concern in capitalist circles. How often we were told of the difficulties of the Soviet Union and of the fact that it was unable to fully implement its economic plans. In turn, the aggravation of contradictions among capitalist countries led to the institution of a system of a new type--fascism--in some of them.

Among the first in this respect was Italy which, at a certain time, seemed to be close to a revolutionary movement but which, subsequently, slipped in the direction of fascism. In my view, the reason for this should be sought in the failure of the revolution in Germany. Lenin justifiably believed that the October Revolution would trigger a response in other countries and that it was precisely Germany that would become most inclined and most ready to follow revolutionary Russia. Let us add to this that in 1918, when the Kaiser's system was overthrown in Germany, and while Germany itself was forced to sign the armistice, conditions were created for the victory of socialism. However, instead of disbanding the imperial army, it was used to defeat the Spartakists, the left wing of the workers movement. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were killed, while the social democrats, betraying the cause of the working class, tried to preserve the bourgeois system and even to resort to army help to achieve this.

Therefore, the working class, headed by the German social democrats, failed to fulfill its mission, whereas the same mission was fully implemented in Soviet Russia. A situation developed in which the German working class had to pay for its inability to seize the power in 1918. In a certain sense fascism became the punishment of this inability of the social democrats to carry out their historical mission. Had this not occurred, many of the difficulties encountered in the building of socialism in the USSR would not have taken place. Socialism would have been built on a new base not only through the efforts of a single economically backward country, such as the young Soviet republic at that time, but simultaneously with the support of a developed country such as Germany, and the tremendous potential economic and human reserves of Russia itself.

In 1917-1918 the old reformist leaders claimed that, in general, there was no need to make a revolution in Russia, since the country was too backward. I believe, however, that Lenin was right by considering the revolution necessary precisely because Russia was the weakest link of imperialism. He perspicaciously foresaw that the October 1917 revolution in Russian would trigger a lively response in other countries.

Therefore, I charge with responsibility for the subsequent events the German social democrats who failed to carry out their mission of making a revolution in Germany at a time when all the necessary conditions for its victory were extant. Naturally, had a revolution broken out in Germany, this would have been reflected in other European countries, Italy in particular, and, possibly, even in France and, consequently, all the components of the problem would have been different. The reality, however, was different: The fascism established by Mussolini in Italy was extended to the fascism which Hitler established in Germany.

Acting in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union tried to stop the arising danger, having seen, not without reason, that the Western countries were trying to set Germany on it, in the hope that the two countries would reciprocally destroy each other and thus enable other capitalist countries to grab the chestnuts pulled for them out of the fire.

Under those circumstances the USSR had the right to take measures to prevent the menace hanging over it. It realized that the war was inevitable. The countries which had experienced the entire hardship of Hitlerite occupation and the countries threatened by Hitlerism well know that Hitler's defeat would have been impossible without the Soviet Union.

Consequently, in this case again, the Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet government enabled the USSR to win the victory and to strengthen the unity within the Soviet people and among all the peoples of the Soviet state.

To this day we continue to be guided by the doctrine of Marx and Engels, the doctrine of the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. This does not presume in the least the abandonment of the ideological struggle. Actually, what is peaceful coexistence? It means that the right to decide its own fate is acknowledged to each nation. The revolution cannot be exported; On the contrary, ideas conquer the masses regardless of the social system of a given country. Marx's ideas do not belong to the Germans alone in precisely the same way that Lenin's ideas are not the exclusive possession of the Soviet people. The ideas of Marx and Engels belong to all nations on earth. As to France, we too are continuing our struggle inspired by Marxism-Leninism. We are waging this struggle with friendly feelings for the Soviet Union, acknowledging the tremendous merits of this great country thanks to which we gained our freedom.

We also share in the fact that France was liberated from Hitlerite oppression, for we struggled. We struggled both because we were patriots and because we were communists and because Lenin was with us. That is why, when we organized the armed struggle against the occupation, we gave two names to the armed forces we created: franc tireurs--a name borrowed from French history (this name was given to soldiers out of uniform in the 1870 war against Prussia), and partisans--those who fought for the implementation of the Leninist policy and for the victory of the Soviets. It is as though through the names of these military formations that the history of our country merged with the revolutionary history of the Soviet Union.

It could be said that Lenin was invisibly present in all the battles fought by the working class, not only in Russia but elsewhere in the world as well. That is why today Lenin and his ideas belong to all. There is no person on earth unfamiliar with Lenin's name. University and

high school students, young people, anyone looking at the future, turn to Marx and Lenin. Today their works are studied in schools, for they are precisely the people who opened the doors to a new world. Lenin is the great man of the 20th century the way Marx was the great man of the 19th century. Lenin's immortal figure will dominate the minds not only in our century but forever. The names of Marx and Lenin are indivisible in history. Even though Lenin died physically he is to us eternally alive, for he left us the work of his entire life, his cause, his doctrine.

I have in my library works by Lenin, his collected works to which I turn as I would to the living Lenin. I seek advice from him. Lenin makes me think about the problem concerning me and about how to resolve it.

Today, as in the past, the Soviet Union is pursuing a wise Leninist policy. It is precisely this Leninist policy that enabled it to achieve considerable successes in all fields of domestic and international life. Even the fierce enemies of the USSR are forced to acknowledge that the Soviet state is confidently marching forth. The facts are obvious: The Soviet Union is a huge and powerful state. Let me repeat what I said yesterday, for example, in Givors. I said: In France today, when you speak with a worker, what would he say about his situation and his main concern? My main concern, he answers, is not to find myself unemployed tomorrow. And so Lenin and the Leninist policy of the CPSU, the Soviet Union, has done everything possible for the Soviet working person not to ask himself this question, for in his case the question simply does not exist, it is not pertinent.

We, the French, essentially live in the atmosphere of difficulties, concerns, and contradictions of the capitalist world, whereas the Soviet Union has built a society based not on profit but on the principle of satisfying human needs. This is the tremendous difference between the victorious Leninist policy and the capitalist policy imposed on us, the tremendous difference between two worlds: The world created by Lenin's brilliant thinking and the one still existing in France.

The first and the greatest document of the October Revolution was the Decree on Peace. I mention this with great emotion, for it was one of the elements which made me a communist. I was a prisoner of war in Germany when I found out about the Decree on Peace. I told myself: All governments want to pursue the war. Finally, now, one government has appeared which appeals not only to the governments but to the nations with the suggestion of a just peace, of peace without annexation. Since it openly proclaims and suggests this, naturally, it will be attacked, it will be covered with filth by the warmongers of all countries. Actually, the policy defined by Lenin in the first great document of the new Soviet state, as well as the decree giving the land to the peasants is a policy of peace which the Soviet Union has been pursuing steadfastly. The USSR wants peace. Furthermore, it is my profound conviction that had there

been no Soviet Union with its possibility to rebuff any aggressor, I could not firmly say that there would be no war today.

Recently an American specialist in military affairs mentioned the possibility of sending paratroopers to the Arabian oil fields and the emirates of the Persian Gulf. This might have been done had there been no fear of the response and consequences of such actions. Only yesterday I said at a meeting with working people that the Soviet Union is the great guarantor of peace today. Naturally, I had in mind not only the Soviet Union but the entire socialist comity. However, even alone, I repeat, the Soviet Union is the great bulwark of peace.

Consequently, in order to expand, the revolution does not need war. The revolution has provided a number of examples to this effect, and I believe that a turning point has arrived now when the instability of the capitalist world will be manifested far more strongly than in the past, and when the entire weakness of the so-called "consumer society" will appear in its true light, and when the working class and many working people and democrats in the capitalist countries themselves will see the socialist world in a different light. That is why the Marxist-Leninist thought, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine which allowed the Soviet Union to cover its historical path since October 1917, will be developed further. This will serve, and of this I am confident, the cause of the internationalist communist movement.

Is there a conflict between patriotism and internationalism? No. I must point out that this is an old idea which was clearly explained by Lenin. However, even before Lenin it had been emphasized by other philosophers. For example, Jaures, whose ideas, as we know, were quite different from those of Marx and Lenin, said (wisely) that internationalism separates us a little bit from the homeland but brings us closer to it to a far greater extent. Actually, this is what characterizes Lenin's theory. Lenin was a patriot in the sense that he believed that each country must make the revolution in accordance with its basic characteristics. At the same time, however, a Marxist-Leninist cannot fail to be an internationalist, for, wishing the victory of socialism in his own country (since, in the final account, a communist can struggle for the victory of socialism precisely in his own country, knowing that this social system is consistent with the needs and expectations of its people, unlike the existing system), he also knows that socialism has common features which cannot be abandoned, for otherwise it would no longer be socialism. Unquestionably, wherever socialism exists there must be public ownership of productive capital and the power must be in the hands of the working class and its allies. Therefore, the concepts of patriotism--proletarian patriotism and proletarian internationalism--are not in conflict but are reciprocally supplementary.

5003

CSO: 1802

PHILOSOPHY IN THE CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 38-44

[Address by Kurt Hager, SED Central Committee Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, at the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, on 5 March 1980, on the occasion of awarding him the Karl Marx Gold Medal for outstanding achievements in the social sciences]

[Text] V. I. Lenin, whose 110th birthday we are celebrating this year, proved in a masterly fashion in his philosophical works and, above all, in "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," that like 2,000 years ago, in most modern philosophy a struggle is being waged between parties, a struggle "which, in the final account, expresses the trends and ideologies of the hostile classes within contemporary society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 18, p 380).

This Leninist statement is quite topical. At the present time the struggle between parties in philosophy has reached new scales and has become even more aggravated. This is due to the nature of our age and the profound changes which are occurring in all fields of life. Reducing all significant social processes to their essence, it will become clear that the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, initiated with the Great October Socialist Revolution--to which the appearance and development of the German Democratic Republic, closely allied with the Soviet Union, is historically profoundly related--is leaving its imprint on our time. A spiritual turn is taking place caused by social changes in the course of which the struggle between parties in philosophy occupies an important position.

In the spiritual life of the socialist countries most profound changes are taking place in the content of traditional concepts, ideas, theories, values, norms, ideals, and expectations. The economic and political power of the working class is the decisive objective prerequisite of the radical renovation of human thinking which, in Marx's words, is inevitably linked with the "conscious reorganization of human society" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 25, Part 1, p 101).

The historical gains of socialism determine the value scales and vital stipulations which characterize the way of thinking and behavior of the individual. The significance of the gains of socialism in terms of the individual and social organization of life and of a sensible and happy life style is ever more tangibly and convincingly manifested in the life of our society. This is decisively contributing to the fact that the achievements of our system are accepted as values created by socialism, important to each individual. Therefore, their further advancement and protection become the personal concern of the individual.

A number of facts prove that in the capitalist countries, unlike the development taking place under socialist conditions, the "existential" fear experienced by the broad population strata continues to increase. Many people, sincerely concerned with the fate of mankind, are horrified at the crisis situation which contemporary capitalism has triggered and is constantly reproducing. This situation offers favorable grounds for the fast dissemination of a "philosophy of life" and other irrationalistic philosophical trends.

Irrationalism is not manifested in philosophical views alone; it is a manifestation of the universal pessimistic mood in the spiritual life of the capitalist world. Following Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Spengler, a number of bourgeois philosophers in our century have tried to present the crisis in the capitalist society as a crisis of human life, of mankind in general. They have selected the so-called "human nature" as the scapegoat for the decline of the capitalist social system. The recent meeting of the Club of Rome, on the theme of "The Human Dilemma," classify such problems not with the nature of capitalism but the nature of man as such.

Whereas, as early as 1931, publishing his work "The Spiritual Situation of the Age," Karl Jaspers tried to provide an expanded philosophical interpretation of the trends of his time, in 1979, in a preface to a collection entitled "Answers to the Spiritual Situation of the Age," the West German philosopher Jurgen Habermas stated that today a diagnosis of the time is no longer possible. Today the individual alone could choose his own definition of the situation ("Stichworte zur geistigen Situation der Zeit," in two parts, Book 1, Frankfurt a.M., 1979, pp 3, 8/9). The bourgeois ideologues are no longer able to objectively consider our age. They are separating factual relations from socially and historically determined interrelationships, and paint a dark picture of the future. They are trying to present an apocalyptic feeling as a general perception of life and the world.

Such feeling of doom and social pessimism are a reflection of the contradictions and of the progressive decay of the capitalist society. However, they are also ascribed a methodological role. Pessimism is being shown off, for it makes it possible to develop the type of sociopolitical climate in which it becomes easier to tolerate sociopolitical restrictions, conceived as inevitable and necessary, and as the only acceptable solution to

the crisis processes within the system, or else even deliberately promoting them. The narrowed sociopolitical opportunities of the 1980's, and the creation of an ideological-political climate which, allegedly in the interest of a vague "general good" would make it possible to shift the socioeconomic consequences of the intensification of the general capitalist crisis and the burdens of the new round in the arms race to the shoulders of the working class and all working people, is one of the objectives of the pessimistic variant of bourgeois philosophy and social science used to manipulate people.

A number of new types and new (or seemingly new) trends in bourgeois philosophy have appeared since Lenin's criticism of empiriocriticism. Let us merely mention the names of Carnap, Wittgenstein, Popper, and Marcuse, and, among the various trends, logical positivism, the philosophy of logical analysis, critical rationalism, and the Frankfurt school. Frequently, some philosophical schools trigger an argument, charging each other with idealistic manifestations. However, a careful study of such apparent "pluralism" poorly conceals the fact that all of them support the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and its philosophy, and that they, as supporters of agnosticism, irrationalism, and pessimism, are, in fact, the defenders of idealism.

The bourgeois philosophy of our time is occasionally considered as being entirely alienated from life because of its logical-scientific and analytical-linguistic trends. For example, a West German author has written that, "What has happened, if one may say so, is an alienation of philosophy from the public. The break of communications is considered in nonprofessional circles as stagnation, as zero growth, or even as a decline of philosophy" (W. Hochkeppel, "New Trends in Contemporary Philosophy," in UNIVERSITAS, No 9, 1974).

This statement should not entice us to deny bourgeois philosophy the ability to actively react to the problems of our time. Starting with the 1970's, the supporters of capitalism have been ever more loudly demanding a "greater conceptual outlook," and "practically applicable philosophy." It is no accident in the least that the "critical rationalism" of Karl Popper and of his followers in the FRG has been virtually raised to the rank of state philosophy. This is related to its radically anti-Marxist nature, rejection of dialectics, and relativistic theory of knowledge and the theory of society based on this. Questioning the need for historical progress, and promoting a "piece-meal engineering" for the solution of social problems, this theory was enthusiastically welcomed by the right wing social democrats. The latter see in the so-called "gradualistic social technology" of critical rationalism a weapon in the struggle against Marxism and a substantiation for their reformist course.

Let us also not forget that intensive efforts are being made within such a "practically applicable philosophy" to define the "basic values" of the capitalist society. The aspiration of the bourgeois philosophers to

postulate values which would give a meaning to the life of the individual and, at the same time, would earmark for all individuals an orientation overall acceptable to capitalism, is a reaction to the forward development of real socialism and to the influence of the Marxist-Leninist outlook. The reactionary class function of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and publicism is manifested precisely in the fact that the values they postulate, regardless of whether or not they are oriented toward social-reformism or conservatism, and whether or not they are based on antropological or religious grounds, have an essentially anticommunist direction. They are used to discredit in the eyes of the working people of the capitalist countries the achievements, values, and advantages of socialism. This is the purpose for the false and distorted picture presented of the real socialism to which, ignoring the specific-historical situation, the yardstick of bourgeois and pseudo-socialist ideals is applied.

However, no one could avoid answering questions raised by socialism such as, for example, those of way of life, democracy, social rights, and development of the individual. To an ever greater extent they are shifting to the foreground of the philosophical confrontation. The reality of socialism opens to mankind, in these and all other fields, historically new opportunities, imparting optimistic objectives to human actions, giving them a humanistic meaning, and opening new opportunities.

In our time of universal-historical transition, philosophy faces major problems. Is scientific and technical progress subordinate to man and channeled toward man's benefit and use? Is man capable of developing further or has he reached the limit of his possibilities? Is man's knowledge of society developing further? Marxist-Leninist philosophy could and should react to such questions as well as to questions concerning the meaning of life, why and how to live, what values are worth efforts and action, and to a real and varied need for a conceptual orientation. Marxist-Leninist philosophy must make its active contribution to shaping the socialist way of life and communist awareness. It must give the individual effective help in resolving conceptual problems, including decision making in complex personal situations. In other words, the Marxist-Leninist ethic in our philosophy must not be, so to say, the fifth wheel of a cart. As to the philosophical interpretation of daily life, a great deal remains to be studied and all this cannot be understood without a scientific approach. We must master even more profoundly the dialectics of objective laws, social values, norms, requirements, risks and responsibilities, and competent decisions.

As a general-theoretical base and structural component of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism shows the objective laws, subjective conditions, and motive forces of social progress. It substantiates the ideals and value concepts of our communist outlook. It provides a methodological foundation for intensifying our study of the most general laws of nature, society, and thinking. As spiritual life in the socialist countries and international public opinion indicate, the influence of

Marxist-Leninist philosophy is steadily increasing in the conceptual, political, cultural-educational, and methodological areas.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy answers the basic problems of our time in conjunction with the other sciences. In turn, these sciences, i.e., the natural, technical, and social sciences, could place their achievements within the framework of broader interrelationships. The need for such orientation and alliance was adamantly emphasized by Lenin.

Today a number of scientists in the capitalist countries, and not natural scientists alone, have made a turn toward realism. In itself, this does not represent a conversion to dialectical and historical materialism. Nevertheless, it is an important step. Even though positivism classifies the solution of the basic philosophical problem--in favor of materialism or idealism--in the category of scientifically insoluble problems, in the course of the gnosiological and methodological study of their own approach to research, again and again reach the conclusion that an objective reality exists outside the mind and independently of the mind. They conceive of their scientific work as the desire to discover the objective laws inherent in the studied object. On the philosophical level this calls for acknowledging the reality of the object and its laws. It is thus that, contrary to positivism, realistic positions of various types are developed, requiring further detailed analysis.

Since this philosophical realism methodologically presumes the use of materialism as a rule only in the areas of specialized scientific research and, at the same time, frequently operates with the help of idealistic concepts, it is still far from consistent materialism. Even if religious faith is eliminated as the result of individual scientific studies, it continues to be used as a mandatory prerequisite for the substantiation of moral-ethical behavioral norms. However, this conflicts with materialism and opens wide all doors to irrationalism.

Starting with the 1960's, positivistic, scientific views have continued to spread in non-Marxist philosophy and theory of science. This is helped by the tempestuous development of production forces, occurring in the course of the scientific and technical revolution, and by the fact that under conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, economic and scientific and technical development can be partially planned. The theoretical studies made by Karnap, Stegmuller, and others, directed primarily toward the logic and philosophy of science, are related to a rejection of the conceptual formulation of problems since they are considered basically insoluble on the scientific level. What is ignored is that conceptual outlook and ideology are particular reflections of social relations rather than arbitrary fabrications of ideologues. The assumption is promoted that both today and in the future man would not need a conceptual-ideological orientation, since he would be able to resolve his problems, to an ever greater extent, with the help of the individual sciences and technology.

And since, according to such views, use could be made of the term "world outlook," "discredited" in its philosophical meaning, in the final account, it could mean, at best, unlimited scientific and technical progress.

Let us note, however, that of late bourgeois philosophy has questioned to an ever greater extent the blind faith of positivism in science. This intensifies the trend toward skepticism, pessimism, and irrationalism. The appearance of truly inconceivably destructive forces, triggered by the further development of science and technology under imperialist conditions, and the danger with which the misuse of science is fraught, are triggering, to a growing extent, in a number of scientists and philosophers in the capitalist world, skepticism and pessimism toward scientific rationality, or the value of science and of scientific knowledge. Thus, even though, generally, a supporter of scientific and technical progress, in a preface to an issue of the journal *DAEDALUS*, entitled "Limits of Scientific Research," the American biologist Robert S. Morison, reaches the following conclusion: "We must acknowledge with all modesty. . . ., that we have reached a level at which it becomes necessary to abandon the belief that knowledge is preferable to ignorance" (see Robert Jungk, "The 1980's--A Crucial Decade," in *BILD DER WISSENSCHAFT*, No 1, 1980, p 64).

If science and technology, the belief of positivistic philosophers notwithstanding, are unable to resolve the vital problems of the people, the necessary conceptual orientation must be taken from another source. At that point, from the positions of irrationalism, immediately scientific and technical progress is blamed and the very rationality and even the philosophical-conceptual view of progress in general are questioned. Whereas as early as the 1960's the hope that all capitalist contradictions could be resolved through scientific and technical progress existed, today science and technology are quite frequently depicted in a most unseemly manner and proclaimed the sources of all evil.

Unlike the pessimistic crisis feelings of the bourgeois philosophers, Marxist-Leninist philosophy looks at the revolutionary development in science and technology positively and optimistically. This optimism is based on the already reached historical gains of socialism and on the accurate assessment of its social, political, and spiritual potential, and its ability to provide a humanistic and planned control of scientific and technical progress. The socialist society has proved its capability to insure the spiritual creativity, social organization, and extensive participation of the working people in the management of social affairs aimed at resolving new problem situations in the interest of the present and future generations.

In the SED Central Committee Accountability Reports to the Ninth Party Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker said: "The development of science and technology and the enhanced living standard of the people are a single inseparable process. It could be said that high scientific and technical

achievements embody the radical social requirement of our entire progress. It is precisely on this basis that our party is doing everything possible so that, together with the Soviet Union, it may accelerate the development of science and technology in our country and make highly effective use of this development for the benefit of society." This reveals a substantial characteristic of scientific and technical progress under socialist conditions, namely, its indivisible link with socialist humanism. To us socialist humanism represents a target function, for it embodies the highest value of our society. Furthermore, it is an evaluation criterion, i.e., a yardstick for all practical steps of scientific and technical progress, both in its overall aspect and in its details.

The study of the philosophical confrontation and ideological struggle of our time makes it clear that the opposite major of the two basic ideological currents is manifested ever more clearly in the sharp antagonism between rationalism and irrationalism, as well as between humanism and inhumanity.

It is precisely the events of recent weeks and months that indicate, with striking clarity, that it is a question not simply of a confrontation in the conceptual area but also that irrationalism and antihumanism are the ideological base for the making of political decisions by imperialist forces, by US imperialism above all, who would like to take the world to the brink of nuclear war through their manipulations. Imperialism, as indicated by the latest measures taken by the United States and NATO, aimed against detente, has not lost the hope of stopping social progress and changing the ratio of forces in its favor.

The irrationality, unpredictability, and adventurism of the "doctrines" formulated by the prophets of a policy "from the position of strength" have been noted even in the capitalist countries. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in his 22 February 1980 electoral speech to the voters of Baumanskiy Electoral District in Moscow, "They threaten the peace and security of all countries and nations. Such sinister plans must be opposed by anyone who needs and cares for peace." The firm actions taken by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity in the defense of the peace and against the aggressive policy of the most reactionary imperialist forces and against the anticommunist poisoning of the minds is a struggle for the vital future of all mankind.

Marrist-Leninist philosophy is a philosophy of peace. It is the basis of our real optimism in the struggle for peace. It contributes to the dissemination of truthfulness and clarity through the unity between socialism and peace, and the threat triggered by imperialism endangering the most elementary human right, the right to life.

To sum it up, let us say that reason and rationality are the elements which imbue our outlook and enable us to implement the humanistic purposes

of socialism and expose the "unreasonability" of imperialism. Our firm support in this matter is not only the scientific rationality of our philosophy, but the reasonableness of the socialist society whose only objective and purpose is the preservation of the peace and the good of man.

Today we have many allies and potential friends in our struggle for reason and rationality. In the spiritual area we must determine what we have in common with those who, on the basis of other conceptual foundations, deem it their duty to be guided by reason and rationalism in their actions. It is unquestionable that, today, reason could triumph only to the extent that reasonable people triumph. In one of his plays Bertold Brecht makes Galileo say that "The victory of reason may be only the victory of those who are reasonable."

5001

CSO: 1802

DEMOCRACY: LENIN'S IDEAS AND SOCIAL REALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 45-56

[Article by E. Kus'min]

[Text] Whatever area of the contemporary social life we may consider, and whatever area of application of labor and knowledge may be affected, we see everywhere the clear traces of Lenin's thinking, and the results of his comprehensive practical activities. Marxism-Leninism is in the center of the spiritual life and ideological battles of our age. It expresses the most profound expectations of the people's masses concerning social justice, equality, fraternity, peace, and happiness.

V. I. Lenin laid the foundations of the first socialist state in the world and defined the main directions of its development. Exposing the falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, he substantiated the law of the steady expansion of the participation of the working people in management under socialism. He proved most convincingly that the systematic development of democracy is a mandatory condition for the all-round progress of the new social system. In our days the question of the nature of democracy is one of the decisive battlefields in the ideological and political confrontation between the two opposite systems. It is the pivot of a broad set of problems related both to the transition from capitalism to socialism and to the systematic advancement of the communist society under construction. It is precisely in this sector of the class struggle of essential importance that real socialism, confidently retaining the historical initiative, is growing and expanding its offensive, consolidating its successes, and systematically asserting the Leninist principles and ideals.

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What is the purpose of the opponents of real socialism, the opponents of Leninism, in terms of problems of democracy under contemporary conditions? The answer to this question should be sought, first of all, in the aspiration of the bourgeoisie and its supporters to conceal the process characteristic of imperialism of weakening and eliminating the democratic

institutions in capitalist countries, and to hinder the struggle waged by the communist and workers parties for the preservation and expansion of rights and freedoms which could be used in the interest of social progress. On the other hand, viewing governmental phenomena from some kind of above-class positions, the bourgeois and social-reformists and, following them, revisionist ideologues are trying to distort the nature of the Marxist-Leninist theory of democracy as a form of political rule.

As during K. Kautsky's time, the claim that democracy always presumes, as a necessary attribute, the existence of a multi-party system and political opposition, remains one of the main propaganda arguments used by the bourgeois theoreticians and their followers. Such views are based on non-historical, formal concepts of a "pure" future democracy, whose prototype bourgeois democracy is considered to be. In fact, all such views are nothing but the desire to conceal its real class role and social purpose, and to reduce the concept of popular rule to a strictly formalistic structure. Lenin, who provided in his works models of truly scientific criticism of this approach, taught us to assess statements of "pure" democracy and views on "democracy" in general in terms of whose power it protects and whose interest it expresses, and what social orders it supports and what class it serves.

A considerable percentage of the bourgeois theory of power is based on the general postulate of pitting "pure" (frequently described as pluralistic) Western democracy against "totalitarianism," allegedly inherent in all socialist countries without exception. This imaginary dilemma between "free democracy or totalitarian dictatorship" has been firmly adopted by the arsenal of anticommunist propaganda. The bourgeois democratic institutions are considered. Their form is absolutized and, on their basis, a certain idol is created which must be worshiped. Anything which does not fit the Procrustian bed of the abstract views of the bourgeois liberal concerning democracy and freedom is firmly cut off and fiercely criticized.

In fact, there are no reasons whatever to consider the bourgeois-revisionist model of "pluralistic democracy" as a model of democracy, since under capitalism the political institutions operate as nothing more than a form of dictatorship of the monopolies enabling them to conceal their rule to a certain extent. The antipeople's nature, the oppressive nature of the bourgeois state is not changed in the least by the fact that a certain rivalry occurs in society among the bourgeois groups, considered by the ideologues of monopoly capital as the "confrontation among opposition forces." The true spokesmen for the interests of the working people--the communist and workers parties, the left wing trade unions, and other progressive associations--are put in very unfavorable conditions through the electoral system or other means, regardless of statements about "universal" freedom and "pure" democracy in the process of the "play of political forces," and are frequently openly persecuted and suppressed.

The class restriction of bourgeois democracy has always been defined, above all, by the fact that it serves the consolidation and preservation of the system of exploitation of man by man. "At each step," Lenin pointed out, "even in the most democratic bourgeois state, the oppressed masses experience the striking contradiction between the official equality which is proclaimed by capitalist 'democracy' and the thousands of factual restrictions and tricks which turn the proletariat into hired slaves" ("Poln. Soch. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 37, p 255). Aggravating this antagonism, "natural" to bourgeois society with unparalleled force, contemporary reality convincingly confirms Lenin's prediction concerning the offensive of imperialist reaction along all lines, including in the area of the state-governmental superstructure.

The capitalist ideologues fabricate a variety of "objective" reasons for the decline of democracy under contemporary conditions, which they are unable to conceal, with a view to defending the existing system. In recent years the official optimism of official bourgeois propagandists has been ever more frequently replaced by the complaints voiced by individual scientists, publicists, and political personalities about the illusiveness of the "democratic ideal," and acknowledgments of the difficult crisis experienced by the capitalist political system in which it has found itself pushed by the merciless course of historical progress. The groundlessness of conservation of political forces opposing big business and aimed at restricting the power of corporations and associations of owners is becoming ever clearer. Some authors are no longer able to conceal the sad prospects they believe face bourgeois democracy.

As imagined by some, democracy in the contemporary world is "more an ideal toward which we should aspire rather than reality." Others compare it with a "statue of sand on the seashore." "Democracy in the Federal Republic is changing under our very eyes," wrote shortly before his death K. Jaspers, one of the pillars of contemporary bourgeois philosophy. "We are following a road at the end of which there would be neither democracy nor a free citizen." It would be difficult to say what predominates in such views--the fear of a West German existentialist philosopher facing an unclear future, feelings of bitterness from the realization of dark political reality, or the sadness of a person wisened by experience and disappointed in the twilight of his years of bourgeois liberalism.

However hard the bourgeois ideologues and revisionists may try to pit socialist against "pure" democracy, the one thing behind these attempts is the wish to ignore the matter of the economic and political domination of the working people by the bourgeoisie. Yet, the power structure in the antagonistic society (democratic, nondemocratic, or antidemocratic) is always secondary compared with the content of the power--class domination--regardless of the external manifestation of this rule (parliamentary rule with all democratic attributes or despotic personal rule). In works such as "The State and Revolution," "The Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist

Economism', and other works, Lenin proved vividly and convincingly that democracy is "also the rule of 'one part of the population over another';" "It is an organization for the systematic domination of one class by another, of one segment of the population by another;" it is a "form of the state, one of its varieties" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30 p 110; Vol 33, pp 83, 100).

Therefore, as a method for the organization and existence of rule in society, democracy is always determined by the type of production relations, their level of development, and the factual ratio of forces in the class struggle. It is precisely the class content that determines the true value of democracy. Therefore, even the most developed democracy and the most progressive constitution (in the bourgeois-democratic meaning of the term) remain, under capitalist conditions (and must remain) adapted to the preservation and servicing, above all, of the basic interests of, precisely, the bourgeoisie.

Exposing the narrowness and class-egotistical nature of democracy under capitalism, and mercilessly fighting reformist illusions in this area, Lenin also firmly opposed the anarchic underestimation and the rejection "from left wing positions" of the bourgeois-democratic institutions and the refusal to use them in the interest of the working people. As early as the end of the 19th century he discovered the law according to which it is "precisely the 'instability' of capitalism that represents a tremendous progressive factor which accelerates social development, involves ever greater population masses in the whirlpool of social life, forces them to think about their system, and makes them 'hammer out their happiness' themselves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 2, p 208). Lenin believed that supporting a democratic program on all vitally important problems, and struggle against the omnipotence of the industrial-financial oligarchy would lead the bourgeois society to the need for radical social changes and to the threshold beyond which "on the one hand, systematic democracy converts into socialism, and, on the other, it requires socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 78).

On the basis of such a clear historical prospect, the communists in the capitalist countries are waging an adamant struggle for the consolidation and expansion of the rights and freedoms of the citizens, for involving in administrative processes the broad toiling masses, and against bureaucratic centralization and repression. Naturally, a truly democratic renovation of the state could be achieved not by compromising with the ruling classes but by engaging in acute battles against capitalism, whose successful outcome would require today, as in the past, the perfect mastery of the entire very rich arsenal of the class struggle.

"A democratic republic is the best possible political cover for capitalism," Lenin emphasized. "For this reason, having established. . . this best possible cover, capitalism organizes its power so reliably and accurately that no changes of individuals, institutions, or parties in a bourgeois-democratic republic could weaken this power" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 14). The practice of contemporary bourgeois parliamentarianism convincingly confirms this Leninist thesis.

Many areas of the representative system are used for the sake of somehow "compensating" for a certain broadening of electoral rights, which has taken place in recent years, and, in particular, the elimination of a number of qualifications. Characteristic in this respect, for example, is the fact that a number of countries have replaced their proportional system with a majority system in which, under the conditions of a bourgeois multiple-party system, a considerable percentage of the votes are lost. Other methods are also used such as gerrymandering, direct pressure on the voters, bribery, and violence.

The bourgeois parties rely on the material and financial support of the monopolies. Under the condition of the steadily rising cost of electoral campaigns, occasionally this is of determining significance. In the United States, for example, so-called political action committees--specially set corporate organs for purposes of financing and promoting their candidates--are playing an ever more important role. In the recent elections for the U.S. Congress groups representing "special interests" spent \$35.1 million to support their candidates; the National Association of Manufacturers allocated an additional \$30 million to help elect to the congress extreme conservatives and extremists; other extreme right groups spent yet another \$45 million.

In the course of the recently held electoral campaign for soviets of people's deputies in our country, conducted in an efficient and, at the same time, enhanced and solemn atmosphere, the party and the people summed up the results of their accomplishments, earmarked plans for the future, and expressed their good will for peace, international cooperation, and disarmament. Against such a background what a sharp contrast is presented by the currently initiated electoral campaign in the United States, in which most candidates for president appear to compete with each other in promoting militaristic and chauvinistic intoxication, branding right and left empty promises, and openly subordinating the interest of the people to their selfish ambitions.

Under capitalist conditions the representative organs do not reflect the true will of the people. Whereas from the party viewpoint, from time to time, parliaments change, their social structure remains relatively stable:

Here representatives of the prosperous classes and strata obviously predominate. Thus, there are virtually no workers or rank and file farmers in the US Congress. There are few women, blacks, or members of other national minorities. The Americans themselves have long described the Senate as the "Millionaires' Club." Only 8 of the 496 deputies of the Bundestag are workers while the overwhelming majority are higher governmental employees and officials, representatives of private companies, entrepreneurs and land owners, and party and trade union officials. In the British House of Commons only slightly over 10 percent of its 635 members are workers or trade union activists.

In a collection of the series entitled "Study of the Future of Parliament Institutions in Europe," J. McIntosh, professor at the University of Edinburgh, notes a factual decline of the role and prestige of the British parliament and points out the "withdrawal from the concept of representative rule," ever more clearly manifested in recent years. The collection emphasizes that the sovereignty and the prerogatives of the parliament are now obsolete "myths," and that, in fact, the parliament is merely a "place and method for the discussion of problems" resolved elsewhere. In a book characteristically entitled "revival of parliament," a group of French political and legal experts notes that of late the prerogatives of parliament have been "reduced to a minimum," while "autonomous legislative rights" are arising within the government.

Today in practice a number of important parliamentary rights have been delegated to the executive organs. Some constitutions have even been amended to restrict the principle of political responsibility of the government to parliament, insure the further narrowing of legislative parliamentary activities, and so on. The point is that the government, the executive branch, is far more flexible and operative and, above all, more obedient an apparatus compared with parliament. On the one hand, it offers the monopoly circles a machinery through which they can rapidly and reliably implement their stipulations. On the other, as a rule, it blocks the access of democratic forces to the factual power controls. The increased power of the executive authorities is also a characteristic protective reaction on the part of the ruling class to a certain strengthening of the positions of the communists and their allies in elections for representative institutions, a strengthening which has been manifested in a number of countries in recent years, a protective reaction to . . . democracy.

What are the means for adapting parliaments to the situation which has developed in the bourgeois states and what would be the methods for "rationalizing" their work under contemporary conditions? The mechanism which is practically developing is to vote without debate or after limited debate, the passing of law defining merely most general principles within which the governments, with their broad rights, may make their decisions, and so on. The "arm twisting" of representative organs is a not infrequent phenomenon.

Naturally, this cannot be absolutized. Under contemporary conditions as well the bourgeois parliament has not stopped to perform its main function of insuring the rule of the monopolies or concealing the power of the oligarchy, sanctified by centuries of power wielded by "public representation" organs. The restriction of parliamentary prerogatives may not exceed a certain limit also because the ruling class is factually aware of a possible serious discontent on the part of the people's masses who can see in the offensive mounted against legislative institutions clear manifestations of authoritarianism. In some countries, as confirmed by practical experience, under the influence of these or other reasons, occasionally, trends develop to protect and even to enhance the role of representative institutions in the struggle against the expansionistic aspirations of the executive authorities.

On the other hand, the monopoly bourgeoisie is panicky at the idea of forced concessions. It does everything possible to reduce to naught the political rights and freedoms gained by the working class and all working people at the cost of tremendous efforts. The contradictoriness of this situation was proved by Lenin clearly and convincingly. "It is impossible to do without elections in our century," he emphasized. "One cannot do without the masses. Yet, in the age of book printing and parliamentarianism, the masses cannot be led without a widespread, consistent, and properly armed system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with fashionable and popular slogans, and generous promises of reforms and benefits to the workers providing that they give up the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 176).

Obviously, under contemporary conditions it is necessary to consider the new aspects of parliaments where the true representatives of the working people, the communists, are assuming ever stronger positions. The successes achieved by the communist and workers parties in a number of Western countries in elections in the 1970's led to profound changes in the political behavior of the population, caused by the dissipation of the mistrust in such parties promoted for decades by bourgeois propaganda, triggered by the declining prestige of bourgeois parties and the crisis of anticommunism. Even though the changed attitude of the voters toward the communist parties has not always been precisely reflected in electoral results, the general shift to the left has created favorable conditions for the systematic strengthening of the positions of the communists among the masses, and the further growth of their authority.

V. I. Lenin proceeded from the fact that bourgeois parliamentarianism has been "historically outlived" in the sense that its age has ended forever, as the age of proletarian democracy has begun. However, he pointed out, politically parliamentarianism has not become obsolete. Therefore, as long as bourgeois parliaments and other bourgeois-democratic institutions exist, the communists must work within them. The participation of communists in representative institutions broadens the opportunity of the

working class to influence governmental policy and makes it possible to use the parliament as a rostrum for revolutionary agitation and a battleground for the class struggle. However, the bourgeois rulers are deaf to the verbal fireworks of parliamentary debates by themselves. Therefore, the communists can hope for real success only when the parliamentary struggle is combined with a mass movement within which it becomes deeply rooted.

Lenin frequently emphasized the need to use the bourgeois parliament in the interest of the working people. He firmly opposed the underestimating of the struggle to achieve this. At the same time, in his view, the party of the working class may not be limited to the establishment of a bourgeois-parliamentarian democratic republic. "The old, i.e., bourgeois democracy and parliamentarianism were organized in such a way that it was precisely the masses of the working people that were, more than anyone else, alienated from the administrative apparatus," Lenin pointed out. "The Soviet system, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, conversely, is structured in such a way as to bring the toiling masses closer to the administrative apparatus" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 500). Considering the soviets as powerful organs for the revolutionary struggle of the people, capable of crushing not only autocracy but bourgeois rule, Lenin emphasized that as a form of power, created in February 1917 as a result of the most profound creativity of the people, the soviets have gone through the bitter experience of 1905 and were wisened by it (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 6). However, the wisdom of the political leader, and the brilliant mind of the theoretician were needed in order not only to be able to see in the occasionally spontaneously arising striking organs the prototype of organs of a system of an essentially new type, but to skillfully unite them within the soviets, and channel along the single bed of the October Revolution all reserves of the popular movement. This was one of the powerful boosters of the victory of the socialist revolution.

It is important to note that since the form of state power is always secondary in terms of its class content and has relative autonomy but never assumes an intransigent self-seeking significance, logic and life itself indicated, from the very beginning, the conclusion of the need to give all soviet activities a revolutionary purpose and for the leadership of the soviets by the party of the working class. This was, and is, precisely the guarantee for the successful implementation of all revolutionary tasks and for insuring true socialist democracy.

A new form of government--the people's democratic republic (people's democracy) was created in the course of the social development of the countries which took the socialist path in the 1940's. This confirmed Lenin's prediction that the transition from capitalism to socialism cannot fail to provide a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms whose nature, however, would be inevitably one: dictatorship of the working class.

Despite the very considerable characteristics related to certain specific features of state and economic construction and national and historical characteristics (such as, for example, the retention of a multiple-party system, the presidency, and so on, by some countries, like the Soviet state, the people's democratic republic is based on the common principles shared by any socialist state: The leading role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the unity of the system of representative organs and their full powers, the decisive participation of the people's masses in the administration of the state, democratic centralism, proletarian internationalism, and others.

Unquestionably, the course of the world's social development may contribute new, as yet unknown, forms of socialist statehood, consistent with the characteristics of the class struggle of specific countries, and the common basic interests of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

In accordance with the USSR constitution today the power system in our country has the name of soviets of people's deputies. This is far from being a formal act. Expanded and strengthened as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landowners and capitalists and the establishment of the power of the working class, by virtue of their functions, always rallying around themselves an ever larger number of working people, at the present stage the soviets have indeed become organs representing the interests of the entire people, and the cells of what is now a state of the whole people. The consistently democratic principles of the electoral system and the organization of elections with the most active participation of the public make it possible to send to the soviets the most worthy citizens who are called upon adamantly and purposefully to implement the will of the people and express the interests of their electorate.

The representative organs in our country fully reflect the social structure of the society. Thus, workers and kolkhoz members account for over 50 percent of the membership of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics; they account for 68.7 percent of the local power organs. The soviets of people's deputies consist of managers of enterprises, specialists in all sectors of the economy, teachers, physicians, scientists, men of literature and the arts, and party and soviet workers. Let us also note that the administrative apparatus itself, including its highest echelons, consists of people raised by the masses, well acquainted with the interests, requirements, and needs of the working people. Suffice it to say that about 70 percent of USSR ministers and chairmen of state committees began their careers as workers or peasants.

The soviets of people's deputies are characterized by their sovereignty, their permanent and close ties with the voters, voters' control, and the development of the voluntary participation in their work. In accordance with established practice, the USSR Constitution points out that the soviets head all sectors of state, economic, and sociocultural construction. They conduct their activities on the basis of the collective, free,

and efficient discussion and solution of problems, publicity, regular accountability to the Soviets and the population of executive organs, and extensive citizen's participation in their work. Whether it is a question of local soviets of people's deputies or USSR Supreme Soviet, the comprehensive activities of our power organs clearly express the systematically democratic nature of the state of the whole people and the unity of the soviet system. Within this system each soviet is a sovereign power organ on its territory and a promoter of governmental decisions.

"Each step we succeed in making toward the development of production forces and culture," Lenin emphasized, "must be accompanied by the further development and remaking of our Soviet system. . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 224). Steadfastly following Lenin's behests, the CPSU is always concerned with problems of improving the work of the soviets, and with upgrading their influence and prestige. The results are obvious. "Over the past decade the activity of the soviets rose considerably," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at his 22 February meeting with the voters of the Baumanskiy Electoral District in Moscow. Their tremendous possibilities have become even more apparent. They include initiative in resolving a number of problems related to the economy, culture, population services, and production of consumer goods; tireless and strict control over the work of the administrative organs, and of all enterprises and organizations; and steady expansion and intensification of relations between the soviets and the people's masses, and implementation of voters' instructions.

The adoption of the 1977 USSR Constitution, justifiably described as the charter of developed socialism, and the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, laid the beginning of a qualitatively new period in the activities of the supreme power organ of our country, and of the entire system of soviets of people's deputies. Today, essentially, there is no problem remaining outside the field of vision of the soviets which are the truly people's and truly representative power organs. The decisions of the November 1979 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the party's Central Committee decrees on improving the economic mechanism and planning, improving ideological-educational work, and strengthening the discipline, and socialist law and order, face the soviets of people's deputies with a number of specific tasks.

Thanks to the steady concern of the communist party ever greater attention is being paid to problems of soviet management, and summation and dissemination of soviet positive experience. A practice has developed according to which the best examples of work done by the soviets in union and autonomous republics to be raised to an all-union level and made available to the entire soviet system.

The permanent commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, which play an important role in resolving major national economic problems, is becoming ever more comprehensive and varied. A broad legislative program is

being systematically implemented; the supreme state power organs have already prepared and ratified virtually all legislative acts directly stipulated by the USSR Constitution. The latest USSR Supreme Soviet session alone, of November 1979, passed five major laws regulating the activities of people's control organs, the Supreme Court, the prosecutor's office, state arbitration, and the bar. At its sessions the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium systematically hears reports submitted by the USSR government, ministries, and departments, and reports of the permanent commissions on the implementation of plan assignments and legislative requirements. This is of exceptional importance in strengthening control over the implementation of decisions and in the activities of organs accountable to the Supreme Soviet.

Leading the masses, the party promotes the development of socialist democracy in all realms of governmental and social life and at all levels, justifiably considering this a mandatory condition for successful progress toward socialism and communism. The steadily rising activity of the masses is manifested also in nationwide discussions of draft laws, in intensifying popular control over the activities of the state apparatus, and in the development of forms of direct democracy.

III

Revealing the total bankruptcy of its economic principles and sociopolitical doctrines, of late the monopoly bourgeoisie is ever more willingly presenting itself as the defender of the moral ideals of the "free world," and is trying to present the capitalist society as a system based on values most consistent with human nature. At the same time, our ideological opponents are doing everything possible to slander socialist reality under the banner of hypocritical concern for "human rights," to replace the ideals and principles of true democracy with bourgeois forgeries, and to use the problem of rights and freedoms as a "psychological warfare" weapon.

V. I. Lenin proved that the equality of all citizens, freedom of speech, assembly, and organization, and so on, are words which express merely the formal side of democracy under capitalism while, in fact, remain empty promises. "In the best of cases," he pointed out, "the most democratic bourgeois republics have abolished all legislative restrictions on such matters. In reality, however, administrative practices and, above all, the economic slavery of the working people in a bourgeois democracy have always made it impossible for them to exercise rather extensively such rights and freedoms" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 185). It is as though this was said today!

Among the many problems facing the contemporary bourgeois society, the problem of social inequality is truly comprehensive. It is clearly manifested in the distribution of material goods and in political relations.

It is quite apparent in the approach to problems of health care, education, social insurance, and many other aspects of human life. In practice, inequality of women, discrimination against national minorities, and, occasionally, a frankly racist policy have been retained in a number of Western countries. However sacrilegious this might sound, the learned defenders of capitalism have even formulated a "theory" according to which, it appears, for the sake of "freedom" the citizens must abandon their aspirations for social justice while equality "must yield to freedom." The leader of the British Tories, Prime Minister M. Thatcher has gone even farther, stating with cynical frankness that "equality of opportunity becomes meaningless unless it presumes the right to inequality."

In reality, however, no equality of opportunity in the realm of personal freedom whatever may be found in the bourgeois society. The ruling classes are actively using the methods of direct coercion and terror against the broad population strata. The security organs and the police are penetrating political parties and public organizations, engaging in mail surveillance, telephone tapping, and other illegal invasions of the public and private life of citizens. Again and again practical experience confirms the topical nature of Lenin's words to the effect that "Even the most democratic country has loopholes or constitutional stipulations which insure the bourgeoisie the possibility to raise troops against the workers, proclaim a stage of siege, and so on, 'should public order be violated,' or, in fact, in cases of 'violations' by the exploiting class of its situation as a slave, and the attempt to behave not like a slave" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 253).

In the United States, for example, mass unemployment remains the scourge of the working people. According to official data, today the country has 6.4 million unemployed. According to the specialists, following the rising economic crisis, by the autumn of 1980 the army of unemployed may be increased by yet another 2.5 million people. Young people belonging to ethnic minorities are experiencing particular employment difficulties. Their level of unemployment is 31.5 percent. In the United States only one percent of the population is at the peak of the social "pyramid." However, they own 31 percent of the entire wealth of the country and 61 percent of company stocks. Meanwhile, 26 million rank and file Americans are doomed to living even below the official poverty threshold. Millions of people are deprived of the possibility to receive medical aid or continue with their education. Such is the case with the "equal social conditions." As to the "general consensus," today the rich have a number of methods to "achieve" it. This includes severe repressive measures taken against "dissidents," and the sinister system of investigations and total shadowing, conducted on a national scale, and various types of misinformation and slander campaigns promoted by the ideological apparatus of the monopolies. Bourgeois justice punishes fighters for civil rights and ignores the factual crimes of the "elite."

The victory of the Great October Revolution proved to the working people the world over that true freedom must be based on essentially new and previously unknown principles. The main thing here is the decisive interference of the state of workers and peasants in the notorious realm of private activities, thus insuring to the tremendous majority of the population the real opportunity to exercise extensive rights and freedoms. Covering within the socialist society all aspects of human life, democracy offers the working people, to use Lenin's words, "the factual possibility to enjoy democratic rights and freedoms which have never existed, even in their approximation, in the best and most democratic bourgeois republics" ("Polit. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 499).

Having rescued the working people from the oppression of exploitation, destroyed social inequality, and placed at the service of the people all sources of social wealth, socialism marked the advent of a qualitatively new level in the development of democracy and in the very approach to citizens' rights and freedoms. The socialist system gives every person a feeling of firm confidence in the future. It aspires toward the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of all members of society. The shifting of the center of gravity to securing the proclaimed rights is the most outstanding feature of true democracy in which "the formal principle is also a material principle" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 1, p 157).

The USSR Constitution has now a chapter entitled "Social Development and Culture," which legislatively codifies the concern of the state for the development of education, science, and art, for improving the working and labor safety conditions of the citizens, raising the level of their incomes, and increasing and equitably distributing social consumption funds. The Fundamental Law also includes stipulations on the right of citizens to housing, health care, free choice of profession, right to participate in the administration of governmental and public affairs, and many others which have substantially expanded the socio-legal and political status of the Soviet person.

Less than three years have passed since our new constitution was adopted. However, even within that short time a number of major steps were taken toward the ever fuller guaranteeing of the rights of the Soviet citizens. Systematically, in accordance with the plans, the wages of the working people are rising; the party and the state continue to focus their attention on housing construction, increasing the production of consumer goods and upgrading their quality, the further development of health care and education, and improvements in consumer services. In particular, measures are being implemented to supply school students with free textbooks. The positions of a number of categories of working people have been raised and other important measures are being implemented. The possibilities of the citizens to exercise their political rights and freedoms are being broadened steadily. This is a direct purpose of a number of recently passed important legislative acts.

Meanwhile, the ideologues and propagandists of monopoly capital continue to flood the pages of the press and the airwaves with false stories on "human rights" in the socialist society. They engage in gross cheating and open slander such as claims that "In communist philosophy essentially there are no human rights," that "The individual is not independent," and so on. Many monopoly spokesmen openly express their discontent with the fact that in our country the freedom of speech and the right to criticize are aimed at strengthening the socialist system and successfully resolving the problems of the building of communism.

Let us most firmly emphasize in this connection that in the USSR citizens are not punished for their views and convictions. In our country, as L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "thinking differently" from the majority or critically evaluating one or another aspect of social life are not forbidden. We consider comrades who engage in substantiated criticism and try to help matters conscientious fellow citizens and are grateful to them. We consider those who erroneously criticize as being mistaken. It is a different matter when some individuals who have alienated themselves from our society actively oppose the socialist system, take the path of anti-Soviet activities, violate the laws, and, lacking support within the country, seek the support of imperialist propaganda or intelligence agencies. The measures stipulated by the Soviet laws are applied to such people.

A number of foreign commentators of the USSR Constitution have particularly singled out the article on the right to criticize. Even though occasionally their interpretation is quite distant from its true meaning, the very fact that the Western ideologues have acknowledged the significance of this democratic institution, organically inherent in the socialist society, is noteworthy. The right to criticize in our country is not an abstract category but a very effective tool for the improvement of social relations. It is a means for the citizens to exercise their right to participate in the administration of governmental and social affairs.

All the stipulations of the Fundamental Law of the USSR show a profound respect for the individual, for the Soviet person. It is particularly important that concern for the protection of the rights and freedoms is considered in the new constitution the duty of all governmental organs, public organizations, and officials. Unquestionably, this substantially strengthens the guarantees of the rights of the citizens and the legal system. Naturally, it is obvious that the constitution pays the necessary attention to civic obligations as well, emphasizing that the exercise of rights and freedoms is indivisible from the citizen's fulfillment of his duty to society.

As an individual, with his specific, individual manifestations, man always remains a member of the socialist collective. The truly historical accomplishment of socialism is the birth of an exceptionally new type of

individual—a person with high level civic-mindedness and maturity who can coordinate his interests with those of society, conscientiously fulfilling his obligations and assuming full responsibility for the affairs and destinies of the state. It is precisely the responsible approach of every citizen to his duty and organization and discipline that create a reliable base for the fullest possible implementation of the principles of socialist democracy and of the true freedom of the individual.

The practice of the development of Soviet society most convincingly proves that high civic responsibility, the strengthening of social discipline, and the observance of the laws are necessary conditions for the effective development of socialist democracy, the growth of the prosperity of the Soviet people, and the ever fuller satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs. These are the noble purposes of the duty to observe the Soviet laws, as codified in the USSR Constitution, to work conscientiously, and to protect and strengthen socialist ownership, protect the motherland and safeguard the interests of the state, be concerned with the education of the children, and bear with dignity the high title of Soviet citizen.

Life itself fully refutes the fabrications of the anti-Marxists to the incompatibility between socialism and freedom. "There is nothing more stupid than the attempts of our enemies to present socialism as a society allegedly suppressing the initiative, rights, and freedoms of the people," stipulates the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin." "The steadily rising political and labor activity of the broadest possible masses and their participation in discussing and resolving all public and governmental affairs confirm the accuracy of Lenin's conclusion to the effect that 'live and creative socialism is the creation of the people's masses themselves'."

For the Soviet people and the working people the world over Lenin's ideas and actions and the great exploit of his life are an inexhaustible source for inspiration and optimism, illuminating the road of the revolutionary struggle and creative construction. Lenin's immortal doctrine is a source of party strength. It is a guarantee for our further successes in building the new society and in developing and improving Soviet socialist democracy—the rule by the people and for the people.

1957

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THOUGHTS ON WORK WITH FILM LESINIANA

NOVYI KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 57-60

(Article by Hero of Socialist Labor Yevg. Gabrilovich, USSR State Prize laureate)

[Text] The 20th century--the great revolutionary period in history--has entered its penultimate decade. The generation of Soviet people whose youth coincided with the October Revolution had a happy yet difficult lot. This generation, to which I belong, has experienced the type of events, efforts, and stresses which have hardly befallen any other generation on earth.

The Soviet people accomplished something incredible in the fields of economics, politics, science, and technology. Because of their frequent repetition, these words have become too commonplace. It is the duty of art to restore and glorify their initial luster.

How have these decades influenced art? How have they influenced, for example, motion pictures?

Let us imagine a big sheet of lined paper in which, as though a chart, the main events of the past 62 years of the existence of the Soviet state have been recorded by year. Let us note those among them depicted by motion pictures. Let us note with a small flag every good picture. The result will be an accumulation of flags in some areas of the map (such as, for example, the time of the revolution, of the civil and Patriotic War, the first five-year plans, or the development of the virgin lands). Few little flags would mark the remaining space. Yet, on this sheet there is no single square which could not provide material and reasons for motion pictures of great inspiration, great passions, and most profound thoughts.

We are particularly indebted to the makers of the October Revolution, to those who prepared and made it. This may be explained by the inordinate complexity of the truly artistic depiction on the screen of the characters, action, and ideas of the revolutionary leaders in unparalleled perspectives and historical changes.

This gap must be filled. Time has passed and the ways, means, and experience of the art of motion pictures have been intensified and enriched a hundredfold. Here again (as in any other screen genre) one must be a creator, a pioneer! It is through the wind-fallen trees of history that the personality, however inordinate and unaccustomed it may seem to be, will be examined in depth. We must break with the geological and so far insufficiently clarified changes in the common life and awareness of the people, which gave birth to people of a special character, people who concentrated within themselves the constructive energy of the age.

Having reached considerable heights in the 1930's, and depicting a number of features of the character, behavior, and way of acting and speaking of V. I. Lenin, the great leader of the working class, it seems to me that, to a certain extent, we stopped there. Naturally, these features are real. They correspond to historical truth. However, could we restrict the character and personality of this amazing, this overwhelming person merely to features already found by art? Is there not here, in this endless dynamic variety something else, not as yet noticed or recorded by the artists?

Such is the question that today every cinematographer must ask himself as he undertakes to make a motion picture about Lenin.

What was Lenin Like?

This seems to be a rather simple, even a basic question. Yet, working on the scenario of the film "Lenin in Poland," in both Poronino and Zakopane, I spoke to a number of people who were personally acquainted with Vladimir Il'ich. I was amazed by the differences in their testimony. Here are some excerpts from my recorded notes:

"Postmaster: very active, restless. Always impatient. Frequently dissatisfied, in low spirits, angry;

"Shoemaker for the Ul'yanov family: quite calm, good. Nothing restless about him. Never hasty;

"Former owner of cigarette-newspaper stand by the railroad station: We discussed with him most important things on the destinies of mankind. Even a simpleton would immediately notice that he was a great man;

"Writer Jan Kasprzak's wife: absolutely nothing distinguished him from the many other exiles living in Poronino and Zakopane. A most ordinary person. In any case, he drew no attention whatever to himself and, at that time, I did not even notice him. I was amazed when, in 1918, my husband told me that it was precisely this exile who was Lenin, the person who made the revolution in Russia."

How would an artist go with this kind of testimony? How to unravel it? It became clear to me that a meeting with Lenin was an exceptionally comprehensive phenomenon. Many people who lived in Lenin's time saw and came across him just about every day without, however, meeting him. A meeting presumes people open for dialogue, that a combination of their spiritual positions, reciprocal revelation, and reciprocal refraction of characters take place. Naturally, none of this exists in the statements I recorded. Therefore, they should not be considered an unappealable verdict by art.

Furthermore, frequently the most important thing--Lenin's thoughts, the story of his considerations, are frequently absent in similar (or related) testimony. Yet, without this, unquestionably, no film could be made today about Lenin.

All this applies to a person who tries to recreate Lenin's personality in art. A mandatory condition governing the meeting of the artist with Lenin includes not simply a scrupulous study of facts but a creative principle in approaching this task, an original, esthetic power, independent thinking, and a mastery of all the secrets and means of the skill. Only thus could an artistic image be created, in general, including the personality of a factual historical person, and, I dare to say, of the character of the greatest of the great--of Lenin.

Naturally, documents, facts, must be the base of any depiction of a historical leader. However, in art facts play a special role. To cite M. Prishvin's thought, facts are like the cover of a balloon which the artist inflates with his strength and "while remaining a fact, the fact flies up." The sum total of objective features, recorded by historians and witnesses, does not as yet represent an artistic image. The phenomenon of art is born only when objective facts have gone through the creative world of the artist, embellishing this unique world with the storms of his joys and catastrophes. One must be profoundly familiar with and closely study historical data pertaining to Il'ich. In themselves, however, not resmelted through creative energy, and not imbued with the author's principles, they cannot become the components of an artistic character. Facts must illuminate like an arc the creativity which establishes the link between the two spiritual worlds--the character and the author.

Actually, in this case time works for the author. It makes us wiser and more perspicacious. However, time cannot do the work of the artist, a work which is becoming ever more difficult: As the power of art grows so does the responsibility of the artist. We must speak of Lenin from the height of today's possibilities of the art of socialist realism, from the current level reached in artistic progress. Depicting Lenin, we must employ the entire power and freshness of most unexpected, vivid, and new artistic means. Only then would we be worthy of this task.

This raises a number of esthetic problems related to general topical problems of the development of contemporary realistic art. Let us consider some of them.

Not the least complex task in the creative recreation of Lenin's image on the screen is the fact that, at each period of his life, Vladimir Il'ich's range of interests was so broad and his works and activities so extensive that it is virtually impossible to encompass all this within a single motion picture. A film whose authors try to cover everything becomes like an enumeration. Such attempts have always ended in failure, for in a motion picture simple enumeration hacks up the organic artistic fabric as it does, for example, in the theater. The strictest possible sifting is needed: The artist must select among the numerous meetings, events, and conflicts in real life what he considers to be the most important and decisive, the basic in depicting a specific dramatic situation on the screen.

If an intent, situation, or dramatic event is sharp and precise, one should not be concerned by the fact that the biographic material chosen to represent it may seem "too narrow" to some: It will always become the main, the significant, the decisive feature, for the scene would truly and factually excite and concern the viewer, reaching his heart in harmony with what excites, concerns, and inspires the author of the movie. A truly dramatic, human, warm event in terms of feelings and thoughts, will reach the type of emotional, ideological, and artistic heights which would take the place of dozens of pages of hastily presented information. Need we mention that what is important in art is only that which is depicted through artistic means? All the rest, however necessary it may seem, simply does not exist in the eyes of the audience, leaving the eyes, ears, and hearts untouched. In order to organically introduce historical data and information in a movie narrative, they must be raised to the level of the artistic image.

Naturally, we should be equally aware of the fact that the deliberate restriction of biographic data may, occasionally, and justifiably, convert into narrowness, pettiness, and poverty of ideas. Allow me, therefore, to repeat that a limitation is vitally needed in working on such an all-embracing topic. However, a specific type of limitation is required which would compress the material in such a way that, even though seemingly topical, it would create an emotional charge which would tear this topicality apart, which would trigger forces within the fabric of the stage in which a feeling of space and hugeness of what is taking place on the screen would develop not as a result of informative "expansion" but somehow spontaneously, by itself.

It is on the basis of this principle which, I admit, may seem controversial, that director Yu. Rayzman and I tried to film scenes involving Lenin's participation, in the motion picture "Communist." Working on the scenario the inner conviction that such scenes had to be introduced became

apparent. But how to do it? How to depict on the screen Lenin's work, life, and concerns in the hours when Denikin was advancing on Moscow? How to depict, in its totality, what Vladimir Il'ich thought, wrote, or said at that time? Was it possible? Was it necessary?

It was clear to us that the task had to be greatly restricted. We should not try to encompass everything. We should select only a small segment but structure it in such a way as to provide a broad mental horizon to the depiction of the scene, making the viewer see, feel, and understand something considerably more complex, important, general, and great than what his eyes were seeing.

It would be the small scene which would make it possible to see everything.

It occurred to us that in accordance with his character, the tempestuous and irrepresible main character, Vasily Gubanov, storekeeper at the construction site of the Shaturskaya Electric Power Plant, looking for most ordinary nails, unable to find them anywhere, would go to Lenin, to the Kremlin, to ask Lenin for help. We thought it accurate and internally correct that, in this case, Lenin would not discuss the world revolution or the current situation with Gubanov, but would do everything possible to find what Gubanov needed.

In order to intensify even further the meaning and inner scale of the event, we introduced an additional circumstance: Gubanov goes to the Kremlin looking for nails at a time when a meeting is in progress to define the very plan for the electrification of the entire country which would then be known to history as GOELRO. The viewer can see that at such a moment, when even the Sovnarkom chairman is forced to look around Moscow for a pound of nails, a plan for unparalleled construction projects is being discussed, a plan which, in the future, would transform the country.

I believe that this event asserts, more clearly than any mass scene, poster, or speech, the greatness of the party, surrounded on all sides with advancing enemies, totally lacking in material facilities, yet planning the greatest possible construction project for a period of many years. Does this "petty" scene, taking place within four walls, not show the essence of what was and lived those days?

Allow me to also describe another characteristic inherent in our historical films. Within their plot passions may rage, most violent clashes may appear and take place. However, it is as though the authors fear to place Lenin in the position of the subject of a drama. He remains outside it and, in fact, appears to be above the conflict. Yet, many pages in the life of Vladimir Il'ich could provide a canvas for dramatic events

of the highest, frequently tragic intensity. It seems to me, therefore, that, selecting these pages, Lenin's character must become the nucleus of dramatic action rather than placing Lenin in the position of an individual who merely talks, and who explains and settles everything.

Il'ich appears as the center of a tremendous civic and human drama in the beautiful motion picture "Lenin in 1918," by M. Romm and A. Kapler. It is precisely this that explains the outstanding social, human, and theatrical power of this motion picture.

Going back to my own experience in cinematography, those were my thoughts when I was asked to write a movie script for the film "Stories About Lenin." In this plot, which should not be retold here, Vladimir Il'ich does not remain on the periphery of the conflict but is in the very center of a dramatic situation, in the very center of its boiling environment. I have always considered such a structure fruitful.

Progressing from the interpretation of Lenin's character to the creation of his artistic image, we must remember the comprehensive nature of this character, and the tremendous and complex life of Vladimir Il'ich. He experienced not only the happiness of victories but the bitterness of defeats and losses. Was he not sad, annoyed by errors, and, perhaps, occasionally despairing, despite the entire wonderful and unshakable faith in the final victory of the revolutionary proletarian cause? Would we belittle the character of our Il'ich by depicting all these complexities, circumstances in life, and conflicting range of feelings of happiness, sadness, exultation, or disappointments, the real life of the fighter full of drama rather than sweetness?

We must also show the dynamics of his thoughts. Again I emphasize that today one cannot make a film about Lenin by ignoring the tempestuous fiery drama of his thoughts or without an effort to prove their dialectics, their shaping.

The purpose of these notes is not to judge motion pictures but to share thoughts on what personally affects me, profoundly and, most likely, not only me, but what was experienced and tested in art. For this reason, I shall go back to the film in whose making I participated: The course of Lenin's thinking as the dominant feature of the film's structure, the dynamics of Lenin's thoughts in one of the most critical times of contemporary history, at the beginning of the first imperialist war, which B. I. Yutkevich and I tried to depict in the film "Lenin in Poland."

The essence of our thought was, essentially, to turn sharply away from the usual means: to a narration not of external events, however rich they might have been those days, but of the dynamics of Lenin's thoughts at a turning stage of history. In that case this seemed to us immeasurably more important than to depict something that had already been frequently seen on the screen.

However, this led to a most difficult question: How to present this constant intellectual stress which determined the entire inner structure of Vladimir Il'ich's life? New artistic means had to be sought, cinematographic methods which could provide the screen equivalent of the dynamics of the thoughts and struggles of the human spirit.

It took us quite some time to find them. In the final account, we adopted the idea of using an invisible narrator. However, what person was he to represent? An announcer? A commentator? . . . No, no, and no again! We suddenly realized that it had to be Vladimir Il'ich himself.

To tell the truth, this was a daring step, and it took us a long time to make this decision, for the reason alone that it required the telling of a 90 minute story about Lenin which, naturally, had not taken place in real life. It was to be, as much as possible, a live, an informal monologue which would include everything found in an ordinary story. We wrote this story without including a single quotation. We were frequently admonished for taking such a daring step. To this day, however, I believe that this was the true way. . . .

The characteristics of this method were based on the free use of a spokesman who maintains complex mental relations with the visible reality depicted on the screen--Lenin's voice which became the voice of thoughts, feelings, and moral aspirations. Lenin's words, heard on the screen, summed up events, considered, and recalled. It could engage in lyrical asides and follow the complex steps of a thought in progress, expressing anger, joy, pathos, despair, and irony. It could comment on what the audience was seeing at a given moment and interpret something entirely different, something which sometimes was not "coupled" in the least with or, conversely, matched the visual presentation. We identified this method, for our own purposes, as a film-monologue.

Yet, how to structure Lenin's monologue? How to determine its style? How to insure its accuracy, the truthfulness of words, thoughts, and intonations? We studied Lenin's letters, articles, speeches, and favorite words, whether caustic or jocular. This, however, proved to be insufficient. We read a number of books which showed the language of the revolutionary and the highly cultured intellectual of the period. And, all of a sudden, something happened that enabled me to grasp Lenin's speech (what, I do not know). It developed in me, it was shaped and strengthened, and I began to write the monologue without stress, with some kind of inner enthusiasm.

Probably, other motion picture makers would have developed a meeting with Lenin differently and his story might have sounded entirely different. However, that is precisely the way he spoke to us. That is how I saw and heard Lenin's story. I wrote it as though he were within me, as though I were listening to him. We developed Il'ich's character in the film as we understood it, with passion and animation. It is not up to us to judge

whether it was successful or not. However, the passion and enthusiasm of our work were, and remain, to us beautiful and precious.

It is precisely this encounter with Lenin that made me, once again, consider closely the question of how to depict in a motion picture the great and heroic facets of our life.

I most heartily support great epic movies. I am their devoted student. My youth as a writer and movie maker coincided with their infinite glory. No one will ever extinguish in me a liking for pictures on people with great characters, with powerful and heroic features (every time seen by the artist profoundly and originally), pictures about those who go forth, whose vital exploit is grandiose and, sometimes, immortal. I, personally, have frequently tried to describe them on the screen and will never forget the pleasure of this work.

Nevertheless, I believe this today to be insufficient. We must go not in width but in depth. We must not expand to infinity mass scenes, using all powerful modern means of the movies but try to present on the screen not only events and their scope or unique visual impact but their spiritual energy, their thoughts. I am unable to define how to do so--through plastic means, pageantry or words. However, this problem must be resolved in order to master the real scale of the history of people and of people in history.

Thinking of the new work, "Lenin in Paris," again I and S. I. Yutkevich decided to partially broaden the realm of application of the method we developed in the picture "Lenin in Poland." In this case it is no longer Lenin's voice that is narrating. It is precisely his voice that is absent. However, we hear the recollections and thoughts spoken by other people, including by ourselves, the authors, seeking (in accordance with the plot) in that huge city eyewitnesses, and interpreting data related to the Paris period of Vladimir Il'ich's life. That is how the destinies of the past become interwoven with those of today, of past events with the present, and of past social and human tempests with those taking place today, with the historical newness which has come into our lives together with Lenin and socialism.

This novelty does not exist by itself. It is inseparable from the living care of human destinies. It is surrounded by the flesh of anything which concerns, excites, pleases, or saddens a person at work, in his family, in his love, and in his children. This novelty, expanding and blossoming, offers us ever new facets of the aspect and character of our great com-patriot and contemporary. I believe with all my heart that our art is as yet to have striking meetings with Il'ich, and striking penetrations and artistic accomplishments in resolving one of the most complex and beautiful problems--the creative presentation of Lenin's character.

WORTHY OF THE LEADER'S NAME

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 61-70

[Article by V. Protopopov, first secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon CPSU Committee in Moscow]

[Text] Recently, a group of workers, engineers, and scientists who were awarded for their selfless toil the Order of Lenin, this high governmental award, met at the Leninskiy Rayon Party Committee in Moscow. They described their working days, the implementation of the tasks for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and their personal contribution to the results of the extensive socialist competition which has developed in honor of the 100th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

N. Minovalova, a weaver at the Krasnaya Roza Silk Weaving Combine, is welcoming the anniversary date with a good labor gift--the fulfillment of seven annual norms since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan. After 12 April she will be working for 1983. By that time 300 combine workers will have completed their five-year assignments. The Moscow subway builders will welcome the nationwide holiday with considerable achievements. B. Baranov, head of a drilling brigade at the SMU-6 Metrostroy described the selfless work of the brigade in building the recently commissioned Kalinin section of the Moscow subway.

Professor V. Fursov, dean of the physics department of Moscow State University, discussed in his speech the scientific research conducted by the department's scientists studying the secrets of matter and elementary particles, and the development of the theory of fast electrons used for the development of new powerful accelerators.

A. Solov'yev, press operator at the Kauchuk Plant, V. Kovanov, academician, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Z. Shironina, assistant foreman at the Silk Combine imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov, and V. Uspenskiy, chief design engineer at the Promstroyproyekt Institute, spoke on their labor accomplishments and the successes of their fellow workers.

Today Leninskiy Rayon is a most solid amalgamation of industry, science, and culture. We are justifiably proud of the fact that it is named after the founder of the communist party and the first socialist state in the world. We are proud that Lenin was a member of our Rayon party organization and was registered here as a party member, and lived and worked in the Kremlin. Answering a survey on the reregistration of members of the Moscow RKP(b) organization, Lenin listed "Kremlevskiy Podrayon" as the name of the cell whose member he was.

To the Soviet people Moscow means Red Square with an endless stream of people moving toward Lenin's Mausoleum, the crenellated Kremlin walls, the eternal flame on the grave of the Unknown Soldier, and the great building of the university on Leninskiye Gory. . . . It means the capital's Leninskiy Rayon.

Like the rest of the Muscovites we particularly cherish places related to Il'ich's life and activities. Many buildings in the rayon carry memorial plaques informing us that here Lenin lived or spoke. . . . Here is a three-story building, on 16 Metrostroyevskaya Street (formerly Ostozhenka). It was here that one day in March 1906 Vladimir Il'ich came to attend a conference of workers of the Moscow Party Organization. His speech formulated most important problems of the party's tactic in the period of the first revolution in the epoch of imperialism.

On 26 July 1918 meetings were held in all Moscow rayons on the topic of "What Will the Soviet Constitution Give the Working People," at which noted party leaders explained the essence of the RSFSR Constitution adopted on 10 July by the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Lenin spoke at the assembly hall of the Higher Courses for Women, numbering over 1,000 seats (today the Lenin Hall of the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute). The Soviet Constitution, Lenin said, "reflects the ideals of the proletariat the world over" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 534).

Vladimir Il'ich also participated in the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, organized by the workers, Red Army men, and young people of Khamovniki, as our rayon was known then. He discussed the difficulties of the times, the help which the state was giving the peasants in the sowing campaign, the substitution of the food tax for food requisitioning, and the importance of trade union work. Lenin called for "intensifying work within our country" in order to fulfill the great tasks facing the Soviet system in economic construction.

We are proud of the very rich traditions of the Muscovites and the labor collectives in the rayon and are aware of the tremendous responsibility and sacred duty which have come to us passed on from the senior generations.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" emphasizes that this noteworthy anniversary must be celebrated with new successes in labor, focusing efforts on implementing the decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the November 1979 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the topical problems of the building of communism, and comprehensively strengthening the economic and defense power of our homeland. The ripe problems of our development must be formulated and resolved with Leninist boldness and principle-mindedness; the extensive participation of the working people must be insured in surmounting existing shortcomings. Guided by the Moscow City Party Committee, the party organizations in the rayon mounted active political and organizational preparations for the anniversary in an effort to enhance even further the labor and social activeness of all working people for the fulfillment of the 1980 plan and the laying of firm foundations for the successful start of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Over the past four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the rayon has done a great deal to reach this objective. The entire increase in industrial output was achieved as a result of an 11 percent increase in labor productivity. The rayon gave the national economy a substantial above-plan output worth 32 million rubles. Within that period, according to the counterplan, goods worth over six million rubles were produced, including silk and cotton fabrics, curtain materials, lighting and rubber goods, and household items.

Heroes of Socialist Labor weaver V. Bobkova and construction worker A. Sukhanov, and shock workers of the Ninth Five-Year Plan seamstress V. Kiseleva and laboratory manager I. Skvortsov, and many others, known to all Moscow, are creative workers and ardent propagandists of best production experience. The influence of their model attitude toward labor is manifested in the implementation of state assignments, the steady growth of labor productivity, and the reaching of high quality and other production indicators. The contribution of the rayon's rationalizers and inventors in production mechanization and automation and technological improvements is increasing systematically. In the 10th Five-Year Plan they have submitted over 15,000 suggestions and been awarded over 1,000 authorship certificates.

The collectives of most construction organizations in the rayon, which are actively involved in the construction of Olympic Games projects and making a tangible contribution to the fulfillment of the general plan for Moscow's development and reconstruction, have successfully coped with their plan assignments and socialist pledges. The projects they have completed include the Kaluga-Riga and Kalinin subway stations, the big and small sports arenas in Luzhniki, the Druzhba general purpose sports hall, and the Olympiad-80 Olympic Press Center. The collectives of scientific-research institutes and design bureaus and of transportation and communications organizations approached the date of Lenin's anniversary with good indicators. In the first four years of the five-year plan

the active production of over 500 new varieties of consumer goods was achieved;

These successes were achieved thanks to the extensively developed socialist competition. Over 1,500 workers and 270 construction brigades will have completed their five-year plans by the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

The communist suborniks have become an outstanding tradition of the Soviet people. This is no accident. They have a tremendous historical significance; for they are the conscious and voluntary initiative of the workers to upgrade labor productivity, adopt a new labor discipline and display creativity under socialist management and living conditions.

In the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the rayon working people participating in communist suborniks in honor of Lenin's birth produced goods worth eight million rubles. Many production collectives have pledged to work during the communist subornik of 19 April 1980 essentially with saved raw materials, materials and energy and manufacture goods worth over two million rubles.

The tremendous scale of output, the increased complexity of economic relations, and the scientific-technical revolution developing under our own eyes and with our direct participation, are formulating ever stricter requirements concerning national economic management. Under these circumstances, how to implement most completely Lenin's principles of economic management on the rayon level, and effectively use all growth factors? It is entirely obvious that the successful solution of the main problem is possible only by resolving these problems. This applies, above all, to the problem of quality which is very topical in mature socialism. This expansive concept includes the quality of the item and of the work of those who are not directly engaged in material output; it also includes the quality of management and the quality of all ideological and political-educational work.

We will propose a few considerations on the way the party members in our rayon party organization are resolving the quality problem.

As we know, the introduction of new aspects in production requires a great deal of effort on the part of party and economic managers. We feel this is particularly true if it involves a question of the practical testing and application of progressive decisions. In this case the lengthy procedure of experimental testing of new ideas is unavoidable. The slogan of "boldness and efficiency," so frequently mentioned by Lenin in his work with the first organizers of the socialist economy, means the expedient study and objective assessment of advantages and shortcomings of a new labor system, new means, and new methods for the implementation of pressing tasks.

That is precisely why, resolving the problem of upgrading production quality, the rayon party committee began by naming the basic enterprise of the rayon and to focus the attention in such a way as to use its experience in showing how to work most effectively. We chose the Elektrosvet Plant. This is an enterprise of the USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment industry which, as we know, pioneered the comprehensive approach to upgrading production quality. The rayon helped the plant personnel to draft a comprehensive five-year plan. The plant's initiative to promote socialist competition for the production of goods awarded the state Emblem of Quality was approved and recommended for extensive dissemination among all rayon enterprises. Through its technical-economic council (TEK), the rayon organized strict control over its application. Annual quality days, sponsored at our leading enterprises and by the VDSEh [Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy] contributed to the summation and extensive dissemination of experience and to upgrading production quality. Ten enterprises applied comprehensive quality control systems. All this contributed to increasing the production of superior quality goods. In the first two years of the five-year plan the percentage of such goods doubled. Today it accounts for over 17 percent of the overall volume of industrial output of the rayon's enterprises.

The quality problem is most closely linked with that of effectiveness, improving planning, and implementing comprehensive measures for increasing the influence of the economic mechanism on economic development. Briefly stated, it is a question of a radical turn to intensive development factors. This topic was the subject of particular attention at the 26th and 27th CPSU Congresses, and the November 1979 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" calls for organizing planning on the basis of normative net output indicators. The new indicator was tested at the enterprises of Main Administration of Construction Materials Industry and Construction Parts of the Moscow City Executive Committee, located in Leningrad Rayon. Since 3 January 1976, basic economic activities are rated on the basis of the normative net output. Initial results, current data, and intermediary results were extensively studied. Final conclusions have been reached on the expediency of the new indicator and on its beneficial impact on many production aspects. Practical knowledge has been acquired in the work of this nature of the results of public labor.

The experimental data obtained under industrial conditions are of major practical significance. They make it possible to lower material outlays and resources and to anticipate the result of the application of this experiment on a mass scale. The practical results for the enterprises of the Main Administration of the Constructing Materials Industry and

Construction Data also showed that labor productivity rose 11.9 percent instead of 10.9 percent as planned. Yet, the planned percentage of the growth of labor productivity had been considered as extremely stretched. The deadlines for mastering the production of new goods were reduced by one-half and material intensiveness was lowered.

These indicators made possible the successful solution of the complex economic problem of organizing mass construction output for the Olympic Games projects. There are over 2,500 such items. In the course of the experiment the enterprises saved thousands of tons of cement, metal, and fuel. The new indicator makes equally profitable the production of any item included in the plan, as a result of which the variety plan is implemented better. The production of goods bearing the Emblem of Quality quintupled.

A transition to the new planning system is contemplated for the 11th Five-Year Plan. Currently the union is engaged in extensive preparatory work involving the participation of all engineering and technical workers and specialists and all labor collectives. Naturally, we know that this will call for meeting a major prerequisite: The new levels to be reached by the collectives should not lower the indicators of production growth earmarked for the five-year plan. In order to make fuller use of the existing possibilities in this direction we consider it necessary as of now to review the norms, standards, obsolete standards and norms, and assess the technical level of equipment and machines.

"... To gain the means to gain everything," Lenin said in the crucial period of socialist construction. Drawing attention to the need to accelerate production development, we must point out improvements to the system of management of industrial output and its possibilities. Today the opinion of economic managers irreversibly favors the comprehensive use of computers in this work. Many enterprises have had computers for some time and have gained experience in their skillful use. Realistically, by 1985 automated control systems would be installed in the entire rayon. Inevitably, this will increase the level of the operative influence of economic managers on the course and organization of the production process and will enable the party organizations to take timely measures for the correction and elimination of shortcomings. This is the purpose of the development of automated production control systems (ASIP) at enterprises such as the Combine named Ya. M. Sevardlov, the Kauchuk Association, and others.

The greatest successes in the development of ASIP were achieved at the Yuzovka Paper Combine. It was here that, for the first time in Moscow, departments for algorithm work and programming, computer services, and staff organization were created. The automated control system fully covers the working process and a number of departments and services. The ASIP resolves problems related to technical and economic planning and book-keeping.

The rayon party committee pays very close attention to problems of organizing scientific collectives as well. These problems have a number of aspects; let us mention one of them—the cooperation between scientists and production workers. The rayon's scientific establishments and enterprises have already concluded over 1,200 contracts. Here it was taken into consideration that the effectiveness of scientific work is enhanced as a result of intensification of research. Improving the organization of the creative cooperation between scientists and production workers means bringing into account new resources for upgrading production effectiveness and using new opportunities. For example, we do not have as yet a single method center to study the experience of science-production cooperation, coordinate technical policy in this area, and define the topical directions of this type of collective creative work. There is a shortage of information needed for reaching new standards. The organizational shortcomings of small scientific collectives are felt particularly sharply. Other problems exist as well. The rayon party committee is doing everything possible to resolve them within the shortest possible time.

Working on improving the planning process, the Leninsky Rayon Party Committee does not ignore problems of radical reconstruction of the production process and technical retooling. In this area we make extensive use of experienced specialists in various fields and scientists. They conduct studies at enterprises on the utilization of equipment, help to raise it to its planned capacity level, assist in its further modernization, and find ways for the most efficient reconstruction of the production process and for upgrading its effectiveness. It has been estimated, for example, that raising the rayon's industrial return on capital by one kopeck alone would yield additional output worth about six million rubles.

Having this in mind, the rayon party organization has directed the leading collectives toward upgrading the work shift coefficient of the equipment. This has led to changes in the conditions governing the socialist competition. The shift coefficient and capital returns indicators were considered from considered to basic indicators. The Elektrosvet Plant was selected because the base enterprise for this project. Here corresponding recommendations and methods were drafted and a comprehensive plan of advance was formulated. The rayon party committee bureau approved the experience of the base enterprise collective and instructed the other rayon enterprises to disseminate it extensively.

The Krasnaya Ruzh Combine made a proper study of the experience of the Elektrosvet Plant and has engaged in the purposeful solution of problems of reconstruction and technical retooling. This is one of the oldest Moscow enterprises and the time for its reconstruction and technical retooling came. The combine installed 1,250 highly productive looms which raised labor productivity by a 1.7 factor. A total of 899 people were

replaced. Hero of Socialist Labor Valentina Ivanovna Bobkova, a party member, is the pride of the combine. She came to the combine in 1942, when she was very young. Her inordinately creative capabilities were manifested quite soon. V. Bobkova was one of the first to convert to multiple-loom work and to achieve great successes in her work. Ten years ago, when pneumatically operated looms were installed in the combine, Valentina Ivanovna rapidly mastered them and began to train the other weavers. This progressive worker fulfilled her 10th Five-Year Plan in two-and-a-half years.

A person grows together with the enterprise, the labor collective. The individual destiny reflects, like in a mirror, the development of the contemporary production process. Today there is a new upsurge along this path, related to the qualitatively different level of the equipment and the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. It is related to the work which has been underway for several years at the combine, together with the All-Union Scientific Research and Experimental Institute for the Processing of Chemical Fibers. An experimental sector has been set up in one of the combine's shops. Here in a single decade labor productivity rose sevenfold. V. Bobkova, N. Sazonov, L. Pilyshchuk, M. Gus'kova, N. Minevalova, and others are participating in the daring experiment for the application of new technological methods and mastering the use of one-of-a-kind equipment.

Unfortunately, a number of problems arise in the course of preparations for and engaging in the reconstruction and technical retooling of a number of enterprises. Their delayed solution substantially lowers and, sometimes, reduces to naught the results.

The main feature in the reconstruction and technical retooling of an enterprise is inserting its comprehensive and efficiently organized work. We pay the closest possible attention to this problem. In many cases, however, main administrations and ministries do not allocate to the enterprises the necessary capital investments, machines, machine tools, and equipment. This leads to disproportions in technical equipment and to the appearance of bottlenecks.

Another problem is that of meeting deadlines for reconstruction and technical retooling. Unfortunately, by virtue of those same reasons, the reconstruction of some enterprises has been dragging for many years and, naturally, its results are virtually nil. For example, a reconstruction has been underway at the Moscow Kauchuk Production Association. Yet, the technical and economic indicators of the association's activities have shown only an insignificant improvement.

In order to carry out the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises and insure the more intensive effect of other factors on

production development, improving the system of cadre selection and placement, and improving educational work among the working people are of tremendous importance. This practice remains the core of the organizational work of the rayon party committee and the primary party organizations. Today, as was emphasized at the November 1979 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, priority in work with cadres is assigned to upgrading their responsibility for assignments, strengthening the discipline at all levels of economic management, and effective control of execution. In recent years the level of the qualification of economic managers in the rayon has increased considerably. For example, 98 percent of the heads of associations and enterprises are specialists with higher education. About 80 percent of directors of scientific-production associations and scientific research institutes have scientific degrees and titles.

The problems and means leading to the further advancement of the economic management mechanism have become the subject of intensified study at all levels of the political and economic education systems. The rayon party committee has set up an economic training council. It runs a theory seminar for leading cadres teaching the course "Managerial Work." Particular attention is paid to the political training of the managers of enterprises and establishments in the rayon. For their benefit the rayon party committee has organized a cycle of lectures on theoretical and practical problems related to the improvement of the economic mechanism.

Of great importance to the successful application of intensive economic management methods is not only the cadres' profound familiarity with economic problems but practical activity and initiative. "The modern manager," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, addressing the 75th Congress, "must organically combine within himself party-mindedness with extensive competence, discipline with initiative, and a creative approach to the work." Many of the rayon's enterprise and organization managers are models of efficient work and creativity. They are able promptly to support valuable suggestions and initiatives of specialists and workers-innovators. Most economic managers display a great deal of responsibility for their assignments. As a rule, they know how to honestly acknowledge their shortcomings and errors, and actively to work for their elimination.

However, we still have workers who fail to implement the planned assignments and occasionally end up by padding figures. Such cases are explained by a weakening of control over their activities on the part of a number of party organizations. For this reason, the rayon party committee systematically directs the primary party organizations toward improving their control over the activities of administrations and insuring the unity of words with actions.

The development of the political and labor activeness of the masses is closely linked with the growth of communist conscientiousness and the development of their high ideological and moral qualities. "The great cause--the building of communism"--Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "cannot be moved forward without the comprehensive development of man himself. Communism is as impossible without high level culture, education, social consciousness, and inner maturity as it is without a corresponding material and technical base."

Implementing the instructions of the congress and of subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the decisions of the Moscow City Party Committee, the rayon party committee and the primary party organizations have been accomplishing a great deal in this respect.

The rayon party members realize that the face of Moscow as a model city will be determined, in the final account, by its people. The role of the moral factor, of the ideological and moral principles in the life and behavior of everyone, and the profound understanding that to be a resident of the capital is a great honor and responsibility are becoming ever more important. All rayon labor collectives discussed and adopted the "Moral Principles of the Resident of a Model Communist City." It is exceptionally important to turn such principles into rules governing the behavior of every working person, of every Muscovite, so that participation in sociopolitical life becomes the universally accepted norm and the fulfillment of civic obligations and social duty a conscious habit.

The consolidated political day on the proper celebration of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, recently held in the rayon, brought a charge of high idea-mindedness. Enterprise personnel were addressed by members of the rayon party bureau, senior personnel of the rayon soviet executive committee, and skilled lecturers. The practice of sponsoring such political days in our rayon, as throughout the city, is being perfected and enriched through new methods.

The topics covered in such political days cover a great variety of aspects of our life. Today the rayon party committee has the possibility to study a number of questions asked by the working people in the course of their addresses during the political day. Furthermore, measures such as the organization of sociological surveys, and meetings between the population and the working people in the rayon and their leaders make it possible to feel the pulse beat of public opinion and, therefore, to influence its molding.

The V. I. Lenin Central Museum, located in our rayon, is making an invaluable contribution to the political education of the working people and the dissemination of the Leninist ideological legacy. The museum has unique collections of Leninist documents and priceless relics related to them. It is extensively working on raising the working people

in the example of his life and activities and in the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the communist party and the Soviet people. Members of the labor collectives in the rayon are frequent guests of the museum which offers Leninist readings for the ideological aktiv of the rayon. Sociopolitical readings and lecture cycles have also been organized by the rayon party committee and the big party organizations, the Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, the Kauchuk and Elektrosvet plants, and the GUM.

The rayon party committee ascribes tremendous importance to developing in the working people an active life stance and the assertion of the norms and principles of communist morals and morality. Lecture propaganda has been intensified on the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology and a reactionary zionist policy and ideology. The propaganda of the Soviet way of life has been energized. The permanent agitation collectives working in agitation centers, Red corners, and clubs at housing management offices have proved their value.

Today the importance of steady mass-political and cultural-education work among the population at places of residence has increased sharply. This is due to the increased amount of leisure time which, in Lenin's words, offers every working person the possibility to use it "for recreation, development, and exercise of his rights as a person, family member, and citizen" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 2, p 299).

As an area for the development of the personality, the amount of leisure time has been expanded considerably. However, do we always use this "space" intelligently and effectively? The rayon has successfully working groups of deputies, councils of directors, house committees, and a variety of other social organizations. We have involved in cultural-educational activities a substantial number of specialists from enterprises, VUZ, and scientific institutions. We try to combine the efforts of all organizations working in places of residence and make this work more organized and purposeful. A coordination council for work among the population has been set up. It includes sections on mass-political and educational work, preservation of public order, crime prevention, and sponsorship assistance to enterprises. Such councils have been set up in all microrayons as well.

The energizing of the work at home faces us with the urgent problem of finding more convenient premises for the meeting of circles and for joint recreation of the tenants. The microrayons need their clubs and cultural centers. This need must be planned in the designing of the new residential buildings and districts.

A large number of propagandists, political informants, and agitators are working on the important front of the struggle for communism. There are over 16,000 of them in the rayon. On the eve of the anniversary, this detachment of ideological cadres is engaged in extensive propaganda work

in explaining the basic ideas of Leninism. Particular attention is paid to the considerable contribution to the theory of scientific communism found in the CPSU programmatic documents and in the works by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other party leaders.

All agitation centers are delivering lectures on Leninist topics. Photographic exhibits are displayed showing Lenin's life and activities. Meetings between the young people and veterans of the revolution and war and labor heroes are sponsored and trips to Leninist sites are organized. The industrial enterprises are planning the dedication of the young shift as workers, and the honoring of the winners of the socialist competition on Lenin's birthday.

In a certain way the forthcoming Olympic Games will become a test of the maturity of the ideological-educational work done with the rayon's population. The rayon party committee has formulated topics for reports, lectures, and talks. It has trained a group of highly skilled lecturers addressing the labor collectives on all topics related to the preparations for the Olympic Games: the advantages of the Soviet way of life, the achievements of the Soviet Union, socialist democracy, history of the Olympic Games movement, and so on. Fifty-nine cycles of lectures have been prepared.

The main events of the 22nd Olympic Games will take place on the territory of the rayon, in Luzhniki. The Olympic Games have already become the common project of the working people and the population of the rayon. The mass-political work which was developed among the labor collectives and residential areas contributed to the birth of a number of valuable initiatives. Thus, the initiative of the Elektrosvet Plant, Moscow University, the Scientific Research Institute of Introscopy, and the Central Sports Stadium imeni V. I. Lenin of working one day a year on Olympic projects under the slogan of "Olympic Construction is a Matter of Honor for all Muscovites" met with extensive support.

The party organization of the capital's Leninskiy rayon has about 50,000 members. Most of them are young production workers, construction workers, and workers in consumer services, and members of the scientific or creative intelligentsia. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" emphasizes that "The main source of all our victories is the inviolable unity between party and people and the ability of the party members, in Lenin's words, to come closer to and, to a certain extent, merge with the broadest possible mass of working people, raising their energy, heroism, and enthusiasm, and focusing their revolutionary efforts on the most important forthcoming tasks." That is how we, the party members in the rayon named after the great leader, try to act.

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WORKERS' RELAY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 71-78

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor A. Shakshin, drilling foreman, Nizhnevartovsk, Tyumenskaya Oblast]

[Text] At the November 1979 CPSU Central Committee Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that we must create an atmosphere of high exactingness, organization, and creative attitude toward the work in all national economic sectors and production cells. ". . . In both politics and economics we need a democratic centralism offering extensive scope for initiative from below, the initiative of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises, associations, and local organs," Leonid Il'ich emphasized. "This stems not only from our outlook but from economic necessity as well. Initiative from below is our irreplaceable reserve for speeding up economic development."

In the next 10 years the main increase in the extraction of petroleum and natural gas and the valuable chemical raw materials produced from them is planned on the basis of the development of the natural resources of Tyumen'. Here the volume of all work must be doubled and tripled. This great task can be implemented through selfless and highly productive toil and good organization of the competition taking into consideration the specific nature of the collectives' activities.

As we know, drilling plays a leading role in increasing petroleum extraction capacities: The drilling of new wells increases fuel output. The drillers of the Siberian subsoil have the necessary possibilities to accomplish this. It is no accident that the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress stipulate the following: "Increase the effectiveness of drilling operations. Reduce the time for well drilling 25-30 percent. . . ." This can be achieved by increasing drilling speed, applying speed methods for the installation of new types of drills and bits, improving the organization of the work and applying progressive methods for the exploitation of the wells.

the NABNEVET'VASKNEFTGAZ Association has been assigned to develop the deposits of the famous Hamitar which is a kind of testing ground in the sector, where the developments of science and technology and the initiatives of leading workers are applied and tested. At the beginning of 1978 the brigade I head was among the first to work according to the "workers' relay" principle which has now become widespread among Tyumen' petroleum workers.

The production chain in the development of deposits is the following: equipping the area to be drilled; building a road leading to it; installation of the equipment, drilling, geophysical, and plugging back operations, well completion, dismantling of the equipment, and delivering it to the new site. Each of these operations is carried out by specialized subunits controlled by different administrations. The end purpose, however, is the same: deliver the new well to the extraction workers. For this reason, all subunits must work in harmony. Occasionally, this harmony is no more than simple good-neighboring agreement: Let us begin to work better, you in your sector and we in ours, and the more substantial our contributions are the more effective will be the joint result. However, each of the links in this system has its own indicators, problems, tasks, plans, and socialist obligations. The subunit indicators and plans are far from always coordinated. Frequently the personnel of related units may talk in - friendly yet, as the saying goes, different languages. Should differences arise they frequently defend, above all, their own departmental interests. That is why the greatest time losses in well drilling are noted in the process of "coupling" with related units, and the conversion from one technological operation to another.

Lack of coordination in the actions of related units occasionally leads to territorial claims. For example, having completed the equipment of the Yuzhnyyansk for drilling, the construction workers would report to their administration the completion of the project and move on. Arriving at the site, and realizing that it is either small or set up in a swamp, the derrick builders would ask the construction workers to correct the errors. Frequently, many days have been lost in skirmishes and litigations. "Gaps" and idling periods frequently appeared. However, no one particularly suffered from this: Road makers, derrick builders, drilling workers, geophysicists, or extraction workers were regularly paid their bonuses. But, separately, they not only fulfilled their assignments but exceeded them. As is the overall end result--the starting up of the well-to-hole construction deadlines were extended and, occasionally, they would begin operations with great delays.

Departmental barriers had to be eliminated and the people rallied around the single objective of end work results linking all collectives within the technological chain, if the situation was to be corrected. The Tyumen' petroleum workers adopted the slogan of "Workers' Relay," a form of cooperation most suitable to the specific nature of our conditions and type of work. Similar to the way athletes in a relay race try not only

to improve their individual results but insure the general success of the team, each collective involved in well drilling, working on the basis of this principle, is interested both in the implementation of its own assignment and in reaching high final results.

A characteristic feature of our conditions is that sites and subunits are located at tens or even hundreds of kilometers from each other, and each of the participants in the drilling of a well meets the related brigade only in the transfer of the project. Therefore, the relay schedule—a special journal in which all the necessary operations and projects, planned completion deadlines, and the people in charge are specifically indicated, consecutively, in accordance with the construction technology of the "cluster" (group of wells) as a whole and of each individual well. This schedule is issued to the foremen of the drilling brigade which is the general contractor for the project and represents the coordinating center for its construction.

At the point when construction workers are completing the first operation of the cycle—preparing the foundations under the borehole and building an access road to it—the brigade leader gets in touch with the derrick builders and informs them of the date and time they should come to take over. The assembly workers come, thoroughly check the readiness of the site and the quality of the work. If there are no claims the schedule record indicates the date and time of acceptance and everyone signs the document. Should the work be unfinished or its quality unsatisfactory, it is rejected. In this case, should the construction workers violate the planned deadline, the schedule record indicates the reason for the delay. Remarks are entered on the organization of the work, suggestions, and claims addressed to the various services of the association. This way the relay system goes on until the well is submitted to the extraction workers.

The article-relay system is very useful: Everyone is aware of the work of the related unit and knows who is doing what and when. Relations among the collectives of subunits are also supplemented with contracts which call for reducing the time for well drilling, mutual aid, and exchange of progressive labor methods. Such contracts upgrade the feeling of responsibility among the competitors, enable us to compare our possibilities with those of our fellow workers, coordinate obligations, and find best possible solutions.

The natural question arises of how to compare labor results among enterprises and brigades if everyone has his own system of indicators? We consider winners not only those who simply fulfill their gross output plan but who make the greatest contribution to reaching the end-national economic results: better observance of the schedule, high quality performance of operations, and timely submission of an operational front to related units. Letting them down would make even record setting results worthless. The results of the implementation of contractual obligations are set down in a protocol at the joint meeting of collectives or their

representatives. The minutes note reciprocal claims, remarks, and suggestions related to the organization of the work and of the competition.

The workers' relay is successfully combined with the brigade system, which is a progressive method for the organization of labor and wages based on end results.

In 1977 scientists from the Tyumen' branch of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for the Organization, Management, and Economics of the Petroleum and Gas Industry suggested a method for the conversion of enterprises involved in well drilling to primary cost accounting and, on this basis, to brigade contracting. The regulation stipulates the relay procedure, the system for accounting for outlays, reciprocal account settling, wages, and so on. Samples of subcontracting contracts for the implementation of the most important stages of the technological cycle were appended. The documents were approved by the chief of Glavtyumen'neftegaz and the chairman of the oblast trade unions council. Guided by these documents, the drilling administration engaged in thorough preparations in the course of which each brigade was issued a norm for outlays of materials, cost estimates of the work and labor outlays for each group of wells. A schedule was drafted for the work and deliveries to the sites of basic materials, instruments, spare parts, and equipment so that the continuing cycle of the construction and equipment of the wells could be insured.

After signing a contract with the administration of the Nizhnevartovskneftegaz Association, the brigade pledged to shorten the construction and delivery cycle through highly productive labor within the limits earmarked by the schedule-relay and the reciprocal contracts, to prevent rejects and breakdowns, and to reduce drilling outlays. The contract called for a shorter drilling time compared with the norm. Particular attention was paid to observing the technological system. In turn, the administration pledged to insure the uninterrupted supply of materials and the engineering readiness of the project for construction. The implementation of the assignments on time or ahead of schedule granted the brigade the right to full wages and a bonus based on the piece rate-bonus system. The amount of the latter was based on the quality of the work (in percentage of achieved savings): 40 percent for an "excellent" rating; 30 percent for a "good" rating; and 10 percent for a "satisfactory" rating. No less than 85 percent of the general bonus was appropriated for workers' bonuses and up to 15 percent for bonuses to engineering and technical personnel engaged in drilling and developing the wells and to the administrative personnel actively assisting in the application of the brigade contracting system. The bonus paid the individual workers for the quarter was also based on the quality of the work: up to 70 percent of the monthly wage rate (salary) for an "excellent" rating; up to 65 percent for a "good" rating; and up to 50 percent for a "satisfactory" rating.

In order to encourage collectives competing on the basis of the brigade relay system and which have achieved the highest results, funds for bonuses totaling 2,000 rubles were appropriated. Furthermore, four bonuses of 100 rubles each were appropriated for engineering-technical workers directly contributing to the success of the brigade relay system.

The competition acquired a new meaning. Relations among related brigades are changing visibly: Close contacts are organized; comradely mutual aid is becoming more comprehensive and reciprocal demands are becoming stricter. Since everyone's successes or omissions are recorded in full, the schedule-relay makes it easier to determine in what operation was time saved or overspent and by whose doings, and to determine the overall status of the project, bottlenecks in the technological chain, and shortcomings in the organization of the work and interaction among related units. All of us were able to see the extent to which all participants in petroleum extraction are interconnected and the extent to which the success of one brigade depends on the organized activities of another. The more the gap between the beginning of the drilling and its completion is narrowed, the more fuel will be obtained and, therefore, effectiveness will rise, the other economic indicators will improve, and earnings will grow.

We return to the derrick builders the equipment which has been cleaned from the dirt, the rocks removed, the fencing intact, and everything covered with tarpaulin. In turn, they carry out the layout and assembly operations of the derrick in accordance with our requirements. We willingly help one another should we fail to carry out a specific operation. In a word, we do not engage in petty accounting such as, this is your job and this is ours. Relations developed from reciprocal accusations to mutual aid and to coordinated and joint solution of common problems.

It so happened that, in 1978, the brigade completed the drilling of a group of wells before other sites were ready. There was a danger for this gap to widen. I sought the advice of the comrades and suggested to the party committee to ask Drilling Administration No 1 to assign to us ready sites, exchanging them, whenever possible, in the future, with sites which were being prepared for us. The suggestion was supported. The brigade was offered a work area and we justified the trust of our neighbors. We worked with total dedication, as a result of which directional wells toward Samotlor were rapidly drilled at multiple well group No 1,105.

Naturally, such aid should not be the rule but, rather, the exception: A work front must be created in advance. The construction workers set themselves the assignment of moving ahead of the derrick builders and drillers and develop a reserve of a sufficient number free sites. They needed them not for the sake of securing the uninterrupted work of related brigades but for purposes of "strategic" maneuvering (in the

period of the thawing of the ice when deliveries of sand and logs used for laying the grounds slow down; and for engaging in preliminary surveys so that in wintertime, when it becomes difficult to determine the type of soil we are facing, no timber or sand would be wasted). Currently a certain reserve has been developed and the construction workers are earning bonuses for the ahead of schedule delivery of drilling sites.

Our brigade members did not like the fact that the moving, preparation, and submission of the group of wells to the rayon mining-technical inspectorate was taking an unjustifiably long time. A collective study was undertaken on means to resolve the problem. A solution was found. Each transfer and preparations for it was based on a plan drafted jointly with the corresponding administration services. Now some brigade members help the derrick builders to dismantle the equipment. Others prepare the group for drilling, i.e., ready in advance the equipment and the mechanisms. As a result, by the time that drilling begins, we have saved about 48 hours by shortening the time for preparatory operations.

These are not isolated examples. Each success contributes to the development and strengthening of creative contacts. The people acquire a clearer concept of their place in labor ranks and the lines to be reached. In the first year of the new work system the drilling speed of our brigade rose by a factor of over 1.5. Furthermore, after many years of work in the middle reaches of the Ob, we were the first to reach the 80,000 meter line. Neither we nor other Siberian drillers had been able to achieve such extensive drilling even on a four-shift work basis. We achieved our record-setting results without increasing the size of the collective. Virtually all drills were completed ahead of the normed time and on a high quality level. Our brigade was named the best of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry for the 1978 results.

Discussing the socialist pledges for the fourth year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, we decided to drill 90,000 meters of wells. No single oil field in the country had planned for such an indicator which is almost double the size of the planned assignment and higher than the average sectorial norm by a factor of seven. On the eve of 1 May 1979 we reported the ahead of schedule fulfillment of the plan for the first four years of the five-year plan for drilling and, in November, we reported the completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Having reached the levels earmarked in the socialist pledges for 1979, the collective reasserted its high title of communist labor brigade.

From the very beginning of the development of the Siberian petroleum deposits, the well drilling process was carried out by each separate unit according to its own method: using drag bits, turbodrills, and others. Our brigade developed and applied the turbine drilling method which drastically increases drilling speed, reduces the cycle of well construction, and saves on the use of instruments. The initiative was

supported by the administration and the specialists of the rayon engineering service. An organizational-technical chart was drawn up in which the norms for the individual operations were based on the time used by our subunits. Once all drilling brigades had mastered the new drilling method, they began not only to meet the same norms but to exceed them considerably. In turn, following this method, we drilled 25 out of 31 wells ahead of schedule and delivered them without subsequent claims. Today this method is used in all West Siberian oil fields.

As a whole, following the application of the workers' relay, labor productivity in our administration rose 17.8 percent (without increasing the number of workers). Well construction time was shortened 11.5 percent. In 1979 all derrick building and drilling brigades without exception of the Main Tyumen' Petroleum Administration converted to the contracting method. The result was positive: Compared with 1978, losses and transfers, the so-called interstage idling, were reduced by nearly 12 days for the main administration as a whole.

Therefore, practical experience has proved that the new organization of the work and competition is yielding considerable economic results. The results are not only economic. Relay work is of great educational importance. Our work is not easy. It may be compared with that of the steel smelters who smelt the metal day and night, weekdays and holidays, and in all weather conditions. In our case as well, the drilling process does not stop despite bitter cold, snow storms, rain, or bad weather, following its uninterrupted cycle. The stress is high. However, I can proudly state that there is no turnover in our brigade. Fifteen years ago it moved, in full, from Bashkiriya to Tyumenskaya Oblast. Naturally, since then its membership has been renewed (a number of people have been promoted). However, veterans are its backbone. They are drillers Sh. Galimov, G. Shtefan, and I. Garifullin. They are properly matched by assistant drillers N. Savinov, R. Zakuanov, R. Baktyev, and A. Savel'yev. Later arrivals have also acquired extensive practical experience.

Almost half of the administration's personnel are young people. Every year over 100 novices join the collective, most of them taking their first steps after graduation from the VUZ, the technical school, or the school. In order for the novices to gain faster practical experience and labor skills they are assigned tutors who not only help the young men and women to master their chosen profession or skill, but raise them as true fighters for a communist attitude toward labor. Such sponsorship has yielded good results. The workers' relay considerably intensifies the education effect. Pride and a feeling of responsibility for one's work are a major incentive. Thanks to the new competition method, from the very beginning of their career, the men and women are constantly in touch with those for whom they carry out their work. The people are aware of the significance of their work and can see the consequences of unconscientious work and slackness. They learn to value the feeling of comradeship and workers' mutual support. They realize the need to

upgrade their professional skills and general educational standards. It is no accident that most workers are attending night schools, technical schools, or VUZ. Currently 5 of the 25 members of our brigade have completed secondary specialized training. Twelve have completed secondary education, and two are studying by correspondence.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" points out that topical problems of our social life must be openly discussed. Shortcomings and difficulties of real life should not be ignored. I would like to discuss here a few unresolved problems.

The experience of following the brigade relay method, unfortunately, remains insufficiently summed up. Insuring comparability, publicity, and possibility to duplicate progressive experience are the basic Leninist principles of the organization of competition which must be systematically applied in this specific form. Therefore, we must analyze and find the most expedient methods for summing up the results of the work, and for comparing and encouraging the participants in the labor competition and mutual aid, and develop effective means for promoting initiative.

The brigade relay and the conclusion of contracts among interacting organizations become really powerful, tightening up the entire construction project and all parts of the cycle only through the application of real basic cost accounting which presumes not only incentives for good work but penalties for poor performance.

Unfortunately, however, so far a number of items in the contract are violated. The administration does not hold liable those who fail to fulfill their obligations to related units. It does not penalize them either morally or materially. The result is that if a brigade works ahead of schedule it is encouraged through bonuses. Should it fall behind schedule no penalties are applied. This clearly lowers the reciprocal responsibility of the partners. The contractual conditions agreed upon by the members of the brigade relay and the administration itself are not always met. Yet, idling is frequently due precisely to the fact that working facilities or equipment have not been provided on time, or else material supplies have been delayed. Such violations are not noted anywhere and are ignored. Yet, they never fail to show up through the breakdowns in the well drilling system. This harms labor rivalry and creates competition formalism.

So far, the brigade relay system is being applied only by those directly involved in well construction. However, multiple drilling work depends on the auxiliary subunits as well. For some reason, however, some of them have not been included in this competition method. For example,

the collectives of the technological transportation administrations are not involved in the new project, even though they largely determine the rhythmical action of the related units. The drill motor vehicles carry the entire equipment, mechanisms, and materials. However, the drivers have little motivation to work in harmony with the derrick builders, drillers, or construction workers. What matters to them is not the finished product or the commissioning of the wells but the amount of freight hauled and the distance.

We fail to understand why the relay method still does not include the mastering brigades which complete the entire well drilling process since it is they that commission the wells. Geophysicists and plugging back workers are paid not by meter of drilling but by man-shift. As a result, occasionally they come to the well realizing that it would take them no more than three hours to complete their work. But what to do to fill the rest of their time? Look for another borehole? This is not so simple, considering that they are scattered tens of kilometers from each other. It would be easier to "stretch" the work to eight hours since this would not affect earnings. Let us point out that by the fault of the geophysicists the roughnecks continue to lose an unjustifiably large amount of time also as they await the former's arrival to the group of wells. The geophysicists obey no schedules or requests whatever and, occasionally, may be several hours late. We find catching up with such losses difficult.

Completing its work at one group of wells, a brigade must be clearly aware of the next prepared site to which it will move. In this connection, it is expedient to plan assignments for no less than two to three months ahead. This will offer the labor collectives a clear idea and they will begin to allocate their time in such a way as not to waste their forces and to eliminate idling.

Construction and installation workers alone cannot fully insure the continuity of the technological cycle. The lack of specialized bases delays the assembling of drilling rigs. For several years the need to industrialize the setting up of rigs has been discussed by Glavtyumen'neftegaz. Unfortunately, matters have not progressed beyond the talking stage. A low capacity assembly shop may be found only in Samotlor. In the other fields the rigs must be put together manually and almost always under open skies, using an average of one month per rig.

"Managing the competition and applying what is new and progressive is an active matter tolerating no stagnation or conservatism," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1978 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "The practice of the leading collectives and of individual innovators is a factual turn in the ways and means of work, technology, and organization of management. This requires persistence, dedication and, if you wish, courage. Occasionally, this requires a virtual self-retraining and the

retraining of others. People who fear the new hinder progress." These words are accepted as a specific instruction to anyone involved in the brigade relay system or responsible for its application at the Tyumen' Oil Fields.

It is from this viewpoint that the Siberian experience must be considered. So far, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and the Central Committee of the Petroleum and Gas Industry Workers Trade Union are playing the role of outside observers. Yet, interested attention on their part could enable us to resolve many of the problems we mentioned, which adversely affect the dissemination of the brigade relay system. Obviously, this is the reason for which it has not as yet found enthusiastic supporters at many sectorial enterprises.

I am convinced that this work method which successfully combines the competition among related units along the technological chain with the brigade contracting order could be applied on a broad scale both in the Tyumen' area and in other oil bearing regions and various economic sectors.

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TOWARD A POLAND OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 79-89

[Article by Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee]

[Text] The Eighth PZPR Congress, held on 11-15 February 1980 in Warsaw, summed up the activities of the leading forces of the people and the development of our country, assessed its domestic and international position, and defined the strategic objectives of the policy of the party and the state and the ways and means for their implementation.

The congress unanimously adopted as a basis of activities in the immediate future the PZPR Central Committee Politburo accountability report, together with four resolutions. They earmarked the strategy for the development of the country in 1981-1985, the program for the development of the Vistula and of Polish water resources, the main tasks of the foreign policy of the party and of the state, and the platform of the people's unity front for the March Sejm and provincial people's councils' elections.

Following the work of the congress, our entire people could see, yet once again, that the PZPR is properly performing its leading role. It is firmly linked with the working class and all working people and is successfully expressing the hopes and aspirations of society.

The congress emphasized the historical significance of the great achievements of the people under the party's leadership, implementing the ideals proclaimed 35 years ago, when people's Poland was being born. Inflexibly loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our party is systematically implementing the program for building a developed socialist society. The three-million strong army of Polish communists is acting closely linked with the people. The party members are wherever the pulse beat of life is felt, where active work is underway, and where the big and small problems which make the present and the future of the fatherland are resolved.

The PZPR is guided by the Leninist principles according to which the party members must conscientiously and critically assess their accomplishments and boldly and realistically formulate plans for the future. The congress affirmed that the party considers serving its class and people its leading role and that it wishes and will be able to implement its plans "not with its power but with its authority, energy, greater experience, greater comprehensiveness, and greater talent" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Completed Collected Works], Vol 7, p 14).

The ideological quality of our party was manifested in the pre-congress debate. It involved the participation of all PZPR agencies and organizations. The members of the allied political parties--the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party--together with the nonparty people made a great contribution. The debate was open and profound, constructive, and critical. It took place in an atmosphere of understanding the accuracy of the general party line, the awareness of the tremendous accomplishments over the past 35 years of socialist construction and of the last decade of the country's dynamic development, and belief in the strength of our party and its ability to resolve new complex problems.

The thousands of suggestions submitted in the course of the preceding discussion enriched the work of the congress which took place in an efficient and realistic atmosphere, free from unnecessary showiness. It confirmed, yet once again, the great importance of the frank formulation of problems and of strict requirements, principle-mindedness, and a critical attitude.

The Eighth Congress unanimously called for the extension of the general line of the Sixth and Seventh congresses, whose strategic objective is the building of a developed socialist society.

The strategic course formulated in the 1970's was based on Marxism-Leninism and the study of our country's specific conditions. It was formulated as a result of consultations with the broad toiling strata. It was enriched and amended in accordance with practical and popular experience. Addressed to the interests of the working man and his needs, and relying on the ideological and moral values of socialism, this policy made it possible to expand the horizons of our country's development, and broaden and concretize the appearance of a highly developed, rich, contemporary, and prosperous Poland at the end of our century as an unbreakable link within the socialist comity, and an active participant in the struggle of the peoples for justice, social progress, lasting peace, and cooperation.

The accelerated development of the material base, the strengthening of the leading role of the party and the intensification of socialist democracy, and the active shaping of a socialist awareness and of new

social relations led to great accomplishments in Poland. In the past decade we made radical progress in resolving a number of basic problems.

In the course of this period we insured the education and full employment at modern enterprises of the largest number of young Polish people after the war. We formulated and implemented the biggest program in the history of our country for the growth of real population income, wages above all, and pensions, aid, and other social benefits. As a result, since 1971 real wages have increased by over one-half while the real population income, together with social benefits, has risen by almost 75 percent. This was also a period of substantial expansion of governmental social activities and of comprehensive energizing of social policy. Consumption of comestible and industrial goods rose rapidly. The health care system was expanded to the entire rural population which today is benefiting from a system of pensions to an ever greater extent. The system of governmental protection of the family and motherhood rose to a qualitatively higher level. Particularly important in this area is the acceleration of housing construction: In the 1970's nine million citizens--over one-quarter of the country's population--moved into new premises.

According to our party's policy, improvements in living and working conditions are inseparably related. Labor conditions have been improved comprehensively, as a result of large-scale capital investments, production modernization, mechanization, and automation, and the mastering of many new technologies. The labor code adopted six years ago, reflecting the humanistic features of socialism and the indivisible principles of unity of rights and obligations, was of essential significance.

We are proud of the fast blossoming of science, education, and culture. In this respect, our country is currently ahead of highly developed capitalist countries in a number of areas and directions. Let us particularly emphasize the qualitative progress achieved by Polish science and the gradual implementation of the public education reform.

Everything we were able to accomplish within that time to insure the better satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people is based on the accelerated development of the production potential of industry and agriculture. Implementing the broadest program for capital construction in the history of people's Poland, we built about 450 big and several thousand small industrial enterprises. Most work places and about two-thirds of the machine fleet were modernized. Today, when difficulties related to the procurement of energy and raw materials are growing throughout the world, let us particularly note the substantial progress made in the economic development of our domestic resources.

As a result, in the course of the decade the national income rose by nearly 85 percent; industrial output rose by 130 percent and agricultural output by 30 percent.

The considerable socioeconomic development of the country brought about profound political and social results. Thanks to the harmonious combination of class with national principles, it contributed to strengthening the positions of the working class in all realms of life. The number and skills of the workers rose. The existing industrial centers expanded and new ones appeared. The level of conscientiousness of the workers' collectives rose and their participation in political, social, and cultural life was energized. Strengthening the positions of the working class as the leading social force in the building of socialism, we are systematically increasing its influence on the policy of the state and the development of the economy and on all aspects of socialist democracy.

Disseminating in society the socialist system of ideological values and moral principles and the socialist attitude toward labor and social affairs, inherent in the working class, the party acts as the initiator and organizer of the process of developing in the young working generation the features characteristic of cadre and industrial workers--idea-mindedness and dedication, social and labor discipline, and a feeling of responsibility for the state and society.

The accelerated development of the country also intensified the changes taking place in the Polish countryside. The skill of the rural workers is growing. Their awareness is rising and their working and living conditions are improving. Two noteworthy trends are gathering strength in shaping the social structure of the countryside: the increased share and role of the personnel of state socialist farms and of the members of agricultural cooperatives; and the strengthening of the system of relations between individual peasant farms and the socialist economy in the areas of production, crediting, marketing, and social insurance.

The numerical strength and role of the Polish intelligentsia have risen considerably. In its overwhelming majority it is the offspring of the people's masses and it is casting its lot with socialism ever more clearly. The modernization of the national economy, scientific and technical progress, and the development of education and culture face the intelligentsia with new honorable tasks to whose implementation it will apply its knowledge, skills, and capabilities.

A further rapprochement among classes and toiling strata has taken place. The customs of the different social groups are becoming more homogenized. In the course of these processes, in the gradual elimination of divisions between physical and mental work, and in the lowered disparity between town and country, the prerequisites for the moral and political unity of the people become stronger.

It would be premature, however, to draw the conclusion that contradictions and conflicts of a class nature have vanished in our society. A complex ideological struggle against the bourgeois outlook and its systems of spiritual values and ideological vestiges, supported from the outside by the influence of the capitalist world, is continuing in the country.

The experience of the past decade proves that this struggle can be waged more easily and becomes more effective when based on fast socioeconomic progress. The implementation of the general line of the Sixth and Seventh congresses contributed to the acceleration of changes in the social consciousness, and to raising the level of socialist maturity of the working class and the entire nation.

The shaping of a developed socialist society is a lengthy and complex process. The changes and accomplishments which took place along this way in the 1970's were the base for the programmatic decision of the Eighth Congress to follow in the future as well the main directions and principles of current party strategy.

Following this way means insuring the full consistency between our plans and activities and the changes in the internal and external conditions of the country's development. Today they have become far more difficult and complex as the result of the recent destabilization of the world market, the sharp increases in the prices of fuel and raw materials and capital construction, and the worsened conditions of our exports. A poor harvest for the past several years forced us to import more grain and fodder. These basic circumstances faced us with the necessity to lower the initially planned volume of measures in the fields of development and modernization, and narrow the capital construction front.

In order to resolve these complex problems, in the past few years the party launched the initiative of regrouping forces and funds. Reducing the growth rates of capital investments and their share in the national income, we focused our efforts on the areas considered most important from the social and economic viewpoints: food supplies, production of consumer goods, housing construction, the raw materials and energy base, and the development of transportation.

The Eighth Congress recommended the further systematic development and strengthening of the socioeconomic balance in key areas such as meeting the energy and transportation needs of the country, a balance between supply and demand in some areas of the domestic market, stabilization and improvement of the investments front, and improvement in the balance of payments.

We must surmount substantial subjective shortcomings. They are manifested, above all, in the nonfulfillment of assignments in the field of effective economic management. Despite the accomplishments, the social

outlays of our development remain high. Progress in the efficient utilization and consistent conservation of fuel, energy, raw materials, and materials remains excessively slow. So far we have been unable to achieve a comprehensive improvement in the quality of goods reached by the collectives of leading enterprises, made possible by the immeasurably higher level of technological facilities compared with 10 years ago.

We have accomplished a great deal, more than in any of the other comparable periods. We have provided Poland with a powerful foundation for its further successful development. We have a strong and largely renovated industrial and scientific research potential. A high technical level has been reached in a number of economic sectors. The raw material base has been strengthened considerably and the economical utilization of natural resources has improved. We are a young and dynamic society whose main resources are the numerous trained and skilled cadres. We have acquired great experience in productive work and effective management. Great possibilities are contained in the further intensification of the fraternal and mutually profitable economic cooperation with the socialist countries and the further strengthening of economic integration within CEMA.

Increasing the effectiveness of economic management has become the essential condition for the better utilization of these creative advantages offered by the socialist system at the present stage. This question as well was given priority in the decisions of the Eighth Congress.

In the coming five-year period we are planning to reach a 12 percent growth in real wages and real population income, giving priority to improving the life of the people and the living conditions of the least prosperous families. We shall systematically implement decisions related to the prosperity of the family, protection of motherhood, education and training of the youth, and the creation of conditions for a secure old age of war and labor veterans.

Satisfying the population's demand for corresponding goods and services, growing as a result of higher incomes, is important. This is related to the systematic solution of one of the priority tasks--the development of agriculture and of the entire food production complex. Creating conditions for their upsurge, we shall pay particular attention to the gradual improvement of the agrarian structure and to the progress of socialist changes. The active utilization of the various instruments of the agricultural policy of the state and the appropriation of corresponding capital investments for the sector should provide us in the forthcoming five-year period with a tangible growth of output. The most important problem will be to eliminate the obstruction caused by the inadequate level of domestically produced grain and fodder.

The next five-year period will also be an important stage on the way to the long-term objective of supplying each family with its separate

housing unit. Between 1981 and 1985 about 1.7 million families should move into newly built apartments.

The planned improvement of living conditions in the forthcoming five years will require increased output of 20-24 percent in industry, 12-13 percent in agriculture, and 14-18 percent in the national income. We are drafting a difficult yet realistic capital construction program. It is focused in economic areas such as fuels, raw materials, and energy, transportation bottlenecks, and completing the development of modern production complexes in some processing industry sectors, schedules to become our national specialization and our trump card in the international division of labor. Considerable capital investments will be channeled into agriculture and the development of the food complex and in individual production sectors producing goods for the market. Accelerating the development of services, local industry, and small scale production is another essential task.

Increasing the effectiveness of economic management is the means for the implementation of the assignments set by the Eighth Congress. This means the application and strict observance of the principles of cost accounting, reducing the cost of output and improving its quality, mastering the art of daily conservation of fuel, energy, raw materials, and materials, rationalizing employment, making better use of skills, and a better utilization of productive capital.

The quality of labor and effectiveness of economic management will be upgraded on two levels. The first will be the influence which will be exerted on all enterprises, labor collectives, and workers within the national economy: intensifying the significance and role of labor, strengthening the discipline, closely linking wages with factual contributions and labor results, and improving material and ideological-moral incentives. This will necessitate both an increase in the quality of management at all levels as well as the intensified activity of the party organizations and all party members which must provide a daily example and model. The solution of these problems also presumes the further development of the various forms of democracy and self-management by labor collectives.

The second level covers the systems mechanism of economic operations and planning and management methods. The decision of the Eighth Congress mandates the development, on the basis of acquired experience and with the extensive utilization of the achievements of the fraternal socialist countries, of comprehensive proposals aimed at improving the financial-economic system in the national economy and their successive practical utilization.

Stricter requirements will be formulated for leading cadres in all sectors and levels. Having justifiably criticized shortcomings in administration and management, the Eighth Congress also called for

strengthening the authority of leading cadres and for increasing their autonomy while, at the same time, intensifying party control, and harmoniously combining one-man command and individual responsibility with the ever more active effect of the mechanism of our socialist democracy.

In socialist Poland we have a developed system of democratic institutions and a good and extensive experience in their utilization. We have a broad range of factual means for the participation of the working people in administration and economic management, and in resolving the problems of the country, the voyevodstva, cities, and gminy, industrial enterprises, and villages. Our popular democracy is based on combining political with social and economic rights. It is based on the public ownership and possession of productive capital.

Having noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in this respect, the Eighth Congress pointed out that what is most important today is the further energizing of the levels of our socialist democracy from top to bottom. This will require, in particular, improvements in the activities of the Sejm and the people's councils--the representative organs to which the constitution assigns a leading position in the people's system. We pay great attention to the development of workers self-management--the democratic unit operating among the working class directly at the production enterprises. We shall also try to upgrade the activeness of self-management of the urban population, the forms of agricultural and cooperative self-management, and the intensification of the work of public organizations.

The current stage of development of our socialist state is, essentially, a phase of expansion and strengthening of its features as a state of the whole people. This is also a phase of intensive strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people rallied around the party under the guidance of the working class, on the basis of the socialist system and socialist policy. This unity is our great historical gain and the source of strength of the state and the people. It is an inexhaustible source of creative energy. We are intensifying and deepening this process. We are creating a society of patriots of the socialist homeland, good workers and conscientious citizens, honest and morally stable people who are exercising their rights and responsibly fulfilling their obligations, who are united and responsive, constructive in their discussions, and disciplined in their work.

The all-round organizational and ideological-educational activities of our party, the example of the party members, and their leading role in the labor collectives and social groups serve the molding of a society with such features and qualities. The same purpose is served by the close cooperation between the party which plays the leading role, and the allied political parties, and the partnership interaction among all forces within the People's Unity Front.

All patriots can serve socialist Poland regardless of their origin, education, profession, or attitude toward religion. It is in the spirit of the unity of the people that we are also shaping the policy of the state on matters of freedom of conscience and relations with the church.

Leninism is our ideological compass. Lenin had a tremendous influence on the development of the Polish labor movement. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Polish independence and a great friend of our people. The intransigent significance of Leninism is that it most fully expresses the most vital interests of the working class and all working people, the needs of social development, and the humanistic objectives of social justice. Today, in circumstances marked by the increased ideological confrontation, the Marxist-Leninist education of the party ranks and the dissemination of Leninist ideas among the working class and the entire society are becoming more important than ever before.

In accordance with the decisions of the Eighth Congress the forthcoming years will be a period of further blossoming of Polish science, education, culture, increased socialist intellectual potential of our people, and the enrichment of their spiritual life. The expanded access to the riches of socialist culture and of possibilities to participate in its creation, the development of the educational system and the steady advancement and enrichment of its ideological and cognitive values, and the systematic introduction in the mind and self-awareness of the people of the wealth of ideas contained in the Marxist social sciences or, in a word, expanding the influence of socialist ideology on the entire society and increasing its attractiveness, are considered by our party the most important factor in the socialist understanding of the quality of life.

Poland is changing rapidly. The new quality of our people is developing in front of our own eyes. The features of the developed socialist society, based on profound changes in thinking, way of life, behavior, customs, and attitude toward the country and the world, are becoming apparent. Our party is seeing to it that such processes are retracted ever more fully and are provided with ever greater incentives through the works of literature and the arts, books, motion pictures, the press, the television, the daily work of the schools and education centers, and the creative activity of the men of science.

Within the context of the changes in the social awareness and in the process of strengthening the moral and political unity of the people, we must emphasize the significance of the great victory achieved by our party and its interacting forces of the People's Unity Front in the March elections for the Polish Sejm and the voyevodstvo people's councils. Both the results of the elections, the thousands of meetings, the discussions, and consultations which took place in the electoral campaign, and the atmosphere which reigned on election day throughout the country convincingly proved the comprehensive and truly nationwide support of the policy of our party and the program of the Eighth PZPR Congress.

The basic features and positive qualities of the PZPR--the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and the people, and the leading and guiding force of socialist Poland--are manifested ever more clearly in the course of the solution of the nationwide problems. Our party has a big and dedicated aktiv operating in all fields and nuclei of social life and labor sectors. We are creating an experienced and tested party which fears no difficulties, can formulate new assignments, and really improve its work.

The Polish communists ascribe great importance to the strengthening of democratic centralism and internal democracy and to strengthening their ties with the working class and the entire society. The systematic combination of discussions and criticisms with highly disciplined, unanimous, and consistent implementation of decisions is a necessary prerequisite in this case. Our time demands of all PZPR units the intensification of the features of a successfully acting and effectively managing party, formulating ever stricter requirements, sensitively reacting to social problems and concerns of the working people, and using the instruments of criticism and self-criticism with a view to steadily improving its service to socialist Poland.

In order to achieve a comprehensive turn to labor effectiveness and economic management, the party must increase the effectiveness of its efforts. In order to intensify democracy in the entire society, the party must raise the level of intraparty democracy. In order to reach a high quality labor and economic management, high discipline, and active innovation on the scale of the entire society, all party members must become models of such behavior and actions. It is precisely from this viewpoint that the Eighth Congress considered the topical problems of our party's development and strengthening. The decisions it passed are already being implemented by the aktiv and the PZPR organizations at different levels.

The celebration of the centennial of the birth of the Polish labor movement, whose noble traditions and great accomplishments are closely linked with the mastering and utilization of Marxism-Leninism, the progressive social theory of our time, is nearing. Mentally covering this century of drastic change, which began in a period of misfortune and division, oppression, and exploitation, tragic to our people, and whose crowning is today's socialist Poland, we are better able to clarify the closest possible ties between patriotism and internationalism, and the common nature of our struggle and aspirations with the struggle and aspirations of the international workers movement and the global forces of freedom, progress, and peace.

Socialist patriotism is inseparably linked with internationalism. It requires the strengthening of the alliance with the Soviet Union, of vital importance to Poland, and the unbreakable affiliation with the socialist comity of state and nations, as well as profound solidarity

with the forces of freedom and social progress throughout the world and active and effective actions for the sake of a durable and just peace.

The soil of Poland has been frequently ravaged by wars. Generation after generation was forced to shed its blood in the struggle for independence of the homeland and for rebuilding it from the ashes. Thanks to the social revolution and the people's system, and thanks to our alliances and changed ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism, this is the fourth decade during which our people have enjoyed the benefits of a peaceful life.

We know how to value this. We must be able to preserve and strengthen this great accomplishment. We shall continue to do everything possible to insure a peaceful life, security, and inviolability of borders for Poland so that, in accordance with our traditions, and to the extent of our potential and prestige, our possibilities may contribute to consolidation for all times of a just peace in Europe, a peace born as a result of the common victory over fascism.

The Eighth Congress was a demonstration of the inflexible internationalist convictions of our party, working class, and entire people. This was confirmed by the warm reception of and greetings from the heart to Comrade M. A. Suslov, the head of the delegation of the Leninist Party which attended the congress.

The documents and decisions of the highest forum of our party convincingly expressed the desire for the further dynamic intensification of the friendship and cooperation between the Polish and Soviet peoples, and the strengthening of the fraternal unity between the PZPR and the CPSU. Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, the zealous fighter for peace and great friend of Poland, enjoys great respect among our party and people. We are implementing the summit agreements related to the comprehensive development of Polish-Soviet economic and scientific and technical interaction in the course of which the Leninist ideas of socialist integration are being implemented ever more fully. Our time demands further intensive efforts in this area for the reciprocal benefit of both fraternal countries and the cause of world socialism.

We shall also systematically implement the tasks set at the Eighth Congress on the development of bilateral and multilateral relations with our socialist neighbors, Czechoslovakia and the GDR and with other members of the comity.

The struggle for the preservation and consolidation of the peace, for strengthening the foundations of equal security of all European countries, for terminating the arms race and converting to effective disarmament, and for developing cooperation among countries with different

social systems in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, is a particularly important field of our interaction.

The aggravation of international circumstances, created of late by the supporters of tension and the arms race, has made the inflexible political line of our party particularly topical. The party systematically promotes the strengthening of the socialist comity, the unification of the revolutionary, liberation, and progressive forces in the world, the intensification of political detente, and combining it with military detente which is of vital importance to all nations.

Last year's conclusion of the SALT II Agreement on limiting offensive strategic armaments was of great importance. Poland called for the ratification of this important accord by the United States as it creates conditions for avoiding a new round in the arms race and offers better possibilities for disarmament talks. NATO's decision on the production and deployment in Western Europe of a new nuclear missile weapon is in sharp contradiction with this. This step threatens European security. Related to the growing efforts of the FRG to deploy new weapons on its territory, NATO's December decision should be considered particularly alarming.

On behalf of the entire Polish people the PZPR adamantly opposes plans for poisoning the international atmosphere, unleashing a new and particularly dangerous phase in the arms race and a return to the cold war.

Our historical experience and unquestionable moral right provided the Eighth Congress with the reason to call for holding a conference on military detente and the disarmament in Europe, in Warsaw, long proposed by the socialist states and the peace-loving forces of many countries. This manifestation of far-sightedness and goodwill met with a broad response among the supporters of the peace and the realistically thinking political circles throughout Europe. We are convinced that despite all opposition and obstacles this initiative will be implemented.

Our efforts to strengthen the peace are systematically supported by the peoples fighting for their freedom and social progress. Loyal to the ideas of proletarian internationalism, we are assisting the progressive, revolutionary, and national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

We express our solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea in their struggle for freedom and independence and for the defense of their socialist gains.

We support the peoples of Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and other countries which have taken the

path of socialist development. We welcome the victory of the Patriotic Front and fully support the new Zimbabwe government.

We support the legitimate aspiration of the Palestinian people to have their own statehood and the other national-liberation movements fighting imperialist and neocolonialist domination.

We support the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its aspiration to implement the ideals of the April revolution and put an end to imperialist interference.

China's policy aimed against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, and the national-liberation movements, is a dangerous factor in the world's situation. It links China with the most aggressive imperialist circles thirsting for a return to the cold war. We firmly oppose this hegemonistic and great-power policy which is the source of a growing threat to the cause of the peace in Asia and the world over.

Strong through our own rising power and the power of our inviolable alliances, in close interaction with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, united with the international forces of national liberation and social progress, interacting with the supporters of the peace, and constructively cooperating with people of goodwill in all countries, we shall do everything possible to strengthen the peace for our people with their hard historical experience, for the fraternal peoples building socialism and communism, and for all the peoples of Europe and the world.

Our party believes that the international communist and workers movements must play an important role in the struggle for the preservation of the peace. For this reason, together with the French Communist Party, the PZPR launched the initiative of convening in Paris, at the end of April, a meeting of European communist and workers parties with a view to developing a common viewpoint on the problems of defending the peace, detente, and disarmament.

We have entered the period of implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Congress. The results achieved so far make it possible to claim that we have a good, purposeful, and realistic program, and that the party, the working class, and the entire society are ready to implement the objectives expressed in the leading slogan adopted at the high party forum: "For Further Development of Socialist Poland and For the Prosperity of the Polish People."

We are faced with many difficult problems and hard tasks. The changes made in the course of 35 years of development of our country, the successes of the last decade, and the awareness of the advantages at our disposal enable us to look into the future confidently and to trust that

the program of the Eighth PZPR Congress will be fully implemented and that in the years to come we shall cover another major distance along Poland's way to developed socialism.

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HISTORIC IMPORTANCE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S LIBERATION BY THE SOVIET ARMY

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[Article by Gustav Husak, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia general secretary and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The present article, prepared for publication in **KOMMUNIST**, is also published in **NOVA MYSL**, the theoretical and political journal of the CPC Central Committee]

[Text] The nations store forever in their memories the great events of their own and the world's history which, like a life-bearing lesson, are transmitted from generation to generation. It is from this viewpoint that peoples and classes not only assess their past but rely on it, and develop, on its basis, the new ideas and prospects for their future development.

The date 9 May 1945--the day of victory over Hitlerite fascism and of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet army--is such an epoch-marking event in the destinies of the Czechoslovak people. The six year national-liberation and antifascist struggle waged by the Czechs and Slovaks ended with the defeat of fascist Germany. A new age began in national history: the broad people's masses, taught by bitter historical experience, took the path of a national-liberation revolution and subsequently, built a socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

Time passes, and new generations are replacing the old. However, progressive mankind and, with it, the people of Czechoslovakia, do not forget that it was the Soviet Union above all that defended world civilization from fascist tyranny and barbarism, opening to the working people of many countries a path to a new and better future. In hard battles, unparalleled in scale and intensity, the Soviet Union, allied with the other members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, defeated the Nazi enslavers and brought freedom to a number of European peoples. The 20 million Soviet citizens who paid for this with their lives are not only a horrible testimony to the cruelty of war but an unquestionable proof of the tremendous sacrifices made by the Soviet people for the

sake of victory over fascism and for the liberation of its own and other countries.

The Czechoslovak people honor the heroes of the Great Patriotic War with a feeling of gratitude and profound respect. We shall never forget that on Czechoslovak territory alone over 140,000 Soviet army troops were killed and many thousands were wounded for the sake of our freedom. To this day these heroes are alive in our hearts along with the 25,000 Czechoslovak communists and tens of thousands of Czech and Slovak patriots who died in the battles against fascism in the country and on the fronts of World War II. The time since the war enables us to evaluate even better the immortal exploit of those who died for the sake of life, freedom, and socialism. We shall never forget their behests. We always remember them and are doing everything possible to implement them under the conditions of a socialist reality.

The victory of the Soviet Union over fascism proved the invincible power of the socialist system, the ideas of the Great October Revolution, and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It had a tremendous revolutionizing influence on the fate of all mankind. As a result of this victory further changes in the international-class forces took place in the world in favor of socialism. The liberated nations of a number of countries acquired the possibility to build their own lives. Prerequisites were created for the gradual establishment of a world socialist system rallied on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Its establishment and consolidation is the basic gain of the world's proletariat and the most important event following the October Revolution. From the very beginning it was the vanguard and main support of the world's social progress, the most dynamic economic and political force and, at the same time, a reliable factor for the defense of peace and the security of the nations.

To us, the Czechoslovak communists, 9 May 1945 was, and remains, the living confirmation of loyalty to the Leninist ideas on the basis of which, and under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was founded in 1921. In all subsequent years it struggled against capitalism and the rising threat of fascism and, following the seizure of the country by the Hitlerites, against Nazi occupation.

History irrefutably proved that in 20 years of rule the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie was unable to resolve a single basic vital problem facing our people. It was unable to insure work for all workers and land for the peasants. It was unable to organize relations between Czechs and Slovaks on the principles of equality. It was even unable to guarantee the security and independence of the Czechoslovak state. The betrayal of the Western allies and the surrender of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie brought about, in the final account, the shameful Munich, the fascist occupation of Czechoslovakia, and the direct threat to the very existence of our peoples.

The Czechoslovak people did not bow their heads to the Nazi aggressors or tolerate the loss of their national and state freedom. From the very first days of the occupation their best sons and daughters launched a decisive struggle both within Czechoslovakia and abroad for the overthrow of the fascist rule, and for national freedom and restoration of independence. During those difficult times for the country convincing proof was offered, once again, of who was the true friend and loyal ally of our peoples. It was the Soviet Union, unhesitatingly standing on our side in the tragic Munich days, offering comprehensive aid to the national-liberation struggle of our peoples and to the Czechoslovak resistance movement within the country and abroad.

The Slovak national uprising and the May uprising of the Czech people, which were outstanding events of the resistance movements within the country, completed the joint national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Czechoslovakia. These uprisings clearly showed the main and common objectives of the progressive forces of our two fraternal peoples and predetermined the specific content of the people's democratic system which arose and was consolidated on the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic. Our people drew corresponding conclusions both from the bitter experience of life under capitalism as well as the failure of bourgeois Czechoslovak statehood and the subsequent years of Nazi occupation terrorism. They were fully resolved to prevent a repetition of capitalist rule and of the national tragedy.

In the course of the national-liberation struggle the broad popular masses became ever more firmly convinced that the communists are the most consistent antifascists. The Communist Party firmly promoted the unification of all antifascist, democratic, and patriotic forces, heading their struggle for national freedom and state independence. In accordance with the vital interests of the people it saw to it that the newly restored Czechoslovakia was based on new, people's democratic, and socially just principles, and that relations between Czechs and Slovaks developed on the basis of total equality. The long-range course of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and previous experience convinced the Czech and Slovak peoples of the need to rely in their foreign political orientation of postwar Czechoslovakia on an unbreakable alliance with the USSR as the most reliable guarantee for the freedom of our peoples and for the independence and sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The line of intensification of the people's democratic revolution and of developing the process of its growth into a socialist revolution, systematically in pursuit by the Communist Party, was extensively supported by the people's masses. Gradually, its implementation began to yield factual results. At the same time, the development of events in Czechoslovakia after May 1945 proved that the reaction was trying to use them with a view to turning history back. Supporting the plans of the international imperialist forces which, at that time, took a course

toward promoting the cold war policy, in February 1948 the Czechoslovak reaction tried to decide the outcome of the struggle for power in its favor through a revolutionary coup. The working class and the entire working people, headed by the communist party, defeated this reactionary attempt. The February 1948 victory definitively proved that our country will no longer go back to the pre-Munich situation which led to a national-governmental catastrophe, but will take the new, safe, and progressive road to socialism.

In the 35 years since the memorable May 1945 events, guided by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak working people achieved outstanding successes. Thirty-five years of constructive labor proved the tremendous creative power of people who have become owners of the country and the conscious makers of their fate, possessing political power, and headed by a Marxist-Leninist party.

In the period following the liberation the Czechoslovak people achieved the basic objectives for which they waged a long hard and fierce struggle. The problems of national freedom, state independence, and the socio-political rights of the working class and the broadest popular masses were resolved. Our society experienced a radical change. It insured a free life to its citizens and an equal status of our nations and nationalities. It guaranteed all working people confidence in the future. Today there are no backward areas in Czechoslovakia in which, under the conditions of the pre-Munich bourgeois republic, there was hunger and poverty. Even the most developed capitalist countries have been unable to deal with such vitally important human problems.

One of the main gains of the past period includes, above all, the profound changes which have taken place in the situation of the working man in society and in his entire life. Socialism offers the citizens the possibility to make extensive use of their inalienable right to participate in the management of social affairs and of the state. This represents the most essential aspect of socialist democracy and an inexhaustible source of initiative and creative activity of the masses. This is particularly clear now, when problems of building a developed socialist society are being resolved.

The contemporary life of our socialist society offers favorable conditions for the free development of the personality, of every individual. These facts cannot be distorted by the hypocritical campaign of so-called human rights in Czechoslovakia, so frequently mentioned by bourgeois propaganda. Comparing the confidence in the future and the clear prospects and broad scope for individual initiative and creative activities offered the workers, peasants, and toiling intelligentsia by the socialist society against the hardships, social barriers, discrimination, and the former fate of the working people in bourgeois Czechoslovakia, which remain the permanent fellow travelers of the working people in the capitalist countries, the humane nature of socialism become immediately

obvious. This makes entirely obvious the false and provocative nature of the heightened "concern" displayed by imperialist politicians and anticommunist subversive centers for human rights in the socialist states.

The building of socialism in our country concerns the effect of the general laws inherent in the socialist revolution and the development of a socialist society, initially successfully tried by the Soviet Union. The knowledge of such laws and their creative application under Czechoslovak conditions have become one of the decisive prerequisites for the successful building of our socialist society. The Czechoslovak example refutes the opportunist and revisionist claims that, allegedly, Leninism cannot be applied in the conditions of an industrially developed country.

This is also confirmed by the profound changes which have taken place in our economy in the postwar period and, through it, in the entire social area. This has always been of tremendous importance in all other areas of our social development and in insuring the steady growth of the material and cultural living standards of our citizens.

The socialization of productive capital, the industrialization of the country, the implementation of the Leninist plan for agricultural collectivization, the creation of a powerful material and technical base for socialism, and the enhanced role of scientific and technical progress in all fields of social life are contributing to the stability and dynamics of our economic development. These are the basic advantages of socialism. They determine the successful development of all fields of social life. This is the source of the trust of the people in the policy of the communist party and the socialist state, and the basis for the favorable sociopolitical atmosphere characteristic of the present stage of development of Czechoslovak society.

The greatness we have achieved is in vivid contrast with the situation which prevailed in the bourgeois republic, when the Czechoslovak economy and the entire society were periodically shaken up by crises. Our working people still remember the most severe economic crisis of the beginning of the 1930's. Looking at the present crisis developing in the capitalist world and its profound social upheavals, again and again the Czechoslovak people realize how accurate and farsighted was their decision, after 1945, to take the path of building a new, a socialist society, to which they were purposefully led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia through its consistent policy.

Also characteristic is the fact that the socialist system alone fully opened a broad scope for an unparalleled upsurge in the spiritual life of our peoples and made the life-bearing sources of social spiritual wealth accessible to the broad masses. Never before in the past have education, science, culture and art had such good development conditions as they were given in the course of 35 years following our liberation by the Soviet army.

The memorable days of 1945 and the steadfast implementation of the behests of the fighters against fascism became the starting point for resolving the national problem in Czechoslovakia. Contrary to the practice of the bourgeois republic which left a particularly difficult legacy in this area, as the result of long efforts, socialist Czechoslovakia has essentially achieved an identical living standard for both our peoples and members of other ethnic groups. This is a manifestation of the tremendous and inexhaustible strength of proletarian internationalism. With the fraternal aid of the Czech working class, the Slovak people developed a modern industrial base in the previously backward agrarian part of the country. Within the life time of a single generation the historically developed socioeconomic and cultural disparities in the lives of our two peoples were surmounted.

The systematic implementation of equal relations between Czechs and Slovaks was expressed in the law on the Czechoslovak federation, based on the Leninist principles for resolving the national problem. The federal structure of the state has been fully justified. It represents a solid class and internationalist foundation for strengthening the unity, fraternal cooperation, and all-round progress and rapprochement between our peoples and nationalities. Practical experience confirmed that the socialist system alone can successfully resolve this complex problem which is of great importance to strengthening the unity and stability of the Czechoslovak state. The federal structure is an important source of strength and dynamic blossoming of socialist Czechoslovakia and for the consolidation of Czechoslovak statehood.

The all-round development of our homeland over the past 35 years indicates that the Czechoslovak working class and the working people of our country are fully following everything great and progressive existing in the history of our peoples. They are creators of new values. The path of deep changes in all fields of social life, covered by our people under the leadership of the CPC was a path of selfless toil, great sacrifices, and constant class struggle. It was also a victorious path which, under Czechoslovak conditions, convincingly proved the historical advantages of socialism.

The reorganization of our society within such a short historical period was not easy. Along with the difficulties stemming from the novelty and complexity of the tasks, it was paralleled by certain subjective errors. They appeared, above all, in the weakening of the class approach, the unjustified outstripping of the development pace, the unsystematic application of the Leninist principles and activities of the party and in the administration of the state, and in the development of complacency. All this, put together, along with a weakening of political and ideological work, disturbed relations between the party and the masses. The right wing opportunists and antisocialist forces used our errors for their own purposes. At the end of the 1960's, supported by the reactionary Western circles, they mounted a fierce attack against the revolutionary gains of

the people. This counterrevolutionary attempt was defeated with the international help of the USSR and the other fraternal countries. This help gave the Czechoslovak communists a feeling of confidence and they were able to mount a victorious political struggle against the anti-socialist and right wing opportunist elements. Thanks to the tremendous efforts of the party and the deeply rooted basic socialist values in the minds of the Czechoslovak people, within a short time the crisis was surmounted and conditions were created for the further all-round development of our socialist society.

The successful consolidation of the situation in our country as a result of the systematic implementation of the Leninist course formulated at the historical April and May 1969 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee plenums, enabled the party to formulate at its 14th 1971 congress a program for building a developed socialist society. The program was developed more intensively at the 15th Party Congress in 1976. In the past 10 years, thanks to the implementation of this program, socialist Czechoslovakia has made substantial progress in all fields of social, economic, and cultural life. In terms of the achieved results, this period may be justifiably considered as one of the most successful in the process of the building of socialism in our country. The volume of industrial output rose over 80 percent; the level of agriculture rose substantially; the material and spiritual living standards of all toiling strata improved significantly. The development of nuclear machine building and nuclear power industry, the fast growth of the chemical industry, and of other sectors confirm this all-round progress.

The 1970's became a period of further strengthening of the socialist social system and of the class alliance among the working class, the cooperated peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia. The ties between the party and the masses were strengthened and so was the unity and combat capability of the party's ranks. In this respect an important political measure--the exchange of party cards carried out by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1979--played a major role. We also ascribe prime significance to the fact that a socialist awareness, and a belief that the CPC program reflects the vital expectations and interests of the entire people, which could be met only through the program's implementation, have become even firmer.

This substantiated high rating of successes does not mean that we underestimate the obstacles and difficulties on the path of our progress or fail to note weaknesses and shortcomings encountered in the course of the implementation of our tasks. We openly state that, starting with the mid-1970's, the development of our economy has progressed under far more complex domestic and, particularly, foreign conditions requiring the solution of complex problems related, above all, to fuel-energy and raw material problems. We are not always successful in acting the way we would like to or should.

Under such circumstances, the systematic implementation of the course of the 15th CPC Congress of considerably upgrading the effectiveness and quality of all work, improving planning and management, insuring the growth and strengthening the responsibility of cadres, further strengthening party, state, and labor discipline, conservation, and accelerated applications of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, assumes particular importance. We pay equal attention to intensifying the effectiveness of mass-political work in order to explain to the people profoundly and comprehensively the reasons, nature, and means for the solution of existing problems.

The objectives we have assigned ourselves are quite complex. They increase the requirements governing all the activities of the party, the socialist state, and the citizens of the republic. Our possibilities are growing at the same time. The results of previous development and the maturity of the economic potential in Czechoslovakia, the talent and experience of our working people, the party's increased combat capability, and the intensification of fraternal cooperation with the socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union, are all reliable guarantees for our further economic progress and for maintaining and, to the extent of our possibilities, raising the living standard of the Czechoslovak people.

The experience of the revolutionary reorganization of the society, knowledge of the main reasons for success, and the study of the reasons for the appearance of unresolved problems over the past 35 years are the starting point for increasing at this stage our efforts to build a developed socialist society. This experience has indicated that the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its ability to creatively apply general principles to the specific conditions of the country, remain the basic prerequisites for successful progress in resolving complex and broad problems and implementing revolutionary changes. Through their own experience, and the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the working people of Czechoslovakia realized that the increased leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is a general law in the building of socialism. Therefore, proceeding from the basic interests of our people and state, we are preserving and intensifying the Marxist-Leninist nature of the communist party and its unity and militancy.

In building a new social system, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always been guided by Lenin's thesis that the key problem of each revolution is that of power which operates as the most concentrated form of state organization. For this reason, the Czechoslovak communists have always fought against the bourgeois state and for the assumption of political power by the working class. This long-term strategic objective began to be practically implemented following the liberation of Czechoslovakia, when the old bourgeois apparatus was brought down and replaced by the power of the people's democratic state. After February 1948, when the political power of the working class, based on the firm

class alliance with the broad toiling masses, was fully established, in the interests of building and defending socialism, the CPC systematically paid great attention to the development and strengthening of the socialist state and of all its functions.

Guided by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the working class became the decisive force in the implementation of an entire set of radical changes in Czechoslovak life, thus implementing its historical mission, which, with the strengthening of socialism, is becoming ever more important for the successful development of the country and the society. The working class--the most numerous and progressive class in our society--has remained the main force in the building of socialism in all stages. The revolutionism, organization, and conscientiousness of the working class and its class interests and position within the socialist production system and in social relations not only predetermine its further leading role but objectively strengthen even further its significance and influence on the process of the building of socialism. Implementing the decisions of its 14th and 15th congresses, the CPC is contributing to the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and of the growth of its education and political and class awareness. It is raising the level of its significance as a fighter for all-round social progress and for a socialist way of life.

A politically important conclusion based on our revolution is the understanding of the role which the National Front played in the national-liberation and antifascist struggle, in the struggle for power against the bourgeoisie, and in the course of the entire period of building socialism, as the political manifestation of the alliance among the working class, cooperated peasantry, and intelligentsia, and of the international comity of our nations and nationalities.

The programmatic principles of the National Front--this tried form of the political system of our society--fully reflect the leading position of the working class and the vanguard role of the CPC. The activities of the entire representative system is developing on the platform of the National Front: national committees, national councils of the republic, the federal assembly, and the executive organs of the socialist state. This system offers millions of members of trade unions, and of youth, women's, sports, and other social organizations and political parties--virtually to every citizen in the republic--the opportunity to exercise their political rights and to actively participate in the administration of social affairs.

Like all socialist countries, in the past 35 years Czechoslovakia has implemented the basic Leninist idea (confirmed through practical experience) to the effect that socialism is and could be only the result of the activities of the people's masses. Reality proved that it is above all the inviolable unity between party and people that is the decisive factor in the active creative toil of millions of people. For this

reason, taking in a consideration the nature of resolved problems and depth of revolutionary change, we have always paid tireless attention to the strengthening of this unity.

Our experience has proved that unity between party and people is possible only on a principle revolutionary basis, and that only under such circumstances could it be durable and effective. In this connection the significance of comprehensive party ideological work becomes inordinately great. Daily practical experience confirms the fact that the more profoundly the working people master a scientific outlook and consider socialism as the result of their own toil, the more efforts and abilities they will apply to implement the policy of the party and the socialist state.

The most modern history of our peoples offers innumerable proofs that the people of Czechoslovakia were able to achieve convincing accomplishments in the revolutionary reorganization of the society thanks only to the firm alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union. This was the solid foundation, one of the decisive factors in the restoration of our national freedom and state independence. Our people relied on this friendship, alliance, and cooperation in the implementation of the historical revolutionary changes which radically transformed the appearance of the country as it entered the socialist present.

Soviet-Czechoslovak relations rose to a qualitatively higher level following the signing of the 6 May 1970 Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty. We fully support the words of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman: "We value quite highly the content and the significance of this document. Each of its articles is imbued with the spirit of internationalism, the desire to help one another, to jointly defend the gains of socialism, to jointly defend the peace and security of the peoples, and to jointly march to new heights of social progress. Through its entire essence this programmatic document of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation clearly states that the friendship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the friendship between our parties and peoples, is firm and unbreakable!"

Every day and hour of peaceful toil for the implementation of the tasks of socialist construction confirms the profound truth of these words. We shall continue to dedicate maximum efforts for the strict implementation of the ideas contained in the treaty. Ideological unity and unity of action between our Marxist-Leninist parties is the very foundation of friendly relations. For this reason we pay such tireless attention to the steady expansion and intensification of cooperation. The experience and achievements of the CPSU are to us an inexhaustible and invaluable source of inspiration in the search for the most effective ways for

socialist construction. We are justifiably pleased by the fact that the mutual friendship, alliance, and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples are today firmer and more comprehensively developed than ever before.

History proves that the successful upsurge of each socialist country is ever more inseparably linked with strengthening the ideological and political unity of the entire socialist comity and with the process of rapprochement in politics, economics, and social and spiritual life, and with the intensification of fruitful cooperation in all fields. Cooperation within the socialist comity multiplies our efforts. It is a reliable guarantee for our independence and stable development. The interaction among fraternal countries within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, based on the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, is an example of such cooperation.

Our peoples properly understand that thanks, above all, to the Soviet Union and the world socialist system, Europe is celebrating the 35th anniversary of the victory over fascism under conditions of peace. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev properly emphasized, we were able to break the cycle of world war—short peaceful breathing spell—another world war, this tragic closed circle which imperialism brought to mankind. This fact is also a manifestation of the historical advantages of socialism and the consequences of changes in the ratio of forces between socialism and capitalism on a universal scale, initiated as a result of the great victory of the Soviet army in the Great Patriotic War.

It is particularly now, in the atomic century, that the question of peace and detente has literally become fatal to mankind. Life convincingly proved the accuracy of the scientific analysis of the global revolutionary process and all international development contained in the Peace Program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress and further developed at its 25th Congress.

History has proved that socialism and peace are indivisible. It is only under peaceful conditions that we could concentrate means and channel human creative activities into the creation of intransient human values. Concern for man and for the development of his personality, and providing him with the necessary material and spiritual goods for a happy and successful life is the most profound meaning of socialism. That is why socialist Czechoslovakia considers its active contribution to the implementation of the Soviet Peace Program an expression of the total unity of our objectives and interests and a manifestation of the will of the Czechoslovak people, coming from the heart.

We are striving to make our contribution to the cause of peace, detente, disarmament, and security in Europe and throughout the world most effective. We realize that the main guarantee for success in the struggle waged by the forces of peace throughout the earth is found in the power

and unity of the fraternal socialist countries and their ever better coordination actions in the international arena.

In the past decade the socialist comity, the Soviet Union above all, has formulated a number of important initiatives aimed at the elimination of the threat of war, easing the burden of armaments, and promoting disarmament. The consistent peaceful proposals made by the Soviet Union earmark a reliable way for Europe and the entire earth to continue to live in peace and prevent any attempt at destroying everything positive achieved in the course of detente.

It is quite alarming that at the beginning of the 1980's the international situation has become seriously aggravated. It was the United States, above all, in pursuit of its imperialistic and hegemonistic objectives, that took steps which considerably complicated international relations and threatened the peace throughout the world. The U.S. ruling circles have been long preparing for this turn in the aggravation of tension and the intensification of the arms race. At the end of the 1970's they openly attacked the ideas and obligations they themselves supported as was the case, for example, of the Helsinki Conference. They are trying to promote a policy of confrontation and force rather than one of peaceful cooperation, talks, and cooperation among countries with different social systems.

It is a question not only of Europe, a continent which has already seen twice the outbreak of a world war this century. The Middle East has been for some time the hotbed of major crises and so has, of late, the area of the Indian Ocean where the United States is trying to increase its military power and broaden the network of its military bases. In order to turn back the natural process of social change and stop the intensifying national-liberation and anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the United States is using the threat of military force and organizing various aggressive actions.

The aggressive and hegemonistic policy of China which, with U.S. support, is constantly threatening the neighboring countries, represents a major threat to peace the world over.

Socialist Czechoslovakia has always supported peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and for the right to independently choose the path of their development. For this reason, together with the USSR and the other socialist countries, we are providing the peoples of these countries with comprehensive aid. Our party and people deem this to be their duty, stemming from the ideas of proletarian internationalism and international revolutionary solidarity. For this reason, today as well, we are firmly on the side of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the courageous Afghan people, in their difficult struggle for freedom, national independence, and democracy.

Together with the Soviet Union, the other fraternal countries, and all peace-loving forces, socialist Czechoslovakia will continue its struggle for the preservation of detente and for achieving new progress in international relations, disarmament, and mutually profitable and equal cooperation among all countries.

The view that mankind has no sensible alternative other than peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, gradual detente, disarmament, and elimination of dangerous hotbeds of conflicts, remains fully topical. The basic interests of our peoples and the peoples throughout Europe and in all continents are profoundly linked with the continuation of this policy which enjoys the support of all progressive, anti-imperialist, and peace-loving forces in the world. This policy has all the opportunities to remain the main trend in the development of international relations.

We are deeply convinced that both today and in the future a great deal of constructive accomplishments are possible for strengthening the peace, security, and cooperation. Socialist Czechoslovakia will contribute to achieving such noble objectives of constructive toil and will actively participate in strengthening the power and unity of the socialist comity and in pursuing a consistent peaceful foreign policy.

We are celebrating the 35th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army with creative labor, implementing the decisions of the 14th and 15th CPC congresses in the interest of the further blossoming of our socialist homeland.

We are proud of the achieved successes without, however, becoming complacent. We always remember Lenin's words to the effect that the way to building a new society is one of tireless struggle between the new and the old, requiring a revolutionary approach to the implementation of ever more complex tasks of social progress.

This year the entire world will celebrate the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. The Czechoslovak people as well will properly welcome this great holiday of the international communist movement and of all progressive people on earth. Once again we honor the greatness and significance of the Leninist revolutionary legacy. We are particularly well aware of this, since Czechoslovakia's most modern history offers an innumerable number of proofs of the vital force of Lenin's ideas. Lenin's cause is particularly topical today, when we are building a developed socialist society in our country.

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REVOLUTION IN LAOS: RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

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[Review by Yu. Mikheyev of the book "Revolutsiya v Laose: Nekotoryye Osnovnyye Uroki i Glavnyye Zadachi" [Revolution in Laos: Basic Lessons and Main Tasks], By Kayson Phomvihhan. Translated from the Lao. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 256 pages]

[Text] The revolution in Laos holds an important position in the general flow of revolutionary changes which have taken place recently in all parts of the globe. Headed by a party standing on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, it has led the country to initiating the building of the foundations of socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development. The book by Comrade Kayson Phomvihhan, prime minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, just published in the Russian language, provides a profound study and interpretation of the experience of this revolution, its results, and the tasks facing it at the new stage.

In a Leninist manner, dialectically, the author describes the general and the specific features of the Lao revolution. He draws on rich factual data showing how Marxist-Leninist theory, strategy and tactic of the revolutionary struggle may be applied to small countries with a low level of economic, social, and cultural development. The author draws a number of conclusions of interest to the international national-liberation and revolutionary movements.

The Lao revolution covered several stages in its development. The Great October Revolution had a tremendous impact on it. The author notes that, "at a time when Laos seemed in hopeless darkness, the October Revolution illuminated the path to the liberation of the peoples of Indochina with its shining light." The creation of the Communist Party of Indochina (CPI), in 1930, played a major role in the further development of the revolutionary process in southeast Asia. "This event," the book states, "became the turning point in the history of the revolutionary movement in the three countries of Indochina. Since then, under the leadership of a truly Marxist-Leninist party, and under the banner of national democracy, the revolutionary struggle of the entire Lao people rose to a qualitatively new stage" (pp 8-9).

The defeat of fascist Germany and militaristic Japan laid the beginning of a new stage in the liberation movement of the peoples of Indochina. As a result of the August revolution, on 2 September 1945 the first state of workers and peasants in southeast Asia was founded in Vietnam. The independence of Laos was proclaimed on 12 October 1945.

The historical task of guiding the struggle waged by the Lao people against American imperialism and for the liberation of the homeland was assumed and brought to a successful end by the Lao People's Party (People's-Revolutionary Party as of February 1972), the perpetuator of the great cause of the CPI in Laos. The book by Comrade Kayson Phomvihan, the permanent general secretary of the PRPL Central Committee, describes the way the party guided this struggle, the ways and means it used, the problems it set, and the way it resolved them. The author pays particular attention to the Second PRPL Congress which defined the political objectives, directions, and forms of party activities in the period of the people's national-democratic revolution and of transition to socialism.

The struggle which the Lao patriots waged under the leadership of the PRPL for freedom, independence, and social progress was brilliantly successful. On 2 December 1975 the National Congress of Lao People's Representatives held on their initiative abolished the monarchy and proclaimed the creation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. This marked the victorious completion of the national-democratic revolution through peaceful means. A people's-democratic system was established, and the Lao people undertook the laying of the foundations of socialism under the guidance of the PRPL.

This victory was, above all, a victory of the proper line and able leadership of the PRPL which stood on Marxist-Leninist positions, and which expressed the interests of the country's working people, of the entire Lao nation. It was the victory of the combat cooperation of the Lao people with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea, a victory of their unity hammered out in the struggle against the common enemy. It was made possible thanks to the aid and support of the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist countries, the world revolutionary and national-liberation movements, and all progressive forces in the world. "The most important and fundamental among all the factors which determined the success of the revolution in Laos," the author emphasizes, "was the correct and creative leadership provided by our party" (p 45).

Laos is a country with a colonial past. Therefore, from the moment of its founding, the party (first the CPI and then the PRPL) was faced with the task of heading the struggle for the expulsion of the colonizers, the liberation of the Lao people, and gaining the independence of the country. As the author points out, the characteristic feature of colonialism in the epoch of imperialism is the conspiracy between the imperialists and the most reactionary circles in the colonial countries. In order to get rid of the colonizers one must also get rid of their support -- the reactionary social classes. At the same time, in order to mobilize and strengthen

the national forces, the basic democratic freedoms for the working people must be attained. "Therefore," the author writes, "the content of the liberation revolution must also be democratic. The strategic line followed by our party was aimed precisely at the solution of national and democratic problems simultaneously, in accordance with the characteristics of our country and the imperatives of the times." He further points out that the party also proceeded from the fact that "the national and the democratic problems are always closely related to the class problem" (p 48). In this connection, the PRPL general line consisted of "raising the banner of the national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the party of the working class, oriented toward socialism" (p 51).

Currently, the Lao revolution has entered its socialist stage of development. Correspondingly, "the banner of national democracy has become the banner of national independence and socialism" (p 63).

The example of Laos proves the depth and historical accuracy of Lenin's thought that a people's revolution "which energizes a real majority must involve both the proletariat and the peasantry. ... A democracy without such an alliance is unstable and a socialist change is impossible" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, pp39-40). In the Lao case the question of the alliance between workers and peasants is particularly important. The author points out that, "Even though our party was founded in an underdeveloped country with an unclear class differentiation, and a very young working class, nevertheless it was able to assume the role of sole leader of the revolution and lead it to its full and final victory. The decisive factor, however, was the fact that our party was able to establish a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry" (p 65).

On the basis of this alliance, and exercising the dictatorship of the workers and peasants under the party's leadership, in the course of the national-democratic revolution, the people's system was able successfully to promote democratic reforms in the liberated areas, increase production, and improve the population's life.

The creation, strengthening and broadening of the unified national front was another important factor which contributed to the victory of the revolution. In the course of the national-democratic revolution, through a variety of methods and with corresponding tactical slogans, the PRPL steadily pursued a policy of rallying all Lao regardless of social status, national origin, or religious faith, and gain the support of all progressive and patriotic elements. For many years the Lao Patriotic Front (Lao National Construction Front as of February 1979) steadfastly followed the party's line in this matter.

One of the positive results of the united front policy was the alliance with intermediary forces. This was of particular importance under Lao conditions, considering the significant role they played in all realms

of life, cultural and social above all. Political and military cooperation was established with patriotic neutrals -- the most progressive segment of the intermediary forces. Subsequently, other patriotic groups, including members of the ruling group, the officer corps, and the parliament, joined the broad united front. The creative approach of the PRPL made it possible to rally all progressive forces and currents, break down the enemy's ranks, and isolate it to the utmost.

Kayson Phomvihane considers in detail the question of revolutionary violence. "Revolutionary violence," he writes, "is the violence of the people's masses. The national-democratic revolution in our country was the doing of all Lao patriots and progressive people in the country. For this reason the revolutionary violence in our country had to be the violence of the overwhelming majority of the country's population and, above all, of the cruelly exploited working people" (p 87).

Each stage of the Lao revolution was characterized by its specific forms of struggle. The common feature was the combination of the two basic forms, the political and the armed, which were applied both separately and jointly. At each stage the party accurately selected one of them as basic, while promptly converting to the other whenever the circumstances changed. Rich historical data show the way in which, at each specific time, the PRPL put this policy into practice.

Progressing toward its target, the revolution must surmount the various obstacles erected by its enemies. The revolutionaries may have to change methods or, occasionally, compromise. That is precisely the way the Lao Marxists-Leninists acted. In particular, they used methods such as talks with the enemy or the creation of coalition authorities. The participation of the Lao patriots in coalitions was one of the forms of political struggle. They did this in order to increase the influence of the revolution, involve additional forces on its side, widen the front of their offensive, and isolate the enemy forces. "We never nurtured illusions," the author notes, "as to the possibility for a radical reorganization of the social system through a coalition government. The usefulness of any such measure to the revolution and the people's masses was due only to the close combination of the struggle within a coalition government with the struggle waged by the people's masses" (pp 114-115).

Particularly important to the Lao revolutionaries was the problem of how to use the tactic of force in securing the seizure and retention of the power without unleashing a new civil war. In this case they relied on Lenin's instruction that, "In individual cases, on an exceptional basis... a peaceful concession to the bourgeois rule is possible, should the bourgeoisie realize the hopelessness of its resistance and prefer to save its head" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 122). As we know, the final stage of the Lao revolution developed in precisely such circumstances. In 1975 the PRPL was able not only to seize the power but to retain it and prevent the counterrevolutionary forces from unleashing a civil war or the armed intervention of foreign reactionaries.

The interrelationship between the national and international factors of the revolution is one of the topical problems of the international national-liberation and the revolutionary movements. The PRPL leaders have repeatedly stated that the revolution in Laos is an inseparable part of the revolution in Indochina and of the entire world revolutionary process. This is, once again, strongly emphasized by the author.

Loyal to the interests of the working class, the working people, and the entire Lao people, in the course of its activities the PRPL properly considers and combines the national with the international factors, and organically combines the tasks of the Lao revolution with those of the world revolutionary process. "The combination of the national interests with the interests of the global revolutionary process," we read in the book, "and the combination of the forces of the nation with those of the three revolutionary flows of our time on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the basic principle of the internationalist political line of our party" (p 150).

Relations with Vietnam and Kampuchea have always been exceptionally important to Laos. The peoples of these countries sharing the same geographic area were the victims of the same invaders -- the French colonizers and the Japanese and American imperialists. In 1930 the struggle for the national and social liberation of the peoples of Indochina was headed by a single party. Subsequently as well, however, when each of these countries founded its own communist party, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea preserved and continued to strengthen their combat solidarity and mutual aid. This contributed to the fact that they defeated the American imperialists and their stooges almost simultaneously, in 1975. "Therefore," the author states, "the revolutionary movements in the three Indochinese countries found themselves closely interrelated from the time of their births, and, tried in the flames of the struggle for the common cause, merged into a monolithic combat alliance" (p 143).

The fraternal alliance of the three peoples of Indochina is not a federation as claimed by Beijing's and Western propaganda. It is an alliance among sovereign countries based on objective historical necessity and an intransigent factor ensuring their success in the struggle for freedom, independence and social progress. The internationalist policy of the PRPL is aimed at strengthening the solidarity and the combat alliance among the fraternal peoples on the basis of combining the revolutionary interests of each one of them with the interests of the revolution in the other countries of Indochina.

Combat comity with the Vietnamese revolution and the people of Vietnam has always been of particular importance to the Lao revolution and people within the framework of the alliance among the three peoples of Indochina. It is largely thanks to this comity that a radical change in the ratio of forces was achieved and favorable conditions for the final victory of the Lao revolution developed.

The PRPL has always aspired to the development of relations with the Soviet Union, the other members of the socialist comity, the international communist and national-liberation movements, and all progressive forces on earth whose sympathy and support it has enjoyed. Yet, the Lao revolution is the result of internal processes and the PRPL is a force profoundly and comprehensively reflecting the expectations of the people of Laos. "The party," the author points out, "profoundly believed in its people and was deeply aware of its historical role. It always believed that the revolution is made by the people's masses, that the Lao revolution is the cause of the Lao people themselves, and that the revolutionary cause of the Lao people must be headed by the PRPL" (p 149).

The study of the nature and forms of activity of a Marxist-Leninist party under specific Lao conditions is of considerable interest. Since the time of its creation the party faced a difficult peculiar task: the spreading of communist ideology among the masses in a country the majority of whose population consists, in Lenin's words, "not of workers who have gone through the training of capitalist factories and plants but of typical representatives of the working people and exploited peasant masses suffering from medieval oppression" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 329).

A once colonial, semi-feudal, backward agrarian country, Laos is inhabited by numerous nationalities and ethnic groups with poor class differentiation and low awareness of national unity. The party took these features into consideration.

The PRPL practically implemented the Leninist norms governing the structure and activities of a working class party. "Resolving problems of revolutionary strategy, tactics, and methods," the author writes, "our party proceeded from the basic Marxist-Leninist stipulations, in accordance with the characteristics of our country and the situation in Indochina and the rest of the world, of its own requirements, and the critically interpreted experience of the revolutionary struggle of other fraternal parties. ..." (p 170).

Laos began its march to socialism from a very low level of socioeconomic development. Pre-capitalist relations and extreme economic and technical backwardness dominated the country as a result of a feudal and colonial past and long military operations. Defining the line of the transitional period, the Fourth PRPL CC Plenum (1977) set the following tasks: "Achieve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, implement and broaden the right of the working people to be the collective owners of the country, and simultaneously make three revolutions: in the area of production relations, in science and technology, and in ideology and culture. ..."

In the four years which followed the completion of the stage of the national-democratic revolution, led by the PRPL, using the experience of the fraternal socialist countries, and relying on their all-round aid and support, the Lao people made a number of basic socioeconomic, political,

and cultural changes. All public lands, the country's timber, mineral and water resources, and urban lands became the property of the state. Private banks, foreign trade companies, and the property of the mercantile bourgeoisie and other reactionaries were nationalized. A state sector was created and is being comprehensively strengthened. The cooperativization process is successfully developing in agriculture. The Lao People's Democratic Republic is doing a great deal to improve the material standard of the working people, abolish illiteracy, and create a new culture.

The PRPL is always aware of problems of economic construction. Noting their importance, the author formulates the following tasks: "We must be able knowledgeably to manage the economy, plan, and use commodity relations and levers such as credit, prices, wages, profits. ..." (p 208).

Along with the objective difficulties of the transitional period, Laos faces obstacles erected by the local counterrevolution and, above all, by the forces of imperialism and international reaction supporting it. Of late the provocative expansionist activities of the Beijing hegemonists have become particularly dangerous. In an effort to hinder the laying of the foundations of socialism in Laos, separate it from the socialist comity, wreck its solidarity with Vietnam and Kampuchea, and subordinate it to their rule, the Beijing leaders are sending into Lao territory diversion and espionage groups. They have concentrated considerable armed forces, including units of Lao reactionaries who fled abroad, on the Sino-Lao border, and are engaging in anti-governmental subversive actions. The author strongly condemns the aggressive policy of the Beijing leadership.

Presenting the PRPL foreign policy line, Keyson Phomvihon states that, "Our party is invariably doing everything possible to strengthen and consolidate the unity and solidarity of the socialist system and the unity among fraternal parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The party holds that the existence and development of the socialist system which appeared as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a determining factor of social development today. We categorically condemn and firmly oppose the intrigues of opportunists of all hues who are trying to divide and undermine the socialist system, and who distort and betray the Marxist-Leninist doctrine which is the invincible banner of the proletariat and of all oppressed peoples in the world" (pp 224-225).

The author also emphasizes that the new Laos favors the development of friendly relations and cooperation with all countries in South-East Asia and solidarity with the working class and working people of the capitalist countries in their struggle for peace, national independence and social progress. It is ready to maintain relations with all countries on the basis of reciprocal respect for independence, sovereignty, equality, and mutual benefit.

In order honorably to meet the party's tasks, the Fourth PRPL CC Plenum earmarked measures for its political, ideological, and organizational strengthening, the intensification of its class character, and the upgrading of its vanguard leading role. "Because of the new requirements," the author notes, "our cadres must not only have high idea-mindedness, and deep social awareness, but high level knowledge of economics, culture, science, and technology, and the ability to manage the new society and the new economy" (p 239). Concluding, Keyson Phomvihan emphasizes that, "The way to socialism stands wide open to our country. The imperialists and the international reaction are vainly resorting to most insidious ways and means to wreck the revolutionary cause of our people. There is no force capable of stopping the victorious march of our revolution despite all difficulties and shortcomings" (p 251).

The experience of the revolution and of laying the foundations for socialism in Laos, described and summed-up in the works of Keyson Phomvihan, entirely and fully support Lenin's prediction both concerning the common features of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and the characteristics of the revolutionary process which are inevitable in the various countries which have taken the path of socialism. This experience is a particularly valuable contribution to revolutionary theory and practice. In particular, it proves the possibility of the existence and successful struggle of a Marxist-Leninist party in a small country dominated by pre-capitalist relations.

The Soviet Union ascribes great importance to the study of the experience of the revolution in Laos. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his 26 September 1979 talk with Comrade Keyson Phomvihan, "The Soviet people are closely watching the events in Laos and are familiar with the accomplishments of the People's Revolutionary Party."...

The principle-minded course of the CPSU is one of support of the PRPL and the other Marxist-Leninist parties. The Soviet communists and the entire Soviet people extensively noted the recent 25th anniversary of the founding of the PRPL. The strong friendship ties linking our parties are a reliable base of comprehensive cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Laos.

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WILL OF THE PEACE-LOVING PUBLIC

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 106-117

[Review by V. Nekrasov, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of the Peace, of the book "Obshchestvennost' i Problemy Voyny i Mira" [The Public and the Problems of War and Peace]. Edited by G. I. Morozov (editor in chief), G. A. Arbatov, O. V. Baroyan, A. A. Berkov, V. A. Bruskov, O. N. Bykov, N. N. Inozemtsev, B. N. Polevoy, Ye. M. Primakov, Yu. F. Kharlamov, O. S. Kharkhardin, V. S. Shaposhnikov, and G. V. Shumeyko. Second revised and expanded edition. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1978, 464 pages]

[Text] A sharp struggle is developing throughout the world between the forces of social progress, peace, freedom of the peoples, and democracy, on the one hand, and imperialist reaction, militarism, and the opponents of social justice and national equality, on the other. In the current situation, at the turn of the 1980's, when the international circumstances have become substantially aggravated above all and mainly by the fault of the U.S. ruling circles, the full accuracy of the view emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in the Central Committee Accountability Reports to the 25th Party Congress, is confirmed particularly clearly: "Even though today the possibilities of aggressive imperialist actions have been considerably curtailed, the nature of imperialism remains unchanged. That is why the peace-loving forces must display high vigilance. The energetic efforts and unity of all the forces of peace and goodwill are necessary."

As the experience of international development irrefutably confirms, neither peace nor detente are asserted in the international arena by themselves. They could be achieved only as a result of the adamant and tireless struggle of the peace-loving forces--countries, people's masses, political parties and currents, public organizations, and people of goodwill in countries with different social systems--opposing anything which is counter to detente, threatens the peace, and creates the threat of war.

The ever more active interference of the peoples in resolving the problems of war and peace is one of the most important positive processes

of our time. This is a manifestation of Lenin's prediction, applicable to the realm of international relations, that "as the historical creativity of the people broadens and intensifies, the size of the population masses acting as conscious makers of history must increase as well" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 2, pp 539-540). It is precisely the masses that are the true makers of history and which can today exert ever greater influence on world politics, an area which the ruling exploiting classes have always made particular efforts to protect from their interference.

Yet, the questions of the role which the public plays in the existing deployment of forces in international relations, the dynamics of its influence on foreign political processes, the specific forms of this influence, and the objective and subjective possibilities for its further intensification have remained, essentially, insufficiently developed in Marxist literature. That is what draws the attention to the second revised and expanded edition of "Obshchestvennost' i Problemy Voyny i Mira," drafted on the initiative of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of the Peace and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, with the assistance of the Soviet Peace Fund. The objective of the authors, who include many noted public figures and representatives of Soviet science, is to provide the broadest possible picture reflecting the nature of the struggle reached by the international public against the threat of war and for a just and democratic peace.

The question which those involved in this collective edition set themselves was how are the most important characteristics of international life manifested in the activities of social peace movements and organizations and in their approach to the solution of one or another problem. They proceeded from the fact that the experience acquired by the peace movement in the postwar years and the major changes in the social awareness of many social strata in the West and in the developing countries brought about a more profound understanding of the reasons and nature of war in our age and in the qualitative change and broadening of the front of the struggle for peace. The authors comprehensively cover the basic features of the movement of the peace-loving public and its objectives and problems. They describe the main social forces and organizations favoring peace, detente, and disarmament. The conclusions reached by the authors clearly prove that the movement of the peace-loving public has been guided, in the final account, throughout its activities by a proper understanding of the nature of international processes and the possibilities of social forces to influence it.

The new edition of the work essentially contains all basic problems facing today the world peace movement. It contains the results of the considerable work accomplished by the aktiv of the Soviet peace movement with the help of the major scientific potential at its disposal for the study of said problems and acquired experience. That is why this work

could be considered a landmark which assumes great importance for all social circles serving the noble cause of strengthening the peace and security of the nations.

Lenin tirelessly called for achieving the great objective of "intensifying and expanding the struggle against imperialist war," emphasizing that "It is worth dedicating one's life to the struggle against such a war, that one must be merciless in this struggle, and any sophistry used in its defense should be chased everywhere" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 299). The global peace movement is, essentially, one of the most important specific manifestations of this Leninist legacy.

Despite the fact that always and everywhere the people's masses have been against war, the entire burden of which is imposed on them by the ruling exploiting classes, it is only in the 20th century, as the working class and its political vanguard have acted ever more decisively as the most important force which could "dictate peace where its so-called masters are shouting about war" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 16, p 373), that the will of the people for peace began to appear as an important political factor. However, even in this case, prior to World War II, the antiwar movement of the masses, with some, even though outstanding, exceptions, took place, essentially, within the framework of the overall struggle waged by the international working class against imperialism and its militaristic and aggressive aspirations.

The situation substantially changed after the great victory won by the Soviet people and all antifascist forces over Hitlerite Germany and its allies who had raised war and the seizure of foreign lands and genocide to the level of a political principle. Today we can no longer imagine the development of main events in the world arena without the most active interest and participation in them of the broad public. Furthermore, the public is ever more frequently directly invading the field of "big policy." In recent years it has frequently tangibly contributed to the development of positive processes in international relations, beat a limitation of the arms race in one or another sector or the settlement of conflicts.

Following the irreversible historical process which consistently restricts the very possibility to resolve international disputes through the force of arms--a process determined, above all, by the growing power of real socialism in the contemporary world--the peace-loving social forces are able today ever more firmly to influence the shaping and implementation of the foreign policy of individual countries and, at the same time, to participate in international affairs as an influential international force. World public opinion has become a real factor of international political life. This is the practical implementation of the important Marxist stipulation that the people's masses must have the decisive word in foreign policy as well. This is an embodiment of the aspiration of the communist and workers movements to insure the active

participation of the people's masses and political parties and social organizations in the resulting problems related to war and peace, actively opposing those who are interested in the preservation of tension and helping anyone systematically pursuing a peaceful policy.

The active involvement of the people's masses and their organizations and political parties in the problems of war and peace is, above all, the result of a historical experience acquired by mankind, while the changes in the global circumstances, achieved through detente, are largely the result of the activities of social forces and the manifestation of an unparalleled activity of the people's masses which are displaying a sharp intolerance toward arbitrariness and aggression, and an inflexible desire for peace. As a result, of late a situation has developed in which the ruling circles in the bourgeois states have been forced to take ever more frequently into consideration the opinion of the public on important foreign political problems and consider a possible reaction on the part of public opinion to decisions made both domestically and throughout the world. A quite indicative example in this field is the forced decision of the American administration to postpone the manufacturing and deployment in Western Europe of the barbaric neutron weapon as a result of an unparalleled wave of public protest in Europe and throughout the world. Whenever public opinion has been scorned, as confirmed by the experience of American imperialist aggression in southeast Asia, the action has irreversibly undermined the moral and political positions of the aggressor.

At the same time, changes for the better in the climate of international relations, created as a result of the persistent and steadfast struggle for strengthening the peace, waged by the Soviet state from the very first hours of its existence, with Lenin's Decree on Peace, shoulder to shoulder with the members of the socialist comity, all peace-loving countries, and the broad democratic circles, could not fail to have a stimulating effect on the activities of the peace-loving international public. Thanks to the purposeful efforts of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, a transition to detente was accomplished following the clear directions reflected in the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress and developed and expanded by the 25th Congress. The strengthening of detente was greatly helped by the summit meetings and talks between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of the leading Western countries. This resulted in the appearance of a number of international documents stipulating certain rules for intergovernmental relations, the most important among which was the final act of the European conference in Helsinki which, having consolidated the improvements achieved in the European political climate, formulated long-term prospects for the responsible conduct of intergovernmental affairs, including the settlement of global problems.

In circumstances marked by the restructuring of international relations, when their main trend is determined ever more strongly by the processes

of detente, and when long-term mutually profitable cooperation among different countries developed, the peoples gained the confidence that a peaceful development could last a long time. The successes of detente inspired and strengthened the forces of the peace-loving public and enhanced the prestige and influence among the masses of the organizations struggling for peace. A process was underway in the course of which the policy of detente gained ever broader mass support and contributed to the further growth and energizing of public movements and organizations struggling against war and for lasting peace.

The public launched initiatives in the formulation of a number of problems related to detente and disarmament. It contributed to the creation of a moral and political climate in international relations needed for strengthening the trust among states. The active efforts of public forces in support of the constructive efforts of governments were an incentive for progress toward new agreements and accords. Assessing that period, the authors of the work justifiably emphasize that, "the peace-loving public became a full and prestigious participant in contemporary international relations. Together with the members of the socialist comity and other forces favoring the peace, it is making a substantial contribution to the consolidation of universal peace, the development of constructive international cooperation, and securing the freedom and independence of the nations" (p 53).

This contribution made by the peace-loving public forces is a capital, so to say, for permanent use, a capital which, in today's aggravated circumstances as well, is helping and will continue in the future to help the consolidation of the peace. It is no accident that, preparing a turn in their foreign political course, the U.S. ruling circles and NATO leadership ascribed such great importance to its propaganda cover, trying to dull Western public opinion with slanderous fabrications concerning the objectives and nature of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity. Suffice it to mention the propaganda campaign conducted over a period of months, refined, and generously financed and focally orchestrated, regarding the imaginary "Soviet military threat" to Western Europe, and the campaigns which preceded the adoption of NATO's decision to deploy new systems of American intermediate range nuclear missiles on Western European soil. Let us also mention the unabating downpour of malicious fabrications, slanderous distortions, and misrepresentations related to the events in Afghanistan which the White House decided to use as a pretext for the proclamation of its intention to "bury detente."

Both the hardened veterans of the peace movement and many of its new members, realistically assessing the situation, have always realized the tremendous efforts needed to maintain the gained positions of political detente, not to speak of the efforts to advance toward military detente, required in order to surmount the stubborn resistance of the military-industrial complex and of the influential imperialist circles who are

unable to accept the irreversible historical processes of the socio-political transformation of the world. The more reduced the possibilities of imperialism to dominate other countries and peoples becomes, the fiercer becomes the reaction of its most aggressive and shortsighted representatives. This aggressiveness can be checked only by the power and the sensible policy of the peace-loving states, and the resolve of the peoples to defeat the dangerous plans of the newly hatched pretenders to world domination.

As the thought of imperialist propaganda is being dispersed, ever broader circles of the democratic and peace-loving public realize that it is precisely Washington's adopted course toward the spiraling of the arms race, the pursuit of a policy of blackmail and threat of the use of force, gross violation of international treaties and agreements, and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries that complicate the global circumstances. As emphasized by the progressive circles, this is a manifestation of the concern of imperialism caused by the strengthened positions of socialism, the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, the strengthening of forces favoring detente and peaceful coexistence, and the aspiration of the imperialist circles to change the course of events in their favor.

The Chinese leadership which is pursuing a great power hegemonistic policy, hostile to peace and socialism, is the direct accomplice of imperialism.

Under the conditions created in the international arena through the actions of American imperialism and its accomplices, it becomes particularly important to define the main, the determining trend in the numerous twists of global politics. As indicated by the study of the overall ratio of forces in the world and the economic, political, military, social, and ideological changes taking place on earth, the main trend, as before, is that of the strengthening and intensification of detente and the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Defending detente and the struggle for allowing it to continue to define the main directions of international development is the main task of the peace-loving public today. The most important factor contributing to the new development of the combat efforts of supporters of the peace and of the people of goodwill in all countries is the firm, principled policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and their balanced reaction to the feverish and rash statements and actions of the Western countries. Steadfastly following the Leninist foreign political course, the Soviet state is continuing to pursue a line aimed at the implementation of the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples. It decisively supports the strengthening and multiplication of everything positive achieved in recent years in the international arena and intends to continue to pursue a policy of peace and friendship among nations.

Unlike the position held by Washington, the Soviet Union favors the continuation of talks initiated along a number of directions with a view to putting an end to the arms race. However, it calls for honest and equal talks based on the principle of identical security of both sides. Our country opposes interference in the domestic affairs of countries on a principled and firm basis, whatever pretext may be used for preparing or implementing it.

"As to the Soviet Union," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said on 4 February, "we do not wish to forego anything positive achieved in the 1970's in the international arena. Furthermore, we deem it necessary to go forth. This applies to restraining the arms race, eliminating conflict situations in southeast Asia and the Middle and Near East, and turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, as has been suggested by the coastal countries. We consider acceptable and desirable any road which leads to a durable peace."

Supporting the further strengthening of cooperation and unity of action among all peace-loving forces, the Soviet public is displaying a consistently internationalist and democratic approach to this important cause. It is not abandoning its basic positions dictated by the social nature of our society. At the same time, it tries to find the type of joint solutions which would take most fully into consideration the interests of all participants in the mass, the people's movement for securing the peace and for comprehensively contributing to its successes.

Insuring the full approval of the Soviet people, the foreign political course of the USSR is supported by the broad circles of the peace-loving public throughout the world. They welcome and approve the firm resolve of the Soviet Union not to yield to Washington's provocations and sallies, but systematically and persistently to pursue a foreign political course of peace and friendship among nations. The fierce attempts on the part of the United States to turn world public opinion against our country are suffering one failure after another.

Continuing their decisive struggle against the open enemies of peaceful cooperation among nations and their concealed enemies who are trying to manipulate detente for unseemly objectives and thus threaten it, the movements and organizations of the supporters of the peace have all the necessary opportunities for contributing to the further expansion and strengthening of the cooperation among forces acting in favor of strengthening the peace and international security. As the participants in the February-March meeting of the Bureau of the World Peace Council Presidium, held in the capital of Ethiopia, emphasized in the special appeal they adopted, the future of the 1980's will largely depend on the decisive actions of all the forces of peace, democracy, and progress.

History is unfamiliar with such a mass or broad public movement as the present movement for the establishment of a durable peace. It is equally

unfamiliar with the high tension reached in the struggle for peace in the current period of the life of mankind. The threat of a new destructive war hanging over the planet has energized the tremendous mass of people in all countries and continents, different races, nations, and occasionally quite distant ideologies and political views. These actions reflect the most profound interest of all nations to prevent a global thermo-nuclear catastrophe, improve international circumstances, and put an end to the arms race. It is precisely on such a broad platform that cooperation has developed among a great variety of social forces acting as an influential international movement of the peace-loving public.

In its initial form the movement developed in 1949, i.e., over 30 years ago, as the peace movement representing the most active and organized democratic and anti-imperialist forces. In the subsequent decades the tireless fruitful activities of its highest leading organ, the World Peace Council, were, above all, the result of the efforts of millions of people in 130 countries who tried to implement the noble ideas of peace and friendship among nations.

Both the World Peace Council and the national committees of the supporters of peace and other mass movements and organizations of peace-loving forces organized, year after year, the reactions of the people's masses against the threat of nuclear war and encouraged their activities. They contributed to the development of a reciprocal understanding among nations and tried to influence the policies of governments. They filled through their actions many outstanding and glorious stages in the struggle for changing the climate of international relations. The work notes with entire justification that it was largely thanks to their efforts that profound changes took place in the minds of millions of people. An understanding developed of the terrible consequences of the arms race under the conditions of the existence and stockpiling of tremendous volumes of mass destruction weapons, and the awareness that the threat of a nuclear war is the greatest danger to all mankind.

As time passed, the framework of cooperation among the members of the movement, which had assumed a durable nature, broadened further and further and was joined by new forces. This increased the percentage of the sociopolitical movements and organizations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. On the basis of joint or coordinated actions, numerous both traditional and recently established organizations and movements which had taken an antiwar and antimilitaristic position began to participate in the international cooperation among peace-loving forces, promoting the intensification and expansion of detente. The qualitative changes in the scale and nature of public cooperation were reflected in the 1973 World Peace Congress, held in Moscow. The congress was unparalleled in terms of the scope of represented currents of public thought and variety of problems discussed. The cooperation which began here was continued in subsequent years under different organizational forms.

Recent events confirm the scope of this cooperation. In the course of the global campaign for a termination of the arms race, organized on the basis of the new Stockholm appeal, 700 million people signed the appeal. These were people inhabiting all continents and belonging to all classes and social strata, and affiliated with different political parties and organizations. It is important to take into consideration that hundreds of millions of Chinese working people found themselves prevented from participating in the campaign. The "movement against neutron death" became an extremely widespread global action in the course of which an unparalleled degree of solidarity of social action was achieved in a great variety of forms. The struggle against the plans for the adoption of the neutron weapon by NATO clearly proved the rising maturity and competence of the international movement of the peace-loving public.

As the book points out, the broadening of the political, geographic, and social framework of the peace movement opened new areas for the manifestation of the common positions held by the democratic world public on a number of major problems of global development. As a result of this, the movement not only broadened its social base but enriched the program and ways and means of its activities, becoming an important factor in the ideological life of the peoples. Today it enjoys long experience in the struggle waged in different international conditions--in periods of aggravation of tension and of outstanding and considerable successes of the policy of detente. It has an organized, practically tested, and flexible structure of relations among member-organizations. For this reason, no turns in the development of the global situation, or no sallies of aggressive militaristic circles could catch it unawares. The truly democratic forms of its activities, relations of equality among all members, and the invariable search for mutually acceptable solutions give the movement the required vital strength.

Even though the movement of the peace-loving public remains focused on strengthening the peace and the struggle against the arms race, aggression, and the international conflicts, it has increased, intensified, and broadened its attention to the related tasks of promoting the economic and social progress of mankind and insuring the material conditions needed for the development of contemporary civilization.

Taking into consideration the serious threat created by the quantitative and qualitative growth of the arms race and the possible further proliferation of nuclear weapons on earth, the peace-loving public has noted with concern that if this sinister trend is not checked it could increase the threat of a world war waged on a new scientific and technical level. This was particularly emphasized by 654 noted American personalities in the fields of science and medicine who, pointing out tragic experience and numerous studies, in an open letter they published in March in THE NEW YORK TIMES, addressed to U.S. President J. Carter and L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR

Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, cautioned against the terrible danger of a "limited" or any other use of nuclear weapons, and called not only for banning it but for taking urgent measures to prevent the catastrophe of a nuclear war. Answering this, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote that, "The American scientists could make a substantial contribution to explaining the fatal consequences to mankind of a nuclear conflict between the United States and the USSR, a conflict which would inevitably assume a global nature. Such an explanation would contribute to strengthening the will and increasing the activity of those who favor a termination of the arms race and for maintaining among all countries normal relations, including, naturally, relations between the United States and the USSR. You may be confident that your humane and noble activity aimed at the prevention of a nuclear war will meet with understanding and support in the Soviet Union."

The participants in the world peace movement see as one of their important tasks to promote the awareness of the people's masses of both the danger of the continuation of the arms race as well as the real possibility for disarmament. In other words, it is a question of ending the psychological inertia which makes us accept the arms race as something self-evident and even fatally inevitable. Let us point out that a substantiated political and scientific approach to the problems of the arms race and disarmament, characterizing the activities of social organizations of late, is substantially enhancing the effectiveness of the activities of the public opposing the militaristic psychosis.

The fact that the acts of aggression and violence over the peoples committed by imperialism and its accomplices are triggering today unparalleled indignation, protest, and active counteraction, is largely the merit of the social forces. Never before have there been such powerful governmental and public forces brought into motion on such occasions with a view to checking the aggressor, eliminating a hotbed of war, and strengthening the foundations for peace. It was a worldwide campaign of protest and the categorical demand for an end to aggressive actions that marked the reaction of the international peace-loving public to last year's aggression mounted by the Beijing leaders against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The same public quickly and sharply reacted to the current efforts of the imperialist militaristic forces to undermine detente in Europe and aggravate the tension in southwest Asia where, in the final months of 1979, the United States began to assemble the biggest American naval force in peacetime and openly threatened to use its armed forces against Iran and, subsequently, with Beijing's help, wage an undeclared war on the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, launching from Pakistani territory bandit units equipped with overseas weapons.

Meanwhile, the considerably broadened platform of the peace-loving forces includes today not only the direct task of fighting aggression and the

threat of war but new essential elements such as the struggle for equal economic cooperation, social progress, strengthening mutual trust, resolving global problems within the man-nature relationship, and others. In the course of lively and, occasionally, sharp yet fruitful debates, typical of a number of international meetings held on different topics and with varying attendance, a number of viewpoints are clarified and agreement or closer views are reached on a number of political, economic, social, and other problems most important to strengthening the peace.

It is becoming ever clearer to the democratic public that a lasting peace is a most important prerequisite for any, including social, type of progress. The struggle for improving the political climate in the world and terminating the arms race is directly related to the struggle for the democratization of international economic relations and for a new economic order. The tie between the problem of insuring the peace and defeating imperialist attempts to perpetuate the existing relations of attendance of a number of developing countries has become particularly important today, when Washington has proclaimed its intention to dictate its order anywhere in the world and use any means, including arms, to counter the national-liberation and all progressive movements.

The struggle for peace under contemporary conditions is, essentially, an all-democratic struggle involving the participation of the broadest possible population strata. The truly popular, the mass organizations remain the nucleus of the peace-loving public and its main motive force. Along with them there are today broad and varied associations of different structures yet limited in terms of social objectives, which favor the reorganization of international relations on the basis of lasting peace and peaceful coexistence. Such common objectives and joint struggles have enabled many organizations and movements to establish contacts among each other, which was not the case in the past.

Thus, in the period of aggression of American imperialism the worldwide campaign of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam resulted in the fact that cooperation was organized among a variety of political and social forces, including the democratic, left wing, liberal-bourgeois, clerical, and pacifist movements and organizations, containing a major anti-imperialist impetus, and operating on a common antiwar basis. On a regional scale, but more comprehensively, when the participants in the movement had faced a broad range of political and economic problems, problems of cultural relations and of scientific and technical cooperation, interaction was established and developed among various peace-loving forces supporting detente, security, and cooperation in Europe.

Yet, the fact that the participants in the social movement belong to different classes, social groups, and parties, and the variety of their political positions, frequently determine the inconsistency of the approach adopted by one or another organization to specific problems, and the instability of their overall orientation. The long years of

cold war and imperialist propaganda which distorted the true picture of the world could not fail to leave traces in the minds of millions of people, such as prejudices, suspicion, and poor awareness and, sometimes, simply unwillingness to find out the true positions and possibilities of others. Nor should we ignore the fact that to many honest people in the West, prisoners of a bourgeois outlook and of the distorted concepts it creates, the concept of "peace" expressed through peaceful coexistence is replaced by the concept promoted by monopoly capital of social, class peace, and of the dampening of the class struggle of the proletariat and the national-liberation struggle of the people's exploited by neo-colonialism. On the other hand, many millions of people, becoming involved in political social actions in favor of the peace, approach them with very vague ideas as to the ways for resolving the problems affecting them. This triggers fluctuations ranging from stormy political outbreaks to political passiveness.

The unstable orientation of social circles lacking a clear idea as to the real nature of historical processes is manifested particularly tangibly in periods such as the present, marked by drastic and sharp turns in the international situation. These circles turn out to be deprived of the necessary immunity to the pressure exerted on them by proimperialist forces.

We must not forget that, realizing that they cannot rely on success by openly proclaiming their aggressive purposes, the militaristic forces of imperialism and their accomplices are creating a system of ideological myths aimed at concealing the true meaning of their intentions. These forces are doing everything possible to dull the wedge of the anti-imperialist struggle against the arms race and to misrepresent the motives and objectives of the policy of the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity.

The propaganda campaign which was mounted at the beginning of 1980 by the U.S. leadership against the Soviet Union in connection with the events in Afghanistan not only broke all records in terms of falsity and the distortion of facts. It is obviously aimed at promoting among the broad public circles in the United States and in other Western countries a state of anti-Soviet hysteria and contaminate them with bellicose intoxication. Under such circumstances an important aspect of the activities of the organizations of the supports of the peace is the efforts to expose the true reasons for the current explosion of anti-Soviet propaganda organized by the Pentagon and NATO, and the danger of the way along which the organizers of this campaign would like to lead the people. It is necessary to show the nature of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the other countries of real socialism toward the national-liberation movement and, particularly, the revolutionary changes in Afghanistan and Iran.

All this, as the peace-loving public has justifiably emphasized, requires great vigilance and stronger opposition to the imperialist plans of defeating detente and turning the international situation back to the sinister times of the cold war. This explains the great importance ascribed to the growing understanding shown by the broad public circles of Asia, Europe, and other continents of the fact that the true reason for the present serious aggravation of international tension is totally and entirely tied to the general turn taken by the policy pursued by Washington and the leading NATO circles toward rigid confrontation and their attempts to change the balance of military power established in the world in order to achieve the implementation of the hegemonistic objectives.

Among others, this was clearly pointed out in the resolutions and speeches of the delegates who attended the international conference for peace and security in Asia, held in the Indian capital. The declaration passed at the conference expressed the profound concern of the nations caused by the unprecedented growth of the military power of imperialism, also affecting the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, which, together with the actions of the Beijing hegemonists, is a major threat to the sovereignty of the peoples, the climate of trust, and the cause of universal peace and security. The participants in the recently held meeting of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation, in Brussels, firmly spoke in favor of cooperation and joint search for ways to further and strengthen detente and for fully implementing the stipulations of the Helsinki Final Act.

The increased influence of the democratic public on the course of international events broadens the common possibilities to counteract the forces of aggression and war. These possibilities will become even greater as more millions of people clearly realize the results to mankind of the imperialist policy of unleashing wars, the subversive imperialist activities against the socialist countries and progressive systems in the developing countries, the existence of aggressive blocs, and the course toward unchecked spiraling of the arms race. This would mean their ability to actively support the initiatives and actions, including those of the socialist countries, aimed at strengthening the peace, security, and cooperation. As POLITICAL AFFAIRS, the journal of the American communists wrote in this connection, "In order to be a fighter for peace one must not mandatorily be a communist or a fighter for socialism. However, in order to wage a successful struggle for peace one must recognize certain realities. . . . It is in the interest of having peace that it is necessary to understand the truth that peace is an urgent need for socialism. In order to promote the peace movement it is greatly necessary for the people to understand why the Soviet Union is applying such great efforts to achieve peace."

In the world of today there is no nation deliberately wanting to tie its destinies to the faultless policy of the arms race and of preparations for war. Detente has become too deeply a part of the fabric of life on earth. It has too many supporters, including in broad international circles, for a single country--the United States--to have the monopoly to resolve the problem of its destinies. That is why the fighters for peace have all the reasons to look into the future with optimism: The policy they promote is supported by powerful forces and has all the necessary chances to remain the leading trend in the development of relations among countries and peoples.

5003

CSO: 1802

NEW DOCUMENTS FROM LENIN'S LITERARY HERITAGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 118-122

[Review by M. Mchedlov, deputy director, CPSU CC Institute of Marxism-Leninism, on the occasion of the publication of "Leninskiy Sbornik" [Leninist Collection] XXXIX]

[Text] The vocabulary of science contains the very capacious and important term of prime source. Applied to the theoretical heritage of the classics of scientific communism, it means all documents, everything written, ranging from the multiple-volume "Das Kapital," books, pamphlets, articles, speeches, excerpts, and summaries, to simple notes on the margins of read books or letters in the handwriting of Marx, Engels, or Lenin.

No serious study of their creative laboratory is possible without exposure to prime sources or the direct study of the treasury of the thoughts of the leading lights of revolutionary theory. That is why party documents, including the CPSU CC Decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," emphasize the need for the party, Komsomol, and economic training systems, schools and all ideological-educational work to focus their main attention on the profound study of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and the historical experience of the Leninist party, closely linked with the solution of specific economic and political problems.

The exposure of researchers and of the broad range of readers to the classical prime sources is helped by the collection, study, and publication of the ideological heritage of Marx, Engels, and Lenin by the CPSU CC Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

A great deal has been accomplished in the USSR in this area. Let us mention here, for instance, the scientific edition of the works of Marx and Engels in 50 volumes (the last two to be published next year), used as a basis for similar editions in a number of countries, and the preparation, together with the German comrades, of a 100-volume publication of Marx's and Engels' entire literary heritage in the original languages.

V. I. Lenin's tremendous and comprehensive literary legacy accumulated in the course of three decades of his truly tireless creative efforts, is the subject of unabated attention. Between 1893 (when the oldest preserved Leninist works, "New Economic Movements in Peasant Life" was written, in Samara) and 1923, when Vladimir Il'ich dictated his last letters and articles, he wrote tens of books and pamphlets and thousands of articles and letters, copied a number of extracts and took notes. Within that time he delivered a tremendous number of reports and speeches at conferences, congresses, international gatherings and meetings of working people. All in all, the Lenin Archive of the Central Party Archives has over 34,000 of Lenin's manuscripts and documents, over one thousand of which were written in nine different foreign languages: German, French, English, Italian, Dutch, Latin, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish.

The dissemination of Lenin's ideas among the Soviet people and among the working people the world over has invariably been the focal point of attention of our party. The question of gathering, studying, and publishing the entire variety of Lenin's legacy has been repeatedly discussed at party congresses, Central Committee meetings and Soviet congresses. After Lenin's death, in January 1924, the resolution passed at the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR stated that, "The best monument to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin will be the extensive mass dissemination of his works, making the ideas of communism accessible to all working people."

As we know, V. I. Lenin's works have been published in the Soviet Union in five different editions. The fifth is the most complete. It contains everything which Lenin intended to publish, a large number of preparatory materials, and a huge amount of correspondence (over 4,500 letters). The edition totals some 9,000 Leninist works and documents.

Let us note, however, that not all documents written by Lenin may be found in these collected works. In the course of their intensive searches scientific workers and archivists are discovering new, previously unknown, works by Lenin, notes, and remarks. Many of them are brief and cannot be understood out of the context in which they were made, even though they are of great historical-cognitive value, revealing one or another facet of Lenin's theoretical work. In this case we are helped by publications such as the Leninist collections prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and published by Politizdat.

Thirty-eight Leninist collections have been issued, containing many thousands of documents. They offer a solid foundation for the further study and dissemination of Leninism. Now, on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of the birth of the great leader, the reader is offered a new and truly priceless gift: "Leninskiy Sbornik XXXIX." It contains 264 documents covering the period between 1894 and January 1922.* The collection may be divided

*Three of which previously published in KOMMUNIST (No 6, 1977; No 2, 1980).

into two sections: Documents from 1894 through April 1917, and from November 1917 through January 1922. The documents pertaining to Lenin's activities under the Soviet system have also been classified in the following subsections: November 1917-1918; 1919; 1920; and 1921-1922. The appendixes include four documents.

The materials included in the collection depict important landmarks in the preparations for the writing of one or another Leninist work or party resolution. Suffice it to note that preparatory materials (over 40) predominate among the prime sources of the pre-October period: Notes and editorial corrections of party documents, notes taken during conferences and congresses, notes on speeches, plans for articles, figure estimates, excerpts from books and articles, bibliographic notes, etc. As an indivisible part of Lenin's spiritual legacy, such materials enable us better to understand Lenin's completed works. They add to and broaden our views on already published documents, describe the appearance and development of many of Lenin's ideas, and show new facets of the leader's work.

Clearly, if the integrity of the collection is to be preserved, it is important somehow to correlate materials of great variety in terms of genres and meanings. Let us specifically mention a number of documents of the pre-October period depicting Lenin's struggle for the creation of a proletarian party of a new type, for strengthening its ranks, and arming it ideologically. Noteworthy here are materials describing Lenin's participation in the drafting of the most important documents of the leading party organs. They include a "Note Related to the Discussion of the Attitude Toward the State Duma at the Fourth RSDWP Congress," drafted on the subject of the discussion of the bolshevik and menshevik resolutions, criticizing the "minority resolution" which "reveals the total lack of understanding of the danger of the 'agreement theory'" (p 52); "Notes on the Draft Resolution of the Fifth (London) Congress on the Attitude Toward the Bourgeois Parties Submitted by the Social Democratic Party" (pp 53-54); V. I. Lenin's and P. I. Stuchka's letter to the CC RSDWP (pp 56-57); note on the debates and speeches of representatives of the Moscow and Central industrial oblasts at the CC RSDWP October 1913 Poronino conference; and a note on the discussions on the report on the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat made by Lenin on 4 April 1917 at the meeting of bolshevik participants in the All-Russian Conference of Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, and on the vote tally (pp 177-178).

Lenin's aim to sum up political and social data on social strata and groups is instructive. The collection contains extensive carefully selected tabulated data on income earned by the newspapers ISKRA, RABOCHAYA PRAVDA, SEVERNAYA PRAVDA, and NASH PUT'. The study of these data led Lenin to the important conclusion that the bolshevik newspapers alone constituted the workers' press.

It is well known that, in Marx's tradition, Lenin paid tireless attention to the study of the agrarian problem. Lenin's classical works and preparatory materials for them, contained in the Complete Collected Works and the additional volume "Tetrad' po Agrarnomu Voprosu" [Notebooks on the Agrarian Problem], clearly indicate that Lenin's agrarian program of the proletarian party invariably includes the substantiated need for a class alliance between workers and peasants in the struggle for a new society and shows the way for drawing the peasantry into collectivistic socialist production methods.

The 19th Leninist Collection includes a selection of documents on the agrarian problem which, added to other publications, reveals Lenin's deepened study of Marxist agrarian theory on the basis of research and scientific summation of data on agrarian relations in Russia and other countries. This includes "Notes and extracts from the following books: 'Wurtemberg Statistical Yearbooks'; 'Statistics of the Bavarian Kingdom'; 'Excerpts from G. Bang's Article 'Living Standard of the Danish Lower Rural Strata';" and "Notes on the Nature and Content of the 'Monthly List of Publications' of the U.S. Department of Agriculture."

Characterizing some groups of materials written at different times and on different occasions in the pre-October period, let us particularly single out those dealing with Lenin's analysis of the nature and policies of militarism. Lenin's principles governing his approach to the problem, and his criticism of the imperialist war, militaristic trends, and arms race sound particularly topical today.

In this connection, let us turn to Lenin's article "Armaments and the German Reichstag (From Germany)," published in PRAVDA in June 1913, under the signature of "NN," and whose authorship was recently determined through research. The article convincingly describes the mechanism of the militaristic policy of armaments and the means used in its false propaganda cover which, incidentally, have shown little change to this day. Indeed, were we to replace Lenin's words "makers of shells and ammunition" with the contemporary term military-industrial complex and take into consideration that today's militarism uses the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and relies on a considerably expanded economic and scientific and technical base, the statement still basically applies to American, West German, British, and other imperialist governments. Actually, let us address ourselves to Lenin's text:

"The German government is most actively 'pushing' through the parliament a new law on increasing the army (from 544,000 to 659,000 in peace time, i. e., by nearly 20 percent!!). The manufacturers of shells and ammunition have been able to promote 'among the people' (read: the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois press which sells out to the highest bidder) a 'patriotic' feeling believe it or not related to the 'Slavic' menace.

"But where would the money come from for this new increase in armaments when throughout Germany the people are already groaning under the burden of taxes and the cost of living? A large sum of money is needed: a full billion marks, i.e., about 300 million rubles. How many sensible things could be accomplished with such moneys -- aid to the working people, improving their situation -- if only...if only the working people had not been the hired slaves of the capitalists who are so beautifully profiting from 'patriotic' armaments!" (pp 91-92).

It is only in the details that this does not coincide with what is happening today. The basic trends are strikingly similar.

The largest number of documents contained in the collection (192) deal with the period following the victory of the October Revolution, when Lenin's range of concerns and activities broadened immeasurably. The documents reveal his tireless practical work in building the Soviet state and guiding its domestic and foreign policies and important landmarks in perfecting the science of the building of socialism and communism. As the CC CPSU Decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" emphasizes, this crowned his theoretical work.

In a number of cases the materials of the post-October period are of a different nature. Along with articles, speeches, notes, and excerpts, we come across draft decrees, orders, instructions to secretaries, directions, mandates, certifications, notes taken in the course of talks with delegations, and so on.

This mass of varied and frequently extremely brief documents contain a pile of ideas, deep considerations, and brilliant remarks waiting to be studied. They reveal the content, nature, and work style of a state leader of a new type -- the leader of the first ruling communist party in history and of the first state of the victorious proletariat.

In his time, before World War I, drafting an article on the correspondence between Marx and Engels for the journal *PROLETARIAT*, Lenin singled out as the "focal point of the entire correspondence the main point to which led all discussed and expressed ideas" -- dialectics. "The use of dialectical materialism in reworking the entire political economy from its foundations, and its application to history, the natural sciences, philosophy, and the policies and tactics of the working class was what interested Marx and Engels the most. This was the area into which they introduced the most essential and newest features. This represented their brilliant step forward in the history of revolutionary thinking" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 24, p 264).

Should we attempt to single out the main feature in Lenin's post-October documents included in the collection, it would obviously be the brilliant step forward in the history of revolutionary thinking and action taken by

Lenin in the course of guiding the complex, varied and still unknown establishment of the socialist society. For the first time he applied dialectical materialism and Marxism to the building of socialism. This was the basis for the further development of the theory of scientific socialism and the faultless strategic line of the party.

Thus, the leader tirelessly worked on ensuring the involvement in active historical creativity the broadest possible and, until recently rightless, ignored, and oppressed masses. Fully in accordance with Marxism, Lenin considered as the true democracy of the new society the fact that here the decisive role of the working people in material production must be combined with their participation of enterprises, the state, and social affairs, and the shaping and implementation in the management of the country's domestic and foreign policy. Problems related to the democratic nature of the new system, the conditions for the determination and application of its tremendous potential, and the constructive and humanistic nature of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat, and the leading and guiding role of the working class are clearly shown in a number of published documents such as, for instance, Lenin's 16 March 1920 speech in commemoration of Ya. M. Sverdlov.

Lenin convincingly rebuffed the entire variety of slanderers of the Soviet system and enemies of the working class: "When the dictatorship of the proletariat is accused of using violence it is forgotten that this violence was aimed at exploiters, land owners, and capitalists; it is forgotten that the respect and total loyalty which the proletariat acquired among the toiling masses were gained only because over the past two years of revolution, everywhere, its leading detachments assumed most of the troubles of the revolution, the burden of hunger, the burden of the unheard-of difficulties which befell us as a result of the civil war, the burdens which mainly afflicted the urban population" (p 223). Lenin saw the strength, viability, and general prestige enjoyed by the proletarian state, needed in order to establish socialist relations throughout society in "the links between the organized proletariat and tens of millions of working people," and the respect "felt by every working person for the selfless struggle of the proletariat which is destroying the old society. No revolution would have been possible without the unique influence acquired by the proletariat and the party leading it" (p 221).

In that same speech, singling out the main links in the chain of revolutionary and constructive tasks facing the liberated and victorious people, Lenin focussed his attention on problems of organization and organizational activities "which are and must remain the main content of the activities of the party of the working class,..." (p 219). He indicated that the building of socialism "is the lengthiest organizational work, and the only one which could lead us to real victory" (p 225). For this reason, the most important party concern "must be to train any worker or peasant who could become an organizer or administrator,.... so that he may learn how to guide the people, position them properly and unite tens of thousands of people and assess the results of their work from the viewpoint of the needs and interests of millions of people. Such is our main task" (ibid.).

As the collection materials indicate, this theoretical and political premise is specifically expanded in numerous documents reflecting Lenin's daily practical activities as Sovnarkom and Labor and Defense Council chairman. He also paid constant and tremendous attention to still topical problems: Selection and placement of cadres (note on F. A. Bayraahev, p 244; Notes taken at the RKP (b) Central Committee Plenum, p 264), improving the work of the state apparatus and strengthening labor discipline (note on the I. I. Khaderovskiy letter, p 229; order to the Sovnarkom Administration of Affairs on "reprimanding all employees, secretaries and higher officials of the Council of People's Commissars Administration of Affairs" for delaying the delivery of a telegram for over ten days, warning that "the next time this happens there will be stricter accountability," p 188).

Reading lines written by Vladimir Il'ich, whether theoretical statements or a very brief note, one becomes aware of his amazingly close ties with the masses. Better than anyone else he was aware of the interests and needs of the working people and was attentive to the people. This familiar Leninist feature is clearly confirmed, yet once again, by an entire set of documents: The letter to A. P. Smirnov on aid in food to railroad workers ("The hungry railroad workers must be supplied with bread at all cost," p 192); note on the non-eviction of the L. S. Shtikh family (p 205); note to N. N. Krestinskiy. The last document is yet another confirmation of the exceptional attention which the leader of the revolution paid to the letters of the working people. Essentially, the problem was the following: S. M. Isayev, a peasant from Kuleshi Village, Tul'skaya Guberniya, complained to Lenin about the improper activities of the local authorities. After reading the letter, Vladimir Il'ich wrote: "Comrade Krestinskiy! Please make a strict investigation. Do not forget to demand that a written answer be submitted to me soonest. Should you be too busy with the congress, ask Chutskayev in particular, or any other member of the collegium to do this" (p 206).

Lenin's work style and the methods he used in resolving the various problems he encountered in his high position in the government and society are particularly important and instructive to us. The precise and brief notes he made during meetings, encounters with delegations, and talks with representatives of the workers and peasants and men of letters and culture add to our concepts of Lenin's comprehensive activities in the initial Soviet years.

"A revolution is worth something only if it can defend itself...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37 p 122). This is the general law of all successful revolutions formulated by Lenin. This law was fully confirmed by the first country to reject the private ownership system, a country whose people had to display models of firmness and the ability to defend the revolutionary gains from the domestic counterrevolution and all foreign aggression, whatever its origin, literally from the very first day of the victory of the revolution. The collection's materials show the great attention paid by Lenin to matters of the defense of the republic and to organizing the

defeat of the interventionists and the White Guards. In this connection, let us cite an excerpt from his speech at a meeting in Moscow's Rogozhskiy Rayon. Exposing the social nature, reasons for and purposes of the activeness of the domestic and foreign counterrevolution and the historical importance of defending the homeland of the October Revolution, Lenin emphasized that, "...They are taking vengeance on us for...the fact that we overthrew the power of capitalism and of the kulak over the worker and the peasant.....

"Comrades, defending the Soviet system we are fighting not only for the interests of the Russian working people but of the proletariat the world over.

"The proletariat the world over looks (to us) with hope and enthusiasm, and (we) shall not betray its hopes" (p 195).

Many of the collection's materials and, particularly, the telegram to the Western Front Revolutionary Military Council (pp 197-198) and to the Southern Front 12th Army Revolutionary Military Council (pp 211-212), reveal various aspects of Lenin's specific practical activities aimed at strengthening the country's defense capability and at creating conditions ensuring the Red Army's victory.

Lenin's policy of peace between nations and of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems is being steadfastly and purposefully pursued by the Soviet Union. Starting with its birth and the Decree on Peace, adopted at the Second Congress of Soviets, and up to the Peace Program formulated at the 24th and developed at the 25th congresses of the CPSU, our country has been loyal to the letter and the spirit of this policy. Lenin's concern for a lasting peace among nations and for safeguarding the achievements of mankind and the people's masses themselves from the hellfire of war is also shown in the new documents included in the 39th Collection. Answering Herman Vernau, a German liberal political figure, Lenin spoke of the need to save civilization, "for which reason we are appealing to all nations." "We need peace, above all," Vladimir Il'ich emphasized. "We asked everyone to make peace" (pp 182-183). A number of documents on foreign policy problems depict Lenin's activities aimed at organizing mutually profitable trade and economic relations between Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries. In this connection, Lenin's letters to G. V. Chicherin and other materials dealing with the talks between trade representatives of the RSFSR and German industrialists dealing with concessions are of considerable interest (pp 288-289, 292-293, 313-314, 315-316, 317, and 321).

Lenin explained the usefulness of the agreements to both the young Soviet State and the German industrialists. "Concessions are the most advantageous form," he wrote, pointing out that this "legally solid" form offers total guarantees to both parties and "facilitates the expansion of the project" (p 288).

Finally, let us consider the unique materials in the collection's appendix. They include notes by Lenin and his secretaries on duty on the pages of the desk calendar for 1920 and 1921, and entries by secretaries on duty for 1921 and 1922.

Particularly precious to us are Lenin's hand written entries: 48 in 1920 and 44 in 1921.

The documents reveal Lenin's reception of numerous visitors and delegations, showing the democratic character of the great leader closely linked with workers, peasants, specialists, all kinds of people's strata, and leaders of the international communist movement.

The materials cover records for 289 days. Within that time Vladimir Il'ich saw over 600 people, 103 of them representatives of foreign countries, about 20 foreign delegations, and some 10 local delegations. As a variety of historical sources, the brief calendar notes made by Lenin and the secretaries reflect his comprehensive activities and help us to define more precisely a number of facts from Lenin's biography. They provide additional data on the leader's tremendous state and party work.

Naturally, the present review hardly covers the entire range of subjects included in the collection's documents. This would be impossible. The collection must be read as a valuable source of the history of the life, and political and theoretical activities of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin.

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CSO: 1802

BEGINNING OF PEACEFUL SOCIALIST BUILDING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 80 pp 123-128

[Review by V. Fomichev of the book "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya Khronika. 1870-1924" (Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographic Chronicle 1870-1924). Volume 10, January-July 1921. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 743 pages with illustrations]

[Text] The tenth volume of V. I. Lenin's biographic chronicle contains facts and events of his life and activities from 23 January to 12 July 1921. Within that time, on Lenin's initiative and under his leadership a historical turn was made from the policy of war communism to the new economic policy which laid the beginning of a long period of peaceful socialist construction in our country.

This was a difficult time in the life of the young Soviet Republic. The civil war against the combined forces of internal and international reaction had just ended. Irreparable damage had been caused to the country's economy. Plants and factories stood idle. The transportation system worked very irregularly. Bread and many other products were scarce. In terms of the overall level of industrial and agricultural output Russia had been hurled far back. Economic dislocation led to the aggravation of social difficulties as well. Having endured the policy of "War Communism" and farm produce requisitioning, the peasantry was now expressing its discontent which was used by the enemies of the Soviet system to rekindle the flame of the counterrevolution. Lenin said that, "Russia came out of the war looking more than anything else like a person beaten to the point of being half-dead: for seven years they slaughtered it and now, God willing, it is moving on crutches! Such is our condition!" (Poln. Sobr. Soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 43, p 68).

Under such circumstances, facing the necessity to develop "different ways, different distribution and utilization of forces, and different channelling of attention, mentality, etc." (Ibid., Vol 42, p 28), the party and Lenin had to give the country a new orientation, creatively resolve the ripe problems of changing relations between town and country, strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry as the inviolable base of proletarian dictatorship, and formulate new forms of economic management.

Volume ten of *Biograficheskaya Khronika* includes about 3,000 facts. About 750 new Leninist documents are published in full or in part for the first time, together with proceedings of eight plenums, 30 meetings of the RKP (b) Central Committee Politburo, 22 Sovnarkom sessions and 29 plenary sessions of the Labor and Defense Council chaired by Vladimir Il'ich. The materials include records of the numerous meetings between Lenin and workers, peasants, party and soviet workers, and representatives of fraternal parties and foreign countries, speeches at meetings and conferences, extensive correspondence, work with official documents, and writing of theoretical works.

Unquestionably, the Tenth RKP (b) Congress, held in Moscow, in the Kremlin's Sverdlov Hall, between 8 and 16 March 1921, was basic among the huge number of events presented to the readers in this volume. Lenin's concern for thorough preparations for the congress followed by his adamant struggle to insure the implementation of its decisions are comprehensively covered in this volume. Let us consider merely some of its aspects.

The 26 January meeting of the CC RKP(b) Plenum, chaired by Lenin, dealt with the question of speeding up the submission by the reporters of the theses of their congress reports. On 5 February the Politburo set up a commission which included Vladimir Il'ich to be in charge of the final draft of the theses on the national problem, submitted by I. V. Stalin, people's commissar for nationalities affairs to the Tenth RKP(b) Congress, and instructed the commission to publish them in the name of the Central Committee. On 8 February, attending the Politburo meeting which discussed the spring sowing campaign and the situation of the peasantry, Lenin wrote and submitted for processing by the commission a draft decree on improving the situation of the peasants, entitled "Preliminary Draft of Theses Concerning the Peasants." A specific way for a conversion to a new economic policy was earmarked in four brief and clear Lenin-type items. This document became the basis for the draft decision of the tenth congress on replacing requisitioning with tax in kind. The volume also shows Lenin's preliminary work on his speeches at the Tenth Party Congress: report on the political activities of the CC RKP(b), report on replacing requisition with tax in kind, and others.

While preparing for the congress and working on its documents, Lenin repeatedly met with representatives of local party and soviet organs. He spoke with peasants' messengers and attentively listened to their views and suggestions. Thus, for example, on 2 February he had a talk with V. N. Sokolov, who represented the People's Commissariat for Land in Siberia and was a member of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee. Lenin heard his views on the possibility to change the form of requisition and grant the peasantry the right to keep grain surpluses. He suggested to him to draft theses on Siberian land structure and food policy and a draft decree on the matter for submission to the CC RKP(b), and promised to submit the materials for consideration by the Central Committee plenum. On 9 February he talked with O. I. Chernov, a peasant from Irkutskaya Guberniya. Vladimir Il'ich studied his report on the situation of the peasantry and on the possibility to

replace requisitioning with tax in kind in Siberia. He suggested that the material be sent to PRAVDA where, on Lenin's instructions, it was printed on 11 February under the heading of "Views on the Siberian Peasantry as a Social Element." Such encounters gave Lenin rich data for the study of the situation in the country and formulation of major state policy problems.

The materials in the volume are frequently backed by archive sources. They provide an idea of Lenin's leading role in the work of the Tenth RKP(b) Congress and on the proceedings of all the meetings attended by V. I. Lenin. He spoke at the opening and closing of the congress, read the report of the party's Central Committee, spoke on replacing requisitioning with tax in kind, on party unity and anarcho-sindicalist deviation, on the trade unions, and on the fuel problem. He wrote the drafts of the most important resolutions, participated in the work of the various congress commissions, and was interested in the situation of the workers and peasants and the state of party and governmental work locally.

The adoption of the resolution "On Replacing Requisitioning With Tax in Kind," which marked the transition to the new economic policy, based on Lenin's report and passed by the congress at its fourteenth (morning) meeting, on 15 March, was a most important event in the history of the party and the state. Explaining the meaning of this transition at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin said: "...The essence of the new economic policy is the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, a union between the vanguard, the proletariat, and the broad peasantry" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 44 p 322). Allowing, under certain conditions, the development of capitalist elements in the country while keeping the command positions in the national economy in the hands of the proletarian state, the purpose of the NEP was to insure the victory of the socialist over the capitalist elements and to lay the foundations of a socialist economy.

Equally essential was the resolution submitted by Lenin and passed at the final session of the congress, on 16 March, "On Party Unity." It summed up the results of the struggle against Trotskyites, Bukharinites, "workers' opposition" groups, and other opportunistic groups which opposed the party's course for the development of the country and violated its unity and discipline. Stipulating in its resolution the immediate disbanding of all groups and a further ban on any type of factionalism, and calling for the unconditional and immediate loss of party membership for the violation of such requirements, the congress thus codified the essential Leninist stipulation on party unity and ideological and organizational cohesion of its members as an inviolable law of its internal life.

Following the Tenth RKP(b) Congress, further work on the problems of the new economic policy, the clarification of its principles, and the management of its practical implementation assumed a most important role in Lenin's activities. On 19-20 March Vladimir Il'ich took part in the work of the second session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Eighth Convocation, which passed the law "On replacing Food and Raw Materials

Requisitions With Tax in Kind" (p 223), thus making the party's directive a state legislative act. Expanding this law, on 28 March Lenin signed the Sovnarkom Decree "On the Amount of the Tax in Kind for 1921-1922" and the Sovnarkom Decree "On the Free Exchange of Grain, Feed Grain, Potatoes and Hay in Guberniyas With Paid-Up Tax in Kind."

Informing the broad people's masses of the congress' resolutions, the tax in kind in particular, was an important aspect of the party's activities. At its 18 March meeting the CC RKP(b) Politburo discussed the establishment of a commission to draft theses for the agitators related to the agitation campaign on the tax in kind, to be reviewed by Lenin. The theses were discussed by the Politburo on 30 March, with Lenin attending. At its 4 June meeting the Politburo held another discussion on the organization of agitation work related to the tax in kind.

Those days Lenin kept in sight all economic sectors. He called for focusing maximum efforts on problems of economic construction. He mentioned this with particular emphasis and feeling in the pamphlet "On the Food Tax (The Significance of the New Policy and Its Conditions)," completed on 21 April. This was an outstanding theoretical work which offered a profound and comprehensive study of the nature and significance of the new economic policy, the characteristics of the country's development in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, and the tasks related to the transition to the NEP which affected not only the peasantry but the country's entire national economy. Also discussed in the pamphlet were the ways and means of socialist economic management.

Economic development was discussed at the 26-28 May Tenth All-Russian RKP(b) Conference. After comprehensively developing the idea of the new economic policy, in his speeches Lenin drew the attention to the need to change the content and style of the work of party and soviet organizations, intensify the work of the entire party, promote and train new cadres, and study local positive experience. "The economy is our common concern," Vladimir Il'ich stated at the 27 May conference session. "Economic policy is what interests us the most." In his 28 May speech, at the closing of the conference, he made the widely known statement that, "Today we are exerting our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy. ...In this area the struggle is being waged on a global scale. By resolving this problem we will certainly and definitively win on an international scale" (pp 470, 476-477).

In all his works, speeches, and letters of that period Vladimir Il'ich invariably stressed the importance of strengthening planning and the scientific organization of labor and of upgrading its productivity. On 23 February he signed the Regulation on the State All-Planning Commission which stipulated that the basic task of the Gosplan is "the formulation of a single statewide economic plan and of the ways and means for its implementation" (p 151). His letters to Gosplan Chairman G. M. Krahizhanovskiy

contained suggestions on the structure, membership, organization and tasks of the Gosplan. He emphasized the need "to undertake immediately, with all possible strength, the formulation of current economic plans." On 26 May he suggested to the Gosplan to consider the formulation of an extensive program for statistical-economic studies and draft a monthly summary of the main data on the country's economic life (pp 466-467).

As shown in the work, on 2 April Lenin suggested to the People's Commissariat for Labor, the Revolutionary Military Council, the People's Commissariat of Food, the All-Russian Council of the National Economy, the AUCCTU, and the Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Metal Workers to hold a conference on raising labor productivity at enterprises and streamlining food supplies to factories and plants. The conference was held the same day. In his talks with industrial managers, including I. I. Mezhlauk, director of the Yenakiyevo Metallurgical Plant, Lenin emphasized the need to enhance labor productivity. The work includes an interesting talk between Vladimir Il'ich and A. K. Gastev, head of the Central Labor Institute of the AUCCTU on the scientific elaboration of the problem of organization of labor. In a letter to the People's Commissariat of Finance he requested that the funds needed by the institute for buying equipment from Germany be procured. Lenin drafted a "Proposal to the Politburo of the CC RKP(b) on Bonuses to Enterprises," in which he raised the question of awarding bonuses "for the model organization, on a commercial basis, of groups of enterprises, departments, and institutions" (p 657). In a talk with N. P. Gorbunov, Sovnarkom administrator of affairs, he asked that factors such as assiduity, accuracy, personnel reductions, and quick and accurate complete answers to visitors be considered in formulating the bonus system for the personnel of soviet establishments (p 110).

Vladimir Il'ich considered the proper placement of leading cadres, the enhancement of their responsibility for assignments, and their systematic training extremely important among the measures needed for the sake of the radical improvement of national economic management. In his speeches at the Tenth Congress, his article "On a Unified Economic Plan," the pamphlet "On the Tax in Kind," and other works Lenin explained to the party members their "real task in management: Not to try to do everything themselves," straining themselves and failing, and not undertaking 20 projects without completing a single one, but check the work of tens and hundreds of aides, and organize control of their work from below, i.e., by the masses; direct the work and learn from those who have the knowledge... and the experience in organizing a large-scale economy..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 242). Vladimir Il'ich suggested that some workers be assigned from central to local work in order to organize all economic activities on a model basis. This would create "a nursery for workers and provide a model for emulation." On 14 April in his letter of greetings to the Petrograd All-City Conference of Non-Party Workers, Lenin pointed out that under the new conditions of the country's conversion to peaceful socialist building, whose success would be largely determined by the extensive development and use of the economic initiative and experience of the masses, it would become necessary "always to promote more non-party workers and peasants in economic construction" (p 310).

The conversion to peaceful conditions placed on the agenda the complex problems of organizing public education, the development of science and culture, and the struggle for educating the Soviet person, the builder of socialism. Under Lenin's guidance the party successfully resolved these problems as well.

During those days Vladimir Il'ich paid great attention to improving the work of the People's Commissariat of Education. He frequently chaired the meetings of the CC RKP (b) commission in charge of this reorganization. He wrote the article "On the Work of the Narkompros" in which he exposed the shortcomings in its activities and clarified its urgent tasks which included the organization of polytechnical training and the recruitment of education specialists. "A communist who argues about 'management' but is unable to promote practical work by the specialists or to use the practical experience of many hundreds of teachers," Lenin wrote, "is no good for anything" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 326).

The leader of the party and the state kept track of the organization of libraries, dissemination of the press, development of motion pictures and the radio, and the state of affairs in literature. For example, Lenin had a talk with V. A. Modestov, head of the libraries section of Moscow's Public Education Department. He wanted to know the factual number of people working in libraries and reading rooms and the condition of their book stocks and discussed the importance of this work. He was interested in the development of the motion pictures industry in the republic, and the making and distribution of popular science movies in particular. He followed the publication process of a school atlas of Russia and the work of a scientific commission compiling a dictionary of the contemporary Russian language "(From Pushkin to Gor'kiy)." He attended a Politburo meeting on the publication of "Vsemirnaya Literatura" [World Literature]. He requested that help be given to Engineer M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich of the Nizhegorodskaya radio laboratory in his radio engineering and television work.

Calling upon the party members and leading workers in the national economy "to learn to value science, " to respect the practical work of scientific and technical specialists and to help them to "broaden their outlook on the basis of the achievements and data of the respective science" (p 145), Lenin always followed the work of the country's scientific institutions and was in constant touch with scientists. On 27 January he received A. M. Gor'kiy and a delegation of the Joint Council of Scientific Institutions and Higher Education Institutions of Petrograd, consisting of S. F. Ol'denburg, permanent secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences, V. A. Steklov, vice president of the Academy of Sciences, and Professor V. N. Tonkov, president of the Military Medical Academy, with whom he discussed problems of the organization of international scientific relations and the organization of scientific information and the publication of scientific works. He discussed the achievements of foreign science, the exchange of publications, and measures through which the Soviet State could help scientific workers.

He called upon the scientists to intensify the dissemination of scientific knowledge among the broad masses, emphasizing that this is a vital requirement of the state and reality (pp 19-20). On 15 April Vladimir Il'ich had a talk with L. K. Ramzin and K. A. Krug, thermoengineers and Gosplan members and studied the data they submitted on fuel consumption in Russia between 1916 and 1921 and the plan of the Main Fuel Administration for the first half of 1921.

The work shows Lenin's concern for the collection and preservation of Marx's and Engels' documents, and for the development of the social sciences in our country. In a letter to the director of the K. Marx and F. Engels Institute Vladimir Il'ich asked whether the institute has collected all the letters by the founders of Marxism, published in newspapers and journals, and whether they have been catalogued. He asked that such a catalog be sent to him (p 52). In another letter, he raised again the question of the possibility to buy abroad unpublished letters written by Marx and Engels or their photocopies and to collect in Moscow their entire published literary legacy. He asked whether available works and materials had been catalogued and whether the letters of the Marxist classics were being collected (p 56). Because of the urgent need for Marxist cadres, scientific workers and social science teachers in particular, on 12 February Lenin signed a Sovnarkom decree establishing in Moscow and Petrograd institutes for the training of red professors. He considered the institution in Moscow University of a department of social sciences and its staffing. He suggested that VUZ programs include the study of the plan for the electrification of Russia, its economic foundations, and its conditions for implementation.

The transition to peaceful economic construction and socialist changes demanded that great attention be paid to the national problem. Following a discussion of the problem, the Tenth RKP(b) Congress indicated the need for the consistent implementation of a policy of friendship among all nations and nationalities inhabiting this huge country and the elimination of factual inequalities among them. Lenin took the necessary measures to help the working people of Georgia and Armenia in their struggle for the establishment of a Soviet system in the Transcaucasus. He concerned himself with financing the Transcaucasian Soviet republics, Soviet Ukraine, Belorussia, Turkestan, and other national areas, and with the training of national cadres. During the time span covered by the tenth volume Vladimir Il'ich met frequently with representatives of national republics. In a letter addressed to the "Comrade Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Dagestan, and the Gori Republic, dated 14 April, he discussed the tasks and characteristics of socialist building in the Transcaucasus. He stressed the need creatively to apply the tactic followed by the RKP(b) under Russia's conditions, "independently to consider the reasons for its characteristics, conditions, and results, and to apply not, the letter but the spirit, meaning and lessons of the 1917-1921 experience" (p 310). He was interested in the situation in Chuvashiya and had a talk with S. A. Korichev, its representative, on 18 April, as well as in distant Yakutiya from where he had received greetings sent by the Second Non-Party Conference of Yakut Poor, and answered the delegates with a warm and friendly telegram.

The Soviet state was undertaking the restoration of its national economy under complex international conditions. The world bourgeoisie hated the first state of working people and was ready to mount at any moment a new aggression against it. Recalling the dismal "results" of the intervention in Russia, however, in the circumstances of aggravated contradictions among them and the economic crisis which had begun in 1920, the big imperialist countries were not reluctant to establish economic relations with the RSFSR. Under those circumstances, Lenin and the party called for doing everything possible to consolidate the peace, develop mutually profitable relations with other countries, and look for friends among peoples and countries formerly subjected to the colonial expansion of the Western great powers.

The materials in the tenth volume properly reflect the active foreign policy efforts made by Lenin and the Soviet state aimed, above all, at establishing friendly relations with neighboring countries: Afghanistan, Turkey, and Persia (Iran). The talks were concluded with the signing of treaties in February 1921 on establishing friendly relations with Persia and Afghanistan and, in March, a "Friendship and Brotherhood Treaty" with Turkey. In a message to the Afghan Emir Amanulla-Khan, announcing the signing of the treaty, Lenin noted its importance to strengthening the friendship between Soviet Russia and Afghanistan (p 334). M. Yaftali, Afghan ambassador to Soviet Russia, recalls his meeting with Vladimir Il'ich as follows: Mr Lenin's statements clearly showed his wish for the peoples of the Orient to become free from colonial yoke and gain their independence (p 499). On 26 February Lenin received a Turkish delegation consisting of Yussuf Kemal Bey, minister of economics, Riza Nur Bey, minister of education, and Ali Fuad Pasha, Turkish ambassador to Soviet Russia, with whom he discussed the signing of a treaty between the RSFSR and Turkey.

At the same time, the Soviet government made substantial efforts to establish normal relations with the Western countries. This is confirmed, for example, by materials on trade talks with England. Lenin repeatedly discussed the course of these talks with L. B. Krasin, People's Commissar of Foreign Trade. The topic was discussed at the 26 January CC RKP(b) Plenum the agreement concluded on 16 March between the RSFSR and Britain on the establishment of trade relations stipulated that both sides were prepared to "remove without delay all obstacles on the path to resuming trade in all goods between the United Kingdom and Russia...." Lloyd George, the British prime minister, officially stated in the House of Commons that this agreement meant the de facto recognition of the Soviet government. Many other documents found in the volume show Lenin's great attention to the establishment of business contacts with the governments and the industrialists of Germany, France, Italy, the United States, and other countries.

Lenin always kept track of problems of the international communist and workers movements. Most of the facts reflecting this aspect of Vladimir Il'ich's activities in the work focus on the preparations for and holding of the Third Komintern Congress, which took place in Moscow from 22 June to 12 July 1921. By then the number of communist parties abroad had increased.

However, the first wave of revolutions in the West had declined. The communists had to prepare themselves for a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement. This required the winning over of the broad people's masses. Lenin considered the struggle for the masses and their training for the future revolution the main task of the communist parties. On the eve of and during the Third Komintern Congress he met and talked with representatives of the communist parties of Germany, America, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other countries, including K. Zetkin, G. Dimitrov, O. Kuusinen, and B. Kuhn to whom he explained the politics and experience of the RKP(b), directing them toward strengthening their ties with the masses and formulating a flexible tactic in the struggle under the new conditions of the development of the workers movement.

At the Third Komintern Congress, which nominated him as its honorary chairman, Lenin spoke on the tactic of the RKP(b) and on the Italian problem. He attended the meetings of the tactics commission and conferences with members of many delegations. He submitted drafts on the "Theses on the Problem of Tactics," took notes, and made running summaries of the speeches of some of the delegates. His report on the tactic of the RKP(b), delivered on 5 July, in German, was the main event of the congress. The main conclusion drawn by the congress on the basis of this report was that a more thorough and comprehensive preparation of the working class was needed for the new defensive and offensive battles, for insuring in the course of this struggle the predominant influence of the communists on the majority of the proletariat, and the working and exploited people, the communist leadership of this struggle, and the creation, in its course, of big mass revolutionary communist parties. The general slogan for communist activities formulated by the congress was the appeal, "To the Masses!" (p 587). Recalling Vladimir Il'ich's address to the members of some delegations, D. Alpari, a noted personality of the Hungarian and international workers movements, wrote that "The speech made a most profound impression on me and others. It was a classical lecture on revolutionary communist tactics" (p 677).

A large number of facts included in the volume show Lenin's daily ties with the masses: his meetings with workers, peasants, and men of science and culture, speeches at meetings, conferences, etc., and thorough consideration of the letters and complaints of the working people. The book lists about 120 such meetings, including meetings with representatives of the international communist and workers movements and foreign business circles and about 40 speeches. Vladimir Il'ich always showed concern for the people. He carefully considered their requests, left no letter addressed to him without answer, and demanded this of his subordinates. Thus, on 9 March 1921 he instructed his secretaries to draw up monthly reports on the nature of received communications, letters, petitions, and complaints; to use the consultants of the newspaper BEDNOTA and to forward through that newspaper received suggestions (p 198).

Reading the book, one is impressed by Vladimir Il'ich's amazing efficiency. He seems tireless, working day and night. For only one of the 171 days covered by this volume there is a four word entry: "Lenin is in Gorki." The other 170 days are crowded with facts of his dedicated activities. Naturally, fatigue took its toll: He repeatedly spent several days in Gorki seeking medical advice on his state of health. At the beginning of July, on their recommendation and by decision of the Politburo, he was granted "leave for one month with the right to attend Politburo meetings only (but not Sovnarkom or Labor and Defense Council meetings, other than in special cases by decision of the Central Committee Secretariat)." Yet, even in Gorki Lenin worked with letters, and Central Committee and Sovnarkom documents and on his speeches and articles, and regularly visited Moscow.

The tenth volume of "Biograficheskaya Khronika," which offers the readers many new facts from the life of Vladimir Il'ich and the activities of the communist party and Soviet Government, is another vivid page of literary Leniniana.

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