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20 July 1980

USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 7, May 1980

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

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GREAT VITAL FORCE OF LENINISM

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[Report by B. N. Ponomarev at the 21 April 1980 ceremony in Moscow on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birthday]

[Text] Comrades! Today our party, the Soviet people and the communist and liberation movements are celebrating the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

These days words of profound respect and love for V. I. Lenin may be heard in all corners of the world. This date is particularly extensively celebrated by the members of the socialist comity, which on the basis of Leninism are building a new life and are successfully continuing to embody Lenin's ideas in the practice of social and intergovernmental relations.

Again and again communists and working people of all countries are turning their eyes and thoughts to Lenin, to his theory and practice, to the great accomplishments of his genius as a revolutionary fighter, thinker and government leader.

No one on earth has ever done so much for the people, for the working people, as Lenin. K. Marx and F. Engels turned socialism from utopia into science. Lenin embodied the theory of socialism in life. Marx and Engels theoretically substantiated the universal-historical role of the working class. Lenin brought the working class to power, founded the state of workers and peasants, and left as his legacy to the working people of the country socialism and the science of its construction. On the basis of new international experience, V. I. Lenin enriched Marxism with great ideas and summations. He provided the only victorious theoretical guidance for the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The communist party created by Lenin became a powerful revolutionary-transforming force. It headed the great socialist revolution which opened to the peoples of Russia and, subsequently, to all mankind the path to freedom, peace and socialism.

Lenin had such an impact on the course of history that any attempt to ignore Leninism, localize its role or limit it to the past, appear historically pitiful, politically reactionary and doomed to defeat.

In our century hundreds of various social theories have come to light. Some disappeared unnoticed, while others had a short life. They were refuted by reality. A characteristic feature of Marxism-Leninism is the fact that in the course of time, now over a substantial historical span, it is experiencing an ever more convincing confirmation and extensive dissemination. The increased number of its supporters and its implementation in social practice by more and more countries convincingly prove the universal significance and rightness of scientific communism! Today there is no more or less knowledgeable person on earth unfamiliar with Lenin's name. He is read and his works are studied by hundreds of millions of people.

At each new historical stage Lenin's doctrine reveals ever more completely its wealth, proves its rightness and depth, encourages creativity and action, and gives faith in the inevitable victory of socialism. It is a living, always developing and effective doctrine. All CPSU activities related to the building of real socialism are a clear manifestation of the creative development of Leninism by our party.

"The present and the future of mankind would be inconceivable without Lenin and Leninism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said. "The light of Lenin's ideas illuminate the path of mankind leading forward to new victories, new historical accomplishments, total elimination of exploitation and oppression, and universal triumph of socialism" ("Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course], Vol 2, Moscow, 1973, p 548).

Leninism yesterday was the victory of the October Revolution and the building of the first socialist society, a powerful call for freedom and social justice which called hundreds of millions of people to struggle.

Leninism today is real socialism, embodied by the socialist comity. It is the powerful communist and liberation movements. It is the elimination of colonial rule and the creation of new independent and autonomous states. It is the radical change in the ratio of forces in favor of socialism and peace and the possibility to exclude war from the life of mankind.

Leninism tomorrow is the communist society in our country and the triumph of socialism in many other countries, and new victories for the forces of social and national liberation. It is the important successes in the struggle for a lasting and just peace and friendship among all nations.

I. Developed Socialism Is the Triumph of Lenin's Ideas

Comrades! Celebrating the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, we honor him as the great architect of the new social system. With striking depth he discovered and substantiated the constructive tasks of the

revolution. He developed a brilliant plan for the socialist reorganization of our country and assumed direct leadership over the building of the first socialist state on earth. His ideas and practical activities covered all aspects of the building of the new world--economics, politics, the role of the party as the leading force of society, legislation and the state apparatus, problems of administration, defense, science, culture and the arts, the work of the mass organizations and norms of morality.

Implementing Lenin's behests, our party and people have covered a tremendous distance. Socialism won great historical victories. Lenin's ideas of the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, and of the solution of the national problem and the cultural revolution have long become reality. We can claim with full justification that the party and the people boldly implemented what Lenin dreamed about and planned. A developed socialist society has been built. An unparalleled new historical community has appeared in the world--the multinational Soviet people.

However, all activities of the genius of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action are still useful to us and to socialism and will be useful tomorrow in the area of the base--in the area of the economy--and in the superstructure--in politics and ideology.

Our party's tremendous constructive work is guided by the Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding Leninist-type leader, and firm fighter for the blossoming the socialist homeland and for communism (lengthy applause). The party and its Central Committee are systematically resolving the problems of the all-round progress of our society raised by life.

This is vividly confirmed by the historical Central Committee decrees passed last year and at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of the Party and State Organs," and the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" are major steps in the implementation of the party's economic strategy formulated at the 24th and 25th congresses. They are imbued with a truly innovational spirit, daring and broad in a Leninist way, and with a broad, yet scientifically substantiated approach to the solution of ripe problems. They call for improvements in planning and economic management methods, and for intensifying the role of the State Plan, while at the same time broadening the democratic principles and rights of the labor collectives.

A firm course is being followed in the development of the industrial foundations of agriculture, which, in Lenin's words, is the main prerequisite for the "tremendous increase in the productivity of farming and, in general, of agricultural labor . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 179). At the present stage the party's Leninist agrarian policy has been vividly manifested in the decisions of the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" is a clear confirmation of the party's work in ideology. It is a long-term program for the upbringing of the Soviet people in a spirit of high idea-mindedness, and loyalty to the homeland and to the idea of communism. The Central Committee decree and, subsequently, the all-union conference held on its basis, became major events in all ideological-political life. Their purpose is to improve the party's ideological activities in accordance with the contemporary stage of development of Soviet society, the gradual transition to communism and the confrontation between the two world systems.

L. I. Brezhnev's trilogy represents the embodiment of Leninist traditions in ideological-political work. "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], "Tselina" [Virgin Land] and other works by Leonid Il'ich have been published in many countries throughout the world. Expressing the feeling of love and gratitude felt by the people's masses, the USSR Committee for Lenin and State Prizes presented Comrade L. I. Brezhnev with a deserved award (lengthy applause).

It is on the basis of Lenin's behests that the party is resolving the central problems of contemporary development. Let us consider the most important lines of its work at the present stage.

First. Formulating a constructive program for the revolution, V. I. Lenin raised in its full dimension a new task for the working class: that of managing the state and material production, and steadily improving management in the course of economic expansion.

Economic management was, and remains, the basic trend in the CPSU reorganizational activities. According to Lenin this is the main, the most interesting and, as historical experience has confirmed, a rather complex policy.

The socialist economy must develop on the basis of a single scientifically substantiated state plan. The famous GOELRO Plan was the first embodiment of this idea. Whenever we recall it we are amazed by its scale and far-sightedness.

Lenin's plan was for "hundreds of millions of people to be guided by a single plan . . ." (Lenin, op cit. Vol 36, p 7). The party implemented this idea. Our economy is the greatest economic complex, unified, and interrelated in all its parts.

Creating conditions for upgrading the living standards of the people, the successes achieved in the development of the Soviet economy must resolve another historical problem: to insure the victory in the peaceful competition with the capitalist system in the economic field, bearing in mind that this competition is a reality which will cover a lengthy historical period. The 25th CPSU Congress called for making economic management consistent

with the requirements of the developed socialist society. The CC CPSU decree on improving the economic mechanism stipulates an entire system of specific measures whose implementation will constitute tremendous progress.

The need to learn efficient and effective economic management is a permanent requirement. In the course of rising along the steps of economic and social progress it arises again and again, each time on a higher level.

What does skillful economic management mean today? The party has answered the question clearly:

It means an orientation toward the utilization of intensive quality factors of economic growth and achieving high national economic end results;

It means to work with perspective, properly combining current with long-term objectives, taking immediate as well as long-term consequences of decisions made, mastering modern management, planning and forecasting methods, and decisively eliminating conservatism and the power of inertia;

It means awareness of the indivisible link between economic problems and social and ideological processes, and their comprehensive solution;

It means adamantly upgrading the level of organization and observing state and planning discipline at all sectors and levels. Today Lenin's slogan of mastering the science and art of management determines one of the main directions in the activities of party, state and planning-economic organs and social organizations.

Second. V. I. Lenin's substantiated principle for combining the power of the working people with the most advanced technical base and the need to use the achievements of science and technology in upgrading labor productivity and insuring the victory of the new social system. Everything valuable acquired by human civilization must be used. "We must use all science, technology, knowledge and art," Lenin said. "Without this we will not be able to build a communist society" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 38, p 55).

Socialist society proved its superiority over capitalism by the very fact that it is free from the ulcers and vices which are inevitable companions of the bourgeois system based on private ownership and the exploitation of man by man. It has eliminated crises and unemployment from the life of society. Socialism proved its superiority in the pace of economic growth and the level of output of many most important types of industrial commodities. It is a fact that for decades the socialist economy has been developing along an ascending line. The Soviet Union holds a leading position in the world in the production of steel, petroleum, coal, coke, iron ore, cast iron, chemical fertilizers, diesel and electric locomotives, cement, timber, woolen fabrics, leather shoes, refrigerators and some other commodities. The socialist system has everything necessary to resolve the problem posed by Lenin: outstripping capitalism in quality indicators as well, including the level of social labor productivity.

The 24th CPSU Congress called for organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system. Last year's CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree ascribes a particular place to the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress in the USSR, covering a 20-year span. Its systematic implementation will insure the fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the working people and the steady growth of the people's prosperity.

The scientific and technical revolution is a global international process. Drawing from this rich river the best features of scientific thinking and experience in production organization, we must, above all, do everything necessary to insure domestic scientific and technical progress and improve the ways and means of production organization created by socialism.

Third. V. I. Lenin included among the main constructive tasks of the revolution the shaping of conscious labor discipline and the development of a communist attitude toward labor. He cautioned that the development of such discipline is a "lengthy process," related to surmounting the most difficult legacy of centuries of coercive forced labor.

Lenin ascribed to socialist competition the main role in bringing to light the possibilities for voluntary labor ("working for oneself," in his expression), and stimulating the labor enthusiasm and initiative of the masses. Lenin's idea lives today in the movement for communist labor involving the participation of millions of working people, and displaying models of high production standards and effectiveness. The experience of leading production workers confirms the tremendous possibilities and reserves available to us.

The communist subbotniks in honor of V. I. Lenin's birthday, the earnings from which go to health care have become an outstanding tradition. This year they will total over one billion rubles.

On the eve of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, on the initiative of the Moscow and Leningrad labor collectives, extensive competition developed for the implementation of the five-year plans by 22 April 1980. Production innovators, millions of working people, confirmed their loyalty to Lenin's doctrine and to socialism not only in words but in actions, fulfilling their promises. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, allow me to congratulate all participants in the Leninist shock watch and wish that the standards reached within that period become the starting point for further progress in accordance with the established possibilities (applause).

We must do a great deal more in the field of upgrading labor discipline and improving the organization of labor. In this case Lenin's principle of combining the interests of society, the labor collective and the individual worker are of tremendous importance.

Fourth. V. I. Lenin linked the solution of the constructive tasks of the revolution with the development of socialist democracy. He saw in the higher, Soviet-type democracy the inexhaustible source of strength of the new system. The party is steadily relying on this. Concerned with strengthening the centralized principle, it proceeds from the fact that in both politics and economics we need democratic centralism, which offers broad scope to initiative from below.

The new USSR constitution was a major step in the development of the Soviet state. It not only guarantees the level reached in the field of democracy but calls for the further expansion of socialist democracy: the ever-broader participation of the citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs; improving the state apparatus; upgrading the role of the soviets of people's deputies; enhancing the activity of social organizations; intensifying people's control; strengthening the legal foundations of state and social life; and constant consideration of public opinion.

A total of 2,275,000 people's deputies were elected to the local soviets at the recent election for supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics; 57 percent of them were nonparty and 43 percent were party members; their social breakdown was as follows: 43 percent workers and 25 percent kolkhoz members. This is a splendid illustration of the nature of our democracy.

In the course of the elections an impressive canvas was painted showing the historical successes of our country. The addresses by leaders and local workers and rank-and-file Soviet voters depicted these achievements, particularly those of recent decades. The Soviet people spoke with a feeling of legitimate pride of the way, with every passing year, our socialist homeland is becoming ever more beautiful and more powerful. At the same time, shortcomings were exposed. Unresolved problems were openly mentioned and plans for further progress were earmarked.

Fifth. The main purpose of the building of socialism and communism is, according to V. I. Lenin, subordinating social production to the task of upgrading the prosperity of the people and insuring the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people.

Today we can say that our country has long and far outstripped capitalism in factually guaranteeing the citizens' basic rights and freedoms, such as the right to work, to education, recreation, health care, protection of motherhood and childhood, and old-age security. We have the right to housing, unheard of in the capitalist world. Today the USSR is building more residential units than any other country. Every day 5,500 apartment units are completed and granted free of charge to Soviet citizens. Over the last decade about 22 million new housing units were completed and 109 million people were able to improve their housing conditions.

The entire socialist program formulated by the party is imbued with Leninist concern for the people. It is being systematically implemented. In

the past 20 years alone real per capita income rose by almost one-half; social consumption-funds benefits rose by a factor of 1.8.

Lenin was at the origins of the cultural revolution which brought about a real change in the country's spiritual life. This enabled the Soviet state to become one of the most progressive in terms of the level of public education. The fact that our people attained the highest levels of universal culture is yet another socialist accomplishment and yet another area in which it has forever left capitalism far behind.

The alliance between culture and labor has been strengthened in the socialist society. It finds its profound manifestation in the national nature of culture itself and in the creative contribution which the men of literature and the arts are making to building a communist society and raising a person whose life stance is to measure himself against Lenin and learn from Lenin.

Comrades! The leading activities of communist party remain the prerequisite for all our successes. In a Leninist manner, it boldly raises problems of communist construction and mobilizes the people for their implementation.

The communist party is a model of Leninist attitude of duty to the people and of serving the people. All its activities are imbued with the Leninist style which presumes a scientific approach to social processes, high exactingness toward oneself and others, and intolerance toward manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism.

The Leninist style of management also includes the frank discussion of vital problems and difficulties and the determination of their reasons. Clear illustrations of this style were the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, and the profound and frank address delivered at the plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, an address of durable and principled significance.

The party is always developing criticism and self-criticism. Proper reaction to criticism is an indicator of the political maturity of cadres and organizations. The party considers inadmissible attempts to suppress criticism.

The Leninist behest on work with the letters of the working people is steadfastly followed. The CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that this is an important means for strengthening ties with the population and as a source of information.

In the field of political-educational work constant attention is paid to the study of V. I. Lenin's works in close connection with the practice of the building of communism. The CC CPSU decree on the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth provides a broad program for the further study of

Leninism and its implementation. The open party meetings held by the party organizations on the topic of "Let Us Live, Work and Struggle in a Leninist, a Communist Fashion," was an important new method for mastering Lenin's legacy. They contributed to strengthening the ties between ideological work and life. They upgraded even further the combat capability of the primary party organizations and rallied the working people more firmly around the CPSU.

The communist party reached the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth full of strength and energy, and enriched with new experience. Today it rallies over 17 million members. Guiding all revolutionary-transforming activities of the Soviet people, and confidently charting the course of our country in complex international circumstances, the CPSU sacredly follows the basic Leninist behest of protecting and strengthening the unity within its ranks, the unity between party and people, the unbreakable alliance among the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and the fraternal friendship among all nations and nationalities in the country. L. I. Brezhnev's statement in his speech was noteworthy: "Social unity and integrity is a unique socialist gain, our priceless, insurmountable strength. . . . May our enemies remember the lessons of history. May they know that the unity among the Soviet people is manifested particularly strongly precisely when attempts are made to talk to us in the language of threats" (L. I. Brezhnev, "Our Course Is That of Peaceful Construction," speech at the 22 February 1980 meeting with the voters of Baunanskiy Electoral District, Moscow, 1980, pp 6-7). The lessons provided by the over 60 years of history of our society should have long taught its enemies that there is no force on earth which could eliminate the great gains of the people who have learned what socialism means! (lengthy applause).

We must work a great deal more to reach all the program objectives of the CPSU. Entering the 1980's, the Soviet people are confidently looking into the future. Our ideology and socialist way of life are imbued with a spirit of historical optimism. Time works for communism!

II. Leninism and World Development

Comrades! V. I. Lenin's greatest accomplishment is that he discovered the main trends and mechanism of global development in the new historical age and brought to light its basic laws. In terms of importance, Lenin's work "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism," and some other of his works on the study of global processes are on the same level as Karl Marx' brilliant "Das Kapital."

Lenin formulated and substantiated the most important idea in the destinies of mankind that imperialism creates world wars, while socialism brings peace to the peoples. The successes and strength of socialism creates conditions which make it possible to eliminate global wars from the life of society through the unification of all anti-war forces.

The theories of the socialist revolution, the possibility for a socialist victory initially in a single country, peaceful coexistence between the two systems, the role of the national-liberation movement today and the forms of revolutionary struggle of the working class under contemporary capitalist conditions are all inseparably linked with the Leninist assessment of imperialism. Lenin developed these problems and armed the working people with a reliable scientific method for the study of the deployment of class forces and ways of revolutionary change.

Even surrounded by imperialism, the first socialist state created by V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks already then became the center of international relations and world progress. Today marching by its side are other states which constitute the socialist comity, which as Lenin predicted is having a tremendous impact on global policies. Wherever the basic principles of Leninism are observed there has been success, a strengthening of socialist conditions and steady enhancement of material prosperity and cultural living standards of the people. Wherever such principles are violated and there is a retreat from Leninism, as is the case with China, for example, there is stagnation, a movement backwards and the danger of losing everything already gained.

The historical victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and, subsequently, in the socialist comity, and the revelation of the constructive possibilities of the socialist system, were key factors in the reorganization of the entire world and a motive force for all social progress today.

Another decisive factor was the ability of socialism to defend itself and its gains from imperialist encroachments. In a few days the broadest possible masses, the Soviet people above all, will be celebrating the 35th anniversary of the great victory over fascism. The Soviet Union and its great armed forces not only defended the freedom and independence of the fatherland in the most bloody of all wars, but liberated other nations and saved mankind from the threat of fascist enslavement.

All nations admired the exploits of the Soviet state and expressed to it their great gratitude and love. Many western heads of state and governments proclaimed this loudly.

One after another U.S. president has expressed his gratitude to the Soviet Armed Forces. "In their struggle against the Nazi invasion the Russian army and people are experiencing the main burden of the pressure" and are displaying "incomparable heroism," U.S. President Roosevelt said. "The great exploits of the Red Army in the war in Europe were admired by the world over," Eisenhower stated. Even an anti-Soviet leader such as President Truman wrote that, the Soviet Union made a "splendid contribution to the cause of civilization and freedom," proving "the ability of a freedom-loving and highly courageous people to crush the evil forces of barbarism, however powerful they might be."

The then British prime minister said that, "Future generations will acknowledge their debt to the Red Army as unreservedly as we are. . . ."

Today everyone should be reminded of these statements. The present leaders of the United States and Great Britain have totally neglected the duty they mentioned then. Today they have it in for us, not shying from any sacrilegious demagoguery. The truth, however, is that the nature of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet people, the essence of our party, have not changed since. Today, as then, the Soviet Union is fighting the forces of aggression and defending the cause of civilization and freedom. The peoples of the world have the right to ask the gentlemen rulers of the United States and Britain: Why are you misleading? On what grounds are you mounting an anti-Soviet campaign and promoting the heating up of international tension and the intensification of the threat of war? The interests of the peoples demand an end to this kind of policy, a reassertion of the course of detente, and an end to the arms race.

The 1970's witnessed a new considerable progress of the anti-imperialist movement in many parts of the world. This included the victory of the Vietnamese people and the unification of Vietnam, the strengthening of the people's system in Laos and the elimination of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique freed themselves from the chains of imperialism. Their peoples implemented major social changes and are bridgeheads for socialist orientation in Africa. In this respect South Yemen is playing an important role. The dictatorial regime in Nicaragua was overthrown. The revolution in Afghanistan, the overthrow of the monarchy of the shah in Iran and the victory of the Zimbabwe patriots were blows struck at imperialism.

The progress of the world revolutionary process is the result not of the notorious "hand of Moscow," but of the merciless objective laws of social development.

In recent years the communist movement has noticeably grown and broadened its influence. The ruling parties of the socialist comity are its most powerful and numerous detachment. They have assumed total responsibility for the fate of their countries and are acting as the leading and organizing force, confidently leading their countries forward.

The influence of the communist parties in the nonsocialist part of the world has increased. In 10 years their numerical strength rose by nearly 1,250,000, totaling today about 4.5 million members. Currently there are 90 communist and workers' parties which are acting and struggling in the world. In Western Europe over 800,000 new members joined the communist parties within that period. The number of communists has more than doubled in the North and South America and Africa. The communist parties of a number of Asian countries are strengthening their positions. Today about 40 million people in the nonsocialist countries are voting for the communists in parliamentary and municipal elections.

As always, the influence of the communist parties considerably outstrips their increased numerical strength. Today no single international problem or basic problem of our time is or could be resolved without the communist movement.

Of late the imperialist circles have mounted a massed anticommunist campaign. Slanders, threats and attempts to calumniate the communist leaders, discredit communist party policy and stir up terrorists against their organisations are used. Yet, as in the past, this campaign is doomed to failure.

Actually, what are the communists fighting for?

The communists are the most consistent and decisive fighters for peace and against aggressive imperialist policy. They constantly point out to the peoples the origins of the threat of war, the culprits for the ruinous and dangerous arms race, and those who provoke and promote military conflicts. Thus, by leading the people's masses to the struggle, the communists are fighting for the salvation of all mankind from a nuclear missile catastrophe.

It was precisely the communists who warned mankind on time of the dangers of a second world war and called upon the nations to make a single front against its carriers--the fascists. And it was precisely anti-Sovietism that blinded those who ignored this warning and this appeal.

Today, once again, the communists are raising their voice against imperialist plans and actions which are intensifying the threat of war. One week from now the representatives of European communist parties will meet in Paris in order to jointly appeal to the nations to struggle against the threat of war. The voice of the communists must be heard by anyone who is truly for peace.

The communists are the irreconcilable and systematic fighters against the domination of monopoly capital, for the liberation of the people from all forms of exploitation, for true democracy, which would give the working people real rights and freedoms, and for the victory of socialism.

The communists favor the total uprooting of colonialism and the national freedom and equality of all nations. As systematic patriots and internationalists, they support the fraternal alliance of working people of all countries and are against national discord and racial oppression.

The upsurge of the global revolutionary forces is occurring in a great variety of forms in circumstances marked by the growing crisis of the imperialist system. As V. I. Lenin predicted, imperialism is leading to ever greater monopoly concentration of capital, ever greater merging of monopolies with the state, and to their unification with a gigantic exploiting mechanism.

V. I. Lenin frequently emphasized that these new features not only do not eliminate the antagonisms of capitalism, but on the contrary intensify and aggravate them. The capitalist "latest word" is, on the one hand, the developed national state-monopoly systems and, on the other, the "multi-national" monopoly "empires," gigantic octopuses which exploit not only the workers of their own country, but the working people of other states.

What has this led to? Has there appeared, as was proclaimed by bourgeois and reformist supporters, a "new" crisis-free capitalism, a society of universal prosperity? Quite the opposite. The exploiting base of the bourgeois system, the oppression and arbitrariness of big capital, and monopoly predatoriness and corruption has intensified more than ever before.

These are the roots of the profound reasons for the powerful wave of crisis processes which hurled itself on capitalism in the 1970's. We are faced with a profound crisis in the economic base of state-monopoly capitalism, its economic policy, the entire strategy of the imperialist adaptation to the scientific and technical revolution and the struggle between the two systems. Some of the most clear manifestations of this crisis are the unparalleled increase in the cost of living, inflation, the unrestrained growth of unemployment and the outburst of terrorism.

Ever more obviously the capitalist system is hindering the solution of the vital problems of mankind. As the scientific and technical revolution develops, the contradiction between the material possibilities of modern production forces, on the one hand, and the increased exploitation of the working people, the factual hunger and poverty of many nations, the result of imperialist use of contemporary science and technology, on the other, is becoming ever more striking. This is the reason for the intensification of the class struggle in the imperialist countries and for the liberation movement of the peoples.

A crying manifestation of imperialist degradation is the ruinous arms race, the tremendous waste of public wealth by the military-industrial complex. Lenin frequently drew attention to the dangerous consequences of militarization. ". . . The states with a strengthened military apparatus as the result of imperialist competition," he wrote, "have become military monsters . . ." (op cit, Vol 33, p 119). Today militarism plays a particular sinister role in the United States. Plans call for increasing the military budget, which has already reached the astronomical amount of over \$160 billion per year, to \$253 billion in the next five years. The military expenditures of the other NATO members are also being increased tremendously.

Today the aggressive nature of imperialism is manifested in the following:

The increased influence of the military-industrial complex and the forces of militarism, extreme reaction and anticommunism on foreign policy;

The unlimited growth of NATO's military power and attempts to set up new military-political alliances directed against the USSR and the socialist country and all freedom-loving peoples; gross interference in the course of the liberation struggle and attempts to suppress progressive movements in the nonsocialist world;

The aspiration to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries, start new rounds in the arms race, hinder and break down disarmament talks and attempts to turn Western Europe into a launching pad for the qualitatively new U.S. nuclear missile weapon;

The expansion and hegemonism of American imperialism and its aspiration to achieve global domination, and to this purpose the establishment of ever new military sites and bases outside the United States, already numbering over 2,500;

The training of mobile armed forces to carry out the duties of a world policeman and invade foreign territories;

The course of undermining detente and abolishing the "Helsinki spirit";

The conversion from isolated ideological diversionary actions to the organization of a broad front of "psychological warfare" with a view to a inspiring hostility toward the Soviet people, the ideas of socialism and the national-liberation movement.

These features have found their fullest embodiment in American imperialism. It is very important for the people's masses to be acquainted with the true nature of imperialism and the aggressive NATO bloc. This is necessary in order to expose this and wage an effective struggle against it.

The strengthened positions of socialism, the upsurge of the liberation struggle of the peoples and the growth of the general crisis of the capitalist system are the basic reasons for today's sharp and dangerous turn in the foreign policy of imperialism and its campaign against detente. This is the true reason for the anti-Soviet hysteria launched in the West. Under similar circumstances, Lenin quite accurately described this as the "rabid rage of the bourgeoisie."

All this began long before the events in Afghanistan. Those events were merely a pretext for the offensive which had already been mounted against detente, and for the resumption of the cold war. The position of the Soviet Union was clearly and unequivocally expressed in L. I. Brezhnev's 6 October 1979 and 13 January 1980 speeches.

Celebrating Lenin's birthday, let us point out that as early as 1921 he emphasized that, ". . . Russia will forever remain the best friend of the High Afghan State, for the good of both peoples" (Lenin, *op cit*, Vol 52, pp 318-319). The Soviet people are confident that the proud and freedom

loving Afghan people will defend their national interests from foreign aggression and domestic reaction and will follow their chosen path of independence and prosperity under circumstances of friendship and peace with its neighbors and with all other nations (applause).

The strategy of American imperialism can be seen from the example of Afghanistan. It calls for interference, going as far as armed intervention wherever the peoples take their destinies in their own hands and wherever foreign domination and dictate are abolished. The "right" to intervene and to export counterrevolution is today openly justified by "America's vital interests." Simply stated, this means the wish of the colonizers to take that which does not belong to imperialism. Yet whenever the peoples rebuff such encroachments, the imperialists begin to threaten with "global confrontation" and to rattle nuclear weapons.

Recently L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that, ". . . The more the possibilities of imperialism to rule other countries and peoples become narrowed, the fiercer the reaction to this becomes on the part of its most aggressive and shortsighted representatives. Such aggressiveness can be restrained only by the power and sensible policy of the peace-loving states and the resolve of the peoples to defeat the dangerous plans of the pretenders to world domination" (L. I. Brezhnev, "Nash Kurs—ihrnoye Sozidaniye" [Our Course Is That of Peaceful Construction], pp 11-12).

No one could question today that the danger to mankind stems from imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, which has once again formulated its claim to "leadership," i.e., to dominating the world.

At the end of World War I, focusing his anger at the bloody orgy planned by the imperialists, V. I. Lenin warned that such wars could lead to "undermining the very condition for the existence for human society" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 36, p 396). At that time he told the entire world that the proletariat alone could rescue world culture and mankind from such madness (see *ibid*, Vol 37, p 64).

In our time the possibilities for the implementation of this universal mission by the working class has increased immeasurably. They have increased, above all, because Leninism has become embodied in great accomplishments. It is represented by the great material and ideological power of the socialist countries and the organized force of the international workers' and communist movements, and because its inspiring and just ideas have penetrated the minds of hundreds of millions of people in all countries.

Comrades, one could say with full justification that the salvation of mankind and its future lie in strengthening and developing the social forces based on and guided by Leninism.

To implement V. I. Lenin's behest and complete the historical mission of socialism for the preservation of the peace means:

Comprehensively strengthening the economic and defense power of the Soviet state and the ideological and political unity of the great multinational Soviet people;

Comprehensively to strengthen the fraternal alliance among socialist states and their cooperation and comprehensive mutual aid;

To rally on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the international communist movement, the best organized and strongest ideological force of our time;

To promote the maximum utilization in the interests of peace and progress of the tremendous potential at the disposal of the contemporary workers' and national-liberation movements;

To cooperate with those who truly wish to avoid a world war, are inclined to take into consideration the realities of our time and are ready to respect the legitimate interests and the independence and freedom of each nation.

Our party and the Soviet Union are engaged in a historical battle for peace on earth, for a lasting and just peace for all nations. The CC CPSU Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, is dedicating their forces, experience and capabilities to this great cause, implementing Lenin's behest (lengthy applause).

For the sake of rescuing mankind from a new military catastrophe, the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, are forced to channel major efforts and resources for strengthening their defense. The fact that for 35 years the peoples of the Soviet Union and the socialist comity have enjoyed the benefits of peace is due, above all, to the fact that, together with its allies, the Soviet Union has everything necessary to provide a firm and powerful rebuff to any encroachment against our country and our allies. We have something to defend, something to defend it with and someone to defend it! (lengthy applause.)

The Warsaw Pact organization, whose 25th anniversary will be celebrated soon, is a reliable shield for the socialist gains.

Economic power, political prestige, the firm and principled implementation of the Peace Program of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, and the active and coordinated peaceful policy of the socialist comity have created a firm potential for detente which would be quite difficult to destroy. One of its main elements is the understanding which has profoundly penetrated the awareness of the peoples and of the ruling circles of a number of countries is the fact that the policy of the Soviet Union is a policy of peace, that we do not need war, and that we are not aspiring to war. As a result, it became possible over the past decade to resolve many major problems left from World War II, and several problems which developed as a result of over

20 years of cold war. The Helsinki Conference codified the principles of peaceful coexistence as a universally accepted international norm.

This means that the aggressive efforts of imperialism and its accomplices could be restricted and restrained.

Our party, the Soviet Union, counter the imperialist strategy with the Leninist foreign policy course. This course was proclaimed, yet once again, in L. I. Brezhnev's outstanding 22 February 1980 speech. The speech contained a clear program for the struggle for peace and security of the nations under present circumstances and constructive suggestions with a view to the preservation and strengthening of detente and restraining the arms race.

Comrades! Our party proceeds from the fact that there is an organic link between the constructive work within the country and the foreign policy of our state and the entire cause of peace and social progress on an international scale. We always remember Lenin's famous words expressed in 1921: "Today we are exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy. . . . The struggle waged on a universal scale has been shifted to this battlefield. Should we resolve this problem we would certainly and definitively win on an international scale" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 43, p 341).

The depth and meaning of this thought are tremendous. Our economic work has been and is of tremendous international significance and the general political, military and ideological levels. Its results determine inter-governmental relations and the various ties with foreign social forces.

That is why, in whatever area of the great communist construction may the collective of the Soviet people, every Soviet person, be working, they can and could, through their toil, make their own contribution to the cause of insuring lasting peace on earth, to the cause of universal social progress.

Comrades! Whatever anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaigns the imperialist reaction may mount against the Soviet Union, it will be unable to conceal the grandiose accomplishments of socialism and the clear and noble objectives and principles on which Leninism, our party's policy, are based.

V. I. Lenin's followers are building a new civilization on earth consistent with the interests of all nations. We warmly and sincerely wish for the peace and happiness of the working people throughout the earth and are doing a great deal for the other nations.

Lenin's entire life and activities were an example of loyalty to the working class, the cause of the toiling people, sympathy for the exploited and the oppressed, intolerance of the oppressors, honesty, principled-mindedness and firmness in the struggle for the ideals of communism.

To be true to Leninism means systematically to defend the principles of Lenin's theory, creatively to develop it, be firmly linked with life and with the masses, learn from their experience and implement Lenin's ideas.

All nations, all mankind need Leninism. We are convinced that the more time passes the more an understanding of the indivisibility between Leninism and the basic interests of human society will spread throughout the world.

Long live Leninism, the banner of the revolutionary struggle, creation and peace! (Lengthy applause.)

Glory to the great Soviet people--the builders of communism! (Lengthy applause.)

Long live the Leninist communist party of the Soviet Union! (Lengthy applause.)

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CSO: 1802

NEW DOCUMENTS OF THE PATRIOTIC WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 80 pp 18-42

[Text] The Soviet people are celebrating the 35th anniversary of the victory over fascism in the year of Lenin's anniversary, and in an atmosphere of general political and labor upsurge.

The great victory won in the fierce battles against the main shock force of international imperialism--Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan--convincingly proved to the entire world the superiority of the Soviet social and governmental system over the capitalist. Our people and their valorous armed forces not only properly fulfilled their patriotic duty, defending the freedom and independence of the socialist fatherland, but made a decisive contribution to the liberation from the fascist aggressors of many peoples of Europe and Asia, thus fulfilling the greatest possible international mission.

"Our victory," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, "was the high mark of the history of mankind. It proved the greatness of our socialist land. It proved the omnipotence of communist ideas. It provided amazing examples of self-sacrifice and heroism. . . ."

The great communist party was the organizer of the struggle waged by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War.

Party and Komsomol members were in the front ranks of the defenders of the fatherland. They were examples of firmness, courage and daring in battle, models of loyalty to the communist ideals and to military duty. The political workers were the soul of the army and navy. They promoted in the troops the will to win, daring and courage, and readiness for self-sacrifice for the sake of the homeland. The activities of political organs and party and Komsomol organizations rallied the soldiers' collectives and insured the mobilization of the entire personnel for the solution of combat problems.

Documents from the Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense,¹ published here for the first time, provide a clear idea of the comprehensive

party-political work done in the complex circumstances of the Novorossiysk landing operation.

The activities of the political department of the 18th Army in the period of the preparations for and during the landing operation are a vivid example of planned and purposeful work. It profited from the experience in party-political work acquired in the battles for Sevastopol, Feodosiya and Kerch.

One of the characteristics of the the Novorossiysk landing operation was the organization of close interaction among army and navy forces. For this reason the 18th Army political department carefully coordinated its activities with the Black Sea Fleet political department and, particularly, the political department of the Novorossiysk Naval Base, whose ships were used in the landing operation.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was most directly involved in the drafting of a number of documents and in organizing their implementation. Together with the personnel of the 18th Army political department he was always among the landing forces before the operation, presented party cards to the troops distinguished in recent battles, inspiring them with the passionate words of the party.

The September 1943 Novorossiysk landing was among the biggest such operations in the Great Patriotic War. In the course of fierce battles the troops of the Severo-Kavkazskiy Front, and elements and ships of the Black Sea Fleet defeated the enemy and threw him out of the city.

After the operation, the political department summed up the experience of party-political work and submitted a corresponding report to the front's political administration. This document, signed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, is not only of great historical interest, but of great educational importance today. It offers a profoundly knowledgeable analysis of all most important events of the landing operation and the related work of political organs and party organizations of 18th Army.

On 16 September Moscow saluted the valorous troops which had liberated Novorossiysk. The successful conduct of the Novorossiysk operation created favorable conditions the subsequent battles for totally clearing the Caucasus from the Hitlerite aggressors. The homeland highly rated the unparalleled courage and heroism of the defenders of the city. The honored title of Novorossiysk was awarded to 19 large units and units. Thousands of soldiers and officers were awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union. Tens of troops who had performed outstanding exploits were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

On 14 September 1973, by ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Novorossiysk was awarded the honored title of "City-Hero" with the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of

the defeat of fascist forces in the defense of the Northern Caucasus, for outstanding merits to the homeland, mass heroism, courage and firmness shown by the working people of the city of Novorossiysk and the forces of the Soviet army, navy and aviation in the Great Patriotic War. In his speech at the presentation of this high award, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Over 30 years have passed since the memorable days when here, in Novorossiysk, one of the biggest battles of the Great Patriotic War was fought. At that time your city became an invincible fortress blocking the way of the hated enemy. For over one year it was the arena of fierce battles. Destroyed to its foundations, covered with the smoke of the fires, Novorossiysk withstood and won. The battle for Novorossiysk entered the history of the past war as one of the examples of the inflexible will of the Soviet people for victory, military valor and fearlessness, and their boundless loyalty to the Leninist party and the socialist fatherland."

The documents were found and prepared for publication by Maj Gen V. V. Gurkin, Col O. G. Gurov and Lt Col V. V. Tarakanov. The initials of the participants in the battles and the dates of the documents, as established by the compilers, were set in square brackets.

Document 1

From the Battle Order of the Commander of the Severo-Kavkazskiy Front for the Mounting of the Novorossiysk Landing Operation

30 August 1943, 1300 hours

1. Enemy forces consisting of the 73d Infantry Division and the 4th Mountain Rifle Division with special reinforcement units are holding the city and port of Novorossiysk. . . .
2. The task of the 18th Army--interacting with the light and landing forces of the Black Sea Fleet--is to capture the city and port of Novorossiysk, thus reuniting with the part of the army separated by the Tsemesskaya Bay and reach the Mefodiyevskiy, Tsemdolina, Vos'maya Shchel' and elevation 283.6 line; in the case of success all forces of the army shall mount an offensive in the direction of Verkhnebakanskiy.
3. For the implementation of this assignment: Use from the 18th Army the 318th Infantry Division, 255th Marine Rifle Brigade,² the 83d Marine Rifle Brigade, the 8th Guards Rifle Brigade, the 290th Border Regiment,³ the separate marine infantry battalion of the naval base commander, the separate assault detachment of the 55th Guards Rifle Division and reinforcement artillery consisting of the 69th Guards Army Artillery Regiment, the 1167th, 1169th, 377th, and 880th army artillery regiments, the 81st Howitzer Artillery Regiment, general headquarters reserve, the 108th Guards Antitank Artillery Regiment, artillery of the naval base commander, the 124th separate Guards Army Brigade Heavy Artillery, the 195th Mountain Howitzer Regiment, six regiments and one heavy guards rocket-launcher unit brigade.

The deployment of the troops and their tasks shall be as follows:

a. The eastern land group--the 318th Rifle Division (minus the 1339th Rifle Regiment), reinforced by the assault detachment--shall engage the enemy and the sector (excluding) the city of Sakharnaya Golova to the cement plant (inclusive).

Target: Interacting with landing detachment number three, capture the Proletariy Cement Plant Adamovicha Balka area. Subsequently, clear Mefodiyevskiy, and capture the Markotkh Pass. This direction will be under the command of the commander of the 318th Rifle Division, Colonel Vrutskiy.

From the time of its landing ashore, landing detachment number three, consisting of the 1339th Rifle Regiment will be under the orders of the commander of the 318th Rifle Division.

The troops will reach the Mefodiyevskiy area bordered on the left by the Importnaya Harbor, the cemetery, Mefodiyevskiy, and (excluding) Kirillovka.

b. The western land group consisting of the 83d Marine Rifle Brigade and the 8th Guards Rifle Brigade shall engage the enemy on the Stanichka sector, the cemetery elevation, and interacting with landing detachment number one, shall capture elevation 307.2 and the western part of Novorossiysk. Subsequently it shall firmly hold the area of elevation 307.2, clear the city of Novorossiysk, and secure it.

This direction shall be commanded by Major General Shvarev, landing group commander.

Landing ashore, landing detachment number one (255th Marine Rifle Brigade) shall be under the orders of Major General Shvarev.

Right border: The west pier (including) the highway from the Kabotashnaya Port to Vos'maya Shchel'.

4. The landing group shall consist of the 255th Marine Rifle Brigade, separate marine battalion, 290th Border Regiment, 1339th Rifle Regiment (a total of 6,000 men, 20 each 76 mm guns, 20 each 45 mm guns, 105 mortars, 103 heavy machine guns), a flotilla of light ships of the Black Sea Fleet, totaling 120 units as indicated by the fleet commander.

Landing commander: Rear Admiral Kholostyakov, Novorossiysk Naval Base commander. . . .

5. The commander of the Black Sea Fleet shall:

a. Prepare, organize and carry out the landing with the indicated forces, with the main and basic assignment of capturing the city and port of Novorossiysk.

b. In the course of the march and the landing the entire artillery group of the 18th Army and the naval base commander, under the overall command of 18th Army Artillery Commander Major General Kariofilli, shall carry out assignments according to the plan of landing commander Rear Admiral Kholostyakov.

c. Secure communications to be established between the vessels and the landing detachments.

d. To plan and prepare facilities for supplying and landing reserves consisting of no less than one rifle division from the Fabardinka and Gelendzhik area the following days. . . .

e. The command of the land troop operations, including the landing detachments, from the moment of their landing ashore, and control over the entire operation for the seizure of Novorossiysk and Mefodiyevskiy shall be provided by 18th Army Commander Lieutenant General Leselidze.

Lieutenant General Leselidze shall strictly coordinate his actions with Black Sea Fleet Commander Vice Admiral Vladimirov.

7. Artillery:

a. The approach to and landing of the forces, the suppression of the enemy's fire covering the harbor of Novorossiysk Port shall be supported by the entire army (artillery) group, the fire of the long-range artillery, and the guards rocket-launcher units. . . .

b. As the forces land there shall be a short yet maximally powerful fire raid on the front end of enemy defenses in the attack sectors in order to insure the attack of the infantry of the eastern and western land groups, after which, starting with the infantry onslaught, army artillery shall undertake to suppress the enemy's artillery.

The division artillery and the guards rocket-launcher units shall operate in support of the infantry.

8. Air forces:

a. The air force of the Black Sea Fleet (aviation Lieutenant General Yermachenkov) shall support the actions of the landing forces by order and instructions of the fleet commander.

b. The 4th Air Army (aviation Lieutenant General Vershinin, as assigned by the 18th Army commander, shall bomb the enemy's battle order in the Novorossiysk area; suppress enemy artillery and mortar fire through diving operations at the enemy's artillery battle order and cover our troop formations in the area of Novorossiysk, and be ready to attack and assault enemy reserves in the area of Vos'maya Shchel', Tamdolina and Markotkh Pass.

The Gelendzhik Air Force Group shall be reinforced by night bombers.

A special order shall be issued on outlays of motor vehicle and airplane fuel.

9. Landing time shall be 0100 hours.

The infantry of the land force groups shall begin its attack by order of the commander of the 18th Army directly following the landing and the beginning of operations by landing forces.

10. By the end of 3 September 1943 the 18th Army landing and land forces must be ready.

The day of operations shall be announced in a special order. . . .

Col Gen Iv. Petrov, commander, Severo-Kavkazskiy Front

Major General Bayukov, Military Council Member

Guards Major General Lakin, Chief of Staff

Original copy

Central Archives of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR, Archive 224, list 934, file 50, sheets 89-93

Document 2

From the Directives of the Political Administration of the Black Sea Fleet and the Political Department of the 18th Army on Party-Political Support of the Novorossiysk Landing Operation

1 September 1943

To the commander and chiefs of political departments of large units

The Red Army is engaged in successful offensive operations in the Western, Central, Southwestern and Southern fronts. A favorable time has come to strike at the German-fascist army on our sector of the front as well.

The command of the Severo-Kavkazskiy Front and the Black Sea Fleet are planning in the next few days a crucial and very important landing operation which should mark the beginning of decisive offensive operations by the Red Army forces, ships and units of the Black Sea Fleet to clear the Black Sea shore from the fascist aggressors.

Commanders, their deputies for political affairs, and the party and Komsomol organizations must firmly bear in mind that the success of this operation will largely depend on the quality and scope of party-political support work.

The main task is to raise even higher the combat offensive thrust of the personnel and to mobilize them for bold, decisive and daring combat actions for the implementation of the operation.

The deputy commanders for political affairs must comprehensively help their commanders to carry out at all cost the combat order. They must display maximum energy, initiative and operativeness in the organization and conduct of party-political work and must be models of fortitude and courage in battle for their troops.

By Order:

1. The political departments to organize with all political workers participating in the operation the study of the survey of the Main Political Administration of the Navy of the landing operation on the Kerch Peninsula in December 1941 and the data of the Black Sea Fleet political administration on the landing operation on Myskhako last February. . . .

2. Following receipt of the present directive, political departments (of the navy) shall immediately establish contact with the corresponding political organs of the Red Army and shall jointly draft measures for the organization and conduct of party-political work in the operation, paying particular attention to strengthening friendship and reciprocal aid in battle between the navy personnel and the Red Army units. The need for the following measures must be mandatorily considered:

a. Conferences on deputy commanders for political affairs, party organizers and Komsomol organizers in regiments and battalions, with reports on the experience acquired in party-political work in previous landing operations.

b. A number of talks with the political workers and agitators of landing units on the procedure for the stay of their troops aboard the ships and the content, methods and forms of party-political work during the voyage and landing.

c. There will be meetings of party aktive and of party and Komsomol members of the landing units with the participation of the political workers of the large units and navy ships.

d. Reciprocal political information shall be organized on the spirit of the personnel and on party-political work, particularly in the period preparatory to the landing.

e. The landing units shall be supplied with all the printed materials especially published for them by the Black Sea Fleet political administration and the 18th Army political department.

3. The main task of the party and Komsomol organizations in the operation shall be to insure the vanguard and organizing role of party and Komsomol members in combat.

The party and Komsomol organizations must help the commanders in training the personnel for courageous and daring combat operations in the course of the operation.

4. The following must be accomplished in the course of the period of preparations for the operation:

a. The political departments of the large units shall formulate a thorough plan of measures for the organization and conduct of party-political work which will include thorough instructions and aid to political workers and party and Komsomol organizers of units and ships in formulating their own measures for support of the operation in accordance with the characteristics of the individual ship or unit, and its combat task.

b. The entire system of party-political work must such as to insure the confidential nature the prepared operation. Particular attention must be paid to increasing the vigilance of people engaged in specific operations related to the preparations.

c. The political departments shall immediately undertake the selection and placement of political workers at decisive sectors and plan the assignment of deputy commanders of detachments (groups) of ships in charge of political affairs and of reserve political workers at each launch and motor boat. Each political department shall have a reserve of five to seven political workers. . . .

e. The political organs and deputy commanders for political affairs within the entire system of party-political work must insure the full readiness of ships, troop transports and all debarkation and landing facilities for the precisely planned time.

5. The content of agitation and propaganda work should be as follows: Explanation of the tasks set in the orders of the Supreme Commander in Chief and mobilization of the personnel for their implementation; propaganda for the success achieved by the Red Army in the offensive operations mounted along a broad front, the combat experience of ships and units in previous landing and other operations, the heroic exploits of troops and commanders, and the skillful utilization of their weapons in the battles against the Hitlerite aggressors; promotion of faith in our victory over the enemy, and burning hatred for German-fascist occupation forces and the desire to fight them fiercely.

6. Several hours before sailing, on the basis of the combat assignments, the chief of the political department shall give personally thorough instructions to the political workers of ships and units participating in the operation on organizing and doing party-political work at sea and in the course of the landing.

7. As the ships leave the base, the deputy commanders for political affairs and ship party and Komsomol organizers, together with the political personnel of the Red Army units shall:

a. Explain to every soldier and commander the combat assignment and see to it that everyone clearly realizes his role in the operation, making extensive use of memoranda, leaflets and other printed materials. The explanatory work must be uninterrupted and focus on preparing all troops and commanders for daring and decisive actions in the landing operation.

b. In the course of the crossing political workers and heads of party and Komsomol organizations must pay particular attention to insuring the high vigilance of the troops and the readiness of all combat facilities of the ship and the weapons of the landing units for immediate action.

8. The landing is the most important stage of the operation requiring of the entire ship's personnel and landing units daring, decisiveness and scorn of death for the sake of fulfilling their military duty to the homeland. Through their personal example commanders, political workers and party and Komsomol members must uplift the combat spirit of the troops and give them confidence in victory.

9. In the course of the battle the deputy commanders of the ships must provide systematic combat information to the personnel on combat operations and fulfillment of combat assignments, and on Red Navy personnel and commanders who have particularly distinguished themselves in battle.

10. Organizing their work on support of the operation, the political departments must show exclusive operativeness. They must insure the proper placement of political department personnel, organize a permanent information system, particularly from below, and make extensive use of the combat successes and examples of heroism of the troops in their work with the personnel.

11. The political departments and deputy commanders for political affairs must inform daily, starting with the receipt of the present directive and until the completion of the operation, the political administration of the fleet and the political department of the army on preparations for and the course of the operation and the political-moral condition of the personnel and the measures taken. . . .

The military council and the political administration are confident that the commanders and political workers will prove their organizational ability and ability to defeat the enemy for sure, to lead the personnel to battle exploits, and develop iron military discipline and organization, thus insuring the successful implementation of the landing operation.

Capt 1st Rank V. Semin, chief of the Political Administration of the Black Sea Fleet.

Col L. Brezhnev, chief of the 18th Army Political Department

Original copy

TsAMO SSSR [Central Archives of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR], archive 371, list 6386, file 15, sheets 213-219

Document 3

Appeal of the Military Council of the 18th Army

[1 September 1943]

From the Directives of the Political Administration of the Black Sea Fleet and the Political Department of the 18th Army on Party-Political Support of the Novorossiysk Landing Operation

Comrade soldiers, commanders and political workers--heroic defenders of Malaya Zemlya!

Six months ago, on the cold stormy night of 3 February, your advance elements landed on Malaya Zemlya.

Many difficult and tense days have passed since that rough February night. The blood-shedding combat has not stopped for a minute. The enemy hoped to throw you into the sea with a shower of lead and steel in an effort to turn Novorossiysk and its port, the city of the seamen, into its base and remove the threat hanging over its group of forces.

This heroic epic--one of the outstanding pages of the selfless struggle waged by the Soviet people against the German-fascist barbarians--has lasted half a year. The history of war knows of no other example of such lengthy resistance of troops landed on such a small piece of land.

Comrades, remember the fierce April battles. It seemed as though Malaya Zemlya would crumble into pieces from the explosions of enemy bombs, shells and mines, and that everything living on it would be swept off and destroyed. However, Malaya Zemlya is alive and fighting. You stood fast in this struggle, repelling all enemy attacks, defeating all its plans, killing over 30,000 fascists, destroying 58 enemy airplanes and up to 100 guns. Today as well you are successfully fulfilling your sacred duty to the homeland on the left-most flank of the huge Soviet-German front, ready for decisive battles and victories.

The days were hot and the battles were bloody. Many noble heroes such as the famous Hero of the Soviet Union Major Kunikov died the death of the brave. Their memory will live forever in our hearts and inspire us to new exploits for the sake of the total victory over the enemy. You showed models of loyalty to the fatherland, the military oath and the flag. The honor of the Red Army soldier has been preserved intact.

You have shown your people thousands of examples of heroism and the glory of these combat accomplishments will never fade.

The homeland values and loves its heroes. It awarded orders and medals--the high mark of military honor and glory--to 6,268 troops and commanders operating in Malaya Zemlya.

The socialist homeland has great faith in you, the perpetrators of the best traditions of the defenders of Sevastopol and Stalingrad. The army military council is confident that in the forthcoming battles as well you will raise even higher the honor and glory of the Malaya Zemlya defenders.

Do not rest on your achievements. Strengthen iron military discipline and order in the troops. Improve defense. Be prepared for fierce and headlong advance. Learn to fight the way your comrades are fighting in the Orel, Belgorod and other sectors of the front who have been cited by the Supreme Commander in Chief.

Do not let the enemy rest for a single minute. Destroy his forces with sniper fire; destroy his soldiers and officers and his equipment with daring and planned sorties. Destroy fortifications and improve your positions as the troops of Major Chumin's battalion are doing. Be ready at all times for assault and even fiercer clashes with the enemy.

The battle initiative has shifted to the Red Army. The legend that the fascists are always successful in their summer offensives has been scattered into dust. The Red Army offensive is spreading wider and wider. The fascist predatory army is falling toward the precipice. The possibility for total defeat and the payment for all crimes is becoming ever clearer to Hitlerite Germany. The Italian-German coalition is breaking down. Mussolini--one of the raging assistants of the super-bandit Hitler--has resigned. His criminal fascist gang has been disbanded.

Battle comrades! The time of the liberation of Taman' from enemy gangs is approaching. You play a tremendous role in this and the entire nation is following your combat operations intensely and hopefully. When the battle resumes and, once again, Malaya Zemlya is covered with gunpowder smoke remember the great traditions of the first Kunikov-landing forces, remember all Myakhako heroes and show to the enemy your Red Army daring and courage, and Red Navy daring, and swiftly hit the enemy in such a way as to make him abandon Taman'.

Together with the entire Red Army we shall march ahead, clearing our land from the fascist scum and destroy the aggressors who have encroached on the honor, freedom and independence of our beloved homeland.

Loyal to its combat traditions, the left flank of the Soviet-German front will march in step with the entire Red Army to full victory over the enemy and the triumph of our just cause. Hit the enemy harder!

Long live the heroic defenders of Malaya Zemlya'

Death to the German invaders!

Army Military Council

Original copy dictated by L. Breshnev and K. Leselidze

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Document 5

From the Report of the Chief of the 18th Army Political Department on
Party-Political Work During the Combat for Novorossiysk

10 October 1943

To Major General Yemel'yanov [S. S.], chief of the political department,
Severo-Kavkazskiy front

Preparations for combat operations

Combat Situation at the Beginning of September 1943

On 1 September 1943 the enemy continued his stubborn defense of the city. During the year he built a multiple-line defense system with mine fields, obstructions, and barbed wire fencing. The enemy held commanding heights on the approaches to the southern and southeastern sides of Novorossiysk: the Sakharnaya Golova, Mount Dolgaya, elevation 352.1 and a number of nameless elevations which he had turned into powerful resistance centers. The enemy could see our positions quite clearly and fired at them with all types of weapons. In July and August our forces consisting of the 3d Mountain Rifle Corps, 81st Red Banner Marine Brigade and the 318th Rifle Division, mounted several simultaneous strikes at the enemy's defenses with a view to capturing the commanding heights, but failed.

On the opposite side of the city, facing the front of our forces which landed from the sea in the Stanichka area, as early as February 1943, the enemy also continued to hold firmly his positions. By the end of July our troops mounted here several attacks, but it was only in the sector of the 107th separate Rifle Brigade [detached?] that we were able to capture the tactically important fifth hill of Mount Myskhako. In the other sectors the offensive failed, for the enemy was holding advantageous positions and enjoyed clear superiority in fire power.

Capturing the city with a frontal strike would be exceptionally difficult and, considering our forces, virtually impossible. Such an operation would have inevitably brought about heavy casualties and the failure to fulfill the combat assignment. The command decided to take the city by onslaught simultaneously from land and sea, by landing forces directly in Tsemesskaya Bay.

The following forces were assigned to conduct the landing operation: the 255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade, 2,450 [men]; the 1339th Rifle Regiment--1,435 [men]; the 290th Rifle Regiment of the NKVD--850 [men]. Total: 4,735 men.

Furthermore, the Novorossiysk Naval Base assigned in support of our landing group the detachment commanded by Botylev [V. A.] totaling 876 men.

Deployment of Party Political Apparatus and Political Work Before the Battle

After studying the combat assignment I held a conference with the army's political department. The same day we began to draft a plan. Four basic periods were stipulated:

- a. Preparatory period;
- b. Work on the ships;
- c. Work after the landing (during combat);
- d. Summing up results.

All army political department sections participated in the formulation of the plan. The plan covered all basic aspects of political work at each stage of the combat operation (see addendum).⁴

From the very first day of preparations for the combat operation we sent army political department personnel to all landing and field units to help the party political organs.

Furthermore, 15 political workers from the political personnel reserve were sent to all units.

The representatives of the army political department were assigned not only the task of insuring the political preparedness of the personnel for battle but to remain in the units until the combat assignment was completed and participate in the landing with a view to organizing political work during street battles. As confirmed by practical experience, this solution had a favorable influence on the organization of party-political work. The army political department personnel knew in advance that they were to land and directly participated in the preparations for the battle. In turn, troops and commanders showed their great love for our workers, for they saw in them elder comrades in arms who were helping them to carry out a combat assignment.

An extremely short time--10 days--had been allocated for training the personnel for the operation. No one knew the time and place of landing. However, it was announced to the entire personnel that a landing was possible in the next few days along with action behind enemy lines. In order not to disclose the strike area the need to liberate Taman' in general was explained to the troops.

From the very beginning of the preparations for the battle, the army's political department coordinated all its work with the Black Sea Fleet

Political Administration and the Political Department of the Novorossiysk Naval Base. This was dictated by the need to use the experience in party-political work gained in the course of previous battles in Sevastopol, Feodosiya and Kerch. Furthermore, it was the navy that was to take our forces to the landing site.

From 1 to 8 September, together with Captain First Rank Semin [V. I.], chief of the Black Sea Fleet Political Administration, and Captain First Rank Bakayev [M. I.], chief of the political department of the Novorossiysk Naval Base, I held instruction conferences with the political personnel of the 255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade, the 290th Rifle Regiment NKVD, and the 1339th Rifle Regiment. The political personnel were thoroughly instructed on their tasks in preparing the personnel for the operation. As of that point proper preparatory political work was initiated in all units.

All privates, sergeants and officers practiced landing on motor boats and ashore with subsequent operations by day and night. Initially they practiced with simulators and, subsequently, ships. Exceptional attention was paid to blocking the action of enemy pillboxes and going through obstructions, barbed wire and other obstacles. A great deal of work was done by the troops, sergeants and officers in fire practice, grenade throwing and loading ammunition clips.

The political work was organized in accordance with the combat assignment. The most widespread form of work at that time was the group talk. Talks were given every day in all subunits during rest periods. All in all, from 1 to 10 September, over 1,000 talks on a great variety of topics were held in the landing units. As a rule, the talks were brief and exceptionally specific. Following are some topics: "How to Behave at Sea"; "The Section in Night Combat"; "What the Soldier must Accomplish at Landing Time"; "On the Significance of Light Signaling in a Night Landing Battle"; and "On Combat Friendship and Mutual Assistance."

The talks were given by political workers, commanders and party and Komsomol members. A number of landing operations veterans were among the personnel of Botylev's detachment and the 255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade. Most of them were asked to share their combat experience. Veterans of landing battles told the Red Army men how many bullets and grenades to carry with them and how to behave at the time of the landing and night combat ashore. Great attention was paid to supplying every man with the proper equipment. All of this was of exceptional importance.

In addition to groups talks individual work with the soldiers was carried out in the subunits. The party and Komsomol members were placed in a way to enable them to influence the entire personnel. Individual talks were held everywhere: during halts, at mealtime, in the course of fulfilling combat assignments, and so on. The purpose of these talks was to train every Red Army man to swim, surmount obstacles and to resist and be daring in all circumstances, even the most complex.

In addition to group and individual talks, every day reports and lectures on a great variety of topics were read to the personnel: "On the Military and International Situation of the Soviet Union," "On Comrade Stalin's 3 July 1941 Speech," "On Military Honor," and others.

All in all, from 1 to 10 September, over 100 reports and lectures were read to the landing units. Reports and lectures were delivered by the army political department personnel (daily), unit commanders and deputy commanders, and representatives of the Black Sea Fleet Political Administration and the Political Administration of the Novorossiysk Naval Base.

Party and Komsomol meetings were held in the companies and battalions of all units. Reports on the tasks of party and Komsomol members in the landing combat were delivered by the unit commanders and deputies for political affairs. The party and Komsomol meetings were held on a high ideological-political level. The party and Komsomol members assured the command that they would carry with dignity the honorable title of party and Komsomol member in battle.

On 6 September a broad conference was held at the 255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade for the command-political personnel. It was conducted personally by Colonel General Petrov [I. Ye.], commander of the Severo-Kavkazskiy Front. The commander described to the officers the forthcoming combat assignment and informed them of the new procedure for citations to privates, sergeants and officers who had distinguished themselves in battle. The procedure was the following: orders and medals would be awarded to privates, sergeants or officers of the first company to penetrate the enemy's trenches and carry out its immediate assignment, thus securing the success of the remaining units and subunits. The orders were to be presented on the battlefield, within a 24-hour period.

This conferences played an exceptionally important role in raising the combat spirit of the entire personnel. A similar conference was held by Colonel General Petrov at the 318th Rifle Division.

Extensive work was done to prepare the army medical facilities for the operation. Well trained political workers were assigned to medical companies and battalions. Medical companies were brought up to full strength with medics, nurses and physicians. Measures were taken in advance to insure the reception and to prepare for the wounded. A special conference was held with the personnel of the army medical facilities covering all these questions.

Good cultural services to the personnel were offered during the training of the units for the landing. From 1 to 10 September there were 38 motion pictures showings for the landing units alone. The motion pictures were chosen in accordance with the combat assignment. The following movies were shown: "We Are from Kronshtadt," "Stalingrad," "Chapayev," "A Man with Arms," "Black Sea Men," and others.

Concerts by the NKVD Troops Ensemble directed by Dunayevskiy enjoyed great success. All in all, the ensemble gave five concerts attended by 5,600 people.

During their training period the landing units were successfully entertained by the ensemble of the Ordzhonikidze Red Army Club, our army's Ensemble for Red Army Songs and Dances, the concert group of the Black Sea Fleet and a number of amateur performing circles. There was no day without cultural services to the personnel. Let us add that before each concert or movie army political department workers and unit agitators read reports on a great variety of topics.

Great attention was paid to increasing the vigilance of the personnel. Political workers explained to the troops the need for secrecy in preparing for the landing. Talks on this topic were given in all subunits. Together with the Black Sea Fleet Political Administration, the army's political department published the special leaflet "Greater Revolutionary Vigilance. Protect Military Secrets like the Apple of Your Eye," in a total of 3,000 copies.

The army political department printed and distributed among the units 3,000 copies of the leaflet "Instruction to the Landing Soldier."⁵

Along with the training of landing units, extensive political work was done in all other large units. Party meetings were held in each battalion on the tasks of the party organization in connection with the forthcoming offensive combat. In the course of party meetings tasks were defined not only for the organization as a whole but for every individual party member. Eighth Company of the 3d Rifle Battalion, 8th Guard Rifle Brigade, decided that in addition to a brave and heroic behavior, at the time of the offensive battle the party members must accomplish the following:

Party member Comrade Stupar' [D. G.] will answer for the behavior in combat of the novice nonparty member Comrade Sarkisyan [I. D.]. Comrade Stupar' was assigned to teach Sarkisyan the rules of behavior in battle, help him to study his weapon and to master the rules of accurate fire. In battle he would try to be by Sarkisyan's side, see to it that he behaved properly, cheer him up in difficult moments and lead him into combat through his personal example.

Party member Comrade Agafonov [D. T.] would be responsible for the behavior in battle of the young nonparty Red Army man Bokarev [I. M.]. His assignment would be the same.

Party members Comrades Cherkasov [D. M.] and Sukhanko [F. Ye.] will repeat the orders of the commanders and promptly inform the troops of changes in combat assignments. They shall inform the party organizer on the political-moral status of the Red Army men.

In the intervals between battles and lulls party members-agitators Comrades Koval' [A. D.] and Chumak [G. T.] shall popularize the combat exploits of distinguished Red Army men and commanders.

These party assignments were included in the plan of the party organizer and subsequently codified at a party meeting.

Hundreds of talks were given to the personnel, including "Tasks of the Fighter in the Assault," "Mutual Support in Battle," "Carefully Protect the Weapons in Assault Combat," "Let Us Clear Taman' from the German-Fascist Invaders," and others. The talks were given in the Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, and other languages.

Five days prior to the offensive battles, seminars for party organizers were held at regiments and battalions on the topics of "Ways and Means of Party Work in Offensive Combat" and "The International and the Military Position of the Soviet Union." The same topics were covered in seminars with Komsomol organizers.

Several days prior to the beginning of the offensive the 318th Rifle Division received reinforcements. Particularly extensive work was done with the young troops. Talks were given on the military oath, Bolshevik vigilance and others. Meetings were organized between hardened frontline veterans and novices. Similar work was done at the 55th Guards Rifle Division.

Prior to the storming of the Novorossiysk big meetings were held in all units, at which troops, sergeants and officers swore to act decisively and boldly, without sparing their lives. A meeting of troops and commanders, residents of Novorossiysk and Taman', was held at the 8th Guards Rifle Brigade.

Battle for Novorossiysk

The Landing

The landing of the troops took place on the nights of 10 and 11 September. Before loading the troops on the ships the personnel of the army political department and the unit political workers, together with the command, thoroughly checked the state of the weapons, supplies and health of every military serviceman. In the course of the inspection the absence of hand grenades and an insufficient number of cartridges were noted in some soldiers. These shortcomings were eliminated. Nearly every soldier was issued six to seven magazines with bullets, eight to nine hand grenades and the regulation food. Once again talks were held with the troops on the topics of "Swiftmess Is a Prerequisite for Success in a Landing Operation," "There Is No Place for Cowards and Skeptics in Our Ranks," "Fulfilling the Battle Order Is the Sacred Duty of the Soldier," and others. Prior to entering the ship, meetings were held at which the appeal of the Front

Military Council was read. The appeal was welcomed with great enthusiasm. Troops, sergeants and officers assured the military council that the combat assignment, however complex it might be, would be fulfilled.

We paid particular attention to the 1,337th Rifle Regiment of the 318th Division which, by order of the command, in the night of 11 September was pulled out of combat and sent to assist the landing troops. The personnel of that regiment had not been trained for landing. Taking this into consideration, we assigned to the assistance of the regiment's political workers my deputy, Major Pakhomov [S. S.], army political department inspector Captain Korobkov [M. I.], army political department lecturer Major Shcherbak [I. P.], army deputy chief of staff Colonel Drachev [M. S.] and Captain Filonov [I. G.], party organizer at the army staff party bureau. I too participated in the organization of the training and moving the personnel aboard the vessels.

The experience of the first day of landing indicated that a number of cartridge cases were lost in the course of the landing. It was decided that everyone should carry his own ammunition. This proved to be fully justified.

In the night of 10 September over 120 troop transports left Gelendzhik and Kabardinskiy ports. Our artillery opened fire shortly before the fleet approached the shore. The strike was so violent that the Tsemesskaya Bay and the Novorossiysk embankment were in flames. Over 1,400 artillery guns of different calibers fired for 30 minutes. The mortar divisions made a sea of fire. Suffice it to say that on 10 September about 100,000 shells and mines were dropped on Novorossiysk.

Profiting from the enemy's panic, the ships directly penetrated the port of Novorossiysk. The enemy did not expect such daring. At first he was thrown into confusion. Coming to their senses, the Hitlerites opened strong fire at the landing troops with all weapons. Hundreds of German rockets were fired. Searchlights looked for ships. It became clear as day in the bay. A heavy caliber machine gun opened fire from the lighthouse on the pier but was suppressed at once. Skillfully maneuvering among the fire our troops jumped into the water and, shouting "hurray! For the Homeland! For our Novorossiysk!" hurled themselves at the enemy.

Separate groups of the 255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Battalion were the first to land. They were followed by the 1339th Rifle Regiment and Botylev's detachment. On the second day the 290th Regiment NKVD and the 1337th Rifle Regiment of the 318th Division, and most of the people who had fallen behind their units in the first day landed.

At the time of the landing the personnel behaved with exceptional courage. It was only thanks to this that despite all adverse conditions, essentially the landing was completed satisfactorily.

The forces landed under exceptionally difficult circumstances. They had to dig in in the thickly mined bay and land on the mined shore under strong enemy artillery and mortar fire.

Despite everything, our soldiers held onto the shore and, breaking the enemy's resistance, began to widen the bridgehead.

Combat Ashore

The personnel of the 1339th Rifle Regiment displayed exceptional courage. Under heavy enemy fire, after landing, the troops and commanders of the regiment, shouting "Hurray!" rushed to the buildings on the shore. The enemy, pushed back, ran in a state of panic inside the Proletary Plant.

A group of soldiers, headed by Jr Lt Ivan Alekseyev, was the first to reach the electric power plant and to occupy it after blasting the upper story with hand grenades. Communist member Private Parsiyev (V. I.) entered that story through a window and killed five Hitlerites in hand-to-hand combat. At dawn the fascists aimed a gun at the building and were prepared to open fire. Parsiyev noted this and hurled through the window an antitank grenade in their direction. The enemy gun crew was destroyed.

In an effort to beat off the attack of the electric power plant, the Hitlerites mounted seven counterattacks unsuccessfully. The Red flag flew on the plant's building. It was raised by company party organizer Red Army man Martychov (M. A.). Similar flags had been procured in advance by the army political department and issued to all units. On the instruction of the party organizations the party members raised them over the most visible areas of occupied buildings.

The troops and commanders of the 1339th Rifle Regiment fought just as courageously. Here every person was a hero. It would be difficult to say who distinguished himself more. The regiment fought street battles for five days. Our people took from the enemy one house after another, every day widening their bridgehead. Side by side with the regiment the 1337th Rifle Regiment of the 318th Division and the group commanded by Major Grigor'yev (S. T.) (255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade) operated just as decisively and courageously. The landing forces were able to occupy the Proletary Plant and, following two-day street battles, connect with elements of the 318th Rifle Division and 55th Guards Rifle Division.

The troops, sergeants and officers of the 290th NKVD Regiment fought bravely. The regiment landed in the night of 11 September and operated in two separate groups. Literally all troops distinguished themselves in street combats. Snipers did good work. Private Radikov destroyed 25 fascists, while Private Makhmudov killed 10.

During the street battles on the sector held by this regiment the Hitlerites frequently counterattacked in an effort to throw the landed forces

into the sea. However, all they did was to suffer casualties. The enemy used tanks and Ferdinand assault guns. This too did not help.

The fascists were covering the entire meeting with flank fire from a triple embrasure pillbox. They considered themselves fully safe behind the thick cement-lined wall. However, the troops hit the embrasures with antitank guns. Mortars were used. Their fire was corrected by the company commander himself, today Hero of the Soviet Union Piskarev [I. V.]. The fascists in the vicinity of the platform ran off, but were caught by machine gun fire. Major Kosenkov [M. B.], deputy regimental commander for political affairs, and army political department assistant Major Kiyomasa [A. S.] fired at the enemy with heavy machine guns.

The Red Navy men of the 253rd Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade acted daringly. They reached the enemy's coastal defenses and entered the center of the city. Making uneven street combat and acting in separate groups, many of them died. However, at the cost of their lives they confused the enemy ranks and thus had a positive influence on the development of the battle success of the Novorossiysk operation.

The 142d Battalion and parts of the 177th Battalion of that brigade were landed in the area of the Importnaya Pier. Here groups of seamen from other brigade units and subunits were fighting.

Major Novik [A. N.], one of our own people, suggested the creation of a single detachment. Its command was assumed by Major Grigor'yev, the commander of the 142d Battalion. The detachment displayed exceptional decisiveness. Interacting with the 119th Rifle Regiment, it took by assault several enemy strong points and, together with subunits of the 119th Rifle Regiment, surrounded and destroyed the enemy in the area of the streetcar depot.

The seamen of the detachment under the command of Hero of the Soviet Union Captain-Lieutenant Botylev fought well. In the first day the Club imeni Stalin and the Seamen's Club were captured and held until our landing and field units arrived. A company of machine gunners of the detachment, headed by Hero of the Soviet Union Captain-Lieutenant Kopylov [A. V.] reached the railroad station area and fought, surrounded by the enemy, until the arrival of our 55th Guards Rifle Division.

The capture of Novorossiysk was achieved through a combined strike. The 1331st Rifle Regiment of the 118th Division and the assault detachment of the 55th Guards Rifle Division advanced in the area of the cement plant. Acting with exceptional bravery, they breached the enemy's defense and, hurrying into the city, joined the landing detachments. The company commanded by Guards Lieutenant Samokhvalov [P. P.] (assault detachment of the 55th Guards Rifle Division) was on the left flank and advanced along the sea shore. With true Suvorovian daring and skill, Samokhvalov led the company. They were to capture seven enemy pillboxes and reach our landing

forces defending the electric power plant. The pillboxes represented a single fire system. They had two embrasures each and could fire ahead of them and at the sea. Everything favored the enemy. However, nothing stopped the Guards. Rankhvalov made a daring, yet the only proper solution. After personally reconnoitering, he decided to bypass the front pillboxes from the sides. One platoon rapidly dug in and began to draw to itself the attention of the enemy with heavy fire. A platoon commanded by Guards Master Sergeant Chugunov (N. D.) crawled toward the right flank. The third platoon, commanded by Guards Senior Sergeant Kachura (A. U.) bypassed the enemy pillboxes on the left, along the water. Under cover of darkness the guardsmen reached the enemy rear and hurled themselves into the attack from a distance of 10 to 15 meters. Rushing into the pillboxes they destroyed their personnel with hand grenades. Guards Sergeant Andrushenko (N. Ya.) and Guards Red Army man Yusupov (R. S.) mowed down the fascists with their automatic weapons and killed them with hand grenades. Overwhelmed by this blow, the enemy left the pillboxes in depth in panic and, following the trenches, began to withdraw from the houses on its left flank. The front was breached. Rushing ahead and sweeping off along the way individual enemy fire emplacements, the company reached the electric power plant and linked with the landing forces.

The troops, sergeants and officers of the 1331st Rifle Regiment acted no less decisively. Breaking the enemy resistance, together with the assault detachment they rushed into the city and engaged in street combats. Now the entire 118th Rifle Division was fighting in the city, flushing out the fascists from their old haunts.

Bloody battles were fought by elements of the 20th Landing Rifle Corps. From 10 to 16 September they ceaselessly attacked the enemy's positions, pinning down substantial forces, thus helping the breach of fascist positions in the cement plant area.

Following breach of the fascist defense, the 55th [Guards] Rifle Division and the 5th [Guards] Tank Brigade advanced along the thus created narrow passageway. The battle became particularly fierce. Every house and floor had to be fought for. Now entire large units were fighting shoulder to shoulder with the landing troops. The battle went on 24 hours a day. Entire districts went up in flames from enemy fire. All arms distinguished themselves in combat--infantrymen, artillerymen, tank men, signaleers, engineers and all other participants in the storming of Novorossiysk.

The enemy defended himself desperately. The Hitlerites' order was to fight to the last bullet. However, this did not help them. On 16 September the 4th Red Banner Marine Infantry Battalion rushed into the city. The enemy was expelled from Novorossiysk through joint efforts. The city and the second biggest Black Sea Port were liberated. Neither the complex enemy defense system, nor advanced equipment of the pruned Hitlerite army were able to resist the pressure of our forces. The enemy ran, leaving on the battlefield thousands of soldiers and officers and a large amount of equipment and military hardware.

Party-Political Work During the Battle

The party political organs played a major role in the battles for Novorossiysk. Under the complex conditions of the landing and street combat, the personnel of the army political department and large-unit political departments, the units deputy commanders for political affairs and the party organizers were always in the battle order, leading through their words and personal examples of courage the troop masses. Hundreds of the best sons of the party and the Komsomol died the death of heroes in those days. However, political work in the units did not stop for a single day. A great variety of political support for the battle was used to raise the battle spirit of the troops, sergeants and officers for the successful fulfillment of the complex combat assignments in the operation.

Group and Individual Talks

In the landing units, under combat conditions, group talks began from the moment of boarding the ships. The deployment of party-political forces was such that there were party organizers, agitators, unit deputy commanders and army political department workers in every ship. When the ships were at sea the commanders unsealed the packages which indicated the place of the landing and the subsequent combat assignment. Talks were then begun on all vessels to inform every soldier of the combat assignment. Again and again party members and political workers explained how to act ashore and how to conduct oneself at landing time.

At the 1119th Rifle Regiment the topic of the talks in all ships was "Let Us Return Novorossiysk to the Homeland."

Exceptionally extensive individual work was done as the ships approached the landing area. The party-Komsomol stratus was so thick that there was one party or Komsomol member per each two or three soldiers. It was explained to the Red Army men that the more decisively they acted the less would the losses be and success would be insured.

All army political department personnel made short speeches aboard the ships and, on behalf of the army military council, called upon the troops, sergeants and officers to display staunchness, daring and persistence.

Extensive political talks (group and individual) were held during the street combats as well. Every day Sovinformburo reports were received at the 1119th Rifle Regiment, 290th Rifle Regiment MEVD and Girgor'yev and Betylev detachments. They were transcribed by hand in 10 to 15 copies and, through the agitators, distributed among the entire personnel.

Every day talks were given in all subunits on soldiers and commanders who had distinguished themselves in battle. These talks created the desire to fight the enemy to the last drop of blood and to storm his positions sparing no forces.

On 13 September the command of the 1339th Rifle Regiment received a congratulatory telegram from Colonel General Petrov, the front's commander. The text of the telegram was immediately telephoned to the subunits with which communications existed. Ten copies each were transcribed manually and party members took the text to all subunits. The telegram literally triggered exultation of the personnel. On behalf of all troops, sergeants and officers, the answer to the front commander was written by Major Novshovich [A. A.], deputy regimental commander for political affairs and one of our men. It stated that the regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Kadanchik [S. N.]⁶ would honorably fulfill all assignments and would continue to hold high the regimental battle flag. The answer was read to the entire personnel and was unanimously approved.

There was no time for lengthy talks. Everything was done in haste. However, there was no single significant event which was not used for material for the agitators and spokesmen. Considering that the combat circumstances did not always allow the political workers to talk individually with all troops, interesting communications were passed along from one man to another. Following are several examples.

Army political department worker Major Novshovich was advancing with the second company on Turetakiy Sad (in the first day of the landing he commanded the 1st Battalion of the 1339th Rifle Regiment, for that day the commander was unable to land). It was reported to him that our people had taken the electric power plant. Major Novshovich passed on the news to the advancing troops. Soon every person knew that the power plant had been taken. This inspired the people and gave them confidence in victory. The troops rose and, shouting "Hurray! Come on Novorossiysk!" hurled themselves at the enemy. The remaining enemy retreated in panic, abandoning advantageous positions. A similar case occurred in the group of landing troops of the 290th Regiment, operating under the command of Major Lysenko [A. P.].⁷ The second part of the regiment, headed by its commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Piskarev, was advancing somewhat to the left and was separated from the first group by two powerful centers of enemy resistance. Finding out that the regiment was not far away, group commander Lysenko decided to join it. The circumstances did not allow talk with the troops, for the enemy was pouring heavy fire with all types of arms. Major Lysenko and Captain Pavelko [I. I.], representative of the army political department, passed along the following information: "The regiment is 300 meters away from us. There are two enemy resistance points between us. Let us take them and merge with the regiment. Death to the German invaders!"

The good news rapidly spread throughout the group. Until then everyone believed that the regiment, headed by the commander, had been destroyed at the time of the landing. The news of the closeness of the regiment inspired troops and commanders. They attacked the enemy boldly and decisively. That day Major Lysenko's group was able to breach the enemy's defense and join the regiment.

As the most tried forms of political agitation, meetings were also extensively held during the landing combats. Still aboard the vessels, after the combat assignment had been announced, spontaneous meetings were organized in many units. On one of the ships of the 1339th Rifle Regiment Senior Lieutenant Bayva [M. I.] announced the assignment. The commanding officer ended his brief speech with the following words: "We must land in Novorossiysk and clear it from the enemy. Let us be worthy sons of our homeland!"

We shall carry out the task and uphold the honor of the regiment, the Red Army man said. Several men spoke.

Meetings were held only when allowed by the situation.

In most units meetings were held in connection with the appeal of the army military council.⁸ The appeal in which troops, sergeants and officers were congratulated for the successful battle for Novorossiysk and for their initial successes, had been drafted in advance and secretly sent along in a sealed package with the political workers accompanying the landing troops. The moment the first city districts were captured the political workers broke the seals and began to inform the entire personnel of the appeal. It played a major mobilizing role. Troops, sergeants and officers assured the army military council that the enemy would be knocked out of the city at all costs.

The fact that such an appeal had been written and sent along with the landing forces proves that the army military council and political department were confident of the victory and were sharing this confidence with the entire personnel.

In Major Lysenko's group a meeting was held on the night of 11 September in the basement of a huge building. It was pitch black. The appeal of the army military council was read personally by Major Lysenko, the group commander. The meeting was addressed by Senior Sergeant Il'in. He said the following: "We shall not spare our lives and we shall recapture Novorossiysk." These words were drowned out by the applause of the participants in the meeting.

All in all, five meetings were held at the 290th Regiment NEVD during the battle for Novorossiysk.

In Major Grigor'yev's detachment (255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade) there was no possibility for meetings. On the occasion of the appeal, short group talks were held. In some subunits the appeal was read to groups of troops and commanders. Such readings were given by Major Sidel'nikov [M. P.], deputy commander for political affairs of the 327th Battalion, second company commander Captain Ivan [A. P.], and Major Novik, representative of the army political department. The appeal was welcomed enthusiastically. The universal thought was expressed that the

Kabatazhaya Nooring will be reached at all costs, they will be reunited with the brigade, and the brigade will earn the "Guards" title.

In the 1119th Rifle Regiment the appeal was handed over to the agitators, who read it out loud in all subunits. In this regiment as well battle conditions made meetings impossible. Meetings were held here somewhat later, when the landing forces joined the 1331st Rifle Regiment and the assault detachment of the 55th Guards Rifle Division. The following spoke at the meetings on the occasion of the reunification with Bol'shaya Zemlya: Major Gaslyev [V. E.], Regimental deputy commander for political affairs; first battalion deputy commander Comrade Protaenko [A. N.], first battalion party organizer Comrade Shehupenko [S. M.], second battalion deputy commander for political affairs Comrade Sagaydak [G. A.] and Major Movshovich.

The army military council addressed a special appeal to the soldiers, sergeants and officers of units operating on Malaya Zemlya.⁹

On the occasion of the appeal meetings were held in all units. This enhanced the offensive thrust of the personnel. Troops and commanders of the 116th Red Banner Rifle Division and 83d Red Banner Marine Infantry Battalion attacked immediately after the meeting and caused great losses to the enemy.

Let us point out that this appeal as well was drafted by us before the landing and was dropped on Malaya Zemlya from the air at the proper time.

The meetings held in the course of the battle for Novorossiysk helped to strengthen the confidence of the personnel in victory, raised their battle spirit and strengthened the offensive thrust of the troops and commanders.

Personal Example of Party and Komsomol Members in Battle

The combat spirit of the entire personnel was enhanced most strongly by the heroic behavior of party and Komsomol members in combat. They were sent to the most difficult and responsible sectors: they reconnoitered, threw hand grenades at tanks, stormed enemy strong points, worked as signalmen, and acted as Bolshevik agitators. One of the sections of the 164th Guards Rifle Regiment of the 55th Guards Rifle Division was engaged in street combat. A minefield lay ahead. It was impossible either to bypass it or disarm the mines. Guards private, party member Man'ko [P. Ye.] stepped ahead of the line and shouted: "If I'm blown up by a mine, move over me!" He threw himself forward and died. The detonation exploded several mines. The section was able to advance. The soldiers crossed the minefield and captured several earth and timber pillboxes. The enemy paid a stiff price for the death of the hero.

Comrade Yedzoyev [I. G.], party organizer of the company, 1337th Rifle Regiment, headed the assault group. He was the first to rush into a house, which contained 20 fascist soldiers. As a result of skillful and decisive

action, the assault group captured the house and destroyed the entire enemy garrison.

In Botylev's detachment, sniper party member Comrade Rubakho [F. Ya.] was a model of courage and loyalty to the party and the people. In the course of the landing battles he killed 46 fascist soldiers and officers. So far his combat account numbers 347 destroyed fascists.

An enemy machine gunner firing at the Club named Stalin, was blocking the progress of the detachment. A fascist mortar battery was in the same area, firing at the bay and hindering the approach of our ships to the shore. There was no possibility to silence these fire positions. Botylev summoned Rubakho and said: "I order you to move behind the enemy and eliminate these fire positions. The assignment is difficult, you may be going to your death. Choose your comrades."

Comrade Rubakho decided to go alone. He hung several antitank grenades on himself and left. Half an hour later a strong explosion was heard and the enemy's machine gun stood silent. This was followed by the three more explosions and submachine gun fire. The enemy mortars were no longer firing but Rubakho was not returning either. Everyone believed that he had died a hero's death. A couple of hours later the courageous soldier returned. His face was scratched and his blouse was torn. Botylev and Matyushenko kissed the hero and suggested that he rest. Rubakho sharply refused and once again took up his combat duty.

In the 1339th Rifle Regiment Komsomol member Comrade Farziyev acted with particular daring. Surrounded, he wrote the following in Azerbaijani: "If I die know that I fulfilled my duty to the homeland." When the enemy began to press him and tried to capture him, shouting "Stand firm under," Farziyev hurled an antitank grenade at them and, after killing five Krauts broke the encirclement. Farziyev was awarded Order of the Red Banner.

Innumerable cases of courageous and heroic behavior of party members in battle could be cited. Everyone fought like true Bolsheviks. Through their behavior the party members lifted the spirit of the nonparty troops and led them to the sto. sing of enemy positions.

The following occurred in the 1339th Rifle Regiment. Red Army man Lazarev was sitting it out in a basement. A wounded party member, Comrade Konovalov went in. The party member asked: "Why are you sitting here?" "I am scared." Konovalov asked him to bandage his wound. After that, he said: "Come with me into battle and I will teach you how not to be afraid." After that, Red Army man Lazarev fought side by side with the party member, showing daring and self-control.

Here is yet another example. Candidate party member Comrade Babich [D. Ye.] said to Private Comrade Pavlov [A. I.] (Grigor'yev's detachment):

"Let us rush the house, it has as many as 20 Krauts."

"What are you talking about, there two of us and 20 of them, this is certain death," Pavlov answered.

Comrade Babich took grenades and went on. Running out of grenades, he came back and asked Pavlov to give him his. Red Army man Pavlov felt ashamed and joined his comrade.

Role of Party Organizers in Battle

In the course of the battles for Novorossiysk the overwhelming majority of party organizers proved themselves Bolshevik leaders of the party masses and skillful organizers. The party organizers demanded of the party members model behavior in combat, giving themselves the example of courage and heroism.

Comrade Mkrtichev, party organizer of the 1st company, 1139th Rifle Regiment, was the first to reach the shore held by the enemy and, shouting "For the motherland! For the party!" led the troops. He was the first to reach the electric power plant and hoist the Red flag on its pediment. Thanks to well organized political work, through its stubbornness in battle, the 1st company earned the love of the entire regimental personnel. The company consisted primarily of Azerbaijanis and Armenians, among whom Comrade Mkrtichev enjoyed great prestige. Despite the complexity of the circumstances, he provided daily Sovinformburo news to the soldiers in their native language, extensively popularizing the names of those who had distinguished themselves in battle.

Let us particularly note the work of Senior Sergeant Valiulin (S. Kh.), company party organizer in Comrade Grigor'yev's detachment. In breaks between battles Comrade Valiulin always found time to talk to the troops. Here every party member had been given a party assignment.

The company was ordered to prepare for assaulting a strong point. It had already assaulted it on three separate occasions unsuccessfully. It was decided to set up a group of daredevils and capture the strong point at all costs.

Valiulin gathered the party members. Company commander Senior Lieutenant Ivanov described the assignment. Every party member volunteered to join the assault. The most daring and strongest were chosen. One hour before the operation, Valiulin gathered the soldiers. The assault group consisted of 11 people, 5 of them party members, headed by Valiulin. The party organizer described the significance of the enemy strong point and the combat assignment.

The house was taken by assault. Comrade Valiulin displayed exceptional courage. He was the first to rush into the house. The command cited the entire group and everyone of its members was nominated for an award.

On 15 September the company was fighting its way to the elevator. Unexpectedly an enemy machine gun opened fire, shooting at our troops point blank. The company took position. Comrade Valiulin crawled to his deputy [deputy party organizer], Master Sergeant D'yachenko (S. A.), and told him the following: "The moment the machine gun stops its fire raise your boys and run to the bridge."

The party organizer himself quickly crawled toward the enemy machine gun. A long burst wounded Valiulin seriously. However, he gathered his strength and, approaching the opening from which the machine gun was firing, stopped the fire with his body. The company rushed ahead and captured the bridge.

That night Master Sergeant Comrade D'yachenko brought back Valiulin's body. The troops parted from their party organizer. The general feeling was voiced by Sergeant Konovalov. Over the body of the dead Bolshevik he said: "Comrade Valiulin lived and died like a hero. We shall avenge him!"

That evening talks were held in all subunits on the topic of the exploit of the organizer Comrade Valiulin.

The work of Captain Novgorodskiy [A. F.], party organizer of the party bureau of the 1339th Rifle Regiment, 318th Division, is noteworthy.

Prior to the operation, Comrade Novgorodskiy gave thorough instructions to every party organizer and battalion party bureau, issuing them party assignments for the period of battles, while he himself went to the 1st battalion, which was to advance in the main direction. In the battalion he gave instructions to the party members, and deployed them among the subunits in such a way that the party's influence would be felt in each section. At the onset of the battle, Novgorodskiy was in the battlelines of the unit. In the course of the operations he kept constantly in touch with the company party organizers, demanding of them adamant work with the people. Indeed, party work in these subunits did not abate. As instructed by the party organizations, party and Komsomol members voiced slogans, hoisted Red flags at the most important areas captured from the enemy, and, on behalf of the entire subunit, wrote warm letters to the native places of distinguished troops and commanders. The letters were then read to the entire subunit and sent, with the troops' approval, to the relatives of the distinguished troops and commanders. Party members did extensive educational work with the nonparty people. In the first two days of battle the battalion's party organization accepted 22 people as members.

Comrade Novgorodskiy paid great attention to promptly replacing party organizers taken out of the ranks. On 10 and 11 September five company party organizers and one battalion party organizer were taken out of the ranks. All of them were promptly replaced with new party organizers who were given instructions by Comrade Novgorodskiy, who also gave them steady practical assistance.

In the course of the battles for Novorossiysk company, battalion and regimental party organizers were the closest assistants of the commanders. They guided the agitators, held talks, controlled the publication of "combat leaflets," and mounted attacks leading the masses. Those days tens of party organizers died, sacrificing their lives for the homeland.

Nonparty Bolsheviks Took the Place of Party Members

The party members earned the great love of all Red Army men and commanders. The best among the privates, sergeants and officers joined the party, replacing casualties among party members.

In the course of the preparations for battle, over 100 people were accepted as party members at the 1339th Rifle Regiment; another 30 were accepted in the course of the battles. All in all, from 1 to 16 September 161 members of the regiment joined the party.

On 12 September the 290th Regiment NKVD fought its most serious battle. That day the fascists counterattacked eight times. At the critical moment a number of troops and commanders in the battalion submitted petitions for party membership. The declarations of the soldiers stated: "We are fighting while totally surrounded. Superior enemy forces are continuously counterattacking. We have sworn to the homeland to take Novorossiysk and we shall honor our oath. I request the party organization to consider me a party member."

A total of 83 troops and commanders in the battalion submitted petitions for party membership.

Role of the Political Department in Organizing the Victory

In the course of the preparations of the personnel for the combat operation and during the battle the political department of the large units played an exceptionally important role. As instructed by the army political department, with the help of our representatives, all political departments drafted detailed plans for political support of the battle. In the political department of the 20th Landing Rifle Corps my deputy Lieutenant Colonel Kulik [P. I.] and corps political department chief, Colonel Ryzhov [A. I.] held a conference before the beginning of the battle with the heads of the political departments of large units and deputy unit commanders. Specific instructions were issued at the conference on party-political work in the period of preparations for combat and during the battle itself.

Great attention was paid to the deployment of the party political apparatus. The political department personnel were assigned to regiments and battalions, where together with the deputy commanders for political affairs and the party organizers, in turn, they deployed the party-political forces by subunit. In the 3d battalion of the 8th Guard Rifle Brigade the battalion party bureau members were deployed as follows: party member Comrade

Gukasev [M. A.], 7th company; party member Comrade Zaboryanskiy [N. G.], automatic weapons company; party member Comrade Matus'yan, 9th company; and party member Comrade Ryaboshapko [A. R.], mortar company. Specific instructions were issued to all these members of the party bureau, both for the period of preparation and combat. The party organizer and battalion deputy commander for political affairs reserved the right to choose their own subunits, i.e., to be wherever the circumstances would be most complex.

In the regiments and battalions, the political department personnel moved from company to company, helping the party organizers, agitators, party bureau member and deputy commanders. Frequently political department workers had to correct errors made by company commanders and give them practical assistance.

Communications with the 8th company of the 8th Guard Rifle Brigade were broken. Company commander Guards Captain Galkin [N. A.] failed to take decisive measures to restore them. Guards Captain Chekanskiy [E. A.], political department senior instructor for organizational party work, intervened and helped to quickly restore communications.

As required by the circumstances, the political department personnel personally joined the battle and led the masses with their courage.

In combat order of the 1st Rifle Battalion, when the troops were flattened down by a hail of enemy fire, through their personal example, shouting "For the homeland! Forward!" senior instructors of the political department of the 81st Marine Infantry Battalion, Captains Demishkin [G. A.] and Shevchuk [S. P.], and Senior Lieutenant Zakharenko [I. G.], battalion deputy commander for political affairs, led the troops to the attack and carried out the combat assignment.

An exceptional amount of work was done by the political department of the 318th Rifle Division. On the night of 11 September its virtually entire apparatus landed together with the 1337th Rifle Regiment and conducted party-political work directly among the units.

In accordance with army political department instructions, the political department personnel of the large units, together with our representatives and the unit personnel, thoroughly checked the readiness of the personnel for combat in each subunit, prior to the battle. Major shortcomings were discovered and immediately eliminated. In the course of the operations the political workers tirelessly controlled the supply of the troops with ammunition, food and medicines, and immediately took measures to eliminate shortcomings. The political personnel of the large units and the army political department played an exceptionally important role in providing prompt information about the battle circumstances, the needs of the troops and party-political work. The military council, army political department and political departments of large units reacted immediately to the short notes written straight from the battlefield and took measures to supply the units with everything necessary.

The political department personnel of the 89th Rifle Division played a major organizing role. They were always in the units and in combat gave practical aid to the party's political organs. The political department personnel of the division were deployed as follows: Captain Arutyunyan [G. Kh.], instructor in organizational party work, 526th Rifle Regiment; agitator Major Davtyan [B. N.], 390th Rifle Regiment; and agitator Captain Saakyan [V. M.], 400th Rifle Regiment. All these comrades proved themselves courageous people and good organizers.

An educational method such as divisional citation of distinguished troops, sergeants and officers was extensively applied in this large unit. Extensive political work was done in all units on the basis of such orders. Every soldier and commander tried to be noted in the citations and fought sparing no efforts. The commander's orders were issued both on the occasion of people who had particularly distinguished themselves, as well as the seizure of a settlement. Thus, for example, an order was issued in connection with the liberation of Verkhnebakanskiy.

The chiefs of political departments of large units particularly distinguished themselves in the course of the preparations for and the combat operations. There were in constant communication with all party political organs and took prompt measures to provide practical aid. Lieutenant Colonel Tikhostup [A. M.], chief of the political department of the 318th Rifle Division, was with the landing forces.

All chiefs of political departments of large units were recommended for government awards for their skillful organization of political support of the battle and individual combat qualities displayed.

The work of the army political department was rated highly by the military council. Twenty one of our personnel were presented with government awards.

As part of the battle order of landing and field units, the army political department personnel provided live practical guidance to the party political organs. They helped to organize the victory, displaying their personal strength. Many of our workers had to assume the command of subunits and operate while encircled by the enemy. For an entire day Major Movshovich commanded the 1st battalion of the 1339th Rifle Regiment. Major Dzhabua [D. A.] assumed the command of several companies as their commanders became casualties. For majors Matyushenko [D. I.] and Novik were surrounded by the enemy, saving scattered groups of soldiers. Captain Konstantinov [G. F.] rallied a group of dispersed troops, fought to the last cartridge, and then led the entire group (as many as 90 people) out of the encirclement. The following were always in the combat order and acted with their words and weapons: Major Klyunenko, Major Arzumanyan [A. A.], Captain Pavelko, Captain Vaytsman [B. I.], Captain Yurkin [G. N.], and others. Many of our people died those days, having sacrificed their lives for the homeland for the party.

FOOTNOTES

1. For archive documents on the heroic defense of Malaya Zuniya see KOMBUNIST No 7, 1978.
2. Reference to the 255th Marine Infantry Brigade Black Sea Fleet.
3. Reference to the 290th Rifle Regiment of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.
4. See VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL No 12, 1979, pp 42-45.
5. See KOMBUNIST No 7, 1978, pp 107-108.
6. Commander of 1339th Rifle Regiment.
7. Chief of staff of the 290th Regiment NKVD.
8. See KOMBUNIST No 7, 1978, pp 108-109.
9. See document 3 of this publication.

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CSD: 1802

IN THE SINGLE FORMATION OF THE HOMELAND'S DEFENDERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 80 pp 43-59

[Article by A. Kosygin, member of the CC CPSU Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] It is 35 years since the rout of German fascism, which personified imperialism's most brutal, thuggish forces. The Soviet people's exploit is great and immortal.

The Patriotic War years are receding further and further into the past. The Soviet people's victory in that war will go down in history forever as an extremely great event that had a tremendous influence on general world development. The Great Patriotic War is engraved forever on the people's memory as a vivid example of Soviet people's steadfastness and selfless courage, and it was a stern test of the durability of the Soviet structure and economic system, which are based on social ownership of the means of production. The victory in that war demonstrated the socialist state's strength, invincibility and tremendous defense might. The victory showed that there is no force in the world capable of reversing history and depriving the working people of their great revolutionary gains.

The war against the fascist invaders was a real people's war. At the party's call and under its leadership, Soviet people rose as one to fight the enemy. Millions of men and hundreds of thousands of women joined the ranks of the field army. Behind the front line, on the territory temporarily occupied by the enemy, hundreds of thousands of patriots fought the struggle against the fascist invaders as members of partisan detachments and underground groups. In the Soviet rear the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia forged weapons for our army and supplied it with combat materiel, food and equipment. The party's slogan "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!" became the law of Soviet people's life. The efforts of working people in the rear, which were of unparalleled selflessness and heroism, served a single common aim--to rout the hated enemy. "Enduring extreme trials," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted, "Soviet people defended the motherland's honor and independence, defended the gains of October and the cause Vladimir Il'ich Lenin bequeathed to us."

The Soviet Economy on the Eve of the War

The prewar five-year plans were a period of victorious socialist building. It took less than 20 years to carry out Lenin's behest on turning Russia of the new economic policy into a socialist Russia.

Socialist industrialization was being implemented at a rapid rate. Industrial production was increasing by an average of 17 percent per year, and production of means of production by 21 percent. As early as the end of the second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union had attained second place in the world and first place in Europe in terms of the volume of industrial production, thereby outstripping such industrially developed countries as Britain, France and Germany, and had considerably closed the gap on the United States.

The proportion of machine building and metalworking in the total volume of industrial production had increased substantially. Machine tool building, energy and transport machine building and the electrical industry had been greatly developed. The output of equipment for the metallurgical and other sectors of heavy industry had increased. Agricultural machine building and tractor building had been considerably developed. Motor vehicle production and aircraft manufacturing were organized. Great successes were scored in such important sectors as the power industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the oil-extraction, petroleum-refining and chemical industries.

A rapidly developed transport system met the national economy's transportation needs and substantially increased the economy's military mobilization potential.

Socialist industrialization fundamentally changed the material and technical base of agricultural production. Implementation of Lenin's cooperative plan had resulted in the victory of the kolkhoz system. A new class--the kolkhoz peasantry--had emerged in the countryside. The alliance of workers and peasants--the foundation of our state's political and economic might--had strengthened still further.

An extremely important result of the fulfillment of the prewar five-year plans was the complete surmounting of the socialist economy's dependence on imported industrial equipment and raw materials. Under the conditions of the hostile capital encirclement, the Soviet Union's consolidation of its economic independence was tremendously important for the constant development of all sectors of the national economy at a rapid rate, and especially for increasing and strengthening its defense capability.

The new construction work carried out on a large scale in the prewar years considerably improved the location of production forces and made it possible to create modern multifactorial industry in the east of the country. The sown area, especially of grain crops and cotton, was increased there.

One of the Soviet people's wonderful gains was the cultural revolution, which gave all the working people extensive access to education. Millions of workers and people who only yesterday had been peasants learned to handle complex machines and machinery. The ranks of the people's intelligentsia grew. Soviet science made confident advances. It made a substantial contribution to creating the country's mighty economic and defense potential.

The prewar period was difficult and heroic. It was also a time of considerable privation. But none of the difficulties and privations of those years could stop the onward march of socialist building. The grandeur of the socio-economic tasks generated tremendous political and labor enthusiasm among the people. The fruits of the people's labor became increasingly appreciable and weighty with every passing year.

In their economic policy the Communist Party and the Soviet State proceeded from the need to correctly combine the interests of developing the national economy with the tasks of increasing the defense industry and strengthening the armed forces.

The deterioration in the international situation and the increased threat of war compelled the Soviet Union to expedite the development of the defense industry. Military appropriations were sharply increased in the Third Five-Year Plan. Existing aviation and tank plants and small arms, artillery and ammunition enterprises were radically modernized and a considerable number of new ones were built. A number of enterprises in the civilian sectors were switched to defense production. At the same time that production of combat hardware was being expanded, hardware was being qualitatively improved and updated.

A number of measures were taken to create a system of state manpower reserves and strengthen labor discipline. State material and food reserves were formed in the country and these played an important role in the initial period of the war when industry was being placed on a war footing. The structure of the national economy was brought into line with the possible demands of the impending war. Thus the economic preconditions for rebuffing any aggressor were created in the USSR in the prewar years.

The Soviet State took measures to avert war or at least postpone it as long as possible. As is well known, these measures produced partial results. And it was not possible to do everything planned to strengthen our defense before Hitlerite Germany's attack on the Soviet Union.

The Military Mobilization of the Economy

The suddenness of the Hitlerite forces perfidious attack on our country gave them a temporary advantage. Preparing for the attack on the Soviet Union, fascist Germany had long switched its entire economy, and later also industry in the European countries it occupied, over to military production.

So at the beginning of the war the fascist army was superior to the Soviet Army in terms of the quantity of many types of military hardware. In stubborn defensive fighting, our troops were forced to retreat, sustaining great losses of manpower and equipment. It was necessary to reorganize our economy in an extremely short time, place it on a war footing and mobilize the country's resources more fully for the production of combat hardware.

By a joint decision of the all-union Communist Party (Bolshevik) [VKP(b)] Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of People's Commissars [Sovmarkom], a State Defense Committee headed by J. V. Stalin was formed 30 June 1941. Full power was vested in a single organ that united the efforts of front and rear, promptly took decisions and rapidly implemented them.

The Communist Party Central Committee, State Defense Committee and USSR Sovmarkom systematically monitored the course of the whole military reorganization of the economy, and instructed the people's commissariats and party and soviet organs at local levels to mobilize unused reserves more fully and eliminate the shortcomings in their work more swiftly. To strengthen party leadership of the economy, the sectorial sections were strengthened in the union republic central committees, kraykoms, obkoms and gorikoms. Party organizations in large enterprises and construction projects were headed by VKP(b) Central Committee party organizers. Machine and tractor stations and sovkhos political sections were formed.

The forms and methods of plan leadership of the national economy changed during the war and centralization in the administration of the economy was strengthened. The rapidly changing situation on the front and the need to take prompt and flexible decisions caused an increase in the role of current planning. Quarterly, monthly and 10-day national economic plans were the main form of planning in wartime. The mobilization national-economic plan for the third quarter of 1941 outlined the considerable growth of coal and oil extraction, the production of pig iron and quality steel and the production of ferrous metals and metal-cutting machine tools. It was planned to double the production of special types of rolled metal products. Capital construction was confined to a strictly laid down number of shock projects. The defense industry was supplied with manpower as a matter of priority. Metal, coal, electricity and equipment were reallocated in favor of military production.

In mid-August 1941 the VKP(b) Central Committee and USSR Sovmarkom adopted a new military economic plan for the fourth quarter of 1941 and for 1942 in the regions of the Volga, the Urals, West Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. It envisaged extensive development of industrial construction in the eastern regions of the country, the rehabing thereof and accelerated commissioning of enterprises from the front-line zone, increased production of armaments, ammunition, tanks, aircraft, metal, coal and gasoline, and expansion of main railroad terminals, stations and tracks.

The party Central Committee and USSR Sovnarkom took a number of emergency measures to make more effective use of all available cadres in the national economy and seek out cadre reserves. The working day was increased; compulsory overtime was introduced; regular and additional leave was abolished. This made it possible to increase equipment utilization by approximately 11 percent without increasing the number of workers. Republic sovnarkoms and krayispolkoms and oblaspolkoms were given the right to maneuver manpower on a day-to-day basis in the interests of increasing military production.

Almost all sectors of industry began to work to meet the needs of the war. Heavy, transport and agricultural machine building plants switched to producing tanks, and medium machine building enterprises set to producing mortars, artillery pieces and ammunition. Plant mechanical repair shops, local industry enterprises and industrial cooperatives were also switched to producing arms and ammunition.

In ferrous metallurgy the production of high-quality steel increased sharply in a short time and the production of special types of rolled metal increased. The proportion of aviation fuel in petroleum products production and of chemicals for the front's needs in chemical output increased substantially. Transport's work was reorganized within a short time. Train movements followed a special military timetable, which insured greater smoothness and the better use of railroad traffic capacities.

The advantages of the planned socialist economic system made it possible to rapidly mobilize all industrial and transport resources and, despite the greatest difficulties, to place the whole national economy on a war footing.

The Reloading of Production Forces in the East

Right from the first day of the war the Soviet people were faced with the extremely complex task of reloading in the rear millions of people and a high number of industrial enterprises and quantities of equipment and material and cultural assets from the front-line and threatened areas. This work of unprecedented scale was headed by the party Central Committee, the State Defense Committee and the USSR Sovnarkom. A Council for evacuation was set up (the council chairman was N. M. Shvernik and its deputy chairmen were A. N. Kosygin and M. G. Pervukhin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Sovnarkom).

It must be stressed that the enterprises evacuated from the front-line zone continued production until the last possible moment. The equipment was often dismantled and loaded into freight cars under enemy artillery bombardment and bombing. The dismantling and transportation of bulky equipment that required a huge number of freight cars and locomotives entailed great difficulties.

At the same time it was necessary to transport to the east the millions of people who were leaving with their enterprises, to accommodate them in the new places and to help them to settle in. Evacuation centers operated at the key railroad stations. They received and dispatched the train loads of people and organized catering and medical services. The chain of evacuation centers stretched for thousands of kilometers--from the front-line railroad stations in the south and west of the country to East Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

The reuniting (reuniting) of production forces in the east of the country within a short time was yet another unflinching exploit of the Soviet people in the most complex period of the Great Patriotic War.

Here are some data on the evacuation of industrial enterprises and the population from Leningrad and Moscow. The residents of Leningrad and the plants located there began to be shipped out in July 1941. By the end of August about 100 big enterprises, including part of the Kirovskiy and Izhorskiy plants' equipment, had been dismantled and sent deep into the rear, and more than 600,000 people had been moved out. When the situation on the Leningrad front deteriorated, ships of the Northwest River Steamship Line were also enlisted for the evacuation. With the end of navigation, it was decided to continue the evacuation of the population along the ice road, which has gone down in history as the "road of life." Under the cold winter conditions it was very difficult to take the hunger-weakened people by trails to Lake Ladoga and then by bus or open truck along the ice path across Ladoga to the eastern shore of the lake. At the evacuation centers organized there they received the necessary food and, after a short rest, were taken by railroad deep into the country. The State Defense Committee resolutely envisaged moving 500,000 residents out of Leningrad. Under grim conditions more than half a million people and huge quantities of industrial equipment and historical assets were moved out of Leningrad across the ice of Lake Ladoga and transported to the rear between 22 January and 15 April 1942.

With the intention of breaking through our defenses near Moscow in a single assault, in the fall of 1941 the fascist command concentrated great forces in the Moscow salient. A dangerous situation was created. The State Defense Committee decided to evacuate all defense plants from Moscow and Moakryevskaya Oblast. I was authorized to lead this work. On 30 November 1941 I reported to the party Central Committee that about 500 major industrial enterprises and many VUZ's, research and design institutes, libraries and museums, theaters and other institutions had been evacuated.

Railroad workers carried out much evacuation work. Suffice it to say that in July 1941 almost half the country's railroad car pool was constantly on the move with evacuation freight. During this period the through-put of many railroad lines and junctions increased many times over compared with prewar times. The railroad workers also did much work to move facilities belonging to their own transport sector.

Railroad and river transport workers worked in close collaboration. Between July and the end of navigation in 1941, the river fleet transported 870,000 tons of freight and more than two million people. The ferries which river transport workers set up on big rivers in the front-line zone helped to move many people and a large quantity of state property out to secure areas. The ferries work with great intensity, sometimes under enemy fire.

The maritime fleet, especially from the coastal areas of the Baltic republics, from the Kola Peninsula to the north Black Sea coast, played an important role in evacuating the population and material assets. The evacuation of the cities of Odessa, Kherson, Nikolayev, Sevastopol, Mariupol, Taganrog, Rostov-na-Donu, Novorossiysk, and other was a heroic epic. The sailors made 1,100 trips and shipped several hundred thousand people and more than 250,000 tons of freight out of Odessa.

The extremely difficult task of rebasing production forces in the east was carried out in the first six months of the war. The Council for Evacuation was dissolved in December 1941. But the evacuation had to be continued in the summer of 1942, when a new offensive by the fascist forces began in the southern sector of the front. This second wave of evacuations was smaller than the first in terms of the territory involved and the scale of transportation, but had difficulties of its own, attendant on the fact that in the fall of 1942 the North Caucasus was cut off from the main railroad.

The evacuation went according to plan. In the second half of 1941 more than 10 million people were moved to the rear within an extremely short time and 1,523 major industrial enterprises were rebased (667 in the Urals, 244 in West Siberia, 78 in East Siberia, 308 in Central Asia and Kazakhstan and 226 in the Volga arena). All enterprises of the tank, aviation and motor manufacturing industries and the ammunition and arms industry, 54 metallurgical and 150 machine building plants and 40 electrical equipment industry plants were evacuated to the east. In Comrade I. I. Brezhnev's figurative expression, "The whole industrial country was moved thousands of kilometers."

In 1941-1942, 2.4 million head of cattle, 2.1 million sheep and goats, 200,000 pigs and 800,000 horses were evacuated from the kolchozes and sovkhoses of southern and western regions, and a great quantity of grain, seeds and foodstuffs was also shipped out.

A. Y. Gulyev, chief of the Red Army Rear Services, who was also people's commissar for railways for a time, performed great services in the successful evacuation of people, equipment and other material resources. The trains that went to the front with military freight came back with people and industrial equipment.

The organization of the timely departure of the population and the dismantling and evacuation of industrial equipment was merely one aspect of the

imposing task of rebasing industry in the east. It was necessary to commission the evacuated enterprises as swiftly as possible, especially those of military significance. All this work was carried out with the active participation of local party and soviet organs. Often, preparations to receive the trains carrying equipment and workers would already be proceeding while the trains were still on their way to their destination. Not only production areas, but also housing for the working people and their families were prepared. In most cases the enterprises that moved to the east were installed on the sites of unfinished plants and individual shops or sited in various nonproduction or subsidiary premises--warehouses and bases. Many major enterprises had to be sent to largely undeveloped areas [maloozhitye].

The restoration of the enterprises took place under hard winter conditions. There was a shortage of manpower, materials and construction equipment. To accelerate the commissioning of enterprises, permission was given to construct temporary-type production buildings, designed for short-term use. Workers, engineers and employees became construction workers, installations workers, loaders and laborers. Old steam locomotives were adapted to heat the shops and for industrial purposes, and primitive stoves were installed for people. People lived in tents, barely heated huts and dugouts, sometimes went short of food, and did not get enough sleep. The work went on around the clock. Without waiting for the construction of shops to be completed, the workers of the evacuated enterprises would sometimes install equipment under the open sky, begin producing output needed by the front. Some 5,800 metalworking machine tools and a great quantity of other equipment from Leningrad's Kirovskiy Plant were installed in an unroofed building in Chelyabinsk in three weeks. As early as October 1941 heavy tanks produced by the Kirovskiy Plant workers were dispatched to the front and took part in the rout of the fascist troops near Moscow. Just six-eight weeks--that was the average time it took for enterprises transferred to the east to be commissioned.

The majestic operation to move production forces eastward was a forced measure, necessitated by the extremely unfavorable situation on the front. At the same time it was an extremely important element in successfully placing our economy on a war footing and insured the rapid buildup of military economic potential.

The Main Arsenal of the Front

The grimmest and most critical period of our war economy was July-December 1941. Gross industrial output had decreased 1.9 times and the output of rolled ferrous metals--the foundation of military industry--3.1 times, production of the ballbearings needed to manufacture aircraft, tanks and artillery had decreased 21 times, and production of rolled nonferrous metals, without which military production is impossible, had almost ceased entirely. However, as a result of the tremendous efforts made by the whole Soviet people, the decline in industrial production was halted as early as

December 1941, and in March 1942 its volume began to increase. The reorganization of the Soviet economy on a war footing had been completed by the middle of that year, and by the beginning of 1943 the country had a smoothly operating war economy.

In 1943 gross industrial output totaled 90 percent of the prewar level, but had increased 120 percent in the defense sectors. The disproportions that arose at the beginning of the war between the country's requirements for and production of metal, electricity and fuel had been largely overcome. Defense and other sectors of industry, and also reconstruction and transportation were being equipped with means of production in ever-increasing amounts. Production of peaceful output was also gradually restored during 1943.

The country's military-industrial potential was built up through the expansion of existing plants and the construction of new ones. Tremendous amounts of new capital construction were carried out in the complex wartime situation. New facilities were created at a very rapid pace. While before the war the construction of big blast furnaces had taken two to three years, in wartime the fifth and sixth blast furnaces at the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical combine were constructed and commissioned in only six months. Overall, the time taken to commission the most important enterprises, those with defense significance, was much shorter than before the war. In all 3,500 major enterprises were constructed in the rear areas at this time. By way of comparison, I recall that 3,000 major industrial enterprises were commissioned in 3.5 years of the Third Five-Year Plan.

In the initial period of the war most capital investments were channeled into the Urals, Siberia, the Volga area, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. These areas were the main industrial base of the country's war economy and the main arsenal of the front. The Urals were the mightiest industrial region and the most important forge of weapons. In the four years of the war output in the Urals increased 260 percent, in Siberia 180 percent and in the Volga area 140 percent. In the first half of 1943 gross industrial output in the eastern regions as a whole was twice what it had been in the first half of 1941, and defense industry output was 5.6 times greater.

Production specialization and coproduction were carried out on a large scale in the defense industry. Coproduction required precise organization. Plants, united in groups, worked according to a single production schedule. The parent plant helped its associated enterprises to assimilate new techniques, install equipment in the shops and train workers.

The introduction into production of the flow system, born in Moscow's enterprises, yielded wonderful results. This system made it possible to sharply increase military production for a small outlay and with fewer workers. In certain enterprises labor productivity increased by 50-100 percent as a result of the use of the flow system.

The war was a time for bold and original organizational, economic and technical decisions, of justified production risk, of the abandonment of many customary working methods and at the same time of a great upsurge of creative thinking by scientists, designers, engineers and workers. It can be said of many scientific and technical solutions of those years that they were world firsts.

For instance, for the first time in world practice, sand molds were replaced by metal molds in the casting of large steel parts in the tank industry, thanks to which labor expenditure was halved. The heat treatment of parts by means of high-frequency current, first used in our country, played a great role in the progress of tank building. It made it possible to increase the hardness and wear resistance of parts and to sharply reduce the heat treatment time. The replacement of manual welding of tank armor by automatic welding, implemented under the leadership of Acad Ye. O. Paton was of tremendous importance for improving tank production. Neither our enemies, for whom the entire arsenal of Europe worked, nor our allies, who had highly developed industry, were ever able before the very end of the war to robot-weld tanks, and on production lines at that. But our tank industry was able to do this under the incredibly complex conditions of the beginning of the war. Our tank builders developed and successfully started up production of the T-34 tank turret by the drop-forging method. Rapid technical progress typified all sectors of the military industry.

It is characteristic that labor productivity in the defense sectors increased much more rapidly than in the national economy as a whole. Labor productivity throughout industry increased 43 percent between May 1942 and May 1945, but 121 percent in the defense sectors.

According to the USSR Gosplan figures, in 1941-1945 our military produced 142,800 aircraft, 110,300 tanks and self-propelled artillery mountings and 521,500 artillery pieces. In 1941-1944 Hitler's Germany produced 78,900 aircraft, 33,000 tanks and self-propelled artillery mountings and 170,100 artillery pieces.

Our aircraft designers and manufacturers created fighters and bombers which had high specifications and performance. I will recall just one type of aircraft--the IL-2 ground-attack aircraft, nicknamed "The Flying Tank" by our soldiers. The fascists called it "the black death." No country of the world had warplanes with the kind of specifications the IL-2 had. In all, during the war years, 25 types of new or modernized aircraft and 23 types of air engines were assimilated and put into series production. While at the time of the attack on our motherland, fascist Germany had considerably more aircraft of the latest type than we did, in 1942 the Soviet aviation industry had already outstripped the German industry in terms of the production of the most modern aircraft. From the summer of 1943 air superiority shifted completely to Soviet aviation.

The Soviet heavy and medium tanks, especially the renowned I-34, and self-propelled artillery were superior not just to the German, but to all foreign machines of a similar class.

The quality of firepower of artillery and small arms rose constantly. One major achievement of the Soviet defense industry was the mass production of rocket launchers--the famous "Katyushas." Like models of combat hardware for all other categories of troops, new types of [artillery] weapons were also created in record time. I will cite a typical example: The 152 mm howitzer that gave an excellent account of itself during the war was designed and manufactured in just 18 days in 1943, and mass production of it was started up within six weeks.

When considering the work of our defense industry during this time, it should be stressed that, despite incredibly hard conditions, the Soviet Union independently, from its own resources, provided its army with all the necessary technically superb weapons of warfare. Of course, the allies' deliveries of military materials to us had a certain importance, but by no means to the extent that bourgeois propaganda makes out. The volume of deliveries to the Soviet Union from the United States and Britain in relation to our own production in the USSR was no more than 12 percent for aircraft, 10 percent for tanks and 2 percent for artillery. Deliveries of that size certainly could not have an substantial influence on the course of the war. It must be noted that the deliveries themselves were not always made at the times when our country was experiencing the direct need for specific types of combat hardware, and the equipment's combat characteristics often left something to be desired. The equipment delivered to us included many obsolete models of tanks and aircraft that were constantly inferior to the Soviet models and so could be used only for secondary military tanks.

All Sectors in a Single Formation

Military production required tremendous fuel and electricity resources. The strain on the fuel balance was exacerbated by the temporary loss of the Donbass and the Moscow basin, the end of oil extraction on fields in Krasnodarskiy Kray and its halving in the Grozno region. In 1942 deliveries of all types of fuel to the national economy were less than half what they had been in 1940. During this period the military industry had priority in fuel supplies. The shortage of coal and oil was partly compensated for by wood and peat. The north, northwest and central railroads, many industrial enterprises and municipal services in most cities were converted to wood as fuel.

But, of course, coal and oil remained the chief types of fuel. Fuel and energy resources were increased by expanding the coal bases in the east--the Kuzbass, Karaganda, the Urals--and by resuming mining in the restored mines of the Moscow basin and later the Donbass. During the war oil men opened up deposits in the Volga region, Bashkiria and Kazakhstan, which made it possible to considerably expand the extraction and refining of it. Large heat and power stations, mostly sited in the immediate vicinity of fuel deposits, were rapidly constructed in the east. The capacities of existing power stations were expanded.

During the war years ferrous metallurgy capacities in the eastern regions increased almost 60 percent and output increased more than 50 percent. The range changed substantially. Solving a number of extremely complex technological problems, the metallurgists of the Urals and Siberia organized production of armor and alloy steel in ordinary open-hearth furnaces, rolled armor plate in blooming mills and ferroalloys in blast furnaces. In the first year of the war alone the Magnitogorsk Combine started up production of more than 40 new brands of steel, and the Zlatoust Plant, production of 163 brands of quality steel. Production of quality steel reached the pre-war level as early as 1942, and subsequently substantially surpassed it. Nonferrous metallurgy also developed intensively, making up for the losses that took place at the beginning of the war and considerably increasing the production volume.

Major chemical industry enterprises were commissioned in the east and rapidly increased the output of strategic raw materials.

There were no secondary sectors in the work to support the front. Every element of the economy was important and the coordinated work of the whole war economy depended on successful activity by each element. The war sharply increased the variety of forms and methods of using wood and timber products, which were a most important strategic raw material. From the first days of the war the timber industry began to make a great contribution to augmenting the country's war economy potential.

The transport workers made an enormous contribution to the victory. The maximum concentration of efforts and resources on decisive sectors of transportation, the centralization of the sector's management, the strenuous labor, frequently involving a risk to life, of the workers and employees employed in the sector insured the successful solution of all the tasks facing transport. I have noted the imposing work which the transport workers performed in transferring to the rear many hundreds of enterprises and millions of Soviet people while at the same time resolving the very important task of insuring troop shipments. For the successful implementation of defensive and offensive operations transport uninterruptedly delivered military units, armaments, ammunition, material, fuel and rations to the front and carried the wounded to the rear. The railroads transported almost 20 million cars carrying troops and over 5 million cars carrying the wounded, medical personnel and medical supplies during the war. During the war Soviet transport had to carry out a large amount of difficult work in delivering national economic freight. Difficulties were caused not only by the deterioration of transport's material and technical base, but also by the increase in the average freight flow run caused by the big changes in the location of production forces.

We assess highly, at its worth, the exploit accomplished during the war by the workers of the Soviet countryside. Millions of kolkhoz members went to the front and into industry. Agriculture handed over its best tractors and motor vehicles and a considerable proportion of the horse population for

military needs. In the first period of the war it received neither tractors nor other equipment. Agriculture's production potential was approximately halved by comparison with the prewar level, which was caused by the temporary occupation of regions which were very important for the production of grain, industrial crops, meat and milk.

One of the main avenues of development of agricultural production in wartime was the expansion of sown areas in the eastern regions. The raising of the yield and increase in gross grain harvests was agriculture's central task during the war. The rural workers sowed additional areas with grain over and above the plan, the entire harvest from which was handed over to Red Army stocks. The kolkhoz members sent transport trains carrying various products to the industrial cities over and above the compulsory deliveries to the state.

In the countryside it was mainly women, old people and adolescents who bore the brunt of crop farming work in the war years. Soviet peasant women, taking the place of the men who had left for the front, drove tractors, combines and motor vehicles themselves, headed teams and links, livestock farms and kolkhozes and sovkhoses. In many regions, experiencing an acute dearth of agricultural machinery, they brought in the harvest with sickles and plowed the earth using bulls and cows as draft animals and on occasion drew the plows themselves. In 1944 the production of agricultural equipment was resumed and it began to be delivered to the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The war was a severe trial of the vitality of the kolkhoz system and all the Soviet peasantry's spiritual strength. The rural workers emerged honorably from this trial. Socialist agriculture, withstanding all the hardships of the war, coped with the tasks set it and supplied the army and urban population with food.

The subsidiary farms created by the industrial enterprises and the expansion of areas sown to potatoes and vegetables in the workers' and employees' collective and individual kitchen gardens were a major additional source of foodstuffs.

The war diverted millions of skilled workers from production. The communist party and the Soviet state performed a large amount of organizational work to enlist additional manpower to social production.

Many former cadre workers who had retired on pension returned to the plants, factories, new construction sites and transport in the very first months of the war, hundreds of thousands of housewives came, taking over the jobs of their husbands, fathers and brothers--at lathes, in the mines and at timber procurement sites. Soviet women, performing hard work, frequently by no means woman's work, selflessly bore all the hardships and adversities of wartime. In the great nationwide war against the fascist invaders they displayed striking courage, magnanimity, devotion to the motherland, heartfelt responsiveness and kindness.

The entire vast nation's efforts of the national economy of a large number of people who had formerly taken no part in actual production, including children, was accompanied by their rapid training in skilled labor and professions.

The desire of every Soviet person to augment his contribution to the nationwide struggle against fascism gave rise to new forms of production activities and socialist competition among the working people--the movement of the workers producing 200, 300 or 1,000 units of output; the 7-day and 10-day front-line teams; the front-line labor watches, week- and 10-day shifts. When an urgent war order had to be fulfilled, people worked 12-14 hours and sometimes more, forgetting all about rest.

During the war material and moral incentives were widely used. For workers fulfilling and overfulfilling production norms additional food and increased ration norms were introduced. The Stakhanovites and shock workers enjoyed many advantages. For the labor collectives which were victors in socialist competition the challenge Red Banner of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and State Defense Committee and also of the NKVD and people's commissariats were first inaugurated. This had tremendous significance for heightening the pitch of competition and developing the working people's creative activity. The entire country knew the collectives of the enterprises which had honorably fulfilled their commitments to the front.

By being closer the day of victory people also helped the front with their personal savings. Many articles of jewelry, state loan bonds, agricultural products and warm coverings came in. Funds from state loans, subscription to which was always very successful, were an important source of budget revenues during the war.

The moral strength and spiritual activity of the rear services workers were also manifested in their concern for those who had been forced by the war to leave their homes, and for the mothers, wives and children of front-line soldiers. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet people, following the call of Soviet leaders, took orphaned children into their families as their own. At the working members' initiative special funds of food and other items were created to help the families of servicemen. The party and Soviet organs organized a movement, known for the Soviet Army servicemen.

It is important to note

During the war the Soviet people great success and the damage inflicted by the enemy on our country was tremendous--the results lost about 30 percent of the national wealth.

After the enemy was driven from the liberated land, the restoration of enterprises, housing, schools and hospitals began there at once. The war was not going on and demanded a further increase in military production,

but not since found way of reviving the economy in the regions which had suffered under occupation. APPROPRIATE capital investments were allocated for this purpose. In 1944 some valuable investments of all investments in the national economy. The war in 1944 participated in the restoration of the economy. Regions of the war damaged percentage over areas which had suffered at the enemy's hands.

Investment efforts were concentrated in the restoration. At that period extremely little was being produced in the way of construction materials. It was necessary to use what was left, to bring into play all that had been saved from the war. There was an acute shortage of construction timber, since the timber stock in the country's eastern regions had suffered seriously as a result of the war and the military occupation. Many of those taking part in construction work, of whom a large percentage were women and juveniles, were handling construction tools for the first time in their lives.

As an example will cite the restoration of the industry, which was a key factor in the revival of industry in the liberated territory. The devastation perpetrated by the fascist occupiers in the industry was tremendous: All industrial buildings were blown up and the mines were flooded. In the first instance specialists and workers and a considerable amount of equipment were sent in to restore this most important coal basin. The conditions were created for miners to live and work. By the end of the war the industry again turned light in the country in coal extraction.

As well as the industry, metallurgical and machine building plants, chemical enterprises, mines and power stations were brought into operation. The volume of industrial production in the liberated regions increased rapidly. In 1947 they were already providing a significant proportion of the increase in heavy industry output.

During the war a tremendous volume of reconstruction work was carried out in a short space of time in transportation. All the main railroads and a large number of bridges were repaired. In Minsk (Belarus), for instance, the railroad with 400 km was repaired in 100 days when retreating. But here they managed to resume the running of trains on the eighth day after the occupation of the city. One of the biggest bridges across the Dnepr near Kiev was repaired in 11 days.

As early as 1942 work began on the reconstruction of agriculture in the liberated regions. Evacuated livestock returned, agricultural hardware was brought in and tractors and machines were repaired. Agronomists and young specialists were sent to the villages and settlements. In total during the war years 87,000 tractors, 1,000 combine harvesters and 1,000 machine and tractor stations were restored. The grain agricultural output in the liberated regions in 1945 was approximately half the pre-war level.

Apartment blocks with a total area of 1.5 million sq m were built during the war and 7.4 million sq m of rural buildings were destroyed and rebuilt during

The war. Many schools, libraries, theaters, clubs, institutes and hospitals were also constructed.

The struggle to restore the economy is another heroic chapter in the people's labor feat. History had known no example of simultaneously waging major offensive operations and launching extensive restoration work.

The USSR's Military-Economic Victory

The Soviet people are proud of their heroic army, which, having been on the receiving end of the perfidious strike by the mighty Hitlerite machine, was able to stop the avalanches of the enemy divisions, rout the fascist hordes and end the war victoriously in the enemy's camp.

Many army servicemen and fighters in the rear--the sons and daughters of our country's peoples--did not live to see the bright day of victory. But they did all they could to defeat the enemy. In the solemn days of the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism we bow our heads with profound gratitude and grief before the memory of all who heroically fulfilled their patriotic duty to the motherland. May the military and labor feats of those who defended the socialist homeland and augmented its might and glory live forever in Soviet people's hearts!

Our country became stronger than ever before thanks to the labor feat of the rear. The war did not stop the Soviet people's creative activity. The victory secured in the war and the return to a peaceful life aroused new labor enthusiasm in the people.

The postwar restoration of the national economy was a task of incredible complexity, on a vast scale. "It was necessary to eliminate the grave consequences of the devastating war," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted, "to feed and clothe millions of people and give them shelter, to put the country's economy on a peacetime footing, to restore economic ties and to find resources for further economic and cultural building. And nothing could be put off until tomorrow."

Many Western figures, even those who were progressively minded, believed it would take our country several decades to make good the damage done by the war. Soviet people under the party's leadership and without outside help, rapidly--yes, even all the most important sectors of the national economy on a new industrial basis and insured the further accelerated development of the country's economy.

In the years of the Fourth Five-Year Plan 6,100 major industrial enterprises were restored, reconstructed and commissioned. Electricity generation and iron and steel smelting more than doubled; the production of rolled ferrous metals and iron ore extraction increased 15 percent, tractor production increased 15-fold and oil and coal extraction increased 100 and 80 percent, respectively. The huge scale of work in restoration and new

... of the production of construction materials and the fulfillment and strengthening of timber. The rapid rate of industrial work and the technical modernization of transport made it possible to surpass the prewar level of freight turnover as early as 1950. The comprehensive sitting of production was completed, and the level of comprehensive development of economic regions improved.

Millions of labor were involved in the restoration of agriculture, which suffered gravely from the war. The state invested as much capital investment in agriculture as was done in the years of the first and second five-year plans taken together. Tractors and combines received 188,000 tractors, 81,000 grain combines and millions of machines. New areas were significantly extended and almost reached the prewar level. The five-year plan target for increasing the population of machine tractors in collective farms was overfulfilled. Millions of labor by agriculture, workers and the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture provided the opportunity to reach the prewar level of agricultural production in 1950.

Our party and state did everything possible to improve the working people's well-being and satisfy their requirements. The successful restoration and further development of the national economy brought an improvement in the Soviet people's living standard. National income virtually doubled in the years 1946-1950. Nearly three-fourths of its volume in 1950 was directed toward satisfying the population's material and cultural requirements.

Sections of the light and food industry developed at greatly accelerated rates. The volume of output of consumer goods increased rapidly at all enterprises. Currency reform was carried out in 1947 and the rationing system for supplying the population was lifted. Real per capita income increased 51.9 percent compared with the prewar period.

Housing conditions improved considerably. In the years of the Fourth Five-Plan apartments blocks with a total useful area of 200.9 million square meters were restored and constructed. Some 6,500 general educational schools and many other cultural and leisure institutions were constructed from state resources.

In 1950, our waterways system, the Soviet Union's, not only a qualitative increase in production volumes, but also an improvement in the economic structure with long-term prospects in view. Our Motherland's might increased still further.

The Conquest March of Developed Socialism

The 20's, 30's and 70's includes the impressive creative five-year plans. These were aware of millions struggle to build a new world for the further strengthening of the socialist system. We believe might be the implementation of the great idea of socialism and communism and its spread throughout the world.

Main Indicators of the Soviet Economy's Development

	1950	1965	1980 Plan
National income used for consumption and accumulation (at 1973 prices)--billion rubles	64	199.3	437.5
Gross industrial output (in enterprises' wholesale prices as of 1 Jan 1975)--billion rubles	51	235	634
Gross agricultural output (1973 comparable prices)--billion rubles	44.4 (1946-1950 average)	82.8 (1961-1965 average)	126.6 (1976-1980 average)
Volume of capital investment (comparable prices)--billion rubles	12.6	56.0	135.3
Fixed capital commissioned (comparable prices)--billion rubles	11.3	51.4	130.0
Total housing area commissioned (from all sources of finance)--million square meters	40.4	97.6	109.4
Retail trade turnover--billion rubles: Actual prices	35.3 ¹	103.7	264.2
At 1975 prices	26.3	102.9	257.0
Freight turnover on all types of transport--billion ton-km	713.2	2764.0	6333.5
of which rail freight	602.3	1950.2	3510.0
Average monthly monetary wage of workers and employees--rubles	64.2	96.5	167.3 ²
Payments and benefits from social consumption funds--billion rubles	13.0	41.9	116

1. Figure for 1950 retail trade turnover is calculated in terms of the group of organizations assessed for the 1965-1980 period.

2. USSR Gosplan figures.

... implementing the party's comprehensive political, economic, and social reforms of the 11th, 12th and 13th Five-Year Plans, the National Committee's planning programs and the work and speeches of comrades in leadership, our people have achieved a tremendous development of production forces and a further improvement in socialist production relations on that basis. Tremendous progress has been achieved in all spheres of science, technology and culture. The people's well-being has increased.

Our economic successes in the 10 years which have elapsed since the realization of the eight-year national economic plan are vividly demonstrated by the materials of the USSR Central Statistical Administration (see table above).

The Soviet Union has entered the 11th Five-Year Plan. The 10th Five-Year Plan is being successfully completed. At present the realization of the 11th Five-Year Plan is under way; as an important part of the country's long-term economic and social development program.

The steadily greater scale of social production, the level of maturity which has been achieved in production relations, the advanced state the foreground of qualitative growth factors associated with the development of the scientific and technical revolution and the consistent intensification of the economy—all this inevitably demands the further improvement of all aspects of our economic mechanism. As a result, this is an important prerequisite for a significant improvement in efficiency and work quality, the achievement of high and results in the national economy and the more complete satisfaction of social requirements.

The main program of measures envisaged in the well-known CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on 22 July 1979 is aimed at improving the standard of planning and improving economic management in industry and in central construction. And this program is now being successfully implemented, improving the economic mechanism to still a further degree. It is a task encompassing coordinated and purposeful efforts at all levels of the national economy. The party Central Committee and the Soviet government proceed at the same time on the basis of the need for the wide development of initiative from below—from enterprises, associations, localities and individuals and local organs, which is an indispensable condition for accelerating economic development, as was stressed at the 27th CPSU November (1979) Plenum.

In present-day conditions, particularly, the role of economic cadres is increasing. The all-round utilization of new scientific and technical solutions and leading methods of labor organization and management, the active creative quest for production incentives, careful consideration of changing requirements and demand—this is what is required of the Soviet Soviet economic cadres. We must have an cadre who is able to take a long-term view and about to solve the most difficult problems and with a full knowledge of the nature of economic development and of socialist organization.

In raising the working people's discipline and internationalism of labor is the most important condition for increasing the productivity of social labor. Labor discipline, V. I. Lenin stressed, "is the crux of all the economic building of socialism" ("Poln. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol. 40, p. 301).

The links between times and generations are unbreakable. In resolving the impressive socioeconomic tasks which face the country today the thinking about the prospects for our development, we naturally turn to the inexhaustible treasurehouse of the people's revolutionary experience, including the example of their labor feat in the years of the Patriotic War. These lessons provided many examples of effective, rational economic solutions, the highest state, production and labor discipline, the productive utilization of every minute of working time and the saving of every gram of raw and semifinished materials. The experience of the war years convincingly indicates the inexhaustible nature of the creative potential of Soviet people-patriots and internationalists.

Socialist patriotism means ideological conviction and revolutionary implacability toward all that hinders our forward movement. Socialist patriotism means profound awareness on the part of every Soviet person of the unity of his personal interests and the interests of the collective and society as a whole, it means selfless labor for the sake of the beloved motherland, it means readiness to take up arms in its defense at any moment.

The Soviet Union advocates peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, the peaceful resolution of all international problems and peace throughout the world. Peace and socialism are indivisible. Only in peaceful conditions is it possible to successfully develop the economy and culture and create everything necessary to improve man's well-being and insure his harmonious development. Herein lies the aim of socialism.

"We see the mission of our international policy," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "as being to strengthen peace, which we need to build communism and which all socialist countries and the peoples of all states need. That is why we will continue to resist the policy of aggression and promote the elimination throughout the world of the conditions which give rise to aggressive wars."

Of course, the world today is not what it was on the eve of World War II. The correlation of forces between the two opposing world systems has changed in favor of socialism and as a result the potentials for maintaining world peace have increased. However, imperialism still possesses considerable potential and is trying to halt or retard social progress. For this purpose the aggressive forces of imperialism (above all the United States) are striving to eliminate the achievements of international détente, are provoking conflict situations and are speeding up the arms race. One of the real reasons for the present deterioration in the international situation.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist unity countries are fully determined to defend the course of detente and prevent imperialist forces from nullifying the results of many years of efforts by the peoples in the cause of strengthening peace and expanding international cooperation. We must do everything to strengthen our economic and defense might and we declare firmly that we will not permit violations of the military-strategic equilibrium to the detriment of the socialist unity's security.

The Soviet people unanimously support the wise domestic and foreign policy of their communist party and its Leninist Central Committee. Under the party's leadership, our people are successfully resolving tasks in the country's economic and social development and the strengthening of universal peace and are marching confidently along the path to communism.

CSD: 1802

LENIN'S PARTY--INSPIRER AND ORGANIZER OF VICTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 80 pp 60-72

[Article by Army Gen A. Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy]

[Text] 1

The grandiose exploit of the Soviet people who defended, in the course of an unparalleled fierce struggle against fascism, the freedom and independence of their fatherland and the gains of socialism, is becoming ever fuller and clearer with every year separating us from the difficult period of the Great Patriotic War. This was a truly unparalleled heroic struggle for the fate of the new, socialist system. It was a struggle for strengthening the base of the world revolutionary process, and in defense of social progress and human civilization.

No single state could have withstood the power of the blow struck at the Soviet state. However, our people, and the troops of the Soviet Army and Navy, headed by the communist party, withstood and, subsequently, defeated the strong and insidious enemy. How perspicacious V. I. Lenin was when he said that, "A people the majority of whose workers and peasants have found out, felt and seen that they are defending their own Soviet system--the system of the working people--that they are defending a cause whose victory will give them and their children the possibility to enjoy all the benefits of culture and all the accomplishments of human labor will never be defeated" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 315).

In the Great Patriot War there was no sector in the struggle against German fascism or matter which was not in the party's field of vision or imbued with the party's genius and will. The party made full use of the objective possibilities for the defense of the Soviet homeland, created as the result of the implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism--the industrialization of the country, agricultural collectivization, cultural revolution and solution of the national problem.

The communist party is the battle vanguard of our people, their collective leader. It is guided in all its activities by the Marxist-Leninist

doctrine which enables it to be properly oriented in historical circumstances, predict the course of events and, on a scientific basis, guide the building of communism and strengthen the country's defense.

It was entirely natural that during the Great Patriotic War the party headed the defense of the socialist fatherland. The circumstances which developed following the attack by fascist Germany faced the party with extraordinarily complex problems. Within the shortest possible time a political line had to be formulated to insure the fastest possible reorganization of the economy on a war basis and the utilization of all sociopolitical and ideological opportunities offered by socialism for the sake of defeating the enemy.

Assuming full responsibility for the fate of the socialist fatherland, in the first days of the war the party formulated a scientific program of struggle by the whole people against the fascist aggressor and the mobilization of all forces and means for his defeat. The entire content of the 29 June 1941 USSR Sovnarkom and CC VKP(b)---the basic programmatic document for the reorganization of the party and the country in accordance with wartime requirements---is imbued with the Leninist spirit. The merit of the communist party is that in the very first months of the war, the most difficult for us, it was able to give the Soviet people faith in the future victory. Under the conditions in which the Hitlerites enjoyed the advantage in terms of troop strength and quantity and quality of some types of combat equipment and weaponry, the objectives set the Patriotic War by our party seemed unrealistic to some Western leaders: defeat the aggressor, liberate the Soviet land he had seized and help other nations in their struggle against fascist slavery.

The profoundly optimistic statement by the Leninist party and the Soviet Government which stated that, "The enemy will be defeated! Victory will be ours!" was based on the all-round consideration of the political, economic and moral superiority of socialism over capitalism, and the combat possibilities of an army of a socialist type called upon to defend the new social system and the vital interests of the working people.

The Leninist ideas of the defense of the socialist fatherland, the role of the economic, political, moral and military factor in insuring the victorious outcome of the war, the need for a strong rear, and the ratio between man and equipment in war were further developed in the program formulated by the party for the nationwide struggle against Hitlerite fascism.

"... Once things have come to war," Lenin emphasized, "everything must be subordinated to the interests of the war..." (op cit, Vol 41, p 117). The party embodied this Leninist instruction in clear and concrete tasks.

The party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government asked the party, soviets and social organizations to turn the country into a single military camp; to reorganize the work of the Soviet rear and put the entire national economy on war tracks; comprehensively to strengthen the armed forces;

develop the partisan movement on the territory seized by the enemy; and reorganize all ideological-political work. "The task of the Bolsheviks," said the directive of the USSR Sovnarkom and CC VKP(b), "is to rally the entire people around the communist party and the Soviet government for the dedicated support of the Red Army and for victory."

Therefore, the program of mobilizing the forces of the people for the defeat of German-fascist aggressors included a broad complex of economic, political, ideological and strictly military measures which, combined, insured the successful struggle against Hitlerite Germany and its satellites. The viability of this program was based on the fact that it reflected laws governing the waging of modern warfare, such as the dependence of strategy on politics and on the political objectives of the belligerents, and the strategic tasks and economic possibilities of the state.

At that time the military policy of the party assumed a decisive significance to the fate of our homeland and of socialism. The organizational and ideological activities of the party, covering the implementation of the program for the nationwide defense of the socialist fatherland, were subordinated to its purposes. The party reorganized its ranks and changed its ways and means of work. It undertook measures such as strengthening organizational centralism and the redeployment of party forces in accordance with wartime requirements.

The enhancement of the organizing and directing role of the communist party was clearly manifested in the unity of the political and military leadership of the country and the armed forces. The full power was focused within a single organ able to combine the efforts of the front and the rear, make decisions rapidly and implement them. This organ was the State Defense Committee, headed by J. V. Stalin, general secretary of the CC VKP(b), and chairman of the USSR Sovnarkom.

As we know, during the war J. V. Stalin was also people's commissar of defense and supreme commander in chief of the armed forces. As a noted leader of the communist party and the Soviet state, implementing the collectively formulated policy, he played a major role in the nationwide struggle against the fascist aggressors. Party documents and our political publications and historical science objectively depict J. V. Stalin's role and describe his activities as a major organizer while, at the same time, showing his complexity and contradictoriness as a leader and a man.

The entire course of the Great Patriotic War and the heroic victory over fascist Germany convincingly proved the inspiring and leading role of the communist party and its central organs, including the State Defense Committee, in which, throughout the war, many Politburo members and candidate members, secretaries, Central Committee members and statesmen actively worked. The GDC [State Defense Committee] decrees and orders were mandatory for all party, soviet, military, Komsomol and trade union organs, and

all Soviet citizens. The concentration of the basic functions of the management of the country in the hands of the State Defense Committee made it possible to insure the most rational utilization of the material and spiritual forces of the people for the sake of insuring the activities of the state and the defeat of the enemy.

Directing the forces of the people, army and navy toward a single objective, the party relied on the tremendous experience it had acquired in the struggle against the foreign intervention and the domestic counterrevolution. "How did we operate in the more dangerous moments of the civil war?" Lenin wrote. "We focused our best party forces within the Red Army; we resorted to the mobilization of the best among our workers; we looked for new forces where our dictatorship was most deeply rooted" (op cit, Vol 45, p 181).

In the first six months of the war alone over 8,000 leading party workers were assigned to the armed forces. Many CC VKP(b) members and candidate members, and secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics, and of kray and oblast party committees, became members of the military councils of fronts, navies and armies, or headed political organs. One of them was Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. As deputy chief of the political administration of the Southern Front, chief of the 18th Army Political Department, and, subsequently, chief of the political administration of the 4th Ukrainian Front, he made an invaluable contribution to the formulation and implementation of many operations and carried out tremendous organizational and political work among the troops. His book "Malaya Zemlya" is a most important source for the study of the nature of party-political work under wartime conditions and a powerful means for molding the patriotic consciousness of the youth.

The military councils embodied the unity between political and military leadership. They bore full responsibility to the party's Central Committee and the Soviet government for the condition and combat operations of the troops. Through the political organs and party organizations of units and ships operating under their leadership, the party extended its ideological and organizational influence on the multimillion-strong army forces personnel.

The party influence on the combat activities of the forces was achieved by strengthening the unity between ideological and organizational work. By Central Committee decision, at the beginning of the war the political propaganda administrations and departments were reorganized into political administrations and departments, while the Main Administration for Political Propaganda of the Red Army and the Main Administration of Political Propaganda of the Navy were reorganized into main political administrations. These measures made it possible to engage in more active mass political and party organizational work among the troops and to enhance the role of the political organs in the implementation of combat assignments.

Strengthening the party organizations of the army and navy was of major importance in upgrading the political training and combat skills of the troops. Along with leading party cadres, party members were assigned to the armed forces as political fighters. They rallied the troops in combat and through the word of the party and their personal example inspired them to exploits in the name of the homeland. All in all, from July to December 1941, by party Central Committee decision, 60,000 party members and 40,000 Komsomol members were assigned to the front as political fighters.

Also interesting is the party's approach to resolving the problem of the growth of party ranks in wartime conditions. Here the main attention was focused on reinforcing them with the most distinguished soldiers. The familiar decisions of the CC VKP(b) of 1941 simplified conditions through which soldiers who had distinguished themselves in combat could be accepted into the party.

The strengthening of the vanguard role of the party members was the most characteristic feature of all the measures taken by the Central Committee for the redeployment of party forces. By the end of 1941 there were 1,234,000 party members serving in the army and navy, or over double the membership on the eve of the war. The number of primary party organizations doubled as well. The Komsomol organizations were the combat assistants of commanders and party organizations.

At the beginning of the war the party's Central Committee reorganized all ideological work. In terms of content and ways and means it became more militant and concrete, mobilizing the troops, partisans and clandestine workers and working people in the rear for the solution of problems of securing the defeat of the fascist invaders.

This was the first time in the party's history that a reorganization was accomplished on such a tremendous scale and within such a short time. Lenin's doctrine on the party was enriched with new ways and means of organization of party work in wartime conditions. Analyzing the acquired experience, we see it as a major support for the ideological and theoretical training of party cadres, and for educating the masses in a spirit of love for the communist party and loyalty to its ideals as the most important components of the patriotic awareness of our people.

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Implementing the program for the armed defense of the Soviet state against the fascist aggression, the communist party took strictly into consideration the unity and independence of all factors of modern warfare. It proceeded from the fact that the success of the struggle waged by the Soviet people against German fascism would be determined, above all, by the ratio between the combat power of the armed forces of the belligerents. The fate of the gains of the October Revolution and, in the final account,

of the so-called Fatherland, dependent on the readiness and combat active-ness of the Soviet forces.

That is why the party focused its efforts above all on strengthening the Red Army. Problems of increasing the combat might of the armed forces and of elements within it such as the number of the troops, the quantity and quality of armaments and combat material, the political-moral condition of the personnel and the level of development of the martial art and martial science, assumed a central position in its military-organizational activities.

The wartime circumstances called for the adoption of urgent measures for the reinforcement of the armed forces with personnel. The local party and soviet organizations and military commissariats carried out tremendous military-mobilization work to this effect. In the first days of the war over five million men joined the armed forces.

Guiding the armed forces, the communist party always took into consideration the characteristics of each stage of the struggle against the enemy and set corresponding new assignments. Whereas in the initial period of the war it directed the efforts of the army and navy to organizing a stubborn defense and defeating the enemy's "blitzkrieg," subsequently focused all its forces on liberating the Soviet territory seized by the enemy and helping the peoples of Europe to save themselves from Hitlerite slavery.

The party's political and military leadership was characterized by decisiveness in defining the objectives of operations, skillful choice of directions for the main strikes, effective utilization of strategic reserves, and so on. Originality, broad-scale planning, use of means of struggle unexpected by the enemy, efficient interaction among forces and facilities, highly skillful maneuvering and flexibility and firmness in troop management were inherent in the majority of strategic operations carried out by the Soviet armed forces. The party demanded of the military cadres the efficient coordination of the means for the implementation of combat assignments with the theoretical concepts governing Soviet military science, strict consideration of the objective laws of warfare and the creative application the principles of the martial art.

The trial by fire on the battlefields proved the maturity of Soviet martial thought, which showed its unquestionable superiority over the doctrinaire and adventuristic concepts of the Hitlerite strategists. The party insured the creative combination of the efforts of military chiefs, scientists, commanders, political workers and rank-and-file troops for the sake of perfecting the Soviet "science of winning."

Soviet martial art of the period of the Great Patriotic War contains a number of instructive features, naturally, taking into consideration the radical changes in military affairs which were made in the postwar years. The study of the defensive and offensive operations of the army and navy

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tasks facing the Soviet people. In the crucial and most difficult period of the war, masses of ideological influences were focused on mobilizing — about 500 million — the masses, wrapping and bleeding the enemy with all kinds of traps, with the time needed for the mobilization of the forces, and then deal "making blows" at the enemy. In the course of the active military operations the purpose of ideological work was to insure the high offensive thrust of the troops.

The measures related essentially to the intensification of international agitation toward the ideological workers in the concluding stage of the war. Taking this into consideration, in May 1944 the Party's Central Committee Politburo held a special conference for members of the front military councils at which a profound study was provided of the developed and new circumstances following the Soviet Army's entry into the territories of foreign countries. The characteristics of the political guidance of the masses were defined. Prime attention was paid to promoting in our Army a feeling of internationalism, explaining to them the party's policy toward the liberated countries, and mobilizing them to carry out their duties conscientiously.

The active nature of the ideological work was expressed also in the fact that it was actively conducted among enemy troops and among the population of Germany and the allies. To this effect millions of copies of pamphlets and leaflets were published and distributed during the war.

Combined with this courage and revolutionary optimism, Marxist-Leninist ideology gave courage to millions of people at the front and the rear, giving them firm confidence that the enemy would be defeated and that victory in their hands was assured. In a fierce combat against the "patriotic" lies of the bourgeois ideology.

Defeat of the world imperialism is inevitable. To identify the defeat of Nazi ideology with a defeat of the USSR itself, with a kind of ideological surrender. Since the bourgeoisie forces engaged in the world defeat of the USSR did not vanish. The ideology of the party is a system of views and specific concepts. To the party of the world is a system of views and specific concepts. To the party of the world is a system of views and specific concepts. To the party of the world is a system of views and specific concepts. To the party of the world is a system of views and specific concepts. To the party of the world is a system of views and specific concepts.

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The first step was to create a network of people who would be responsible for passing information with the highest accuracy.

This is a common goal for all of our various efforts, and we will continue to work on it. The main goal of our efforts is to create a network of people who will be responsible for passing information with the highest accuracy.

The collection of the above information was carried out in the form of a series of reports, which were then used to create a network of people who will be responsible for passing information with the highest accuracy.

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The April 1st military, which is well equipped, organized and trained would like to convert Afghanistan into its army base. However, the Chinese and the Soviet Union in that country in the hands of the people's army, they go to the national armed forces, supported by the Soviet Union, defeated the treacherous imperialist plans. The Soviet military assistance given Afghanistan on the request of its government is entirely consistent with the will of the people of a country friendly to us and is aimed at repelling the foreign threat hanging over it.

Some have had these days a slanderous campaign on the subject of Afghanistan, imperialist and Beijing propagandists deliberately and shamelessly distorting the role of the Soviet Union in Afghan affairs. Answering the question of a Pravda correspondent, Comrade I. S. Brezhnev emphasized that, "no Soviet 'intervention' or 'aggression' has taken or are taking place. Matters are different: We are helping new Afghanistan, on the request of its government, to defend the national independence, freedom and unity of its country from external armed aggressive actions."

All the same, today we cannot ignore the fact that it is a question of a considerable country. Our people cannot remain indifferent to the fact that the imperialists and, together with them, the Chinese would like to convert this country into their military bridgehead on the southern border of the USSR.

Such conditions in which imperialist reaction and today's Beijing leaders are intensifying their military preparations, the Soviet Union and the Chinese, of course, naturally are bound to strengthen their security. But this does not mean any more restricting possible for the armed forces to be a "strategic reserve" for the gains of aggression. The organizational training of the people and the army for the purpose of the national independence and unity of the country.

All the organs of the party and mass organizations, state organs and the army must be ready. The young people in a matter of a year to the party, the army and the national defense organizations, high political education, and also help to improve the organizational system. The party and the army must be ready to handle the complex international situation and to repel any possible aggression. The aggressive imperialist and Chinese military forces, and the imperialist's actions in the region of the USSR.

The Soviet Union, the USSR, is helping to the national independence and unity of the country. The young people in a matter of a year to the party, the army and the national defense organizations, high political education, and also help to improve the organizational system. The party and the army must be ready to handle the complex international situation and to repel any possible aggression. The aggressive imperialist and Chinese military forces, and the imperialist's actions in the region of the USSR.

The combat power of the armed forces is maintained on the necessary level strictly in accordance with the Leninist ideas of defending the gains of victorious socialism. The army and navy are equipped with modern weapons and materiel, and well trained troops are serving in their combat ranks, thanks to the leadership of the CPSU, its Central Committee and the Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, party central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and the efforts of the people.

The army and navy personnel are adamantly mastering combat skills and upgrading their land, air and sea training. The socialist competition under the slogan of "Let Us Sacredly Fulfill Lenin's Behest, Improve Combat and Political Training, Upgrade Vigilance, and Be Always Ready to Defend the Homeland and the Great Gains of Socialism" is having a beneficial impact on the quality of combat training. On the eve of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, thousands of troops and many units and ships were awarded Leninist honor certificates for successes achieved in mastering military skills and fulfilling their sacred duty for the defense of the homeland.

Loyalty to the great traditions of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War is transmitted by the Soviet troops from generation to generation like the baton of a relay race. Under the wise leadership of the Leninist party they are reliably insuring the safety of the country, and, within the single battle ranks of the armies of the fraternal socialist states, are protecting the revolutionary gains of the peoples.

SOCIALISM'S RELIABLE SHIELD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 80 pp 73-81

[Article by Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the CC PZPR Politburo, minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] The 25 years which have passed since the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact, on 14 May 1955, is a period which makes it possible to objectively and accurately assess the correctness of this historical decision. This was a necessary, farsighted and, above all, effective decision. Life fully confirmed it through the realities of the protected peace, the inviolability of European borders, the safe development of the socialist countries, and the unification of their forces on an international level.

The appearance of the socialist comity is an organic part of the historical process which is changing the face of our planet, promoting to a leading position the socialist social system as a decisive factor of progress, freedom and peace. The beginning of this process was established by the Great October Revolution, the victory of the Russian proletariat and the founding of the USSR. The role of the USSR in World War II and its defeat of fascism intensified this historical trend and offered the toiling masses of many European and Asian countries conditions contributing to the seizure of the power in their hands and the making and defense of revolutionary changes. In the subsequent stage such opportunities appeared also in America and Africa. The result was the organization of a global socialist system. Colonial structures crumbled. A number of developing countries appeared. The ratio of forces in the world arena changed radically.

The new ratio of forces creates the potential capability and offers a real possibility for the preservation of the peace. This stems from the international significance, peaceful orientation and strategic position of the members of the socialist comity, the Warsaw Pact Organization and its main unit—the Soviet Union. Even though socialism has not been able as yet to fully satisfy all human needs and expectations, at the present stage it has met the most vital human aspiration and prime human need—ensuring a peaceful life, securing the peace in the most dangerous part of the globe—Europe.

However, this is not a... of... and...
The... will be achieved in the future. This... pointed
and to the communists, who are tirelessly fighting for it. However, the
power of real socialism, its development and strengthening, the active
peaceful policy of our parties and international solidarity are bringing
this possibility closer and are laying and strengthening the foundations
for it.

... and peace are indivisible. The... of...
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and, at the same time, a natural aspiration of socialism. The objectives
set in the socialist system could be... fully achieved
only under the conditions of a peaceful life. ... was the initia-
tor and fire-fighter for the implementation of these ideas. The Decree on
Peace defined precisely with an appeal for the Soviet state then aborning
to the problem. It expressed the readiness to base relations with coun-
tries with a different system on the principles of peaceful coexistence and
cooperation. From the very beginning the Soviet state has been invariably
loyal to these Leninist instructions. They guide the entire socialist
family and each Marxist-Leninist party.

The 1970-1975 CPSU congresses set major programmatic tasks for the struggle
for peace. This struggle acquired particular momentum through the tireless
and principle-minded activities of Comrade U. U. Bryukhov. The Polish
People's Republic, the PDR, and... have
always actively participated, and the participation in the efforts under-
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... have their historical equivalents in the old-type coalitions which existed in the 19th century in Europe and other parts of the world, and various types of "holy alliances" and "axes" which were the reactionary instruments of unjust wars, invasions, plunders, slavery and oppression. Inherent in such coalitions is an egotistical, class narrow mindedness, and aspiration toward conquest and toward subordinating other peoples and countries. Another of their characteristic features is their opportunistic and unreliability, particularly when the interests of the stronger ally diverge from those of the relatively weaker one.

The appearance of the anti-Hitlerite Coalition in World War II, a coalition which brought together countries with opposite class social systems, was a particular historical phenomenon. Faced with a mortal threat on the part of fascism, even the enemies of Communism and of the Soviet state tried to make an alliance with the Land of the Soviets, or join such an alliance. However, the ideological-political contradictions which existed within the coalition, determined by differences in the social systems, left their mark on the various strategic aspects of the war and, particularly, the choice of a time for opening a second front in Western Europe. Therefore, when the objectives which dominated the contradictions were achieved, the signs of alliances which had strengthened the coalition disappeared and, furthermore, evolved in the former political hostility on the part of the bourgeois countries toward the Soviet Union, extended to the newly formed people's democracies.

The system military-political blocs created under the aegis of the United States in the postwar period, was, from the very beginning, a historical contradiction. The blocs were assigned the profoundly reactionary role of blocking historical progress. Their purpose was to turn back the developments - trends and processes, and to restrict and broaden the areas of imperialist domination. Essentially, they meant the creation of a constant threat whose weight would be directed, above all, against the socialist countries and their peaceful development.

The consistent target, intensified by the acceptance within NATO of the new type blocs, was the creation, in the postwar period, of the defensive-political warfare bloc organization - a coalition of a new, socialist, type. This coalition is characterized by specific distinctive features.

First of all, the blocs are not only directed, to insure the security of the socialist countries and the favorable conditions for their development. They are oriented to the letter and spirit of the main treaty document. It is reflected in the general orientation of the so-called coalition defense pact by the fact that it aims at maintaining a type of dynamic balance of power and stability, while extending the limits of cooperative relationships with the blocs. It is fully important to maintain the balance of power and stability in the world. This balance is the result of the struggle between the two main forces in the world - the socialist bloc and the imperialist bloc. The balance of power is the result of the struggle between the two main forces in the world - the socialist bloc and the imperialist bloc.

Army. As a result, our army assumed a historical, one could say, a pioneering mission: fighting shoulder to shoulder with the powerful Soviet Army, and making its proper contribution to the victory over fascism, it also participated in laying the ideological-moral and organizational foundations of the alliance of cooperation between our countries and peoples under the guidance of the Polish Worker's Party. To this day this is a rich source for the international upbringing of our people in a spirit of Polish-Soviet friendship and brotherhood in arms. At the same time, however, this is also a tremendous experience whose military and political aspects are a valuable genealogical link and the historical foundations for contemporary socialist solidarity.

The Soviet Army brought Poland its freedom. The Soviet Union firmly and effectively supported our aspirations to build an independent, new, people's state, within just borders. "Alliance and cooperation with the USSR, cemented by the jointly shed blood in the Great Patriotic War, became the inviolable bulwark of our national security, and the position of Poland in the world and its development," said Edward Gierk at the 6th PCPR Congress.

This year marks the 15th anniversary of the Polish-Soviet Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty. This bilateral alliance is also a structural part of the system of socialist relations which are strengthening as our entire comity develops.

Today the ideas of socialist and allied unity are implemented on several interrelated and interpenetrating levels:

Political: Joint interaction for the sake of the peace and security of our peoples, strengthening the prestige of socialism, and properly and harmoniously serving the cause of cooperation as a whole and of each of its members separately;

Economic and scientific and technical: Fruitful cooperation, mutually profitable, free from situational fluctuations, implemented both on a bilateral basis, as well as through intensified integration within CEMA;

Defense: A coalition alliance guided by the Leninist theory of war and armed forces, sharing a common doctrine and implementing its organizational, training and military-technical principles, dividing efforts in proportion to tasks and demographic and economic realities, characterized by close interaction, coordination and standardization, exchange of experience, and implementation of joint measures.

Naturally, on all these levels the USSR plays the basic, leading and invaluable role. Having the richest experience and the greatest possibilities, it shares them with us like a brother. The possibility offered the friendly countries to participate in space research and, above all, in group joint space flights, is a present-day particularly impressive example

of this, each allied country, guided by the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, actively and creatively uses the experience of its socialist friends. At the same time, each country develops its own solution consistent with national traditions, specific situation, individual nature and specific features of the country and of its armed forces. All this is a joint possession and a specific contribution to the common international cause.

The initiatives formulated in the past, and the decisions and statements of the supreme organ of the Warsaw Pact--the Political Consultative Committee --are a type of synthesis of the entire variety of actions undertaken by the socialist countries in favor of detente and peaceful cooperation among nations. In the postwar period over 100 initiatives were suggested by the socialist countries, either jointly or individually, most frequently by the Soviet Union and by other countries, including a number of Polish initiatives, on problems of limiting armaments, disarmament and the so-called instruments of trust. Therefore, this already constitutes an entire "library" of proposals, many of which are topical to this day and still are waiting a positive response.

Unfortunately, the West did not accept these initiatives objectively and constructively. There will come a time when history will show the full extent of the losses to mankind and the number of vitally important troubling problems which remained unresolved, the tense situations and conflicts which could not be prevented, and the painfully long time during which the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe has hung over mankind, and all this because the majority of the peaceful proposals submitted by the socialist countries were rejected and, frequently, even subjected to propagandist distortions and misrepresentations.

A characteristic example of this is the attitude toward the Soviet initiative presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in October 1979, in Berlin, with the approval of the remaining Warsaw Pact members. Their seriousness and time of formulation were of particular historical significance and meaning. They were consistent with the seriousness and requirements of the circumstances. The West frequently speaks of trust, even giving it priority. However, when the Soviet Union gave yet more specific, daring and far-reaching proof of trust, the reaction to it was unsympathetic and, in fact, negative.

This was clearly manifested in the familiar NATO decision on the making and deployment in Western Europe of an American nuclear missile of a new type, a decision which disturbed the foundations of the talks held so far. It also became yet another illustration of the influence of circumstantial factors, particularly those related to the electoral struggle, on the political course of the main NATO countries. All this emphasizes the negative trends which have appeared in recent years in the policy of the West where adventurist circles are once again trying to gain the upper hand under the influence of the military-industrial complex.

As a result, unlike the powerful efforts of the socialist camp, the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members, the steps on behalf of the NATO Council are aimed, as a rule, in the opposite direction. At the present stage they are characterized, in particular, by actions and methods which reveal the desire to separate themselves from the initiatives of the socialist countries. At the same time, they are characterized by the juggling of tendentious assessments of the ratio of forces, ignoring the principle of equal security of the sides. Above all, however, all this is manifested in blocking disarmament talks, i.e., delaying them for the sake of gaining the necessary time for the implementation of their long-term armament program.

The danger stemming from such a policy seriously increases under the conditions of the quantitatively and, above all, qualitatively higher level of the means of struggle, of mass destruction armaments above all. Of late NATO has been developing its military potential exceptionally intensively. The nature of imperialism triggers the growth of military arsenals and their constant reproduction, i.e., the modernization of weapons, for the process of the scientific and technical revolution allows the fast and steady perfecting of weapons, making them ever more powerful.

The growth of militaristic trends is also manifested in the considerable expansion of the scale of exercises conducted by NATO armed forces, the strengthening of their offensive structure, increased ability for intercontinental maneuvering and mobilization possibilities, tightening the infrastructure on the so-called European theater of military operations, and so on.

The entire system of propaganda-psychological campaigns directed against the peoples of the socialist countries and, above all, against their unity, internationalism and alliances and friendship with the USSR, parallels, supports and, in a way, guides such activities. Indoctrinating their own population, such campaigns are dominated by the tone of military threats, allegedly coming from the East, the Warsaw Pact. All this is a dirty method for poisoning the international atmosphere, promoting hostility and mistrust and, consequently, traumatizing public awareness and deliberately breaking down the psychological fabric of détente created at the cost of such great efforts.

Unquestionably, another, currently fashionable, pretext--petroleum, gasoline--serves the same purpose. Apparently they can fuel not only machines but an anticommunist psychosis. Of late they have been taken up as one of the propaganda means of the imperialist interpretation of the events in Afghanistan. We totally reject this. On the basis of class internationalist positions, the Polish People's Republic supports the struggle of the people of Afghanistan, all their actions and efforts, and their resistance to the export of the counterrevolution directed from the outside by the forces of reaction and aggression. It is on the same level that we accept and evaluate the Soviet aid to the Afghan revolution. The class-distorted

and unprincipled policy of China--hegemonistic, anti-Soviet and factually pro-imperialist in meaning and content--acquires a new full manifestation against the background of these events.

All this calls for retaining our high vigilance. Any hotbed of conflict is dangerous. However, the aggravation of the circumstances in Europe would be potentially the most dangerous. It is here that the main sector of the contemporary border between the two sociopolitical systems lies. It is here that the main positions of the two sides touch frontally, directly and with the greatest military concentration. In that sense the European Continent is decisive in terms of safeguarding the peace throughout the world.

This must never be forgotten, the more so since both world wars unleashed by the forces of imperialism, German imperialism above all, broke out in Europe. Nor should we forget the fact that the aspiration of German imperialism to review the results of World War I led to World War II. Today the problem of European borders has been resolved once and for all. However, the so-called German problem exists, i.e., the problem of the right-wing nationalistic forces who are raising their voices in the FRG and are becoming energized, as well as the military-governmental aspirations and great-German tendencies, particularly in terms of revising the results of World War II. Consequently, the status of the German problem is like a litmus paper reflecting the circumstances in Europe and the attitude toward the problem is a key to the interpretation of any specific European policy.

The current events and phenomena should be considered in their completeness and comprehensiveness. The dialectics of international relations is manifested in the confrontation between different conflicting trends. However, the irreversibility of historical processes is a universal historical law. Life goes forward. Socialism is proving to be an ever more firmly asserted reality. Ever new breaches are appearing within the capitalist and neo-colonialist system. This system is not entirely homogeneous. Capitalism would not be capitalism without a sharp competitive struggle. Even though the forces of competition yield to bourgeois class solidarity, and even though anticommunism is a common feature of the capitalist system, this does not exclude internal contradictions. Attempts to defend their own interest and not to obey American or bloc dictate in everything are intensifying among some NATO countries. In particular, serious realistically thinking circles may also be found in Western Europe who are interested in the preservation and enrichment of the "detente capital" and, above all, in extensive international economic cooperation with the East. In this respect useful experience abounded, particularly in the first half of the 1970's.

In our time a certain type of active coexistence among countries with different socioeconomic systems has developed in Europe. Its destruction with a cold war would cause irreplaceable losses to the nations. Let us recall, particularly now, in the 35th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the way the anti-Hitlerite coalition was created as an answer to

the total threat. Today's world, despite its class contradictions, also could and should be united to face different yet, nevertheless, common dangers threatening all mankind: the gigantic stockpiling of mass-destruction weapons, acute ecological problems and fuel-energy and raw-material difficulties.

The members of the Warsaw Pact are adamantly indicating the means for counteracting the various threats and suggesting ways to stop the development of dangerous military-political phenomena. They are laying the necessary paths for international cooperation. In his recent addresses Comrade L. I. Brezhnev strongly reemphasized and concretely formulated such needs and possibilities. The same purpose was found in the initiative formulated by Comrade Edward Gierek at the 8th PZPK Congress, calling for the European Conference on Military Detente and Disarmament, proposed by the socialist countries, to take place in Warsaw, the capital of People's Poland. Finally, the April peace and disarmament meeting of communist and worker's parties of Europe served the same idea.

Stopping the arms race spiral, putting an end to the senselessness of the strategic "magic circle" it creates, and avoiding the aimless so-called Eurostrategic completion of armament are matters of ever greater urgency. The recent aggravation of the international circumstances eloquently proves, among other things, that the valuable results achieved so far in political detente are themselves counteracting the threat of a return to the cold war to a small extent only, unless they have been supplemented by detente in the military area. The Warsaw Pact Organization is displaying maximum good will on this matter. Its activities and the entire spirit of its proposals on military problems are marked by calm, restraint and a feeling of responsibility. However, this does not mean any defense passiveness or unilateral concessions. In the light of the steps taken by imperialism in the field of armaments, the efforts aimed at the preservation of the peace and achieving detente are backed by further measures for upgrading the overall defense capability of socialism.

As indicated by postwar experience, it is precisely the defense potential of socialism that is, in the final account, an effect guarantee and a warning threshold blocking the ways of tension, threats and conflict situations. It is precisely in such difficult times that the historical role of the Warsaw Pact, of decisive importance to the peaceful stabilization of Europe, has been most clear.

A study of the role of the Warsaw Pact also reminds of and focuses our attention on the tremendous significance of the unity of our coalition and of all ideological-moral and organizational-functional factors which multiply its possibilities. The antagonistic competitive struggle, and extracting benefits for oneself to the detriment of another participant, are, among other things, alien to a socialist and collectivistic nature. Conversely, characteristic of our organization is the sincere interest in increasing the power, prosperity and success of each ally. It is in this

spirit that our leaders meet. The approach favors and determines the direction and content of the activities of the Warsaw Pact forces and, above all, of the Political Consultative Committee, as well as--in terms of its own tasks--the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Committee of Ministers of Defense, the Military Council, the Command and the Staff and Technical Committee.

Intensified integration, broadened cooperation and comprehensive forms of friendly work contacts, including those at the lowest level, are a law governing the improvement of our coalition. The latter are particularly important in the conditions of the armed forces, for it is precisely on this level--young cadres, young soldiers--that the most profound, fundamental base is laid for long-term relations of alliance, and international friendship and socialist brotherhood in arms are hammered out.

For many years Polish military specialists raised in this spirit have participated and are participating in the peaceful mission abroad on the basis of international agreements or within the framework of the United Nations. They are properly passing this responsible test. Implementing such tasks, they act as soldiers of the Polish army, but also as representatives of the fraternal armies, thus making their contribution to the cause of strengthening the prestige and good reputation of all socialist forces.

While celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact and emphasizing its historical significance, we also thinking of the future. Displaying typical communist optimism, we are profoundly convinced that the future will be peaceful and even more advantageous to peoples building socialism and communism, and to the entire world. Time works for this great cause. However, this better future cannot be achieved automatically. Its main prerequisite will be the adamant work of our nations, headed by the communist and worker's parties, the consistently peaceful policy and international solidarity of the socialist countries, and the reliable service of their armed forces.

The Polish people have gone through severe and bitter trials. Their difficult experience, summed up by the party in a spirit of Marxist-Leninist understanding of history, irrefutably proves Poland could be truly strong and that its safety can be guaranteed only through its alliance with the Soviet Union, only by being a structural component of the socialist comity. This is a basic guarantee and a mandatory prerequisite for Poland's peaceful development. It is with this profound conviction that our people and its armed forces will continue their systematic and united contribution to the socialist defense comity and strengthen their proper role within the Warsaw Pact--the coalition for peace.

LIFE DEVOTED TO THE PEOPLE

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[Article by Ye. Glazunov]

[Text] "As far as I, personally, am concerned, I have served the homeland, the revolution, the people, body and soul, throughout my life," wrote Ho Chi Minh in his testament. These words characterize with extreme depth the outstanding and exceptionally eventful life of the outstanding leader of the world's communist, worker's and national-liberation movements, the leader of the Vietnamese revolution, and the great friend of the Soviet people.

His name is connected with an entire age of the courageous struggle waged by the fraternal Vietnamese people against the French colonizers and Japanese invaders, followed by the American imperialists, for the freedom and independence of the homeland, as well as the difficult yet noteworthy years of the building of socialism in North Vietnam. A passionate revolutionary and fighter for the happiness of the people, and a convinced Marxist-Leninist, he was the acknowledged leader of the liberation struggle waged by the Vietnamese people and the creator of the first socialist state in the Southeast Asia.

Ho Chi Minh (his true name was Nguyen Tat Thanh. During his revolutionary activities, hiding from police persecution, Ho Chi Minh used tens of aliases. The latest, known to all, was adopted in 1942) was born on 19 May 1890 in the village of Kim Lien, Nghe An Province. First in secondary school and, subsequently, in the Hue National College, the young Ho Chi Minh displayed unusual capability and was particularly interested in historical literature. In 1910 he interrupted his studies and became assistant teacher at the Dac Thanh High School.

Already at that time, he thought more and more about the destinies of his people and about rescuing them from colonial oppression. Gradually he reached the decision to go abroad to study the revolutionary movement in the world and find means for the liberation of the homeland. For this purpose he went to France in 1911.

During his long wanderings Ho Chi Minh visited many European, African and American countries. His impressions became the material for his book "Condemnation of French Colonialism," which was highly rated by the fighters for national liberation.

Daily hard work did not distract him from his adamant studies and from active participation in the revolutionary movement of the working people of the countries where he lived, while at the same time fighting for the independence and freedom of his people.

Ho Chi Minh was one of the first Vietnamese who warmly welcomed the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and who understood that Marxism-Leninism shows the way to the liberation of the colonies. Many years later Ho Chi Minh was to write that, "The October Revolution illuminates with its light all five parts of the world, like the sun's shining, awakening millions of oppressed and exploited masses."

When the World War I peace conference opened in Versailles, in 1919, on behalf of a "group of Vietnamese patriots" Ho Chi Minh submitted to it a "Notebook of the Wishes of the Vietnamese People" demanding that Vietnam be granted basic democratic freedoms. The conference remained deaf to the request. However, after publication in LE PEUPLE, the French socialist newspaper, it played a considerable role in exposing to the entire world the crimes of French colonialism in Vietnam.

In December 1920 Ho Chi Minh participated in the work of the French Socialist Party Congress in Tours and firmly took the side of the Third International, created by V. I. Lenin. He was the first Vietnamese in the ranks of the newly created French Communist Party. This was a natural step. Having begun his revolutionary activities as an ardent patriot who aspired with all his heart for the liberation of his homeland from the French colonizers, he adamantly and consistently followed the Leninist doctrine and the ideas of socialism and communism.

Many years later, recalling that period, he was to say, "I took the side of the October Revolution almost instinctively, even before I understood its entire universal-historical significance. I admired Lenin as a great patriot who was leading his compatriots to freedom. However, I had not as yet read a single one of his works. . . .

"Initially, it was precisely my patriotism, and not as yet communism at all, that led me to Lenin and the Communist International. It was only gradually, in the course of the struggle, studying Marxism-Leninist theory and participating in practical work, that I realized that socialism and communism alone could free both the oppressed peoples and the working people the world over from slavery. I understood how inseparably linked true patriotism is with proletarian internationalism."

During his stay in France Ho Chi Minh engaged in active revolutionary struggle. He participated in worker's meetings, collected money and

medicines for Soviet Russia, engaged in propaganda work among the Vietnamese living in the mother country and was in constant touch with the homeland. At that time he frequently published in the party press. In 1921, with the help of French comrades he founded in Paris the Intercolonial Union of Colored Peoples. Soon afterwards, the union undertook the publication of the newspaper PARIAN ("The Oppressed"), in which Ho Chi Minh held the duties of director, editor in chief, treasurer and distributor. The newspaper enjoyed great popularity for it acquainted the readers not only with the struggle of the peoples of the French colonies, but with Marxist-Leninist theory and the life of the first socialist state in the world.

Ho Chi Minh's first visit to Moscow was in the summer of 1923. In October he participated in the work of the first International Peasant's Conference which elected him member of the presidium of the newly founded Peasant's International. He translated into Vietnamese the basic documents of the conference and promoted their distribution.

In 1924 he participated in the work of the fifth congress of the Communist International as representative of the French Communist Party and a delegate from the colonies and was appointed permanent member of the eastern department of the Comintern Executive Committee.

At the end of that same year, as representative of the Comintern, Ho Chi Minh visited Canton and undertook the founding of a Vietnamese revolutionary organization. In June 1925 the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was established with his direct participation. He directed it toward the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in the country and the unification of all progressive Vietnamese who wanted the liberation of the homeland. Within a short time the association organized clandestine cells in a number of Vietnamese cities. They engaged in extensive political work among the working people. At the same time, Ho Chi Minh tried to rally the international efforts of the fighters for national liberation. In pursuit of this objective, he created the Alliance of Oppressed Asian Peoples, which included representatives of Korea, Indonesia, Malaya, India, China and Vietnam.

In his 1925 pamphlet "The Path of Revolution," Ho Chi Minh defined the general line of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam, emphasizing that the successful development of the revolution requires, above all, a revolutionary party armed with a scientific ideology. "A party without ideology," he pointed out, "is like a man without a mind, a ship without a compass."

Following the Chiang Kai-shek counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, when bloody reprisals were initiated not only against the Chinese but the Vietnamese communists, by decision of the association's central committee, Ho Chi Minh went to Shanghai and, from there, to the Soviet Union. He participated in the work of the General Council of the Anti-Imperialist League in Brussels, visited France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, and in 1928 went to

Thailand where he helped Vietnamese emigres to strengthen already created local association organizations, and where he established contact with Thai revolutionaries.

Even though unsuccessfully, the French authorities hunted Ho Chi Minh. In November 1929 they sentenced him in absentia to death for revolutionary activities in Indochina.

By then three autonomous communist organizations had appeared in Vietnam, operating on a virtually independent basis. The lack of unity among them adversely affected the development of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam and in neighboring Laos and Cambodia. In this connection, in a letter to the Indochinese communists, the Comintern Executive Committee noted that "The most important and urgent task facing all communists of Indochina at the present time is the creation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat, i.e., a mass communist party. It should become the only communist party of Indochina."

In his quality as the representative of the Communist International Executive Committee, Ho Chi Minh convened in Hong Kong a conference of the representatives of the three communist organizations, in the course of which the Communist Party of Vietnam was founded on the 3 February 1930, several months later renamed the Communist Party of Indochina. The short theses of the party's program and bylaws, drafted by Ho Chi Minh, were adopted at the conference. These documents were of historical significance for they indicated the basic direction for the development of the Vietnamese revolution. The program noted that Vietnam is on the threshold of a bourgeois-democratic revolution which should be made under the direct leadership of the working class and, subsequently, grow into a socialist revolution.

The conference performed the function of a congress, since it led to the founding of a party, the adoption of basic party documents, the formulation of the strategy and tactic of the Vietnamese revolution, and the election of a central committee.

The creation of the Communist Party of Indochina was rated by the Comintern as a major historical event in the revolutionary movement of Indochina. Following the conference, the process of establishment of the party accelerated sharply. Party organizations began to be founded in plant and plantations, and the voice of the communists was heard more strongly everywhere.

Ho Chi Minh ascribed great importance to disseminating among the Vietnamese people the truth about the Soviet Union. He knew that the example of the homeland of socialism would inspire his compatriots in the struggle for their liberation and the building of a new life. Only three weeks following the creation of the Communist Party of Vietnam he wrote a letter to Soviet comrades requesting materials on the revolution in Russia and the

life of the Soviet people, which he could use in writing books on the Soviet Union. The letter, published in this issue of **KOMMUNIST**, is in the Ho Chi Minh Museum in Hanoi.

On the basis of the materials received, Ho Chi Minh wrote a book on the building of a new life in the USSR. Lithographed, the book was clandestinely disseminated in Vietnam and became one of the most popular works calling upon the people to struggle for national and social liberation.

In June 1911 Ho Chi Minh was detained by the British authorities in Hong Kong, where he lived at that time under the alias of Sun Manshuo. A difficult struggle for his freedom was launched, which was to last over one year. Released as a result of the tremendous efforts of the international progressive public and, above all, of the noted British lawyer Francis (Lawsby), who was personally handling the case, Ho Chi Minh spent several months in hiding in Xiamen and Shanghai, after which, once again, he left for the Soviet Union. After a brief rest and treatment in the Crimea, on the recommendation of the Comintern Executive Committee, he enrolled in the International Leninist School and, at the same time, worked at the Institute of National and Colonial Problems. In 1935 Ho Chi Minh participated in the work of the Seventh Comintern Congress at which an extensive characterization of fascism was made as the most reactionary imperialist force, and the tasks of the communists and national-liberation movements were formulated, particularly in terms of the creation of an anti-imperialist popular front in colonial and semicolonial countries. The congress' decisions were of exceptional importance to the young Communist Party of Indochina and to all Vietnamese communists.

At the beginning of 1941 Ho Chi Minh returned to his homeland. During his long stay abroad he had thoroughly studied Marxism-Leninism, most actively participated in the international revolutionary movement and gained tremendous political experience which he brilliantly applied in leading the Vietnamese revolution.

Returning to the country, he plunged into active work: he organized courses for party workers, engaged in propaganda among the local population, headed the creation of unions for the salvation of the homeland, did extensive work to develop the armed forces of the revolution, regularly met with the population of suburban villages, and published the newspaper **INDEPENDENT VIETNAM**. In May of the same year, the Eighth Communist Party of Indochina Central Committee Plenum was held in Bac Bo (North Vietnam) at which the decision was passed to launch active preparations for an armed uprising and the creation of partisan bases. A profound study of the circumstances in the country was made at the plenum and a broad program for action was earmarked, marking a new, major step forward in the development of the Vietnamese revolution. "This party central committee meeting opened the way to the victory of August 1945," subsequently noted Pham Van Dong, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

In the middle of 1942 Ho Chi Minh went to China to establish contact with the Chinese revolutionary movement. However, at the border he was detained by the Kuomintang authorities. He spent over one year in their jails, moved to nearly 30 of them. It was in these cells that the famous "Prison Diary," now famous in many parts of the world, was written. To this day, many years later, it cannot be read without emotion and without a feeling of admiration of the endurance and courage of the author, who found the strength to write poetry after tiring marches of many kilometers, with a collar around his neck, led along mountain paths. Ho Chi Minh's great courage and talent enabled him to draw the vivid picture of the revolutionary, the communist fighter, with a few verses:

But for the ill of winter the world would forget the
string. The misfortunes of this dark jail will temper
me.

Ho Chi Minh accepted firmly and courageously all the suffering and adversity of jail, fully aware of his duty:

Let the body wait in jail, the soul flies free. My
objective is clear and my road is straight. I shall
remain courageous to the limit.

Learning from the Chinese press that the armed struggle against the Japanese aggressors was intensifying in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh exclaimed:

Let us die--we are not slaves. Rise, Red flag of
struggle! Yet, how bitter I feel to waste in jail,
not hearing the trumpet to battle.

Following his release from Chinese jail and return to the homeland, in August 1945 Ho Chi Minh held a national party conference in Tuyen Quang which passed the decision for preparations for a general armed uprising and earmarked the political program for the Vietminh Front, which subsequently became the program of the entire party and the people. Immediately following the conference a congress of people's representatives was convened which elected a national liberation committee, headed by Ho Chi Minh, and which subsequently became the provisional government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On 2 September 1945, following the victory of the August Revolution, addressing a half-million strong meeting in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the historical declaration of independence which announced the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam--the first state of workers and peasants in Southeast Asia.

The French colonizers were unwilling to tolerate the loss of the colony and as early as September 1945 launched their war against the Vietnamese people. After repeated attempts to resolve the problem peacefully, Ho Chi

Minh called upon the people to rise to a war of resistance against foreign aggression and for the defense of the freedom and independence of the homeland, gained through the August Revolution. He emphasized that, "We shall sacrifice everything, but not surrender the freedom of our country or become slaves."

At that time Ho Chi Minh, who had been unanimously elected president of the DRV in January 1946, ascribed particular importance to the strengthening of national unity. According to Pham Van Dong he was the "heart of the great people's war which was our struggle for freedom."

The second party congress, chaired by Ho Chi Minh, was held at the beginning of 1951 in Tuyen Quang Province. The congress considered the country's military and economic situation, adopted a new political program and party bylaws, and decided to rename the Communist Party of Indochina into the Vietnam Worker's Party. At the plenum which followed the congress Ho Chi Minh was unanimously elected VWP Central Committee chairman.

Under Ho Chi Minh's leadership the war of liberation waged by the Vietnamese people against the French colonizers brilliantly ended with the Dien Bien Phu victory, which led to the signing of the Geneva Accords and the restoration of the peace on Vietnamese soil.

Organizing the working people of the DRV for the restoration of the national economy destroyed by the war and the development of the economy, Ho Chi Minh formulated two closely interrelated strategic tasks: the creation of a socialist society in North Vietnam and the struggle for the liberation of the south and for the peaceful unification of the country.

The Third VWP Congress, held in September 1960, reelected Ho Chi Minh chairman of the VWP Central Committee. Comrade Le Duan, one of his closest fellow workers, was elected first secretary of the party's Central Committee.

In an effort to rescue their South Vietnamese puppets, in 1965 the American imperialists mounted an aggressive war against North Vietnam, forcing the working people of the DRV once again to take up arms to defend the gains of the August Revolution.

Both in the period of peaceful construction and the struggle against U.S. imperialism, Ho Chi Minh traveled a great deal around the country, frequently meeting with cadre personnel, workers and peasants, addressing various conferences and meetings of party, state and public organizations in the DRV, and calling people to active work for laying the material and technical foundations for socialism and decisively repelling American aggression.

In his article "30 Years of Vietnam Worker's Party," noting the great successes of the Vietnamese people in the building of socialism, Ho Chi Minh

emphasized that the reason for such successes was the fact that the VWP "was able to properly apply the Marxist-Leninist doctrine to the reality of Vietnam and elaborate an accurate political line. The party tirelessly fought the reformist trend of the bourgeoisie and the political adventurism of petit bourgeois strata within the national movement, Trotskyite leftist phraseology in the labor movement, and the right-wing and 'left-wing' deviations within the party. . . . Marxism-Leninism helped us to withstand all trials."

Ho Chi Minh creatively applied Marxist-Leninist theory to the specific conditions of Vietnam. In April 1960 he wrote that, "The building of socialism in our country and our affiliation with the great world socialist system are the implementation of the Leninist thesis the possibility for a backward colonial country to convert to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development."

In an article dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the party, General secretary Le Duan emphasized that, "The first great merit of Ho Chi Minh was the fact that he linked the revolutionary movement in Vietnam with the international worker's movement, and led the Vietnamese people along the path he himself followed--from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism. This was the only path to liberation which the October Revolution in Russia opened to the working people and oppressed nations the world over."

Even though he was tremendously busy with governmental affairs, Ho Chi Minh was always concerned with the party's ideological and organizational strengthening and with upgrading its leading role; he systematically worked for strengthening the ties between workers and peasants.

Ho Chi Minh was a convinced internationalist. He always supported the need to combine national revolutionary tasks with the tasks of the global revolution. He repeatedly pointed out that the party of Vietnamese communists considers as its international duty to defend the socialist comity, and strengthen the unity and solidarity within the international communist movement on the basis of the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and support the struggle of the peoples for national independence, democracy, socialism and peace. Opening the third party congress, Ho Chi Minh noted that, "The 30-year struggle waged by our party teaches us that the most reliable guarantee for the victory of the revolution is to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism, loyalty to the interests of the proletariat and the nation, and strengthening the unity and solidarity within the party and among the communist parties and among the members of the great socialist comity."

Ho Chi Minh made a tremendous contribution to the development of fraternal relations between Vietnam and the other socialist countries. Addressing the 22d CPSU Congress, he emphasized that, "We shall always act shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the struggle for the victory of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism the world over."

Ho Chi Minh participated in the celebrations of the 40th and 43d anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He headed the VWP delegations to the 21st and 22d CPSU congresses and participated in the conferences of representatives of communist and worker's parties in 1957 and 1960; he frequently came to our country to rest.

This outstanding son of the Vietnamese people was firmly convinced that friendship with the USSR is not only of great significance in successfully building socialism in the DRV, but is consistent with the interests of the entire Socialist unity. He highly valued the selfless aid which the Soviet people gave Vietnam in building socialism and fighting U.S. aggression. "The Vietnamese people," Ho Chi Minh stated, "will never forget its victories are inseparable from the tremendous help of the Soviet Union."

Implementing Ho Chi Minh's behests, under the leadership of its battle vanguard--the Marxist-Leninist party--the Vietnamese people won a historical victory in the struggle against American imperialism and its Saigon puppets, liberated South Vietnam and reunited its homeland. A historical event took place in July 1976: the unified national assembly of the country proclaimed the founding of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Addressing the fourth party congress, Comrade Le Duan noted that, "The tremendous victory in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for the salvation of the homeland, as well as other outstanding pages in the almost half a century old history of the Vietnamese revolution, will always be inseparably linked with the name of President Ho Chi Minh, who founded and tempered our party, proclaimed the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, hammered out the great national unity and created the revolutionary armed forces, the brilliant leader of our working class and the entire Vietnamese people, the great national hero, and the outstanding statesman of the international communist movement. In this minute we recall with our most profound emotion Uncle Ho, infinitely dear to our people, who is no longer among us, who is not present in this historical congress. However, our entire party, people and army are brimming with pride for having honorably fulfilled Ho Chi Minh's sacred behest. His most profound dreams and instructions have now become reality."

Defending the gains of the August Revolution, inspired and organized by Ho Chi Minh, and with the successes achieved in the building of socialism, with the active support of all progressive forces in the world, the Vietnamese people defeated the United aggressors who in February 1979 tried to test the strength of Vietnam's borders. Even through the force of arms the Beijing imperialists were unable to reach the objectives they pursued, resorting to economic and political pressure on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the use of their puppet states headed by Pol Pot and company.

Today, implementing the behests of the leader, the working people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are engaged in the difficult yet glorious struggle for the implementation of the tasks set at the Fourth Communist

Party of Vietnam Congress on laying in Vietnam the material and technical foundations for socialism. Resolving these major and complex problems, the Vietnamese people are benefiting from the great and selfless aid of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity.

The successes achieved in most difficult conditions are a guarantee for the new successes which will unquestionably be achieved by the working people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam struggling for a proper welcome of the 35th anniversary of their republic.

Ho Chi Minh dedicated his entire outstanding life and revolutionary talent to the struggle for the bright future of his people and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. Ho Chi Minh's ebullient energy, iron will, unbreakable courage, along with simplicity and humaneness, earned him deep love and respect in Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and all countries throughout the world.

9003
CBO: 1802

WRITINGS BY HO CHI MINH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 80 pp 90-98

[Text] Letter to Comrade X dated 25 February 1930

Ho Chi Minh ascribed great importance to the dissemination of the truth about the Soviet Union among the Vietnamese people. He knew that the example of the homeland of socialism would inspire his people in the struggle for their liberation and for building a happy life. No more than three weeks following the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh wrote a letter to the Soviet comrades requesting materials on the revolution in Russia and the life of the Soviet people which would enable him to write a book whose purpose would be to acquaint the Vietnamese people with the Soviet Union.

On the basis of materials received from the USSR and personal impressions from his period of work in the eastern section of the Comintern Executive Committee, Ho Chi Minh wrote the novel "Diary of a Shipwreck." Following is a synopsis of the novel.

A French merchantman was sunk in the ocean. Virtually all those aboard perished except for three workers: Paul, Zo and Rau. The first was from Europe, the second from Africa and the third from Vietnam. The waves carried them to a deserted island. Eventually a Soviet freighter passed by, rescued them and took them to the Soviet Union.

During their stay in the USSR all three felt among friends. They visited a number of places, saw various aspects of the life of Soviet society, and were offered possibilities for study and rest. Then, each one of them returned to his country.

The "Diary of a Shipwreck" became a popular book in Vietnam, inspiring the people to decide for their national and social liberation, and calling for following the path of the October Revolution and of the great Lenin.

The following letter by Ho Chi Minh to the Soviet comrades is published in the Russian for the first time and the introductory note was prepared for KONGUNIST by the editors of the theoretical and political journal of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee (TAP TI KONG SHAN).

Dear Comrades!

The Vietnamese, the working people in particular, would like to know as much as possible about Russia. However, the revolutionary press is strictly banned by the rigid laws of French imperialism. Furthermore, the majority of the Vietnamese workers and peasants are illiterate, while the semi-literate know no language other than Vietnamese. Our task is to explain to them the nature of the homeland of the proletariat. It is for this purpose that I intend to write a book--in Vietnamese, naturally--in the form of "memoirs of a travel." I hope that it will be lively, interesting and popular, and will contain a number of stories. The layout for the work is as follows:

I. Before the revolution

1. Life of workers and peasants.
2. Revolutionary organizations, their work, dedication.
3. Preparations for revolution.
4. Clandestine work of the RKP (Russian Communist Party).

II. During the revolution

1. Beginning of the revolution.
2. Party and trade unions.
3. Participation in the revolution of peasants, students, women and children.
4. Difficulties caused by the imperialists; the Russian counterrevolution; malnutrition and revolutionary heroism.
5. Gradual development of the Soviet state.

6. War communism (real life).

III. The current situation

1. Organization of the Soviet government.

2. Life of the workers, peasants, soldiers, women, university students, children, old people, and so on. Worker's university, party school, and so on.

3. Life in enterprises, barracks, schools (education, entertainment, vacations, and others).

4. Marriage and the family, housing.

5. Cooperatives.

6. Kulaks and merchants-speculators.

7. The agrarian problem.

8. Results of the new economic policy and the five-year plan.

9. The Communist International, Trade Union International and Peasant's International (number of members and participating countries).

10. Theaters, hospitals, kindergartens, etc.

11. Comparable data (1914-1930) on the following:

a. Number of worker and peasant organizations and their members;

b. Number of schools and students;

c. Hospitals and other social institutions;

d. Number of literate workers and peasants;

e. Output in the country, and so on, and so forth.

There are two problems:

1. Data. I have none. Please send me materials in French or English. Address them to the Communist Party of China Central Committee. The envelope should be addressed to Mr Victor Lebon, 123 Avenue de la Republique, with the note "for immediate delivery."

2. Printing. All I have here is a "poil-copie" which makes it possible to print no more than 100 copies. The Vietnamese alphabet is similar to the

Latin with additional accents, such as, for example, a, à, á, â, ã, ä, å, and so on. Could you print the book after it is completed?

I am waiting for your materials and necessary advice. Please answer me at the indicated address.

With fraternal communist greetings,

Nguyen Ai Quoc

On Revolutionary Morality*

From its very first steps mankind was forced to fight nature for its existence: wild beasts, the elements, and so on. In order to win, man was forced to rely on the forces of a large number of people, i.e., of the collective, of society. Individually, he could not defeat nature and survive.

In order to exist, mankind must also produce, thus procuring for itself food and clothing. In production as well it is necessary to rely on the forces of the collective, of society; an individual cannot conduct the production process.

Our age is the age of civilization and of revolution. For this reason, in every matter it must rely even more on the forces of the collective, the forces of society; the less the individual is able to exist alone, the more he must be a member of the collective, of society.

For this reason, individualism conflicts with collectivism. Collectivism and socialism will win. Individualism will be destroyed.

The production method and production forces are developing and steadily changing. In this connection so do human ideology and social systems . . . We know that from antiquity to the present the production process has converted from the use of picks and stone axes to the use of machines and mechanisms, and the use of electric and nuclear power. Society develops as well, converting from primitive communism to the slaveowning, feudal and, subsequently, capitalist systems. Today nearly one-half of mankind is marching to socialism and communism.

No one can stop this development, this process.

With the appearance of private ownership, society was divided into classes, the class of the exploiters and the class of the exploited. This led to the appearance of social contradictions, of the struggle between classes and, ever since then, everyone has belonged to one or another class. No one could stand above the classes. At the same time, everyone is a representative of his class.

*Article written in 1958 (the editor).

In the old society feudal landowners, capitalists and imperialists mercilessly oppress and exploit the other classes, the workers and peasants above all. They took for themselves the common wealth produced by society, turning it into their private ownership. This enabled them to live at someone else's expense, living on the fat of the land. Yet, they always spoke the false words of morality, freedom and democracy. . . .

Unable to withstand oppression and exploitation any longer, workers, peasants and the other working people rose to a revolution to free themselves, to transform the deformed old society into a splendid new society in which the working people will be happy and where there will be no exploitation of man by man.

In order to be victorious the revolution must take place under the leadership of the working class. This is because it is the most progressive, the most conscientious, the most decisive, the most disciplined and the most organized class. The proletarian party is the headquarters of the working class. The revolution in Russia and other countries proved this. This is unquestionable.

To make a revolution for the sake of changing the old society into a new one is a great cause. However, it is a difficult task, it requires a complex, lengthy and difficult struggle. Only the strong could walk a great distance carrying a heavy load. The revolutionary must rely on revolutionary morality as his base. Only then would he be able to carry out his great revolutionary task.

Raised in the old society, to a certain extent we retain its faulty vestiges in our mentality, customs, and so on. The faultiest and most dangerous vestige left by the old society is individualism. Individualism conflicts with revolutionary morality and, should it be alive in us, even though to an insignificant extent, it would wait for the opportunity to develop, to suppress the spiritual qualities of the revolutionary, and to prevent us from dedicating all our moral strength to the struggle for the cause of the revolution.

Individualism is false and deceitful. It cleverly drags the person down. Yet, it is known that it is always easier to go down than to go up. This makes individualism even more dangerous.

In order to eliminate within ourselves the vestiges of the past and develop the spiritual qualities of the revolutionary, we learn, work over ourselves, change ourselves, so that we may tirelessly go forward. Unless we strive to go forward we would inevitably stop and fall back. Yet, should we stop and fall back, developing society would reject us.

It is possible to teach and work over oneself and to change oneself not only in school, progressing from one grade to another. We can and must learn and change ourselves whatever type of revolutionary activity we may

engage in. Clandestine work, work in a period of uprising or resistance war, or work in building socialism in North Vietnam in the struggle for the unification of the country today is an excellent school for the development of the spiritual qualities of the revolutionary.

It is only by possessing such spiritual qualities that one will not be frightened, confused or retreat from the difficulties or after a defeat. One would sacrifice unhesitatingly one's personal interest for the sake of the common interest of the party, the revolution, the working class, one's nation and all mankind. If necessary, one would sacrifice even one's life readily and with no regrets. Such is the consistent and noble manifestation of the spiritual qualities of the revolutionary.

In the course of our party's history many comrades have given brilliant examples of revolutionary morality and absolute disinterestedness, an example which all of us must follow. They include Comrade Chan Phu, Ngo Dia Phi, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Khi, Hoang Van Thu, Nguyen Phi Minh Khai, and many others who gloriously died for the people, for the party.

If one has the spiritual qualities of the revolutionary, even when conditions are favorable, when success has been achieved, one would remain straightforward and modest. One would not forget experienced difficulties. I believe that "to be concerned before the others and to be pleased after the others" would be the best way for implementing one's duty, not concerned with rewards, not becoming conceited or bureaucratic, not becoming arrogant, not becoming corrupt. This too is a manifestation of revolutionary morality.

Briefly stated, the basic requirements of revolutionary morality are the following:

Throughout one's life, fight decisively for the cause of the party, the cause of the revolution. This is the foremost requirement.

Dedicate all of one's forces to party work, strictly to observe party discipline and properly promote the party's line and policy.

Put the interests of the party and the toiling people above one's personal interest. Serve the people with all one's heart and strength. Struggle for the party and the people, forgetting oneself, and being a model in any type of work.

Assiduously study Marxism-Leninism, always upgrade one's ideological level through criticism and self-criticism, improve one's workstyle and go forth together with one's comrades.

Every revolutionary must profoundly realize that our party is the most progressive detachment and the most united organization of the working class and the leader of the working class and the toiling people. Even

though today our working class is not very large, it is growing and developing with every passing day. In the future, when agriculture cooperatives will be organized everywhere, and when machines will begin to be extensively used in the countryside, the peasants will become workers. Gradually the intelligentsia will become accustomed to physical labor and, gradually, the differences between the working class and the intelligentsia will disappear. Our industry is developing with every passing day. For this reason, the number of workers is rising steadily. The forces of the workers are strengthening and broad and great possibilities are opening to the working class. It is reorganizing the entire world as well as itself.

The revolutionary must clearly see this and, for this reason, firmly stand on the positions of the working class so that he may fight with all his strength for socialism and communism, for the working class, and for all working people. Revolutionary morality means absolute loyalty to the party, loyalty to the people.

Our party has no interests other than those of the working class and the toiling masses. For this reason, the most immediate objective of our party is the struggle for the gradual conversion to socialism of North Vietnam and for the reunification of the country.

Under the party's leadership, in the course of a heroic struggle, our people overthrew the rule of colonizers and feudal lords and totally liberated the north of our country. This is a major victory. However, the revolution has not as yet become fully victorious. This is because the party's objective today is the struggle for the reunification of the country, and for the building of a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam. Our purpose is that no one be exploited, and to build a new society where everyone will be happy.

However, our industry is still backward. Thanks to the selfless aid of the fraternal countries, the USSR and China, above all, we are developing our industry. In order to succeed, our workers must develop extensive competition for quantity, speed, quality and low production costs. They must strictly observe labor discipline and actively participate in the management of industrial enterprises. They must oppose waste and corruption. Our cadre workers must be truly industrious, thrifty, honest and just. They must work side by side with the workers.

The life of our peasantry somewhat improved after it was given land. However, the production method remains backward and uncoordinated. For this reason yields are still low and life has not improved greatly. In the countryside we must encourage the movement for the extensive and firm organization of mutual aid groups and cooperatives so that production can be truly expanded. It is only thus that, finally, the peasant will be fully free from want and will live better.

For this reason, revolutionary morality calls for struggling with all our forces for the implementation of the party's objective, loyally serving the working class and all working people, and in no case stop midway.

That is precisely what the majority of our party members, members of the youth league, and cadre workers are doing. However, there are some who do not act this way. They erroneously imagine that since there are no longer colonizers and feudal lords in North Vietnam the revolution has won. For this reason they allow within themselves a birth of individualism. They demand the satisfaction of their requirements and rest. They would like to choose their work in accordance with their personal wishes. They do not wish to do what the organization asks of them. They aspire to high positions, yet fear responsibility. Gradually, their combat spirit and activeness decline and the daring and splendid qualities of the revolutionary disappear. They forget that the first criterion of the revolutionary is the resolve to struggle throughout their lives for the party, for the revolution.

We must know that all the victories we have won are merely the first steps down a long way. We must go further. The revolution must continue to develop. Failure to go forth means to fall back. Yet, should we fall back the victories we have won cannot be consolidated and developed.

The struggle for socialism is a lengthy and difficult process. Revolutionaries are needed because the revolution has enemies.

The revolution has three enemies. Capitalism and the imperialists are a very dangerous one.

Backward customs and traditions are also a dangerous enemy which erects hidden obstacles on the path of the revolution. Yet we cannot destroy them. The only way to eliminate them is with thoroughness and patience, over a long period of time.

The third enemy is individualism, petit bourgeois ideology, which is still hiding within each one of us. It is merely waiting for the occasion to rear its head. It is the ally of the first two enemies.

For this reason, revolutionary morality means to wage a decisive struggle, under any condition, against any enemy, constantly maintaining one's vigilance, always being ready for battle, not accepting anything, not bend one's head. Only thus could the enemy be defeated and revolutionary duty be fulfilled.

Our party was able to lead the working class and the entire people to socialism precisely because it formulated an accurate political line and set up a single leadership. The leadership is single because the views and actions of all party members are one and the same.

Should there be no unity in the views and actions of the party members we would have confusion and disharmony instead of organization. In this case one cannot lead the masses, one cannot make a revolution.

The words and actions of the party members are of tremendous importance to the cause of the revolution, for they have a great influence on the masses. Thus, for example, the present task of the party and the government is to set up comprehensive and strictly organized groups for mutual aid and co-operatives, to cooperativize agriculture. However, some members of the party and the youth league are not joining the mutual aid groups and co-operatives, or else are inactive in the creation and strengthening of mutual aid groups and co-operatives. This is because individualism has already led them to adopt a "freedom of action," which conflicts with party organization and discipline. Whether such comrades wish it or not, their actions lower the party's prestige, hinder the party's cause and block the progress of the revolution.

The party is formulating a policy and making decisions in the interest of the people. Therefore, revolutionary morality demands of the party member, even in the most difficult circumstances, the strict obedience of the policy and stipulations of the party, to be an example to the masses. Every party member must develop within himself a high feeling of responsibility to the people and the party. Individualism must be suppressed and decisively uprooted.

Our party represents the common interests of the working class and all working people, rather than the private interests of any given group of people or of an individual. Everyone knows this.

The working class is not struggling for its liberation alone, but for the liberation of all mankind from oppression and exploitation. For this reason the interests of the working class coincide with those of the people.

On behalf of the party the party member represents the interests of the working class and the toiling people. Therefore, the interests of the party member must be within and not outside the interests of the party and the working class. The victory and success of the party and the working class are also the victory and success of the party member. However talented an individual may be, he could do nothing by separating himself from the party and from the working class.

Revolutionary morality demands of the party member under all circumstances to place the interests of the party above anything else. Should personal interest conflict with those of the party, they must be subordinated to the party's interests.

We have party members who, still retaining their individualism, are "submitting their bills" to the party. If they have some merit, they expect the party's "gratitude." They demand to be granted privileges. They demand honor and high positions. They wish greater material benefits. Should their demands fail to be satisfied, they blame the party, they believe that they have been "deprived of prospects," and that they have

been "sacrificed." Gradually, they withdraw from the party, to the point of opposing party policies and party discipline.

In the period when the party was clandestine and during the war of resistance many comrades valorously sacrificed their lives. Production heroes and leading workers are dedicating all their forces to their work. Such people are not demanding positions and honor. They never demand the party's "gratitude."

Our party is a mass party, with hundreds of thousands of members. Historically it has so developed that in our country most party members come from the petit bourgeoisie. This is not astounding in the least. Under the influence of bourgeois ideology, initially, some party members were unstable in their positions. They had some vague convictions and erroneous views. However, after training in the revolutionary period and during the war of resistance, as a whole, our party members have become quite good and loyal to the party, loyal to the revolution.

These comrades understand that the errors of a party member would lead to errors on the part of the masses. For this reason, if committing an error, they willingly and immediately correct it, not allowing for many petty errors to merge into one big one. For this reason they are able to honestly criticize themselves and other comrades, in order to go forth jointly.

This is entirely consistent with revolutionary morality. After many years of clandestine activities, subjected to persecution and terror on the part of the colonizers, operating in difficult and dangerous conditions, our party nevertheless developed, strengthened, and led the people to victory in the revolution, to victory in the war of resistance. This was achieved because it skillfully used the sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

However, there still are some party members who, having taken the path of individualism, became conceited and arrogant, believing themselves to be higher than everyone else. They criticize others, but do not tolerate the criticism of others. They do not acknowledge self-criticism, or else they do not criticize themselves frankly and seriously. They fear that after self-criticism they would lose their respectability and prestige. They do not listen to the opinion of the masses. They scorn the nonparty cadre workers. They do not understand that it is difficult to avoid errors when one is active. We do not fear errors. All that we fear is that, having made an error, we do not dare to correct it. In order to correct an error properly one must always willingly listen to the criticism of the masses and sincerely criticize oneself. If one is unwilling to listen to criticism and to engage in self-criticism, one would necessarily fall behind and lose one's way. Yet, the masses do not need stragglers. Such are the inevitable consequences of individualism.

The working class and the toiling people have tremendous and inexhaustible strength. However, this strength could be victorious only under the

party's leadership. At the same time, the party must be closely linked with the masses. It must skillfully organize and lead them. Then, and only then will the revolution be successful.

Revolutionary morality calls for blending with the masses within a single entity. It calls for faith in the masses, for understanding the masses, for attentiveness to the opinion of the masses. The words and actions of the party members and members of the youth league and the cadre workers must be such that the people will believe in them, and respect and love them. They must contribute to closely rallying the people around the party. They must organize the people, agitate and mobilize the masses for the active implementation of the party's policy and of its decisions.

That is precisely what all of us did in the revolution and the war of resistance.

Today, however, individualism has begun to appear in some comrades. They believe they can do anything. They have distanced themselves from the masses. They are unwilling to learn from the masses, yet want to teach the masses. They avoid work related to the organization, propaganda and education of the masses. They have been contaminated by bureaucracy and willfulness. As a result, the masses do not trust, respect or love them, and they become totally useless.

Our North Vietnam is following the path to socialism. This is the urgent demand of millions of working people. It is collective cause of the toiling masses headed by our party. Individualism is one of the obstacles in building socialism. Therefore, the struggle for the victory of socialism cannot be separated from the struggle for uprooting individualism.

The struggle against individualism does not mean in the least any "flouting of personal interest." Every person has his character and his merits, his private and his family life. If such personal interests are not conflicting with those of the collective, this is nothing bad. One should realize that only under a socialist system does every person acquire conditions for improving his personal life and for developing his character and his qualities.

No system has such respect for man, pays such great attention to his personal interests, providing that they are legitimate, and offers such guarantees for their satisfaction as socialism and communism. In a society ruled by the class of exploiters it is only the interests of a small handful of people belonging to the ruling class that are satisfied. The interests of the toiling masses are ignored. Under socialism and communism, conversely, the toiling people are the masters of the society and every person, as a member of the collective, holds a specific position in society and makes his contribution to the work of society. Therefore, the interests of the individual--within those of the collective--are part of the interests of the collective. Conditions for the satisfaction of the

individual interests are created only by guaranteeing the satisfaction of the interests of the collective.

The interests of the individual are closely linked with those of the collective. Should personal interests conflict with those of the collective revolutionary morality calls for subordinating the personal interests of the individual to the common interests of the collective.

The revolution goes forth, the party goes forth. Therefore, the revolutionary as well must go forth.

Millions of people become involved in the revolutionary movement. Revolutionary work consists of a variety of different matters of varying complexity. In order to be able to analyze the complex circumstances, clearly see contradictions, and be able properly to resolve the complex problems, we must properly master the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Only the knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory would enable us to strengthen revolutionary morality, retain the firmness of our positions, deepen our understanding, upgrade our political standard, and properly carry out the party's assignments.

To study Marxism-Leninism means to learn how to act in all circumstances, both accurately in terms of others and oneself. It means to know the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in order to creatively apply them under the specific conditions of our country. It means learning for the sake of working. In this case theory must march in step with practice.

However, some comrades limit themselves merely to memorizing a few booklets on Marxism-Leninism, and then believe that they understand Marxism better than anyone else. In practice, however, in resolving specific problems, they either operate automatically or become confused. Their words do not meet their actions. They have read the Marxist books but have not mastered the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. They learn for the sake of boasting with their knowledge rather than applying such knowledge in revolutionary work. This too is a manifestation of individualism.

Individualism triggers a number of dangerous faults: bureaucracy, arbitrariness, factionalism, subjectivism, corruption and waste. . . . It binds its victim and blinds its eyes. In all matters, such people proceed, above all, from selfish motivations and do not consider in the least the interests of the working class, the people.

Individualism is a terrible enemy of socialism. The revolutionary must uproot it.

Today the tasks of the party and the people consist of the all-round expansion of output and conservation, so that North Vietnam may reach socialism and create a solid foundation for the reunification of the country. This is a great task. All of us, all members of the party and youth league, all

cadre workers, whether party members or nonmembers, must selflessly serve the party throughout their lives, serve the people. This is a valuable quality of the revolutionary, a manifestation of revolutionary morality. This is party-mindedness and class loyalty. This is a guarantee for the victory of the party, the working class, and the entire people.

Revolutionary morality does not fall from the sky. It is developed and strengthened in the course of daily struggle, in daily and adamant training. It is like a diamond which shines the more brightly the more it is polished. It is like gold whose purity increases the longer it is smelted.

What could be greater, what could bring more happiness than the development within oneself of the spiritual qualities of the revolutionary in order to make a worthy contribution to the building of socialism and the liberation of mankind!

May all members of the party and the youth league and all party and non-party cadre workers go forth.

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MARX' 'DAS KAPITAL' IN THE HOMELAND OF LENINISM

Moscow KODENIST in Russian No 7, May 80 pp 99-109

[Article by Prof A. Malysh]

[Text] In the chronicles of the past and the present the name Karl Marx ranks among the greatest and most glorious. A brilliant revolutionary and scientist, together with his like-minded and loyal friend Friedrich Engels, he saw in the proletariat not only a victim of merciless exploitation, worthy of sympathy, but a tremendous force which was called upon to wreck the system of capitalist slavery. Through his thoughts and practical activities Marx laid the foundations of the worker's and communist movements. He lit the torch of freedom which illuminated to millions of oppressed people the way to victorious political struggle, subsequently marked by accomplishments of universal-historical significance.

The age of liberated labor and of the triumph of the ideas of scientific communism was inaugurated with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Today real socialism is clearly proving its tremendous advantages over capitalism in the economic, social, cultural, and political areas. Practical experience has unquestionably proved the validity of the doctrine elaborated by Marx and Engels and developed by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin.

Marx' "Das Kapital" was a lifetime project. Anything that is truly brilliant presumes not only a special talent but an inflexible willpower, a tireless desire to serve high and noble objectives, and the great pains of creativity. Marx justifiably holds an outstanding position among the fiery and tireless fighters, the phenomenally devoted promoters of thinking and searchers for the truth. A lengthy, almost 25-year period of time, separates the beginning of his economic study from the publication of the first volume of "Das Kapital." Several versions of the work have reached us. The author was very unwilling to part with the manuscript, trying to perfect it in all respects. He said that, "... It is pleasant to lick the baby clean after such painful birth pangs" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 31, p 150). After the publication of the volume he revised it on three different occasions for the new editions. The

differences between the first (1867) and the second German (1872) edition, and between the latter and the authorized French edition (1872-1875) are so substantial that each of them is of independent scientific value.

In the course of his long and very difficult life, Marx courageously withstood the deliberate badgering of the press and open police persecution. He and his family lived in want. His children died. He himself was torn by disease. However, he did not yield. His objective stood above everything else: Not to yield to the prejudices of the ruling classes and, through scientific research, reach a result which would arm the revolutionary workers. He wrote that the following requirements should be posted at the gates of science:

"Here the soul must be firm; here fear must not be the counselor" (see Marx and Engels, op cit, Vol 13, p 9).

These words, borrowed from Dante's "Divine Comedy," always remained his inviolable principle and his motto.

"Das Kapital" honorably withstood the most rigorous test--the test of time. The true revolutionaries check their course against it and never part with it. It may have been banned, withdrawn from circulation, or burned on bonfires. However, the raging of the reactionaries and the obscurantists merely revealed their historical doom. The omnipotent ideas of "Das Kapital" are continuing their triumphant march around the planet.

"Das Kapital" enjoyed particularly great success in Russia. Considering the then relatively modest transportation facilities, Marx' work covered in a few weeks the long distance from Hamburg, where the first volume was printed, in September in 1867, to Petersburg and Moscow. From the very beginning, "Das Kapital" was read and known in Russia almost better than in Germany itself.

What were the reasons for this curious and, seemingly paradoxical phenomenon?

The Russia of the first half of the 19th century amazes us with its extreme variety. Underdeveloped production forces. Exceptional poverty and widespread illiteracy of the people's masses, and their growing protest against social oppression and injustice. Absolutist rule and obscurantism promoted from the top. Obstacles were erected in the schools to the teaching of scientific theories of economy and geology. They were replaced by the wisdom of Providence and the Creator, while obsolete dogmas alternated with prayers.

Classes in practical anatomy were forbidden in the medical schools. There was ever vigilant censorship in book publishing and the press.

Against the background of such phenomena, the advanced awareness of and lively interest in the progressive ideological currents of the century, and

the profound knowledge which the outstanding sons of Russia displayed of the best accomplishments of world philosophy become even more striking. The ideas of the French Enlightenment, of French and English utopian socialists, German classical philosophy and English classical political economy were perfectly well known in Russia. Eugene Onegin, the young rake in A. S. Pushkin's famous novel, studied "something, somehow." However, even he was a "profound economist," and "read Adam Smith" and, let us add, despite the then fashionable doctrine of mercantilism, which was based on the accumulation of the yellow metal, "was able to see how the state was getting richer and how it lived, and why it did not need gold when it had the simple product." These words reveal the deep familiarity displayed by the brilliant poet with one of the complex sciences and his entirely professional assessment of the innovative role which Adam Smith played in the interpretation of the prime reason and nature of wealth. The poetic lines of the luminary of Russian poetry essentially state that which, later on, the young Engels covered with a scientific formula: Adam Smith is the Luther, the reformer of political economy (see Marx and Engels, op cit, Vol 1, p 349).

The situation of the toiling masses, suffering from the oppression of despotism and serfdom, prompted the progressive people in Russia to scientifically criticize the dominating social relations with a view to the elimination of faults which were not caused by the stinginess of nature in the least. The very formulation of the question contained at least an intuitive awareness of the essential aspect of the subject and the most important social function of political economy.

N. G. Chernyshevskiy, described by Marx in the postface of the second edition of the first volume of "Das Kapital" as a great Russian scientist and critic, brilliantly displayed original thinking in problems of political economy and promoted ideas which were not directly determined by the social base and which stood above its level at the time. Chernyshevskiy was given such flattery and, unquestionably, deserved appreciation for his "Essays on Political Economy (After Mill)," published in 1861, in which he sensitively realized and described the specific process of the rejection of scientific impartiality by the bourgeois scientists with the aggravation of the class struggle waged by the proletariat.

As early as the 1840's-1850's the works of K. Marx and F. Engels became quite well known in Russia. Many progressive personalities welcomed with interest the "Communist Party Manifesto," the "Poverty of Philosophy," the "Situation of the Working Class in England," and "Wired Labor and Capital." Marx and Engels actively corresponded with Russians. The names of the leaders of the international working class triggered sincere sympathy and tremendous respect among the progressive circles of Russian society. It was no accident that it was precisely Marx who was elected corresponding secretary of the General Council of the International for Russia. The Russians who knew Marx and Engels spoke with admiration about their personal qualities and outstanding minds. In turn, Marx and Engels cherished

their friendship with the Russians, used their advice and their help in literary matters, and highly rated their revolutionary enthusiasm. They were interested in Russian literature and social thought, and rated most enthusiastically the works of a number of writers.

Marx became particularly well known in Russia as the author of "Das Kapital." His fame as the greatest economist was acquired immediately. It was extensive and firm. In the 1870's alone there were about 170 special reviews and other publications in which "Das Kapital" was either cited or mentioned (see "Letopisi Marksizma" [Marxist Chronicles], I (XI), Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, pp 123-149).

N. I. Ziber was the first substantial reviewer of "Das Kapital" in Russia as well as on a general European scale. His master's dissertation "D. Ricardo's Theory of Value and Capital in Connection with Subsequent Editions and Clarifications" drew Marx' attention and earned his high appreciation. "As early as 1871," Marx wrote on 24 January 1873, in the postface to the second edition of the first volume of "Das Kapital," "Mr N. Ziber, professor of political economy at Kiev University, proved in his work 'D. Ricardo's Theory of Value and Capital,' that in its fundamental features my theory of value, money and capital is the necessary further development of the Smith-Ricardo theory. Reading this valuable book the Western European reader is particularly struck by the systematic pursuit of an adopted purely theoretical viewpoint" (Marx and Engels, op cit, Vol 23, p 19).

Marx referred just as flatteringly to Ziber's book in his 1879-1980 remarks on A. Wagner's "Textbook on Political Economy." Commenting on Wagner's conclusion that Marx' theory of value is, allegedly, the same as Ricardo's "theory of costs," Marx noted among other things, that "Mr Wagner could see both from 'Das Kapital' as well as from Ziber's work (had he been familiar with the Russian language) the difference between me and Ricardo. Ricardo, in fact, considered labor merely as a measure for the size of the cost, by virtue of which he found no connection between his own theory of value and the nature of money" (ibid, Vol 19, p 372).

Between 1876 and 1878 Ziber published in the journals ZNANIYE and SLOVO a series of articles entitled "Marx' Economic Theory." In 1885 he published a revised edition of his dissertation under a different title, "David Ricardo and Karl Marx in Their Socioeconomic Studies." This, in itself, was significant. Explaining in detail the basic aspects of Marx' economic doctrine, Ziber emphasized that it represents a historical development of the foundation of political economy established by the bourgeois classics, and the enrichment of their studies with the latest accomplishments of social thinking and the latest economic changes.

The exceptional interest shown in "Das Kapital" in a country with a relatively backward economic base, a country which was only in the stage of what G. V. Plekhanov described as the "Europeanization" of its social life

(see G. V. Plekhanov, "Istoriya Russkoy Obshchestvennoy Myсли" [History of Russian Social Thought], Vol 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1925, p 4) is explained by the fact that social awareness was restless and progressive social thought firmly rejected all possible "meaningless allegories and hypotheses," to use H. Heine's words, eagerly seeking "straight answers" to the "damn questions" raised by the times, by life itself. There was urgent need for effective revolutionary theory. In their thoughts about their people and their fatherland, the best members of Russian society learned from the lessons and experience of others, mastered Western progressive ideas, tried to apply them to Russian conditions, and created plans for the radical reorganization of the social order.

The revolutionary democrats--these noble and daring spokesmen for justice and freedom--were waking Russia up. Some of them called upon it to rise against czarism, and "to the ax." The breadth of their knowledge, originality of their thoughts, and bold thrust are worthy of infinite admiration. Unfortunately, however, they merely came close to the proper interpretation of the problems facing the country. At that time no one was able to reach the level obtained by Marx and Engels.

Only Marxism, which had developed "in close connection with the practice of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 7) fully and accurately expressed the nature of the times, and truly scientifically explained the world, while at the same time becoming a material transforming force.

The theory of Marx and Engels, "Das Kapital," reveals the nature of capitalism not only in England, the classical country of this production method in the middle of the 19th century. "De te fabula narratur! (Is this not your own story!)," was Marx' answer in the preface to the first edition to "Das Kapital," using Horace's words, to the German "optimists" who were loading themselves with the pharisaic hope that England's economic development will not be repeated in Germany.

The basic Marxist conclusions are universally valid and internationally significant. The laws and trends revealed mainly with the help of the English example, had to appear, sooner or later, in other countries as well. An industrially more developed country, Marx pointed out, presents a less developed picture of its future (see Marx and Engels, *op cit*, Vol 23, pp 6, 9).

The 1861 reform "granted" by czarist autocracy accelerated the capitalist development of the country. However, the prospects for socioeconomic change were quite unclear even to those who were quite sincerely concerned with the needs of the people and were ready to make any personal sacrifices in the struggle against the ruling regime and who also possessed extensive erudition and a sharp mind.

For example, there were extensive debates on the role of the rural community. To many it represented not only a specific institution in Russian

life, but a foundation for the establishment of socialist relations, by-passing the "ulcer of the proletariat," which was considered an inevitable ill afflicting Western Europe only. Naturally, in the course of such debates the people turned to "Das Kapital." On 16 February 1881 Vera Zasulich, the famous revolutionary, wrote to Marx from Geneva that, "You must know that your 'Das Kapital' enjoys great popularity in Russia. Despite the confiscation of the work, the small number of surviving copies is being read and reread by the bulk of more-or-less educated people in our country, and studied by the serious people. However, what you probably do not know is the role which your 'Das Kapital' plays in our discussions of the agrarian problem in Russia and on our rural community. Better than anyone else you know how important and topical this problem is in Russia. You know what Chernyshevskiy thought about it In my view, this is a problem of life or death, particularly to our socialist party" ("K. Marks, F. Engel's i Revolyutsionnaya Rossiya" [K. Marx and F. Engels and Revolutionary Russia], Politizdat, Moscow, 1967, p 434). The "socialist party" referred to in the letter, i.e., the populist intelligentsia, as we can see, was sincerely and profoundly interested in "Das Kapital." However, it neither saw nor could acknowledge the fact that Russia had irreversibly entered the path of capitalist development.

Here is yet another documentary proof. On 25 July 1880 M. K. Corbunova, who taught classes in "most ordinary vocational schools for girls," and who corresponded with Engels, wrote to him the following: "I will also ask you to please tell Mr Marx his work "Das Kapital" is widespread in Russia, not only among scientists but, above all, among those who are showing any sort of interest in the social sciences and the situation of the people; "Das Kapital" is read by many teachers, i.e., by those among them who take their profession seriously. However, the more "Das Kapital" is read, and the more the readers and the young people master the principles it contains, the worse the reputation the work acquires among prosecutors and investigative judges. . . . To us this is a precious book and a profoundly respected teacher" (ibid, pp 407, 410-411). This offers a valuable and curious proof: the proletariat in factories and plants was in its inchoate period of formation. There was no mass workers movement. However, the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat developed abroad met with a response in Russia and was accepted, one way or the other, by the searching intelligentsia in its oppositionary feelings. This is quite important because it was within its midst that people who were not indifferent to the difficulties of the working class and who, somewhat later, fructified its struggle through Marxist theory brought from the outside, were being raised.

L. N. Tolstoy probably referred to "Das Kapital" frequently. His private library contained both the German and Russian editions of the first volume. In 1895 he admitted that, "I attentively read 'Das Kapital,' . . . and am ready to take a test on the subject." Somewhat later he read works related to "Das Kapital": "Marx' Economic Theory," by L. Slonimskiy, and "King Hunger (Economic Essays)" by A. N. Bakh. He made numerous notes on the

margins of "Das Kapital," as well as in the other works. A draft of the article "Slavery in Our Time," written by Tolstoy in 1889-1890 contains excerpts from "Das Kapital." The title of one of the sketches may be virtually borrowed from "Das Kapital": "The Most Inexpensive Commodity."

As we know, this classic of world literature who presented us with imperishable artistic values was quite distant from Marxism, and even his familiarity with "Das Kapital" did not bring him any closer to adopting the objectives and meaning of the labor movement, or understanding the Russian revolution, which is objectively mirrored. However, as a brilliant painter of human characters, clearly seeing the baseness of czarist autocracy, he exposed the exploiting system with the greatest possible indignation and mercilessly criticized capitalism. Despite all the shortcomings of his outlook, Tolstoy's unquestionable merit is the "full exposure of the contradictions between the growth of wealth and the achievements of civilization and the growth of poverty" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 17, p 209).

The initial translations of "Das Kapital" in Russian made during the lifetime of Marx and Engels, and the first popular publications of "Das Kapital," were major phenomena in the history of world socialism and in the theoretical preparations for the organization of a revolutionary party of the Russian proletariat.

The publication of the first volume was preceded by an intensive discussion of the problems raised in "Das Kapital" in journal and newspaper articles, references to the German edition in specialized economic studies and, naturally, the numerous responses of the reading public.

For example, the following fact borrowed from the autobiography of K. A. Timiryazev is quite curious. ". . . I was probably among the first in Russia," he wrote, "to become acquainted with 'Das Kapital.' In the summer of 1867, on my trip back from Siberia, where I was conducting experiments based on D. I. Mendeleev's plan, I went to visit P. A. Il'yenkov at the recently opened Petrovskaya Academy (today the Moscow Agricultural Academy imeni Timiryazev--the author). I found P. A. Il'yenkov in his office-library, behind his desk: in front of him was a thick freshly published German book . . . Marx' 'Das Kapital.' Since it had been published at the end of 1867, obviously, this was one of the first copies to fall into Russian hands. Immediately, with admiration and his typical skill, Pavel Antonovich delivered to me just about an entire lecture on what he had already managed to read. . . . Only several weeks after the publication of 'Das Kapital,' a chemistry professor at the recently opened Petrovskaya Academy was already one of the first disseminators of the ideas of Marx in Russia" (K. A. Timiryazev, "Izbrannyye Sochineniya" [Selected Works], Vol 2, Moscow, 1957, p 266).

The idea of publishing a Russian translation of "Das Kapital" arose among the revolutionary youth of Petersburg, rallied around G. A. Lopatin, a rather unusual person, alumni of the natural sciences faculty of Petersburg

University, soon after the publication of the first German edition. Lopatin made an exceptional impression on anyone he met. G. I. Uspenskiy intended to create Lopatin's life in the novel "A Daring Fine Young Fellow." "The novel I am writing," he said, "is an autobiography. Not my own but something resembling that of Lopatin. How much he has seen in his time! He roamed from the position of a guberniya official to a stockade in the Caucasus; from the Caucasus to Italy, and straight to the battle of Manton, to Herzen and subsequently for three years in Siberia and then to the Angara, along which he sailed 1,000 versts, then to Shenkursk, London, Zurich and Paris. He has seen everyone and everything. His life is a poem. He has mastered three languages to perfection. He knows how to talk to a member of parliament, a police officer, a muzhik . . . while at the same time he could rise to the lectern in a minute and deliver a very interesting lecture. An amazing character" (BYLOYE, No 10 (22), 1907, p 45).

Lopatin's circle included N. F. Daniyel'son, who worked for the Mutual Credit Company, M. F. Negreskul (P. L. Lavrov's son in law), N. N. Lyubavin who was to become professor of chemistry at Moscow University, and I. I. Bilibin, who later became a famous publisher.

In the summer of 1870 Lopatin went to London to discuss with Marx the translation of "Das Kapital" into Russian. He was welcomed by Marx and his family with great hospitality. Subsequently, he described the event as follows: "I cannot say that Marx welcomed me courteously, for this would be saying too little. His behavior was more warm than courtly. His wife told me that she would consider herself hurt should I take a hotel room in London . . ." ("Russkiye Sovremenniki o K. Markse i F. Engel'se" [Russian Contemporaries of K. Marx and F. Engels], Politizdat, Moscow, 1969, p 130).

On the translation itself Lopatin says the following: "Considering my remarks on the difficulty for the public at large to understand the first chapter and the appendix, Marx suggested that I begin my translation with the second chapter, promising that by the time I finished my translation he would combine the first chapter and the appendix, thus making it more generally understandable. After translating about one-third of the book, the second and third chapters in particular, and, if I remember, beginning the fourth, I interrupted my work for a while for a trip to Siberia with a view to releasing Chernyshevskiy . . . and I found myself spending a long stretch in the Irkutsk stockade. It was then that Daniyel'son, my university fellow worker and lifelong friend, undertook to complete my translation, carefully adopting my terminology. However, it was precisely as a result of lack of personal familiarity with Marx and the then difficulty of corresponding with him, and as a result of his desire to acquaint the Russian public with his work as soon as possible, that Daniyel'son was forced to release the first volume of 'Das Kapital' in its original aspect. The first chapter and the appendix were translated not by me but by yet another comrade whom I shall not name. . . ." (ibid, pp 53-54).

N. F. Daniyel'son translated part of the fourth chapter and the entire fifth and sixth chapters. The "third comrade" was N. N. Lyubavin. While working on the translation he lived in Berlin and it was through him that letters and book shipments traveled from Daniyel'son, in Petersburg, to Marx, in London.

For the sake of clarity, let us point out here that the 1867 German edition from which the translation was made had the following structure: preface; chapter one, "Commodity and Money"; chapter two, "Conversion of Money into Capital"; chapter three, "Production of Absolute Added Value"; chapter four, "Production of Relative Added Value"; chapter five, "Further Study of the Production of Absolute and Relative Added Value"; chapter six, "Process of Capital Accumulation"; and the appendix to chapter one, "Form of Value."

The most important work on the translation of the first volume was done by Lopatin, who was no more than 25 years old at the time. He knew German and other languages well and had excellent theoretical training. His close acquaintanceship with Marx and Marx' advice and explanations played an important role. Marx highly valued his young Russian friend. "He has a very clear critical mind," he wrote. "He has a happy character, he is patient and resilient like a Russian peasant . . ." (Marx and Engels, op cit, Vol 32, p 430).

K. Marx decided to revise chapter one especially for the Russian edition, and combine it with the appendix entitled "Form of Value." However, his extensive involvement with the General Council of the International, and poor health prevented him from doing so. Only relatively minor changes were made (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit, Vol 33, pp 266-267). A number of corrections and additions, part of which are related to the content of the work, were obviously made after his talk with Lopatin.

Few were the people among those who tested their strength in such a delicate matter as the translation of "Das Kapital" could cope with the difficult task of translating into a different language Marx' thoughts and style. In 1869 M. A. Bakunin failed totally. The translation of "Das Kapital" into English, undertaken by the leader of the English Social Democratic Federation H. Haindman (J. Broadhaus) became quite an embarrassment. The translation was so poor that Engels was forced to write the sharply critical article entitled "How Not to Translate Marx" (Marx and Engels, op cit, Vol 21, pp 237-245).

While giving Lopatin, Daniyel'son and Lyubavin their due, we must point out that they performed a pioneering role: the practice of translating foreign scientific publications was insufficiently developed in Russia; the Russian language had no Marxist political-economic terminology. Let us also take into consideration the difficulty of properly understanding and presenting all the nuance of "Das Kapital." Inordinate ability and profound knowledge were needed. The art and erudition of the three young Russian people are truly worthy of admiration. All in all, they successfully surmounted the

language barriers and in most cases found adequate words and expressions to present Marx' thoughts and reproduce in Russian texts written by other authors (from ancient to most modern times) cited in "Das Kapital."

It was precisely since then that basic terms and concepts, such as "added value," "added labor," "added product," "capitalist production method," "consumer value," "exchange value," "form of value," "value," "productive force of labor," "wage," "value forming process," "primary accumulation," "form of manifestation," and many others were put into scientific circulation. These terms are universal in our science. It would be inconceivable to imagine today the use of any other terms which would describe the respective concept with such precision and clarity. The creation of the Russian terminology for "Das Kapital" is a major accomplishment of our economic science.

Marx and Engels referred to this translation with a great deal of praise. In his 23 May 1872 letter to F. Sorga, Marx wrote that, "An excellent Russian translation has been published in Petersburg" (Marx and Engels, op cit, Vol 33, p 395). Reporting to J. Becker on 14 June 1872 the appearance of the Russian translation, Engels rated it as follows: ". . . It is very good" (ibid, p 418). Somewhat later, on 21 June 1872, in his letter to F. Sorga, Marx noted, yet once again, that the Russian translation of the book has been "masterly done" (ibid, p 414).

K. Marx "ascribed tremendous importance to the then existing movement in Russia," we read in the memoirs of the German worker F. Lessner. "He spoke of its members with great respect, as people suffering great sacrifices for the sake of the study and dissemination of theoretical works and understanding the contemporary ideas. When a completed copy of 'Das Kapital' in Russian finally reached him, sent from Petersburg, this event became noteworthy and considered a real triumph Marx, his family, and friends" ("Vospominaniya o Markse i Engel'se" [Recollections on Marx and Engels], Moscow, 1956, p 168). Marx, Lenin was to write later, "was exultant on the success of "Das Kapital" in Russia" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 15, p 247).

The first foreign edition of the second and third volumes of "Das Kapital" were also Russian, translated by N. F. Daniyel'son. Both were published in the fresh steps of the German originals edited by Engels. Daniyel'son made his translation from the proofs and finished copy supplied by Engels. The first Russian edition of the second volume came out in January 1886 (the German came out in 1885 and Engels' preface to it was dated 5 May 1885--Marx' birthday); the first Russian edition of the third volume came out in 1896 (the German came out in 1894) (see "Prizhiznennyye Izdaniya i Publikatsii Proizvedeniy K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa" [Editions and Publications of the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels in Their Lifetime], Vol II, Moscow, 1977, pp 65, 68-69).

Lenin and the activities of the great Leninist party are related to a new outstanding vivid page in the history of "Das Kapital." Lenin undertook

the study of "Das Kapital" at the age of 18 and soon became its greatest expert and propagandist. I. V. Babushkin, member of the "Alliance for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class," describes in his memoirs Vladimir Il'ich's skill in explaining to the simple workers the ideas in "Das Kapital": "Classes were held in my room. . . . The circle consisted of six members and a lecturer and classes were given on political economy according to Marx. The lecturer explained to us this science orally, with no notes whatever, frequently trying to promote objections or the desire for an argument, at which point he became provocative, forcing someone to prove to someone else the accuracy of his viewpoint on the given problem. Thus, our lectures were quite lively. . . . This teaching method was the best means for explaining the problem to the audience. All of us were quite pleased with these lectures and always admired the mind of our lecturer. . . ." ("Vospominaniya I. V. Babushkina. 1893-1900 gg." [The Memoirs of I. V. Babushkin. 1893-1900], Moscow, 1951, pp 55-56).

Subsequently, Lenin's talent as a lecturer was to be universally admired by the students attending party courses. As we know, most of their curriculum dealt with problems of political economy and with, above all, "Das Kapital."

Lenin's works prove his amazingly profound understanding of this work. They reflect a thorough knowledge of "Das Kapital," a mastery of the Marxist method, the skillful use of one or another theoretical concept in the study of specific reality and, actually, the development of the ideas of Marxism and its enrichment with new conclusions.

V. I. Lenin defended "Das Kapital" from frontal bourgeois attacks, intensified on the eve of the general crisis of capitalism, and from refined opportunistic attempts to revise it. At the same time, he gave an object lesson of not dogmatic, but truly creative mastery of "Das Kapital" and of other works by Marx and Engels. He developed their doctrine and the theory of dialectical materialism and Marxist political economy in width and in depth.

Lenin's general views on "Das Kapital" are noteworthy. In his work "Who Are the 'Friends of the People' and How They Fight the Social Democrats?" he pointed out that we find in "Das Kapital" a most detailed analysis of the laws governing the functioning of the capitalist socioeconomic system. Marx showed the origin and development of capitalism, the market organization of the public economy, its conversion into a capitalist economy, the formation of antagonistic classes, and the development of contradictions within social labor. Even though "Das Kapital" is based on a consideration of production relations, here Marx traces the nature of the superstructure corresponding to bourgeois production relations. "The reason for the tremendous success enjoyed by 'Das Kapital' is that this book by a 'German economist' depicted the living capitalist social system, with its day to day sides, factual social manifestations of class antagonisms inherent in production relations, bourgeois political superstructure which protects the

domination of the capitalist class, the bourgeois ideas of freedom, equality, and so on, and bourgeois family relations" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 1, p 199).

In his works Lenin cited "Das Kapital" both in its Russian translation and, frequently, his own translation from the German. Furthermore, the initial plan called for Lenin's editing the third Russian edition of the second volume (in 1907). However, Vladimir Il'ich was unable to carry out this project. He was able to edit only the first chapter, "Monetary Capital Circulation."

History refuted the stupid "prophecy" of the czarist censor who stated, in connection with the publication of the first Russian edition of the first volume of "Das Kapital," that "few people would read the book in Russia and even fewer would understand it" ("Letopisi Marksizma," I (XI), Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p 69).

One Voltaire remarked on the subject of his own philosophy of enlightenment that, "This is not for tailors or shoemakers." "Das Kapital," however, was aimed precisely at the working people. It found its proper recipients. "On the continent," Engels wrote in 1886, "'Das Kapital' is frequently described as the 'bible of the working class.' No one among those familiar the labor movement would start denying that the conclusions found in 'Das Kapital' are becoming, with every passing day, and to an ever greater extent, the basic principles governing the great movement of the working class. . . . The working class everywhere is accepting these conclusions as the most accurate expression of its situation and expectations" (Marx and Engels, op cit, Vol 23, p 33).

With Red Flag of Marxism-Leninism flying, the working class, initially in Russia and, subsequently, in a number of other countries, crushed once and for all the political and economic domination of the bourgeoisie. A profound cultural revolution was made in the course of the great building of the new society. "From a three-quarter illiterate country," Comrade I. I. Brezhnev noted, "the USSR became a country where three-quarters of the working people are with higher and secondary education, a country where more books are read than anywhere else in the world, and where theater, concert, museum, and exhibit attendance is higher than in any other country."

After October 1917 "Das Kapital" has been repeatedly reissued in our country in Russian and in the languages of the peoples of the USSR--Ukrainian, Belorussian, Armenian, Georgian, Lithuanian, and others. These editions number millions of copies. Let us note that before the October Revolution there was no translation other than in Russian of "Das Kapital" in Russia. Only individual sections of the first volume had been translated into the Ukrainian by Ivan Franko.

In the young Soviet republic the collection, publication, and study of the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics became a most important governmental

and party matter. By decision of the CC RKP(b) Orgburo, dated 11 January 1921, a special institution was created for this purpose in Moscow: the F. Marx and F. Engels Institute (today the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). Lenin watched over its first steps and, in a number of notes to the Institute's management, earmarked the immediate program for its activities. In particular, he requested that attempts be made to purchase from the German social democrats letters written by Marx and Engels or copies of them, and to collect "everything published by Marx and Engels." He was interested in cataloging what had already been collected in Moscow (see Lenin, *op cit*, Vol 52, p 64).

Within a short time the institute did a great deal of work in this direction and soon became a major scientific center of international significance.

The collection of reserved manuscript drafts of "Das Kapital" by the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism is tremendous historical luck. The first publication of these pearls of scientific communism took place, again, in the Soviet Union. They include the "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," "Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1859" (the first extensive draft of "Das Kapital," written by Marx mainly for purposes of clarifying problems for his own use), the "Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863" (the second expanded draft of "Das Kapital" and of the "Theory of Added Value"), and drafts of the second volume not processed by Engels. These manuscripts are distinguished by their exceptional wealth and, one could say, universality of content. They show the most important landmarks of the history of "Das Kapital," and of the shaping and development of Marx' economic theory. Their publication had a tremendous impact on the entire Soviet and worldwide progressive social science. Contemporary scientific thought gained new impetus and basic ideas on problems of the theory of liberated labor, real humanism and man, theory of systems and systems analysis, theory of socioeconomic systems, specific and universal economic laws, and conversion of science into a direct productive force. Thanks to the publication of Marx' rough drafts and preliminary texts, his main work proved to be an even greater and grandiose work of a genius.

5003

CSO: 1802

FEAT OF A COMMUNIST WRITER

Moscow KOL. UNIST in Russian No 7, May 60 pp 110-121

[Article by I. Bondarenko, first secretary of the Rostovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee]

[Text] Honoring the anniversary of a writer is a holiday not only for the writer himself but for millions of his grateful readers both at home and far beyond its borders.

Few writers on earth have been so generously awarded the recognition of the people as Mikhail Alekaandrovich Sholokhov, whose 75th birthday is celebrated by the Soviet people and his numerous admirers abroad.

In this month of May let us express our warm love, respect and gratitude to a person with a great communist heart, high civic-mindedness and extremely rare artistic talent, a patriot-fighter.

To us, who live on the Don it is particularly pleasing to be aware of the fact that the life of Mikhail Sholokhov cannot be separated from the Don area. His first steps were taken on Don soil. His first bread was the Don cossack cottage loaf. Therefore it was no accident that the then very young writer entitled his first works "Donskiye Rasskazy" [Don Stories].

Comparing the distance covered by the writer in three-quarters of a century with the spiritual wealth he has personally contributed to domestic and world literature, we can describe his life as an exploit with full justification.

The word "exploit" in the Russian language has a number of meanings. Its initial--military--origin was the basis for the most praiseworthy description of activities for the good of mankind. We speak of revolutionary, labor, scientific, and moral exploits. . . . Unquestionably, we would not sin against the truth by ascribing all these definitions to the works of M. A. Sholokhov, the communist writer, academician, people's deputy, and loyal son of the socialist fatherland.

What predetermined the heroic nature of this great and amazing life from the very beginning, long before universal recognition, high literary prizes and government award and awarding Sholokhov the title of Hero of Socialist Labor?

One of the major prerequisites for the writer's success is the artist's life and creative stance. It dictates both the means for the study of reality and the selection of material, the direction in which his talent develops, and the most complex conceptual aspects of his work.

In the stormy and very difficult days in the young world in the 1920's, the beginning writer Mikhail Sholokhov assumed the position of a fighter for a new life of his native area, and the cause of Lenin, the party, and the people faultless, and unhesitatingly. The very time when the old way of life was being broken down abounded in tremendous factual data which required the involved, the passionate creative mastery. It was saturated with the drama of the clashes between different views and faiths and electrified by the class struggle--severe, fierce and uncompromising. This difficult yet uniquely beautiful time was fully consistent with Sholokhov's talent, which developed early, when Sholokhov, as youngster, actively joined the struggle against the enemies of the revolution. A machine gunner in a supply detachment, he drew from the crucible of the class battles not only the intent of his works, which equals the soul, but the warm heart of a loyal son of the young Soviet republic, a sharp party vision, separate will and the fearlessness of the fighter.

That is how the stance of the citizen and the artist was formed, determining the strict class approach to complex historical events whose brilliant reproduction placed forever in world literature, side by side with Sholokhov's name, the name of his native beloved river--the Don.

The over 40-year-old history of Soviet literature proved that life alone, reality, equips the writer with the ideas and characters for long-term action. It is as though it charges the writer, inspiring him to create rich and vivid works, needed by the people. Life alone, in its entire wealth and dialectical conflicts could be the source of outstanding works such as "Zheleznyy Potok" [Iron Stream] by A. Serafimovich, "Chapayev" by D. Furmanov, "Kak Zakalyalas' Stal'" [How the Steel Was Tempered] by N. Ostrovskiy, "Razгром" [Defeat] by A. Fedayev, "Lyubov' Izzyvaya" by K. Trenyev, and others. Justifiably, leading among them is Sholokhov's "Tikhyy Don" [And Quiet Flows the Don].

This historical epic records the storms of the civil war with such power, depth, and expressiveness that it would be difficult even to imagine a person whose mind and heart would be familiar with the heroic past of the homeland without reading this splendid work.

Explaining the nature of Mikhail Sholokhov's realistic writing, and the mastery of his artistic truth, the well-known Soviet poet Nikolay Semenovich Tikhonov wrote: "We see in Sholokhov's pages the most tragic

conflicts, the most confused contradictions, and the most unique passions and complexities which occasionally can be resolved only through death, self-destruction. However, the triumphant future, like the historical great truth, stands above this human tragedy. The bright meaning of this victory over the past cannot be darkened by any doubts."

The extent of artistic accuracy of "Tikhly Don" became a truly classical model. The special position which this outstanding work holds in the treasury of world epics has been secured by the fact alone that Sholokhov considered raw and merciless truth of historical events which determined the fates of Grigoriy Melekhov, Aksin'ya Astakhova, and dozens of other characters in the novel, from the class viewpoint, and from clearcut party positions.

Rereading the novel, admiring the powerful talent and penetrating mastery of the author, as the years go by we think more and more of what an irreplaceable school for the development of a class approach to the evaluation of facts and phenomena in reality the novel is!

In one of his early works, "The Economic Content of Populism and Its Criticism in the Book by Mr Struve," V. I. Lenin wrote about party-mindedness which makes it necessary "with any assessment of events to frankly and openly take the viewpoint of specific social group" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 1, p 419). Developing this concept in another work, "What Kind of Legacy We Reject?" Vladimir Il'ich emphasized that "no single man alive could fail to take the side of one or another class (having understood their interrelationships), fail to be pleased with the successes of a given class, fail to be saddened by its failures, fail to be against those who are hostile to this class and against those who hinder its development through the dissemination of obsolete v *rs*, and so on, and so forth" (ibid, Vol 2, pp 547-548).

Having adopted at an early age the wisdom of the Leninist principles of party mindedness and nationality of literature, with his characteristic power of persuasion Mikhail Sholokhov embodied them in his creative practice, considering them basic to the development of the country's literary life. "I want," the writer said from the rostrum of the 22d CPSU Congress, "for the writer's blood to be hot when he writes. I want his face to turn white from contained hatred for the enemy when he writes about the enemy, and for the writer to laugh and cry alongside the character he loves and cherishes. Only thus could a true work of art be created, rather than a forgery."

The truth of life must not be belittled either by idealizing reality or deliberately overemphasizing its seamy sides. The strict duplication of surroundings does not contain sufficient possibilities for describing the truth of life in its completeness. Inevitably, the result is either a superficially facile description or a gray, excessively poor and one-sided picture of the real world. What is needed is the intensive search for the

truth, which must be found in the thick of the people's life. How to search, what path to choose are indicated to the writer, the artist, by his civic consciousness, ideological purposefulness and party-mindedness.

The unity between ideological and aesthetic principles, attitude toward life, and toward creative attention; and views on the purpose of literature, typical of Mikhail Sholokhov, are an example of the true party position which determines, above all, the true fight of artistic perfection.

The author's uncompromising class approach to the facts of the history of the civil war and the fate of the people, the complex events in their lives on the great separating two ages, determined the unique place of the novel "Tikhii Don" in the literature of our century: In terms of the depth of penetration into stormy and multilayered processes of the time recorded in this work, this book has no equal according to Soviet and many foreign researchers.

The very fact of the victorious march of "Tikhii Don" through countries and continents, as convincingly described in the book by Soviet literary expert K. I. Priyama "Tikhii Don' Srashayetaya" ["Tikhii Don" Is Fighting] refuted both bourgeois-objectivistic as well as vulgar-sociological one-sided interpretations which tried to damage the ideological-political aspect of the novel and impoverish its universal significance.

While sympathizing with Grigoriy Melekhov, a person with a rich personality, purposeful in his love for the land and the work, yet mistaken, burdened by Cossack class prejudices, the writer emphasizes the historical truthfulness of the true fighters for the people's cause--Podtelkov, Krivosheynov, Kotlyarov and Shtokman. The main aspect of the full power of Sholokhov's talent, which had developed in the 1930's, in his work on "Tikhii Don" and "Podnyataya Tsolina" [Virgin Land Upturned] were the openly proclaimed party-mindedness, the Bolshevik truth of history, and the clear and systematically implemented program for the social reorganization of life, despite all misfortunes and obstacles.

Recalling the hard and beautiful days of the struggle for Virgin Land grain, filled with civic courage and labor heroism, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev wrote: "At that time I dreamed for the Virgin Land epic eventually to be depicted in works of art of the same power and depth as was the civil war in 'Tikhii Don' and collectivization in 'Podnyataya Tsolina.'"

The high party appreciation of Sholokhov's books is due not only to their profound content and perfect artistic form--the end result of the writer's work--but the very process, the nature of the work of an outstanding contemporary artist.

We, party workers, consider instructive the noble example of serving the interests of the people, the party, and the homeland which Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov, his life, his work, and his deep and active ties with his native land are to every writer.

Knowledge of social reality in its entire wealth, complexity and scope of our constructive work, progress and contradictions, is, unquestionably, exceptionally important to any writer. In itself, however, this does not as yet guarantee the reaching of the heights which the example of Sholokhov the novelist has always indicated. The live, direct interaction between the artist and life, readiness to operatively answer life's call and to postpone, perhaps, an unfinished major canvas for the sake of the effective writer's plunge into the active and sharply topical processes of immediate reality are necessary, as was the case with the first part of "Podnyataya Tselina."

The spiritual amalgamation of the writer with the masses and the artistic penetration into the daily life of the people, their interests and their problems is what determines the link between literature and the people's life.

Whereas the writing of the "Tikhii Don" epic presumed the assimilation of a tremendous volume of historical data and their interpretation from a 15 to 20 distance, the writing of "Podnyataya Tselina" followed the hot steps of events, when the semi-centennial history of kolkhoz building was taking its very first steps. Naturally, the writer who shows such a new topic, as was the case then, at the beginning of the 1930's, of agricultural collectivization, did not have at his disposal the works of historians, files, museum exhibits, or recollections of contemporaries. Both literally and metaphorically, Mikhail Sholokhov faced a virgin land yet to be upturned.

The party-mindedness of the direct penetration of the writer into reality was the adamantly requirement of the time, a powerful call of the new world--socialism which had been born and was gathering strength. This call was followed by the writers F. Gladkov, V. Katayev, N. Lyashko, and Yu. Libedinskiy, and our fellow-countrymen A. Bueygin, V. Kirshon, V. Stavskiy, and many others.

Mikhail Sholokhov answered the imperative of the time with a striking energy, speed, skill and innovativeness. Yes, innovativeness precisely, for at that time both critics and readers had developed the firm opinion that he was the singer of the cossack area of civil war times, and the war painter and psychologist recording human conflicts under the conditions of openly confronting forces.

Yet, suddenly, there appeared in the eyes of the mass readership, literally under the eyes of quite recently overwhelmed by the first parts of "Tikhii Don" and, frankly, not entirely justifiably condemning their critics, the Gremyachiy Log Village which saw in the winter thaw of 1930 the arrival of Semen Davydov, one of the 25,000 workers from Petersburg, and White Guards officer Aleksandr Polovtsev. The former arrived to head the established kolkhoz and, implementing the behests of the great Lenin, lead to a new life the Gremyachenskoye grain growers. The latter's purpose was to sow confusion, set up a terrorist gang, and lead an uprising against the

kolkhoz system and the Soviet regime. . . . It might have seemed that Davydov's inevitable victory and Polovtsev's doom were clearly sealed. Yet, how complex this road turned out to be, and what efforts, struggle, and sacrifices the birth of the Gremyachenskoye Kolkhoz was to require!

"I did not have to gather material, for it was handy," M. A. Sholokhov said at a meeting with two authors in Rostov-on-Donu in 1934. "I did not gather it but grabbed it by the armful. Stay in a kolkhoz a month and the people will line up to see you. . . ."

Naturally, these smiling warm words were backed by a tremendous amount of work. The work was not purely literary. Shoulder to shoulder with the party members of Veshenskiy Rayon, and with the first kolkhoz leaders and rank-and-file farmers, Mikhail Sholokhov marched, as A. Kalinin was later to say, "along along the furrows of 'Virgin Land Upturned.'" Essentially, this was party work, purposeful activity aimed at providing ideological support for the revolutionary creativity of the masses. The man who had presented the world with the most outstanding book on collectivization along the Don was on the front of kolkhoz construction as a fighter and political worker.

It was there, in the ardent days of the newly developing kolkhoz countryside, that the author crystalized the beautiful characters of the rural party members Semen Davydov, Makar Nagul'nov, Andrey Razmetnov, and the new party member Kondrat Maydannikov. The colorful image of Father Shchukar' and the modest charm of Varyukha-Goryukha came to the writer from reality, to become an inseparable part of the spiritual world of each one of us, the grateful readers of "Podnyataya Tselina."

We have known this outstanding novel from our student days. However, every time, opening any one of its pages, once again we experience the drama of the struggle for a kolkhoz system. We breathe the atmosphere of the most profound loyalty of the party members to their duty. We become imbued with a feeling of civic responsibility for the preservation and multiplication of the traditions of the kolkhoz village, and for everything which the senior generation of the toilers of the native land gave at the irreplaceable cost of their labor sweat and blood. Had the characters of "Podnyataya Tselina" been able to look at the present of the Don village from their hard yet so beautiful past, they would see the tremendous and striking changes which have taken place in the steppe area under the Soviet system.

There is a scene in the novel in which, with tremendous stress, working from dawn to dark, Semen Davydov manages to plow a desyatina of land. At that time this was indeed a great deal. Yet, how immeasurably have increased today the technical facilities available to the rural workers. Once Lenin dreamed of 100,000 tractors for the entire country. Today the tractor fleet in the farms of Rostovskaya Oblast alone numbers about 50,000 tractors. Over 20,000 highly productive Niva and Kolos combines, about

20,000 trucks, and a great deal of other equipment are working the kolkhoz and sovkhos fields. Today 145 Rostov enterprises are engaged in the production of machinery and equipment for the countryside. Animal husbandry is being converted to industrial methods ever more intensively. Our oblast has 41 big animal husbandry complexes. Here all production processes have been mechanized, as a result of which labor productivity has risen by a factor of 30. Areas in crops have virtually doubled compared with the pre-revolutionary period. Following the completion of the Volga-Don Canal imeni V. I. Lenin, irrigated farming has been developing ever more extensively. The oblast has over 640 kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Progressive farming methods, reclamation, chemization and high farming standards are enabling today's descendants of the characters of "Podnyataya Tselina" to harvest stable grain, vegetable and potato crops.

The scale of the changes in agriculture is shown by the following fact as well: compared with 1940 the value of productive capital for agricultural purposes owned by the oblast kolkhozes and sovkhoses has increased by a factor of 50.

We think of all this when we turn to Sholokhov's outstanding work which could be described, with full justification, as a textbook for the re-organization of life on a new, socialist basis.

The party stance of the writer, his powerful talent, and his inseparable unity with the destinies of the people, in both peacetime and the stormy days of war, justifiably predetermine his leading position in Soviet and world literature. How great is our excitement when we read today documents on his immediate participation in party life in his native Veshenskiy Rayon!

Opened in front of us is the 25 April 1936 issue of BOL'SHEVISTSKIY DON, the Veshenskiy Rayon newspaper. There is a brief news item to the effect that the exchange of party documents began on 21 April. "The proletarian writer Mikhail Sholokhov, member of the primary party organization of the editorial board of BOL'SHEVISTSKIY DON was issued party card No 0981052. In a talk with Sholokhov prior to presenting him with a new party card, Comrade Iugovoy, rayon party committee secretary, noted Sholokhov's active work as member of the Veshenskiy Rayon party organization and member of the rayon VKP(b) bureau and rayon executive committee. . . . Accepting the party card, Sholokhov told the secretary that he will carry high the title of member of the communist party."

Here is another document for 1975, when the 70th anniversary of the birth of the famous writer, Hero of Socialist Labor, Laureate of the Lenin and State Prizes and of the Nobel Prize, continuous USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and member of the CPSU Central Committee and of our Rostovskaya Oblast Party Committee, was celebrated in Veshenskaya Stanitsa. I remember quite clearly his statement which was then included in all news of the anniversary: "It is twice as pleasant to see here the secretaries of rayon party

committees of our Rostovskaya Oblast. You can well understand why. I have been a party member for 45 of my 70 years and for 43 years I have kept in touch with the rayon workers, the heads of veshenakiy Rayon. The rayon party members are people close to me. I have shared with them the joys and difficulties of the hard 1940's. I grew up and matured as a party member with them. I learned from them and I helped them to master the riches of our native culture. In a word, our ties are long and deep. Forty-five years is a long time."

Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov's life and creative stance is to be always with the party and the people, and always in the front line of the struggle for communism. It was the same during those unforgettable hard years, when the very term "stance" was most frequently used in its original meaning, while the words "front line" were linked in the minds of the Soviet people with the front line of the Great Patriotic War.

Virtually all Soviet and foreign printed matter on the history of World War II and the anniversary of the great victory over fascism include a 1941 photograph of PRAVDA war correspondents Mikhail Sholokhov, Aleksandr Fadeyev, and Yevgeniy Petrov, on the firing positions of an artillery sub-unit on the western front. At that time, in their forage caps and blouses with their tab insignia there was nothing to distinguish them from regimental and battalion commissars, political workers, or organizers of front party life. Yet, they were better armed: in addition to their regulation TT-model pistol, they were armed with a pen, like with a bayonet. . . .

"In the Great Patriotic War we reacted to topical subjects quite rapidly. Reality demanded this. At that time I too wrote rapidly," Mikhail Aleksandrovich said at an evening ceremony celebrating the 25th anniversary of his literary activities, in 1966. The war had ended, but the main work of the writer about the war lay ahead.

However, even in those quickly written essays, sketches, correspondences, and journalistic articles printed during the war in PRAVDA, Sholokhov remained Sholokhov: The writer-patriot, party member, the exacting master of the word, sensitively reacting to the demands of the time, the spokesman for the people's courage and anger. The writer's operative writings such as "On the Don," "In the Cossack Kolkhozes," "Toward Smolensk," "Red Army People," and "South," are imbued with patriotic feelings--optimism, and profound faith in the victory of our just cause. In his correspondences from the front such as "Vileness" and "Prisoners of War," and in the story "The Science of Hatred," Mikhail Sholokhov condemned fascism most irreconcilably, exposes its beastly face, calls for the elimination of this scum and for expelling the invaders from the native land and for winning a complete and definitive victory over the enemy.

Already then, in the very midst of the war, the writer conceived of and initially developed the idea of the novel "Moi Srazhalis' za Rodinu" [They Fought for the Homeland]. The first time he mentioned this was in a talk

with a representative of the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS) in 1943: "I am currently writing the novel 'Oni Srazhalis' za Rodinu.' I would like to describe in it our people and the sources of their heroism. I know that many of our foreign friends are praising the Soviet writers for their active participation in the Great Patriotic War, writing short articles and essays, promoting hatred in the hearts of the Soviet people both in the rear and on the front. However, there is more to it. I deem it my duty, the duty of a Russian writer, to follow the hot steps of my people in their gigantic struggle against foreign domination and to create a work of art as historically significant as the struggle itself."

It would be impossible to overestimate the ideological-educational effectiveness of the first chapters of the novel published in PRAVDA that same year, in 1943. Taking the battles of single regiment as an example, with captivating force Sholokhov described the high militant spirit, patriotic unity, courage and increased military skill of the soldiers--yesterday's workers and kolkhoz members who withstood the monstrous pressure of the Hitlerite war machine. We see in the way minor Petr Lopakhin became an excellent tank man, the courageous behavior in battle of agronomist Nikolay Strel'tsov, and the involvement of rural mechanizer Ivan Zvyagintsev with the difficult job of the soldier, how the inflexible confidence was born, strengthened and shifted from the book to the heart of the reader that yes, such a people, such an army, such a spiritual power developed in the masses by the communist party will necessarily defeat the sworn enemy.

Sholokhov's words have always played a great mobilizing role. In the trials of the war it was increased by the fact that the characters in his new novel were living, full-bodied individuals taken from the people. They were close to every Soviet soldier and patriot of our socialist fatherland. Everything here worked impeccably for victory: The vivid and energetically described battle scenes, the soldierly occupation of the people accustomed to work, inflexibly confident of the justice of their cause, the painfully familiar steppe landscapes made hazy by the war, and--last but not least--humor, cutting speech, the muzhik jokes and facetiousness during halts, in the quiet between battles, jokes which raised the spirit and helped to surmount hardships and difficulties.

This May we are celebrating the 35th anniversary of our great victory over fascism. The millions of Soviet people resembling the characters of "Oni Srazhalis' za Rodinu," made a truly invaluable contribution to it. The very title of the work is so vast that it encompasses the countless columns of soldiers who turned the nationwide dream of victory into concrete historical reality.

For the past 35 years the peaceful skies over the country, over the Don, over Veshenskaya Stanitsa, where Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov returned after the war, has remained clear. For a long time he continued to wear

his tunic: for him the war had not stopped. It woke him up every morning, as though an alarm signal had sounded, and the quiet writer's office lived with the thunder of recent battles as the new pages of the novel were created.

No, these stern postwar years were not peaceful to the writer. A person of passionate civic temperament, he could not remain indifferent to the urgent affairs of his fellow countrymen. Yet, these affairs were not easy to deal with in the first summer following the victory and, particularly, in the second, droughty summer of 1946. And this world-famous writer, again reelected deputy to the Supreme Soviet organ, plunged into work for the grain, for rebuilding the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and settling the major and minor difficulties of the working people of the rayon and oblast. The party members were in the front ranks of the struggle against the consequences of the war, dislocation, and difficult weather conditions. Party member Sholokhov was with them, helping them with his advice, prestige, and specific actions.

Other matters claimed his attention, far from the Don. The cold war clouds were gathering over the world. The former relations of alliance with our country were being forgotten overseas, along with the straightforward and honest "Letter to the American Friends," in which Sholokhov had stated far-sightedly: "We would like you to take a sober look into the future."

The times demanded new efforts in the struggle for peace and for the prevention of a new catastrophe whose scale could have expanded to a global nuclear conflict. At that time Mikhail Sholokhov considered as a personal matter the energizing of writers and men of culture and the arts for the purpose of exposing the intrigues of the warmongers and for uniting all people of goodwill in the multimillion-strong detachments of supporters of the peace. He took part in the world congress of men of culture for the defense of the peace. He delivered an impassionate speech at the All-Union Conference of Supporters of the Peace. He wrote the impassionate and profound articles "A Word on the Homeland," and "Light and Darkness," and the stern and angry pamphlets "The Executioners Will Not Escape the Judgment of the Nations!" and "On the Very Small Boy Garry and the Big Mr Salisbury," and worked extensively with the Soviet Peace Committee.

The idea of "A Human Fate," a story which overwhelms the reader with the truthful depiction of war as a misfortune for the people and, at the same time, as a manifestation of all physical and moral forces of man countering the inhuman, base and twisted creation of the brown fascist plague, arose in close connection with this work.

The publication of "A Human Fate" in PRAVDA marked the artistic discovery of the topic of the resistance of the Soviet person to the fascist barbarians under unbearable prisoner-of-war conditions. As we know, subsequently a number books of different genres were published, including documentaries, by former inmates of Hitlerite jails and concentration camps. Yet, to this

day hardly anyone would doubt that "A Human Fate" has remained the unsurpassed example of the treatment of this topic in which an ordinary totally undistinguished person, becoming a casualty of the war, violence, stands up in the struggle, rises to a truly heroic level, and is reborn.

It was no accident that this small story, packed with live human meaning, has always drawn the attention of artists. The film of the same name, produced by our fellow countryman, USSR People's Artist Sergey Bondarchuk, became one of the outstanding accomplishments of Soviet cinematography. Illustrations by Soviet illustrators of the numerous editions of Sholokhov's story, including the one published by the Rostov Knizhnoye Izdatel'stvo, could by themselves fill an exhibition. At that time "A Human Fate" was staged at the Rostov Theater imeni Gor'kiy, directed by Honored Worker in the Arts of the RSFSR Yuriy Yeregin on the occasion of the writer's birthday anniversary. All this proves, yet once again, that Sholokhov's works, whether an epic novel or a story, carry within them such a powerful charge as to be able to give life to many works by masters in the various artistic genres.

M. A. Sholokhov has always been attentive toward the people engaged in creative work, beginners in particular. He was very interested in the work of the young collective of the State Ensemble of Don Cossacks. He welcomed the actors in Veshenskaya Stanitsa, studied their program, and gave them a great deal valuable advice. The good instructive words of such a rare expert in the songs and dances of the Don cossacks inspired the creative young people and helped them to improve their concert program, which was successfully presented by the ensemble in Moscow, Siberia, Moldavia and many foreign countries.

Mikhail Aleksandrovich paid just as much attention to the directing of the performance of "Tikhyy Don," staged in Rostov and awarded the RSFSR State Prize. The writer also invited as his guests the actors in the motion picture "They Fought for the Homeland," and many other artists and musicians. However, M. A. Sholokhov displays particularly warm and fatherly concern for writers.

Sholokhov's beneficial influence is constantly felt by our oblast writers' organization which Mikhail Aleksandrovich has described as the "Don literary company." His students Vitaliy Zakrutkin, Anatoliy Kalinin, Petr Lebedenko, and others have become widely known writers. Young creative forces are joining the organization. Their growth is closely followed by our greatest literary instructor. In his meetings with young literary workers M. A. Sholokhov's main topics are responsibility to the time, the party, and the people; high exactingness toward oneself and a principled and uncompromising attitude toward any manifestation of lack of ideals and political indifference.

In 1967, at a meeting in Veshenskaya Stanitsa with young writers from the socialist countries, Mikhail Aleksandrovich most frankly answered the

question of one of its participants as to whether a young literary worker has the right to err. No, he does not, Sholokhov said, for the writer's error will lead to the error of his readers and correcting such an error is not easy.

As in many other cases, one way or another dealing with international literary relations, in this meeting, which took place in a very warm, intimate, and frank atmosphere, a feature such as firm proletarian internationalism, characteristic of the writer in both his life and work, was manifested to its fullest extent.

Sholokhov is particularly sensitive to anything related to strengthening the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Let us recall his outstanding statements on Suleyman Stal'skiy and Mikael Nalbandyan, and his addresses on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet system in the Ukraine and the 300th anniversary of the reunification of the Ukraine with Russia, and his speech at the writers' congresses of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. We shall see Sholokhov the internationalist, a person profoundly interested in rallying all the forces of the multinational socialist culture for the sake of the further spiritual blossoming of the homeland and of the great historical community--the Soviet people.

Noteworthy are the words which he addressed in 1965 to the young mountain girls who had come to Veshenskaya Stanitsa from Dagestan: "Our huge country demands caring, industrious, and intelligent managers. In the civil and patriotic wars millions of leading people died so that you could discuss problems, life, farms, our destinies or, rather, your destinies and your future, in precisely these circumstances, without bombers flying over us. A stiff price was paid for the achievements of the Soviet system. For this reason we must train you as people who could assume the burden of the further running of the country and its incalculable spiritual and material resources."

In these words, as in other of Mikhail Aleksandrovich's written and oral addresses, we see the Sholokhov-style capacious and precise manifestation of the concern of the writer-citizen for the future, the fate of the peace and the country, and the youth taking over from the senior generations to become masters of their land, and defenders and everything bright and life-asserting which the socialist system gives the people.

Concern for man, his harmonious development, development of love for the homeland, work, and nature imbue many of Sholokhov's publicistic writings. To the writer this concern is inseparable from the systematic struggle against the nefarious influence of hostile ideology. The impassionate pen of Sholokhov the publicist, his angry voice, and his high social prestige throughout the world are always aimed at defending the true spiritual values, the true human rights and freedoms, and the greatness of the working people from the encroachments of the apostles and troubadours of

the corrupting mercenary-minded hypocritical bourgeois morality, hypocritically concealing its self-seeking purposes.

Writing is a humane profession. The very fact that people are using their pens and minds to promote the integrity of the world of ideas, images and feelings is a humane, a noble cause. By the very nature of his work, M. A. Sholokhov, who by the very nature of his work is one of the biggest humanists of the age, has described the writer's profession as being "one of the most civic-minded." It is perhaps this unity of two principles that expresses most aptly the essence of the attitude of the writer toward the contemporary world. Here is the way he himself has described the civic-mindedness of the humanism of Soviet literature: "Humanism, love for man and for mankind. . . . How differently different people tend to interpret this concept in accordance with the forces of human society they represent!

"We, the Soviet writers, believe in accordance with our communist convictions that if a murderer, a robber, lays a hand on a victim, the person who is merely sorry for the poor victim and laments the fact that murder exists on earth is not a humanist. A humanist is a person who fights, who helps to deflect the hand of the murder and render his ill will harmless."

Both the word and the action of the writer should be such. No "gap" between them should be allowed. Otherwise, the roots of socialist humanism itself would be pulled out and, with them, the trust of the readers in the words, in the work of the writer. In the CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated with extreme clarity and effectiveness the important idea which was subsequently creatively developed in the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work": "The gap between the word and the action, however it may be manifested, harms economic construction and, particularly, moral upbringing."

Not being a specialist in literature and aesthetics, I shall not undertake to describe the high merits of Sholokhov's style. As a reader, however, who has long known and loved the author, I would like to mention one of them. In my view, an outstanding characteristic of this style is the fact that each of Sholokhov's words is back by a gold stock of deep knowledge, ideological conviction, lofty thoughts, and nobility of feelings. Whatever the topic of his writings or speeches, from a rostrum or simply in conversation, one could be confident that that is precisely the way it is, that nothing has been said "for the sake of saying a pleasant word," and that everything written or voiced is backed up by keen observation, hours of thinking and the great emotion of a warmly involved heart.

I remember the following case: In August 1965 Mikhail Aleksandrovich sent a letter to the editors of PRAVDA expressing his full agreement with a group of Soviet academicians who had condemned the aggressive policies of the then U.S. President Johnson. Recalling the bloody events in Los Angeles, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam, Sholokhov indignantly blamed

the person who held the supreme power in the country, a teacher by training, and the bigotry he sanctioned and engaged in. Here are the final lines of the letter: "In his addresses Mr Johnson frequently mentions God. . . . Well, allow me to exclaim that, 'Wondrous are your deeds, Lord, and inscrutable the ways along which you lead your hypocritical slave Lyndon B. Johnson!'"

This was 15 years ago. Since then the tenants of the White House have changed three times. Yet, Sholokhov's sharp and apt word is still remembered. It is not only remembered but it works, it fights, it is operative. It is not a question of being a "servant of the Lord," but of the hypocrisy with which the man who now occupies the presidential chair calls white black, lays the blame on someone else and, in general, does not shy at anything for the sake of remaining in power until the next leap-year!

Many of the expressions found in M. A. Sholokhov's books, articles, and speeches are so apt, brief and precisely aimed, as to come close to the wise brevity of folk sayings. Is this similarity accidental? Naturally, it is not. Mikhail Aleksandrovich himself, his life, his talent, his creative work, tremendous in both scale and significance, and his comprehensive social activities are the embodiment of nationality as a unity of all qualities and features of an outstanding individual.

The pulse beat of popular life, perceptively sensed by Sholokhov in his youth, may be felt in everything he writes, says, or does. Yet, he does a great deal both for his native Soviet literature and native Don area. Party member Sholokhov's personal contribution to the development of the national economy and culture of the Don are so great that could be properly studied by sociologists, economists, and scientists in other fields of knowledge. Even a simple list of the things which he has done to help the oblast would require a considerable space in this article. Through his direct participation and support he participated in resolving the basic questions of the building of very big enterprises, such as, for example, the gigantic Atomash and the Shakhty Paper Combine, the establishment of the Severo-Kavkazskiy Higher School Scientific Center in Rostov-na-Donu, the extensive work done to rebuild the fishing resources of the Azov Sea, the afforestation of the sands along the upper reaches of the Don, and the development of irrigated farming, cultivated pastures, and highways in the rural rayons of the oblast. Don truck gardens, vinyards, livestock farms, beef-cattle raising in particular, have all, in their time, benefited from Mikhail Aleksandrovich's invaluable energetic support. A great deal in our vast multisectorial economy, in general, was undertaken either on his initiative or his tactful yet always quite persistent prompting.

In general, no single instruction which the voters have given to M. A. Sholokhov as a deputy, representing his native Don in the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet for 43 years, or any party assignment given Sholokhov the party member in the course of his half-century membership in the ranks of the Leninist party have remained unfulfilled.

The people highly value their loyal sons and endow them with infinite trust. The life-exploit of Mikhail Sholokhov, the people's writer, is a vivid example of such justified trust.

Inspired by the decisions of the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum and the electoral speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the party members and all working people in the Don area are adamantly working of the fulfillment of the plans for the final year and the five-year plan as a whole. The party's call for turning 1980 into a year of shock labor and work in a Leninist style is being embodied by the oblast working people in new labor accomplishments. About 11,000 production collectives and nearly 100,000 leading production workers and innovators took part in the socialist competition for the fulfillment of the five-year plan by the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. A combat socialist competition has been launched in every labor collective in honor of the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress. It is with great joy and pride that we see in the 300,000-strong ranks of Don party members and all working people in the oblast the leader in Soviet literature, the people's writer, the people's deputy, the crystal-pure party member, and ardent patriot of his homeland Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov.

SOUE

CSO: 1802

MORE ALIVE THAN THE LIVING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 80 pp 122-125

[Review by V. Irkut of the books "Chelovek Dlya Lyudey" [Man for the People] by G. Brovman. The depiction of the communists in Russian Soviet literature. Detskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1978, 206 pages; "Kommunist Nashikh Dney v Zhizni i v Literature" [Today's Communist in Life and in Literature] by V. Ozerov. Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, Moscow, 1978, 301 pages; "Znamenostsy" [Flag Bearers] by V. Piskunov. Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1979, 256 pages]

[Text] The revolutionary battles of the proletariat and the Great October Revolution brought into the historical arena people who led the Soviet people to the victory of socialism. The fate of the revolutionaries who changed the world have been reflected in the works of Soviet writers. The characters of the Bolsheviks lead the cohort of the literary characters of a new type. The books under review were published by different publishing houses and are aimed at different readerships. Their topic, however, is one--the communist in Soviet literature. Taking into consideration the demands of the readers, the authors of these books try to present the successes and achievements of Soviet writers working in this important area. They have paid particular attention to the immortal character of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and the state and the trends of development in Soviet literary Leniniana. Without undertaking the study of all problems covered in the books, let us consider only the way the authors present the development of the Leninist topic.

The process of reflecting the revolutionary practice concentrated in the lives and activities of the leaders of the proletariat is complex and multitiered. K. Marx and F. Engels believed that people heading the party "in the period before a revolution, in the secret societies, or in the press, or in period of the revolution" must be depicted with the "severe Rembrandtesque paints in their entire truthfulness" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 7, p 280).

Tracing the development of Lenin's characterization in Soviet art, the literary experts approach one of the most important problems of historical

materialism--the role of the people's masses and of the individual in history. The authors of the books under review emphasize the historical significance of the works of M. Gor'kiy, who discovered the world of the "mass person," developing into the "party person," heading the revolutionary struggle of the people, as the main hero of our time. Such is Pavel Vlasov in the novel "Mat'" [The Mother], which depicts the inseparable ties between political liberation and moral emancipation of the masses. Gor'kiy was able to find an accurate metaphorical image expressing both the power of the popular movement and the vanguard role of its leader:

"... The crowd was shaped like a wedge whose point was Pavel. The flag of the working people was burning in red over his head."

"This is a 'key' character in all of Gor'kiy's works, in the art of socialist realism," states V. Ozerov. "The Bolsheviks totally rejected the bourgeois and petit bourgeois concepts of the heroic, according to which the omnipotent lone hero is pitted against the 'dark crowd.'"

We see in the gallery of Gor'kiy's character representatives of all strata at the beginning of the 20th century: the "masters of life"--manufacturers and merchants and petit bourgeois, and those who had sunk to the bottom. However, the main character who can lead the masses is a member of the working class. Here are Pavel Vlasov and Nil in "Petite Bourgeois," the workers in the play "Enemies," and the Bolshevik-Leninist in the novel "Zhizn' Klina Samgina" [The Life of Klim Samgin]. In 1924 Gor'kiy created, for the first time, the character of the leader in his outstanding essay "V. I. Lenin." This work, as V. Mayakovskiy's epic poem "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," has assumed a particular place in our literature and has become a kind of cornerstone of Soviet Leniniana.

"The artistic incarnation of the revolutionary experience of the fighters for the cause of the people and their human, their moral aspect, traditions, and ideals," writes G. Brovman, "is the main purpose in the depiction of the proletarian leader. The solution of this problem is not simple." Undertaking work on his sketch of Lenin, Gor'kiy acknowledged that, "It is very difficult to paint his portrait." Initially, Aleksey Maksimovich believed that, "... It is not my business to speak of Vladimir Lenin the politician. Precious and close to me is Lenin the man." In the course of his work, however, he reached the conclusion that this contraposition was wrong. In the new edition of the essay Lenin is depicted on the rostrum of the London conference, in the main realm of his interests. "... He is behind the lectern--the precise work of classic art: everything is there and nothing is useless. ..." Lenin spoke "as though not from himself but ... by the will of history."

In his outline of the final chapters of the novel "Zhizn' Klina Samgina" Gor'kiy again turned to Lenin, describing his arrival in Petrograd in 1917.

"Lenin."

"Somehow he became part of the crowd, disappeared, melted within it, but the crowd became even more menacing and seemed to have grown."

According to V. Ozerov, this is the "quintessence of the basis of Gor'kiy's artistic concept of the revolution. Leading the people into battle, blending with the people, the Bolsheviks become themselves stronger and, at the same time, increase the forces of the people." Gor'kiy believed that the character is "always the result of the masses, the focal point in which the energy of the masses is concentrated and which is reflected back to the masses."

Analyzing the works of the Soviet writers of the 1920's, V. Ozerov notes that the inclusion of the individual within the revolutionary collective became the theme in poetry as well. The critic particularly singles out the post-October works of Mayakovskiy, which considers in an interrelated fashion the concepts of "revolution-people-leader-man."

Like Gor'kiy, Mayakovskiy tried to answer the questions facing his contemporaries:

"What had he accomplished? Who was he and where did he come from? Why was he so respected?"

"Thinking of the secret of the intransigent artistic value of these works," V. Piskunov writes on Gor'kiy's essay and Mayakovskiy's poem, "invariably we reach the conclusion that it is not merely a question of the accuracy of details and the documentary precision of the narration, but also the fact that in these works Lenin is an artistic discovery which embodies and focuses the most profound and experienced years of the thoughts of the writers on the purpose of man on earth."

Poetic development of the Leninist topic began in the sad period when the entire country, holding its breath, waited for bulletins on Il'ich's state of health and, afterwards, when it parted with him. It was precisely then that lyrical masterpieces appeared, which are now part of any textbook: "We Do Not Believe!" by V. Mayakovskiy; "Party Card No 224,332" by A. Bezysenskiy; "Snow Flakes," by D. Sednyy; and "Five Nights and Days" by V. Inber.

Later on, an entirely new lyrical genre of "conversations with Lenin" appeared, known from the works of M. Svetlov, S. Shchepachev, S. Asyev, and, naturally, "From 'Conversation with Comrade Lenin'" by Mayakovskiy, written in 1929:

"Comrade Lenin, in smoky factories, and on land covered with snow and stubble, yours, comrades, with our hearts and with your name, we think, breathe, fight and live!

The greatness of Lenin's ideas and the amazing integrity and charm of the personality of the leader are realized by the generations of Soviet people ever more profoundly, with every passing year. Right is the poet S. Poistayev in his claim that, "Clearly, the centuries will complete the painting of the unfinished portrait." Mentioning the fact that the all-round recreation of the image of the leader will be a matter of generations, the critics note that in recent years Soviet literature has achieved basic creative successes in this respect. G. Brovman relates them to the refusal to embellish historical personalities and eliminating the moving approach to characters which existed in the recent past, not only in literature, but in motion pictures and the graphic arts. Naturally, however, there is more to it.

The new extensive studies conducted by Soviet historians, regional experts, journalists, and ordinary Soviet people who cherish every small bit of the past related to the leader's life and activities, were of tremendous help to the writers. Let us note that the writers themselves, recreating Lenin's character, engage in tremendous painstaking work in archives, libraries and places where Il'ich happened to be, discovering new biographical information and facts.

Thanks to the bold invasion into previously unexplored periods of the leader's life major historical successes have been achieved by Afanasiy Koptelov with his trilogy ("Bol'shoy Zachin" [The Great Beginning], "Vozgoritaya Plama" [Flame Flare Up] and "Tochka Opory" [Fulcrum]), Mariya Prilezhayeva with her novel "Udivitel'nyy God" [The Amazing Year], and Zoya Voskresenskaya in the three-volume work on Lenin and his closest fellow workers.

"Even though it was a long way to October 1917, to the unknown future, and even though only a small united group of people were laying the foundation of a Russian party of communists, a feeling that a cleansing storm was rising prevailed in the atmosphere. These are novels about the past, yet they are turned to the future!" G. Brovman writes. ". . . At that time Il'ich was still young and the role which he was to play in the liberation struggle could not be presumed. However, the power of his human charm was irresistible. The power of his intellect was captivating and his loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and faith in its triumph were inexhaustible. Every revolutionary who came close to him fell under the power of his convictions, mind and aspirations."

The novelty in A. Koptelov's novels, noted the critic, is that Lenin is depicted as a great working person, an active man whose scientific conclusions were fed by the juices of reality. Entering the creative laboratory of the genius, Koptelov shows how Il'ich's extensive knowledge of theory and sociological and statistical data and his own observations led to the creation of bold and penetrating summations and of an overwhelming revolutionary conclusion as found in the book "The Development of Capitalism in Russia."

At each new stage of development Soviet literature turns, again and again, back to Lenin's character, adamantly establishing his direct involvement with reality. "We could confidently say," claims V. Piskunov, "that each generation of Soviet writers has begun its 'search for a character' with a comprehension of Lenin's character."

In the note, "How I Wrote the 'Blue Notebook,'" E. Kazakevich stated that, "In my entire life I have been interested in Lenin more than in anyone else in the world. I know that in this sense I was not alone and that millions of people thought about him with very great interest. . . . He was the embodiment of justice and truth." Using great tactfulness and displaying a great feeling of artistic measure, Kazakevich describes in the "Blue Notebook" Lenin's development as a leader responsible for the fate of the Russian revolution and of the millions of people who made it. Following the meeting at the Finland Station, Lenin "thought, not without a certain sadness, that in all likelihood he would never any more be . . . 'a private individual,' and that the time had come either to head revolutionary Russia or die." "The Russian revolution does not depend on a single man. Obviously, however, it elevated precisely him so that he may express it more clearly and consistently."

The writer has been able to present the meaning, the intonation of Lenin's speech with amazing accuracy and conviction: ". . . Our tactic is to tell the truth to the masses. They must be told the truth even when we consider this unsuitable; only then would they trust us. We would be invincible in the case, and in the case alone, if always, at all turns of history, we tell the truth to the masses and not present wishes for reality. . . ." "Leaders who know the truth 'in their own circle,' among themselves, and do not tell this truth to the masses since, allegedly, the masses are ignorant and cannot understand, are not proletarian leaders. Tell the truth. Be truthful to the working class if you believe in its class responsiveness and revolutionary common sense. To a Marxist lack of belief in this is shameful and fatal. . . ."

Through these lines the writer tries to express the essence of Lenin's revolutionary practice and depict the ideological-moral convictions of the leader of the proletariat and his deepest possible respect for and trust in the people.

The critics particularly single out the role of N. Pogodin, the author of a theater trilogy about Lenin, presented on the stage. In the play's "Man with a Weapon" (1937), "The Bells of the Kremlin" (1939) and "The Third, Pathetic" (1958), the playwright was able to depict Il'ich's live human character and his deep inner ties with the masses. . . .

Marietta Shaginyan has spent long years working on the topic of Lenin. Her first attempt to interpret the significance of the personality of the leader was made as early as 1924, when she wrote a poem and an article under the common title of "Lenin's Death." For the next several decades she

worked on the image of the leader. As a result, M. Shaginyan's Leniniana consists of the novels "Rozhdeniye Syna" [The Birth of a Son] and "Pervaya Vserossiyskaya" [First All-Russian], and outline for a novel "History Test Question" and the book of essays "Chetyre Uroka u Lenina" [Four Lessons from Lenin]. The writer was awarded the Lenin Prize for these works. The latest consists of lyrical monologues of the leader as our contemporary, and a type of lessons on Lenin's attitude toward the world, the philosophical interpretation of Il'ich's character, and his attitude toward art and literature. The essay "Christmas Sorrento" is a study of the relationship between Lenin and Gor'kiy which was one of the best examples of harmony between politics and the muse.

Like Kazakevich with his "Blue Notebook" and Shaginyan in "Chetyre Uroka u Lenina," in his book "Malen'kaya Zheleznyaya Dver' v Stene" [A Small Iron Gate in the Wall], Valentin Katayev eliminates the usual system of time limitations so that the reader may feel Lenin's affiliation with our time and of his life.

Nor have the critics ignored works on outstanding revolutionaries, Lenin's closest fellow workers who, together with him, created the party. These are novels and stories depicting Vladimir Il'ich's powerful influence on the shaping of their outlook. Such works include the books by V. Krasil'shchikov, A. Shemetov, S. Sartakov, B. Kostyukovskiy, S. Tabachnikov, and V. Konyushev.

Krasil'shchikov's novel "V Nachale Budushchego" [At the Beginning of the Future] deals with G. Krzhizhanovskiy. The introduction of Lenin into the narration provides the necessary ideological-moral marking-off point. It describes a symbol conversation on the bank of the Yenisey in the course of which, looking at the powerful river, Il'ich dreams aloud: ". . . This force will be used. The people will learn how to convert it into motion, light, and heat. . . . What rich, intelligent and bold life will illuminate these banks in time! . . ."

This was long before October, before the victory of the revolution, before the GOELRO Plan which Gleb Maksimilianovich was formulating under Lenin's guidance, but it seemed that the rumbling of the turbines of the future gigantic hydraulic power plants could be heard in the thunder of the ice and the vernal waters!

In his novel "A Ty Gori, Zvezda!" [Burn, Star!] S. Sartakov describes vividly and expressively the activities of the Bolshevik I. Dubrovinskiy, operating under Il'ich's direct guidance in Paris, as an editor of PROLETARIYA, the heated arguments which Innokentiy (Dubrovinskiy's party pseudonym) with the liquidationists and the contributors to VERNI, and his most complex struggle against the jesuitical methods used by Zubatov and Gapon. . . .

G. Brovman considers V. Konyushev's novel "Takoye Goluboye Nabo" [Such a Blue Sky], which deals with N. K. Krupakaya, Il'ich's friend, wife and

fellow worker, a great creative success. The author has been able to depict the exceptional spiritual delicacy and deep devotion to the ideals of communism which distinguished every step and movement of the soul of this outstanding revolutionary, splendid woman, and captivating personality. Here again, G. Brovman quite organically moves from a critical analysis of the book on the fighters for the revolution to his own recollections of working with Nadezhda Konstantinovna in her journal NA PUTYAKH K NOVOY SHKOLE.

"Nadezhda Konstantinovna," the critic writes, "highly valued the works of literary workers and journalists. She frequently recalled the fact that Vladimir Il'ich proudly considered himself one of them. With full justification, she too could consider herself a member of this difficult profession, for she had a rare journalistic skill and her work stamina was overwhelming."

Mayakovskiy has left the Soviet writers something like a spiritual testament, a creative instruction:

"Ul'yanov's life was short and known to us to its last moment. Yet, we must write about and describe again Comrade Lenin's long life."

This instruction is obeyed by the writers in the fraternal republics as well. In recent decades the immortal character of the leader has been recreated in the works "Always with Lenin" by Petrus Brovka, "Highlanders Visiting Lenin" by Rasul Gamzatov, "Lenin and the East" by Gafur Gulyan, "Mountain Poem About Lenin" by Kaysyn Kuliyeu, "Lenin on the Pamir" by Mirsaid Mirshakar, and the poem "Lenin" by Rasul Rza.

These epic poems are linked by a single very important characteristic to which K. Kuliyeu draws the attention: "Ever since its beginning poetry has sung of heroes, of people who fought for truth and happiness. These were essentially epics: the characters of the heroes were mighty and applied to mankind as whole. As a rule they were not lyrical. Today, everything occurring in the world affects every person, directly influencing his fate and the structure of his thoughts and his soul. This is felt particularly sharply by the poets. The image of Lenin--the greatest of all heroes!--has been recreated in many profound lyrical works. I consider my own modest 'Mountain Poem About Lenin' . . . also a largely lyrical work, for I wrote it not only about Lenin but about my own people and myself."

Gevork Emin, the Armenian poet, has expressed in his poetry the feelings of the Soviet people who, generation after generation, visit Lenin's Mausoleum:

"To this day there is no end to the stream . . . this will last throughout centuries, not years! And there will never be a funeral."

At a time when our country and all progressive mankind are celebrating the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth we unwittingly recall the words of Aleksy Tolstoy to the effect that for people such as Lenin there are no two dates--date of birth and date of death--but only one--the date of birth.

Under the leadership of the Leninist party the Soviet people made tremendous changes, creating the first socialist state in the world and defending it in the fierce battle against fascism. A developed socialist society has been built and the building of communism is underway, while Leninism has been, and remains, our ideological banner. The character of Lenin--the politician, philosopher and man--is becoming ever closer and more precious to us. The Soviet writers and workers in literature are making their utmost contribution in the spirals of history in the process of depicting Lenin's personality and mastering his ideas.

Summing up the rich experience of Soviet literary Leniniana, in addition to everything else, the authors of the books under review are trying to resolve a very complex superproblem: take to the reader the warm throbbing of the leader's revolutionary thinking, Lenin's life stance and the eternally alive image of the most human of men. In our view, they are successfully implementing this supertask.

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CSO: 1802

FRONT-LINE PARTY ORGANIZERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 80 pp 126-127

[Review by V. Popov, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book "Partorgi Voennoy Pory" [Wartime Party Organizers] by I. I. Roshchin and A. I. Marchuk, Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 255 pages with illustrations]

[Text] The final volleys of the Great Patriotic War, which announced to the world the historical victory of our valorous armed forces and of the entire Soviet people over fascist Germany, thundered away 35 years ago. The victory which was won in the fierce struggle on the battlefields was also hammered out in the rear through the daily and selfless toil of millions and millions of Soviet people. They supplied the front with the necessary armaments, ammunition, outfittings, and food--with everything without which the defeat of the treacherous enemy would have been impossible.

The CPSU was the great organizer of our army and of the entire people in the excruciatingly difficult war years. The communists became the force which raised the combat spirit and moral condition of the troops and rallied and inspired them to unparalleled heroism. "The outstanding exploit of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War is inseparable from the comprehensive and purposeful activities of the communist party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said. "Its Central Committee was the headquarters from which came the supreme political and strategic guidance of military operations. It was precisely the party who organized and rallied tens of millions of people, channeling their energy and their willpower and action into a single goal--victory. Again and again the war proved that the party and people were one, and that there was no force capable of weakening this unbreakable unity."

The recently published book "Partorgi Voennoy Pory" describes the tremendous organizational and mass-political work of those who headed the party organizations of companies, battalions and regiments of the front-line forces in the war years. This work is a first attempt to collect data on the lives and accomplishments of front-line party organizers.

The book opens with the summing up article "The Fighting Party" which describes the comprehensive activities of the CC VKP(b) aimed at strengthening the party-political influence among the troops and mobilizing the party members for the defeat of the fascist hordes. From the very first day's of the war experienced party leaders joined the army in the field, able to competently resolve most complex problems in the course of combat operations, people possessing high ideological convictions and principled-mindedness, people who had dedicated to the defense of the homeland all their strength, the entire passion in the souls, and the entire ardor of their hearts.

By decision of the Central Committee one-third of the Central Committee members and candidate members and 500 secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics, and of kray, oblast, city and rayon party committees, together with other senior party workers, were assigned to the Red Army. In the first six months of the war over 100,000 party members were mobilized by the party to join the army and the navy. They displayed models of individual courage and bravery and became inspiring examples of their fellow comrades in arms. It was entirely natural that about one-half of those who were awarded USSR orders and medals during the war were party and Komsomol members and that three-quarters of the Heroes of the Soviet Union were party members.

In the spring of 1943 the party's Central Committee deemed it necessary to change the structure of the party organizations in rifle units. Whereas in the past party organizations existed on the regimental level only, now, headed by party organizers, they were created in battalions and companies. This made it possible to strengthen the ties between the party nucleus in the army and the soldiers, and to make the ways and means of political-educational work among the troops more flexible and consistent with the spirit of the times.

The number of front-line party members and party organizations rose steadily. This demanded of the army political organs to pay particular attention to the training of party worker cadres and upgrade their political and ideological standards, develop in them high moral-combat qualities, and ability to work with people under the most complex front-line conditions and situations. To this effect a broad network of courses was set up by the front and army political administrations for the training of party organizers--the combat assistants to commanders and promoters of party policy among the troops, skillful educators, and courageous soldiers.

Many organizers earned the highest of the homeland--the title of Hero of the Soviet Union--for courage and bravery. The book names 61 heroes and 20 of them are the topics of essays. Each essay an exciting story of a party organizer in the war, a person boundlessly loyal to the homeland and the party, ready for exploits, fearless, persistent and adamant, while remaining a sensitive and responsive person.

The essay "Exploit on the Vistula" describes precisely such a company and, subsequently, battalion party organizer, N. F. Popov. "He disliked unnecessary fuss, false pathos, or high-sounding speech. Party organizer Popov was given as an example. The soldiers respected him for his simplicity, modesty and reliability. He did not parade the fact that he had fought and done a great deal; he liked to speak and read about what other people in the front and the rear were doing for the victory" (pp 141-142). The battalion troops always found their party organizer in the most difficult sectors. Together with them he repelled fierce enemy attacks, skillfully using his automatic weapon, destroying enemy strong points with hand grenades. In a heavy and stubborn battle, the wounded party organizer threw himself under an enemy tank with his last hand grenade. . . .

The authors emphasize that there were no trifles in the work of the party organizer. Amenities, food, medical aid, mail, prompt publication of a combat leaflet--the party organizer has no right to forget any of those. He was the heart of the subunit, always among the troops, familiar with their moods and needs, able to raise their combat spirit, cheer up the novice with a warm word, and knowledgeably speak of the martial art and the experience of other soldiers.

. . . A brief halt before the battle. G. D. Butayev, battalion party organizer, tours the company positions, reviews the fortifications, talks with the soldiers, distributes to the communists leaflets and newspaper clippings, and instructs that they be read to the troops before the attack. In one of the companies he reads aloud a front-line popular leaflet entitled "Intimate Thoughts of Soldier Foma Snyalov." When the battles for Konotop began, the party organizer headed the assault group and twice led the battalion's attack and insured the implementation of the combat order. In the battles on the right bank of the Dnepr Lieutenant Butayev headed the battalion and frequently led it to the attack. The bridgehead was retained in a fierce battle with the enemy.

Prior to an assault on enemy fortifications, not far from the state border of the USSR, S. V. Rybal'chenko, company party organizer, gathered around him the party members. The topic of the meeting was "The Tasks of the Party Members on the Approaches to the State Border." In their speeches the soldiers promised to use all their strength to defeat the enemy faster and reach the sacred border and help the people moaning under the fascist yoke. Soon afterwards, in a fierce battle, the surrounded company, headed by party organizer Rybal'chenko repelled seven enemy counterattacks. The troops ran out of ammunition and launched a hand-to-hand combat. Encouraged by the party organizer, the troops broke through the encirclement and the enemy retreated.

A number of heroic events are described in the book. We read of the immortal exploit of S. Valliulin, company party organizer, famous from L. I. Brezhnev's book "Malaya Zemlya"; the courage of party organizers A. P. Kulik, of a rifle battalion; P. V. Kozovalov, of a tank brigade

battalion; of P. N. Rak, of a tank company; S. I. Khirkov, of a rifle company, and other party members whose inspiring words and personal courage were inspiring examples to the troops. "Communists, forward!"-- this call was heard wherever the situation was particularly difficult and there was heated combat. It was heard by the soldiers in the most critical moments, cheering them, and giving them courage and confidence in battle.

Such essays alternate in the book with minutes of party meetings, citations, combat reports, photocopies of pamphlets and articles on party organizers, excerpts from their letters to families and friends, photographs of various wartime events, and verses by famous Soviet poets. These documents make the book particularly exciting and reveal more completely and deeply the nature of the heroes and their infinite love for the homeland and inflexible faith in victory.

The book contains not only stories of the lives and combat accomplishments of party organizers, but descriptions of ways and means of party-political work in the army in wartime, and propaganda experience which are still useful to army political workers today.

A number of monographs, memoirs, collections of articles, and popular pamphlets have been written on the courage and the military and labor exploits of the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War. The book "Partorgi Voyennoy Pory" informs us of little-known events of past battles, makes us remember the war veterans and resurrects in the memory of the people the great names of the heroes, the combat exploit of front-line party organizers who brought to the Soviet troops the passionate word of the party, inspiring them to selfless struggle against the fascist aggressors for the sake of the freedom and prosperity of the Soviet fatherland.

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