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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 10, July 1980



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12 September 1980

**USSR REPORT**  
**TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST**

No. 10, July 1980

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

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ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE CC CPSU PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 p 3

[Text] A plenum of the CC CPSU was held on 23 June 1980.

The plenum heard a report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, and decided on convening the regular 26th CPSU Congress.

The CC CPSU plenum heard the report submitted by Comrade A. A. Gromyko, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union."

The following comrades took part in the debates on the report submitted by Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and A. A. Gromyko: A. F. Vatchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; E. A. Shevardnadze, Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee first secretary; V. N. Makeyev, Moscow City CPSU Committee second secretary; Yu. F. Solov'yev, Leningrad City CPSU Committee first secretary; A. B. Chakovskiy, editor in chief of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and secretary of the USSR Writers Union board; G. Ya. Gorban', steel smelter at the Azovstal' Metallurgical Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze in Zhdanov, Donetskaya Oblast; K. G. Vayno, Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee first secretary; and I. I. Bodyul, Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee first secretary.

The CC CPSU plenum adopted a corresponding decree on the report submitted by Comrade A. A. Gromyko.

This concluded the work of the CC CPSU plenum.

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CSO: 1802

REPORT BY L. I. BREZHNEV CC CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY

Moscow KOMMUNIST In Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 4-6

[Text] Comrades!

Next year will be the period stipulated by the party bylaws for holding the next congress. In this connection, the CC CPSU Politburo submits the motion that the 26th CPSU Congress be summoned for 23 February 1981.

Each congress has opened new horizons to our party and country. I am confident that this will also be the case for the forthcoming congress, which will define the strategy and tactic of the struggle at the forthcoming stage in the building of communism.

As the country develops, the complexity and scale of domestic political tasks increase. Every step forward in the improvement of the international circumstances takes a great deal of effort. The aggressive imperialist circles are trying to exert pressure on the Soviet Union and on the socialist position as a whole. They are aiming at just about the isolation of the Soviet Union. However, their actions along that line immediately began to misfire.

This is related, to a decisive extent, to the fact that the economic potential and the defense power of the land of the soviets have increased immeasurably; the sociopolitical and ideological unity of our society have become even stronger (applause). The fact that we displayed endurance and consistency and did not allow to be led astray from the course formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses also played a tremendous role.

Our course was shaped and its accuracy tested by practice. It brought its positive results in domestic and foreign policy. At the same time life faces us with new tasks the way to whose solution we must define at the congress.

In accordance with existing traditions, the following congress agenda is proposed:

1. Report of the CPSU Central Committee and report on the forthcoming tasks of the party in domestic and foreign policy. The CC CPSU Politburo recommends that Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, be approved as reporter (lengthy applause).
2. Report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission. Reporter: G. F. Sizov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.
3. Basic directions of the economic and social development of the USSR in 1981-1985. Reporter: A. N. Kosygin, USSR Council of Ministers chairman.
4. Election of central party organs.

As to representation norms, it is proposed that the 26th congress be attended by one delegate per 3,350 party members. Therefore, every delegate will represent a somewhat larger membership detachment compared with the 25th congress. This is related to the increased number of our party. On 1 April party membership totaled 17,193,376.

In accordance with the bylaws delegates to the 26th congress will be elected by secret vote at oblast and kray party conferences and congresses of communist parties of union republics.

The CC CPSU Politburo deems it expedient that delegates from the communist parties of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, i.e., of organizations with a large number of members, be elected at oblast party conferences.

Generally speaking, we do not find it necessary to change the existing procedure for the election of congress delegates.

Now, as to the times for the accountability and election campaign. The CC CPSU would consider it possible:

That meetings held by primary party organizations take place September-November 1980;

Rayon, city and okrug party conferences take place in November-December 1980;

Oblast and kray party conferences take place between December 1980 and January 1981;

Congresses of communist parties of union republics take place in January and the beginning of February 1981.

The accountability-election campaign on the eve of the congress is a special time in the life of the party, a highly important period.

Over the past years we have acquired valuable experience in the building of communism. We must carefully approach everything positive in our work, whether in towns or villages.

At the same time, we must critically consider omissions and shortcomings which unfortunately may be found in economic management practices and in party work. We mentioned this at Central Committee plenums. However, the accountability and election campaign makes it incumbent upon us, again and again, to comprehensively analyze the work of party organizations in implementing the decisions of the 25th party congress. The preparations for the new congress are a powerful lever for the upsurge of the political and labor activity and communists and nonparty members.

I assume that party meetings and conferences will pay adequate attention to all aspects of party work--political, organizational and ideological.

It is worth emphasizing that a maximum amount of energy must be applied in order to successfully fulfill and overfulfill the plan for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, complete scheduled projects on time and insure the stable work of the national economy in 1981--the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Naturally, socialist competition in honor of the congress must play its role in this respect.

In the course of the Central Committee transactions, with which the members of the plenum are familiar, I had the occasion to discuss some central problems related to our economic development. The attention was drawn in particular to the fuel-energy and transportation problems, the use of agricultural equipment and equipment imports. I know that a considerable amount of work is being done in this connection. However, even more remains to be done.

We have set ourselves the major task of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. This must always be kept in sight. We must consider further how to accelerate scientific and technical progress, strengthen state and labor discipline, and insure the firm growth of labor productivity.

Unquestionably, in the course of the accountability and election campaign the party's international activities will be considered as well. The Soviet people fully approve the principle-minded peace-loving course followed by the CPSU and the Soviet state, and the measures for defending and insuring the safety of our homeland (applause). In the future as well we shall spare no efforts to preserve detente and everything good which came from the 1970's, promote a turn to disarmament, support the right of the peoples to free and independent development, and protect and strengthen the peace (lengthy applause).

The solution of these problems will not be simple. Imperialism has clearly set itself the task of testing the will of the peoples for peace, comrades,



your and my goodwill and resolve to follow the road of detente and good-neighborly relations.

There has not been a day in which Washington has not tried to restore the spirit of the cold war, and heat up militaristic passions. Any pretext, real or imaginary, is used to this purpose.

Afghanistan is an example. Both the U.S. and Chinese ruling circles are stopping at nothing, including armed aggression, to prevent the Afghans from building a new life in accordance with the ideals of the April 1978 liberation revolution. When we helped our neighbor Afghanistan, on the request of its government, to repel aggression and the attacks of bandit units operating, above all, from Pakistani territory, Washington and Beijing raised unparalleled noise. The Soviet Union was accused of everything: of the desire to reach a warm sea, the intention to take over someone else's petroleum, and so on. Yet the entire matter is that the plans to involve Afghanistan in the orbit of imperialist policy and create a threat to our country from the south failed.

The Soviet action in helping Afghanistan does not have smidgen of self-interest. We had no choice other than to send troops. Events confirmed that this was the only proper decision (lengthy applause).

Today life in Afghanistan is gradually resuming a normal channel. The big gangs of counterrevolutionaries have been defeated and the interventionists have suffered a major defeat. Under those circumstances we decided to withdraw some units from our military contingent in Afghanistan. We are doing this in consultation with the Afghan Government and its leader, Comrade Babrak Karmal. Naturally, in the future as well we shall continue to help Afghanistan to build a new life and protect the gains of the April revolution (applause).

Comrades!

Peace is an intransigent value to mankind. V. I. Lenin lifted the banner of peace and cooperation among nations. We shall be loyal to this banner (lengthy applause).

In conclusion, allow me to express the firm conviction that the preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress will prove, yet once again, the unity within the party ranks and the inflexible unity between party and people in the struggle for the triumph of communism (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

5003

CSO: 1802



ON CONVENING THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 p 7

[23 June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum decree]

[Text] 1. The regular 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shall convene on 23 February 1981.

2. The agenda shall be the following:

1) Report by the CC CPSU and the forthcoming party tasks in the field of domestic and foreign policy. Reporter, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary.

2) Report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission. Reporter, Comrade G. F. Sizov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

3) Basic directions of the economic and social development of the USSR for 1981-1985. Reporter, Comrade A. N. Kosygin, USSR Council of Ministers chairman.

4) Election of central party organs.

3. The representation norm for the 26th CPSU Congress shall be 1 delegate per 3,350 party members.

4. Delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress shall be elected in accordance with the party's bylaws by secret vote at oblast, kray and party conferences and congresses of communist parties of union republics. Delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress from the communist parties of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan shall be elected at oblast party conferences.

Members of the party organizations in the Soviet Army and Navy, and the internal and border forces shall elect delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress together with the corresponding territorial party organizations at oblast or kray party conferences or congresses of communist parties of union republics.

Members of the party organizations in units of the Soviet Army and Navy abroad shall elect delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress at party conferences of respective large units of armed forces.

5003

CSO: 1802

## ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 8-10

[23 June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum decree]

[Text] Having considered, in accordance with the report submitted by Comrade A. A. Gromvko, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR foreign affairs minister, the question "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union," the CC CPSU Plenum entirely and fully approves the activities of the CC CPSU Politburo and of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, on the implementation of the Leninist foreign political course set by the 24th-25th party congresses.

The Central Committee plenum notes that above all as a result of the comprehensive and active efforts of the Soviet Union and the socialist comity, and on the basis of the increased economic and defense power of the socialist countries, improvements in the international situation were achieved in the 1970's. Peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems was strengthened and began to acquire a concrete economic and political content in the course of the detente process. An obvious abatement of the cold war was noted. More favorable objective prerequisites were created for the solution of disputes and international conflicts through just peaceful settlement.

Of late, however, aggressive imperialist forces have opposed these positive processes with a policy dictated by the unwillingness to consider the realities of the contemporary world: the strengthened positions of socialism, successes of the national-liberation movement and the growth of freedom-loving democratic forces as a whole. Imperialism would like to hinder the objective process of the renovation of the world. The leaders of the military NATO bloc, the United States above all, have taken a course of disturbing the existing military balance in the world in their favor and to the detriment of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, international detente and the security of the nations.

Hence the imperialist line of intensifying the arms race, engaging in provocations against the socialist and other independent countries, NATO

militaristic activities and the expansion of its functions as a tool of imperialist dictate. In an effort to impose their will on other countries, the ruling U.S. circles have taken the path of economic "sanctions" and of breaking scientific and technical, cultural and sports relations. They are refusing to honor their obligations and violate accords and agreements they have signed. Anti-Sovietism and anticommunism have become an instrument for urging the arms race on, a weapon in the struggle not only against the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, and not only against the communists, but against all opponents of war and peace-loving forces, a means for undermining detente.

The rapprochement between the aggressive Western circles, the United States above all, and the Chinese leadership, is taking place on an anti-Soviet basis, hostile to the cause of peace. The partnership between imperialism and Beijing hegemonism is a new dangerous phenomenon in world politics, dangerous to all mankind, including the American and Chinese peoples.

In these complex international circumstances, the CC CPSU and the Soviet state are displaying true Leninist self-possession, firmness and principle-mindedness, supporting and implementing a course toward the preservation of the peace, insuring the security of the Soviet people and international security as a whole, not responding to provocations and, at the same time, rebuffing imperialist aspirations.

The CC CPSU expresses its conviction that objective possibilities and sociopolitical forces exist able to prevent a slide toward a new cold war and to insure the normal and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and prevent the threat of a global thermonuclear conflict. The way to the solution of this problem is that of talks based on the strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security. This fully applies to Soviet-American relations as well.

Such a viewpoint is gaining support among government leaders of Western countries and of members of the nonaligned movement. Detente has sunk deep roots in contemporary international life and real prerequisites exist for preserving as the dominating trend in world politics.

Detente is the legitimate result of the ratio of forces which developed in the world arena over the past decades. The military-strategic balance reached between the world of socialism and capitalism is a gain of essential and historical significance. It is a factor in restraining the aggressive imperialist aspirations. This is consistent with the basic interests of all nations. Hopes to disturb this balance are doomed to failure.

The plenum instructs the Central Committee Politburo in the present situation as well, when the adventuristic activities of the United States and of its accomplices have intensified the threat of war, steadfastly to follow the course of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, a course of

comprehensive strengthening of the fraternal alliance among socialist states, support of the just struggle of the nations for freedom and independence, peaceful coexistence, restraining the arms race, preserving and developing international detente, promoting mutually profitable cooperation in the economic, scientific and cultural areas.

At the same time, the plenum considers that the intrigues of imperialism and the other enemies of the peace require constant vigilance and the comprehensive strengthening of our state's defense capability with a view to defeating the imperialist plans of achieving military superiority and worldwide dictate.

The conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members, held in May 1980 in Warsaw, was a most important event. It demonstrated, yet once again, the beneficial role of socialism in world affairs, and its consistent internationalism and inflexible peacefulness. It re-emphasized most strongly the importance of fraternal solidarity and of coordinating the actions of the socialist countries for the preservation of universal peace and insuring international security. The declaration and the statement on a summit conference of states, adopted at the conference, offers a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the existing circumstances and contains a specific and constructive program of measures needed for the elimination of hotbeds of tension and of international development trends dangerous to all nations. The further intensification of cooperation among socialist countries in the political, economic, defense and other areas, and the constructive activities of their joint organizations--the Warsaw Pact and CEMA--are reliably serving the cause of peace and progress.

The plenum fully approves the measures taken to provide all-round aid to Afghanistan in repelling armed attacks and outside intervention aimed at suppressing the Afghan revolution and creating a pro-imperialist bridgehead for military aggression along the southern borders of the USSR. The plenum calls for a political settlement of the situation which has developed on the subject of Afghanistan, which is pursuing a nonaligned policy. As the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has stated, this requires putting a total stop to the aggression against that country and reliable guarantees against subversive activities from the outside.

The plenum asserts the tremendous significance under the present circumstances of the unity and active efforts of the international communist movement, and cooperation among the fraternal parties on a bilateral, multilateral, regional and global basis in the struggle for peace and social progress and against imperialism and its aggressive anti-people's plans. The plenum considers the Paris meeting of communist and workers parties of Europe a significant event in the life of the communist movement and an important factor for the energizing of antiwar forces and of all people of goodwill in the defense of peace and international security.

The CC CPSU' plenums notes that the present international circumstances show the even closer unification of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and

intelligentsia of all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union around the communist party and their warm support for the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet state.

The Central Committee plenum expresses its firm confidence that the party and the Soviet people will dedicate all efforts to the successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan and strengthen the power of our socialist homeland. This is the base for the effective implementation of the Leninist peace-loving course of our party and Soviet state.

5003

CSO: 1802



## WORTHILY TO MEET THE 26TH PARTY CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 11-20

[Text] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has entered an important period of preparations for its forthcoming 26th congress. The CC CPSU plenum resolved to convene the congress on 23 February 1981. It approved its agenda and established the norm of representation for the congress.

"Each congress has opened new horizons to our party and state," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, said at the plenum. "I am confident that this will be the case with the forthcoming congress as well, called upon to define the strategy and tactic of the struggle in the forthcoming stage of the building of communism."

The preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress coincide with the approach of a noteworthy anniversary--the 80th anniversary of Lenin's newspaper ISKRA--whose first issue was published on 11 (24) December 1900, under the slogan of "From the Spark a Flame Will Flare Up!" taken from the answer of the Decembrists to Pushkin. Recalling this meant not only giving its due to one the most important initial stages in the history of Bolshevism. Its purpose is to further strengthen the convictions of the party members and all Soviet people in the unbreakable ties existing between the great past of the party and the seething contemporaneity, of the consistent continuity of its revolutionary theories, proletarian ideology and scientific policy.

Belonging to the period of ISKRA are the most deeply meaningful words expressed by V. I. Lenin on the future of the workers party which considers it its main task "the organization of the class struggle of the proletariat and the leadership of this struggle whose final objective is the seizure of the political power by the proletariat and the organization of a socialist society" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 4, p 183). This programmatic thought, which has run through decades and change of ages, is alive to this day. It received all-round development and scientific proof in ISKRA on whose pages Lenin, its organizer and inspirer, published over 50 articles in three years. In them he developed the ideological, theoretical, political and organizational principles and a plan for the establishment of a revolutionary Marxist party of the working

class in Russia, and defined the nature and foundations of its bylaws, program, strategy and tactic.

ISKRA played a decisive role in the preparations for the Second Congress of the RSDWP, held in 1903. It marked the completion of the process of unification of the revolutionary Marxist organizations and the formation of a working class party on the basis of the principles defined by Lenin. A proletarian party of a new type--the Bolshevik party--appeared. Thus the seeds of Marxist revolutionary theory cast by ISKRA in the workers movement fell on fertile ground and yielded an abundant crop. The ISKRA traditions of loyalty to the working class, working people, revolutionary Marxism and socialism have become forever part of the life of our party, of its flesh and blood.

The communist party founded by Lenin became a powerful sociopolitical force. Under its leadership the working class and the poorest peasantry, supported by the progressive intelligentsia and the entire toiling people, made the Great October Socialist Revolution, which inaugurated the historical age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale; under its guidance, in severe battles against aggressors and interventionists, the Soviet people defended their revolutionary gains and built the first developed socialist society in the world. Today's accomplishments of our people building communism are the continuation of the cause started by Lenin's ISKRA and the implementation of the ideas of the leader.

Lenin ascribed important significance to party congresses. When the party became ruling and assumed the guidance of the society and the state, he said: "Our party is a government party and the decree which will be formulated by the party congress will be mandatory for the entire republic . . ." (Lenin, op cit, Vol 43, p 62). It was precisely thus that the Soviet people accept the decisions of the congresses of the Leninist party, sparing no efforts for their implementation.

Lenin's letter on preparations for the Ninth RKP(b) Congress, addressed to the party organizations, has a topical sound. The congress was held when the Soviet system had already extensively become involved in peaceful economic construction. At that time, Vladimir Il'ich set the party the task of strengthening the ties with the masses of workers and working people, and achieving maximum labor productivity. He called upon the party members to display greater effectiveness and a systematic approach to work and to mastering the art of organization and administration on a broad scale. The time had come, he emphasized, to convert from congresses and meetings discussing general problems to congresses and meetings summing up the results of practical experience. He described this as the slogan of the times. Defining the main task of all preparations for the congress, Lenin pointed out that, "We must go ahead, we must look ahead, we must take to the congress the thoughtfully and attentively reshaped practical experience in economic construction, developed through the joint work and common efforts of all party members. . . . Let all party members stress their

forces to bring to the party congress tested, reshaped, summed-up practical experience" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 40, pp 142, 144).

High theoretical standard, principle-mindedness, efficiency, consideration of all possibilities, and ability to expose shortcomings, look ahead, and link current affairs and tasks with extensive long-term prospects are mandatory characteristics of the work of our party congresses. They embody the features of the Leninist style of study and work, and the Leninist approach to the discussion and solution of new and ever more complex problems.

Implementing the decisions of the 25th party congress, the party committees and organizations acquired new valuable experience in all fields of communist construction--in national economic management, the sociopolitical development of the country, the strengthening of the socialist state and its democratic foundations, and the advancement of ideological and organizational work. This entire experience, in Lenin's words, will be brought by the communists to their forthcoming congress, and become their common property and start for further activities.

The communist party congress is the highest and most authoritative democratic organ in the country. It takes into consideration and sums up every thing achieved by the party and the people. It defines the main directions of economic and social development for the new five-year period and longer, and earmarks the domestic and political line.

The congress is preceded by an accountability and election campaign from top to bottom, covering the entire party. The general meetings of primary party organizations, rayon, city, okrug, oblast and kray conferences, and congresses of communist parties of union republics offer the opportunity, on the basis of intraparty democracy, for a comprehensive discussion of party activities over the accountability period, and for the detailed, objective and self-critical study of one's own achievements and omissions, and to earmark practical measures for the further improvement of all party-political, economic, organizational and ideological-educational work. In recent years the activeness and organization of the party members at accountability and election meetings and conferences have increased considerably. Whereas in 1966 86.7 percent of the membership attended such meetings, the figure rose to 95.4 percent in 1979. Throughout that time every third or fourth party member addressed the meetings. Unquestionably, such activeness and organization will be even higher in the forthcoming accountability and election campaign. Its periods have been stipulated by the Central Committee plenum. Now we must thoroughly prepare for this important and responsible period in party life and carefully approach everything positive acquired in the course of the work.

Worthily meeting the 26th CPSU Congress means using the remaining time for intensive work, for fulfilling the decisions of the 25th congress and the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and laying solid foundations for

new efforts in upgrading production standards and effectiveness, and resolving the problems of the economic and social development of labor collectives and of the country at large in the new, 11th Five-Year Plan. Currently the energetic efforts of the Soviet people are focused along this direction. They are reviewing previous pledges and developing the socialist competition in honor of the forthcoming party forum.

As we know, the 25th congress defined the party's economic strategy and emphasized, yet once again, that the steady upsurge of the material and cultural living standard of the people was, and remains, its highest objective. The congress pointed out the pivot of this strategy: The further growth of the country's economic power, the expansion and radical renovation of productive capital and insuring the stable and balanced growth of heavy industry--the base of the economy.

The congress paid a great deal of attention to perfecting the economic management mechanism and to improving economic management and planning. It aimed the planning and economic organs toward achieving high end results and insuring the more rational utilization of economic levers and material and moral incentives. After the congress these problems were further developed and concretized in plenum decisions and Central Committee decrees. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" contains an entire system of measures for the further upsurge of the country's economy and for upgrading the prosperity of the people. The implementation of this decree is already yielding positive results.

Implementing the decisions of the 25th congress and fulfilling the 10th Five-Year Plan, the Soviet people achieved new successes in economic and social development. The work has not been completed as yet and six months of shock labor remain for its completion. However, a great deal can already be said at this point. From 1975 to 1979 the national income rose 19 percent; the volume of industrial output rose 20 percent and agricultural output, 9 percent. In the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan capital investments exceeded 500 billion rubles, which exceeds the capital investments of the entire 9th Five-Year Plan. Every year over 200 big industrial enterprises are being commissioned. The creation of the world-famous Tyumen' Petroleum and Gas Extraction Complex, the Kama Automotive Vehicles Plant and Atomash, the building of the Baykal-Amur Main Line, the development of the resources of Siberia, the North and the Far East, and the reorganization of the Nonchernozem are vivid examples of the growth of our economic and social potential.

Thanks to the timely party measures, our country has a reliable fuel and energy complex, the biggest in the world, at a time when the capitalist world is being shaken up by an energy crisis. Giving such achievements their due, the party now, on time, is showing its concern for tomorrow's power industry as the most important national economic sector.



The stable growth of the country's economic and scientific and technical potential and of the possibilities for industrial and agricultural production continued in the 9th and 10th five-year plans. On this basis the material and cultural standards of the people rose steadily. According to the 1980 Plan the real per capita income will be higher by a 1.5 factor compared with 1970. Between 1971 and 1980 over 107 million people improved their housing conditions. Concern for the people's prosperity has been, and remains, the main concern in the activities of the Leninist party.

Soberly assessing successes, the CPSU does not conceal still existing shortcomings and unresolved problems, always remembering Lenin's wish that "Our party should never become conceited" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 40, p 327). In his speech at the November 1979 Central Committee Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev justifiably criticized substantial shortcomings such as the shortage of metal despite the tremendous scale of its output, the low quality of some machines and equipment, violation of unfinished construction norms, poor yields of major capital investments in animal husbandry and slow growth of meat production, quite substantial losses of farm produce in harvesting, transportation and storage, and breakdowns in supplying the population with some goods. The plenum indicated the tremendous possibilities which exist for successful progress under the conditions of the increased complexity and scale of tasks and called upon the party, state and economic organs and trade union and Komsomol organizations to use them more fully.

The most important sociopolitical event in the life of the Soviet people, an event of international significance, following the 25th CPSU Congress, was the adoption of the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union and autonomous republics. The new Soviet Constitution reflects the great victories of our people and the basic features of the developed socialist society and its political organization. It brings to light the democratic principles of the Soviet state, its class essence and nationwide character. It legislatively codifies the historically developed status of the communist party in Soviet society as its leading and guiding force and as the nucleus of the political system and of state and public organizations. A number of important laws were passed and continue to be developed on the basis of and in the course of the development of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the USSR Constitution.

The nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution, which involved the most lively participation of millions of Soviet people, proves the growth of their sociopolitical activity, clear understanding of the trends and prospects of social development and of the international situation, and their concern for the prospering of the socialist homeland. These outstanding qualities of our people are manifested with ever greater intensiveness and are expressed in particular in the tremendous flood of letters from the working people sent to party and state agencies and the press, radio and television, containing a variety of proposals aimed at improving economic, organizational and ideological work. Between the 25th

CPSU Congress and March 1980 the party's Central Committee received over 2.4 million letters, telegrams, labor reports and greetings. The Central Committee considers the letters of the working people one of the most important means of information from below, and a tie with the people. This helps to formulate and implement an accurate political line.

The KOMMUNIST mail is also varied. From the beginning of the five-year plan the editors have received over 9,000 letters. They contain above all articles and other materials on topical subjects, responses to articles published, and suggestions on means for the further advancement of economic management and of other realms of social life and of the party's political, organizational and ideological activities. Many of the letters deal with various aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application and enrichment in the course of the building of communism and the development of international relations. The ties between the journal and its huge readership is strengthening and the views, critical remarks and wishes of the readers are considered in preparing materials for publication.

The communist party has always followed a foreign policy entirely consistent with its domestic policy. Even before the organizational shaping of the Bolshevik party or the appearance of ISKRA, considering the nature of a revolutionary Marxist party of the working class, Lenin wrote that, "It must respond to all questions raised by life in all fields, and to questions of domestic and international policy . . ." (Lenin, op cit, Vol 4, p 326). It is entirely natural that under present-day conditions our party is so greatly concerned with foreign political problems. Socialism is an international phenomenon and peace, indivisible from it, largely depends on relations among different countries. It was precisely Lenin who originated and comprehensively substantiated the idea that socialism and peace are indivisible.

The first legislative act of the young Soviet republic--Lenin's Decree on Peace--formulated the basic principles of our peace-loving foreign policy. Since then, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government have waged a tireless and systematic struggle for peace throughout the world, countering the imperialist policy of aggression and national enmity, colonial oppression and predatory wars with the just policy of international fraternity among working people and friendship among the peoples of all countries, and peaceful coexistence among countries with different sociopolitical systems.

Our foreign policy was manifested with the peace program adopted at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, approved by all progressive mankind. Thanks to its implementation and the coordinated peaceful offensive of the members of the socialist comity, supported by all peace-loving forces, the actions of the cold war supporters, energized of late, were countered by new successes on the way to detente. The firm peaceful course of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries opposes reactionary adventures and restrains militaristic and aggressive circles which would like, on the one hand, to put an end to detente, while on the other fear the possible



consequences of undermining it and the conversion of cold into a thermo-nuclear war. These circles cannot ignore the insurmountable fact that the forces of the socialist comity are powerful and that any aggression committed against it will not remain unpunished.

The CPSU realizes that the ship of detente is sailing forth on the restless sea of international relations. In recent years the present U.S. leadership has taken the head of the reactionary forces of militant imperialism which are trying to sink this ship. The Carter Administration imposed upon the European NATO countries a long-term program for accelerated armaments. It opposes disarmament, is broadening its expansion in Asia, and creating dangerous hotbeds in the Near and Middle East. It is trying to energize anti-Soviet activities in the Far East. The United States is continuing to entwine the globe with a network of military bases, send its agents into sovereign countries, ignoring their national interests, and openly threatening the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

How to explain all these unseemly adventuristic activities of the American Administration? It is being said that they are dictated by the electoral struggle in the United States. This is partially correct. It is also stated that they are triggered by the arms race in which the military-industrial complex is interested. This too is accurate. The main thing, however, is that we are dealing with an imperialist state, the most powerful and aggressive one. The actions of the enemies of detente and peace were not unexpected by all true Marxist-Leninists. Our party has always clearly realized that imperialism will never change its aggressive-exploiting nature.

According to recent information, on two consecutive occasions the Pentagon's computer gave a false alarm signal of a "nuclear alarm." Apparently, however, it is not merely a matter of the computer, and the reason for referring to its troubles was merely to draw the attention away and to mislead the public. Rather, the Pentagon had wanted to "play" at the outbreak of a war and was impatient to test the way the American military machine would look in its sinister reality. Only one thing here is clear: Such "errors," "tests" and "games" promise nothing good either to those who "play" with the fire themselves, or to many millions of people on earth.

"Peace is an intransigent value to mankind. The banner of peace and cooperation among the peoples was raised by V. I. Lenin. We shall remain loyal to this banner," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the June Central Committee Plenum.

The CPSU is firmly convinced that detente is insurmountable and suitable to all states and nations and remains the main trend in contemporary international relations. Together with the other socialist countries, our country is systematically struggling for its preservation, expansion and intensification, and for disarmament and the peace and security of the nations. This firm course followed by the socialist comity in international affairs

has a tremendous positive influence on the development of progressive social processes in the world.

The inflexible resolve to pursue the active struggle for peace was reasserted in the documents of the anniversary conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members, the May summit. The participants in the conference profoundly analyzed the contemporary international situation, fraught with dangers, reiterated their previous peaceful proposals, and formulated new initiatives, expressing their readiness to continue and intensify the peaceful dialog with countries belonging to different social systems.

The 23 June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum decree "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union" expresses the conviction that objective possibilities and sociopolitical forces exist which could prevent a slide to a new cold war, insure the normal and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and prevent the threat of a global thermonuclear conflict. The plenum instructed the Central Committee Politburo to steadfastly pursue the course of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses of comprehensively strengthening the fraternal alliance among socialist states, support the just struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, peaceful coexistence, restraining the arms race, preserving and developing international detente and promoting mutually profitable cooperation in the economic, scientific and cultural areas, in the present situation as well, when the adventurist activities of the United States and its accomplices have intensified the threat of war.

The Leninist peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union is consistent with the vital interests of the peoples of all countries, of all working people. This is a truly insurmountable force. However, we do not forget all sorts of provocations, adventures and acts of aggression are possible on the part of the imperialist states. In order to make our homeland entirely safe the CPSU is doing everything possible to increase its defense capabilities. "All acquired experience and the developing international circumstances and particularly recent facts," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, receiving the Lenin Award, on 31 March, "deem it incumbent upon us to keep our powder dry, to be persistent and systematic in defending the cause of peace, and to remember our historical responsibility for the fate of the homeland and of all mankind."

Submitting to a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, consideration of problems of CPSU foreign political activities, formulation of the foreign political strategy of the country in accordance with the times, and discussion of problems related to strengthening its defense capability at our party congresses have become a tradition and an adamant requirement. Unquestionably, these problems will be considered in all their topical importance by the 26th congress as well.

The 25th CPSU Congress provided a profound all-round analysis of the activities of the communist party under developed socialist conditions. It

noted that today as well, having become the party of the entire Soviet people, it is not losing its class nature. It was, and remains, the party of the working class. Lenin's party today is a powerful sociopolitical organism. The congress emphasized the legitimate increase of the party's leading role. It noted its inflexible loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the organizational and ideological-political unity of its ranks.

Armed with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and creatively developing it, the CPSU is directing the great constructive activity of the Soviet people, leading the country to further social, economic and cultural progress. Characterizing the main trend of the development of the entire system of socialist social relations, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that it consists of the further strengthening of the unity of Soviet society and that this is a unique socialist gain, our priceless and invincible force. Such social unity neither exists nor could exist under capitalism, which is torn by social contradictions.

The organic unity of the Soviet society is manifested in the ideological-moral, sociopolitical and international areas. The Marxist-Leninist ideology of the working class and the party policy shared and supported by the entire people, are its ideological and political foundations. The alliance among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia, the common basic interests of all social groups and toiling strata, and the dominating trend toward social homogeneity determine the unbreakable social unity of the Soviet society. The friendship and cooperation among all nations and nationalities in the country, the creation of a single all-union national economic complex, the interpenetration of national cultures and the ripening of a single communist culture, and the further development and intensification in the Soviet people of the features of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are the reliable base for its nationwide unity.

The basic binding factor of the unity of Soviet society is the unity between party and people. It was hammered out and tempered through decades of joint struggle against czarism and the bourgeois-landowning system, and for building socialism and communism. It has become unbreakable.

At the inauguration of its 25th congress, the CPSU number 15,694,000 party members; on 1 April 1980 it numbered 17,193,376 members, 43 percent of whom were workers and 13 percent kolkhoz farmers. In the first three years following the congress the party accepted on an average 625,000 people per year. The party does not press for the acceptance of new members. It is concerned, above all, with the quality structure of its ranks. Workers account for 59.2 percent of those accepted as candidate party members; 39.3 percent of all party members are employed in industry and construction, 8.2 percent in transportation and communications, and 20.2 percent in agriculture. The educational level, political consciousness, theoretical training and experience and activeness of the party members and their vanguard role in all sectors of the building of communism have risen.

The CPSU--the party of scientific communism--builds all its activities guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, which offers a clear understanding of the historical process, helps to define the trends of sociopolitical and economic development, and assists in achieving a proper orientation in international events. The creative application of Marxism-Leninism and its steady enrichment with new conclusions created by revolutionary practice and the objective historical process are mandatory conditions for its vitality. Our party is doing a great deal in the elaboration of topical problems of revolutionary theory. The party documents, the speeches by leading CPSU and Soviet state personalities, and the works of our scientists sum up the tremendous experience of the class struggle and the building of a socialist and communist society. They provide a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of contemporary international developments. These summations and studies irrefutably prove that those abroad who are now trying to "go beyond the idea of the Leninist revolution and the political culture of traditional communism" cannot seriously set themselves communist objectives. Equally topical today are Lenin's words written at the threshold of the century: "There can be no strong socialist party without revolutionary theory which would rally all socialists, from which they would draw all their convictions and which they will apply in their struggle and ways of action; to protect such a theory, which one considers true, against groundless attacks and attempts to spoil it does not mean in the least to be the enemy of any criticism. We do not consider Marx' theory in the least as something complete and inviolable. Conversely, we are convinced that it merely laid the cornerstones of a science with the socialist must move further ahead in all directions unless they want to fall behind reality" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 4, pp 183-184).

The scientific concept of the developed socialist society, formulated by the CPSU together with the other fraternal parties, is an outstanding achievement of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking. It provides a profound analysis of the economic foundations, social structure, political organization and forms of social consciousness under developed socialist conditions, and the solution of other problems of the building of communism such as the growth of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a socialist state of the whole people, the preservation of the leading role of the working class in society, the increased leading role of the party and the molding of the Soviet people as a new historical community.

Concerned with the steady development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the party does not ignore another most important area of spiritual life in the socialist society--the ideological-moral upbringing of the working people.

The basic economic, sociopolitical and ideological problems of the building of communism can be successfully resolved only with the most active participation of the people's masses, when they profoundly understand these problems and when they are implementing the plans confidently, conscientiously and with full knowledge of the cause. This can be provided only by Marxism-Leninism and the ability to creatively apply its stipulations and conclusions.



Implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, we are doing a great deal to raise and train leading party, soviet and economic workers possessing a deep knowledge of revolutionary theory and high business and political qualities, able to manage and control on the level of modern requirements. For the past two years a qualitatively new higher party educational institution--the CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences--has been functioning. It has been entrusted with training highly skilled leading cadres for the central, republic, kray and oblast organs, and central ideological institutions and organizations. It must give its students thorough Marxist-Leninist training. The creation of this academy raises to a higher level the entire system of theoretical training and of upgrading the skills of party and soviet cadres. The USSR Academy of the National Economy has become the leading center in the training of economic cadres.

In spiritual life the party relies on the effectiveness of its ideological influence, unity of words and actions, close ties with life and combination of ideological-political with moral and labor upbringing. All this was reflected in the 1979 CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," which sums up the party's tremendous practical experience and earmarks ways for the solution of topical problems of ideological activity and for surmounting existing shortcomings. Guided by this document, the party committees and organizations are developing propaganda and agitation ever more extensively and guiding the work of the mass information media. The CC CPSU decree directs the party organs and ideological institutions to provide substantiated and prompt rebuff to all intrigues and insinuations of hostile propaganda and to skillfully expose its lies and provocations, however refined they might be.

In 1980 the Soviet people celebrated two most important historical anniversaries: the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 35th anniversary of the victory over fascism. This promoted the further growth of the communist conscientiousness of the Soviet people and the development in the Soviet people of feelings of socialist collectivism and of patriotic and international duty.

At the 11th party congress, the last he attended, Lenin penetratingly spoke of unity, of the party's unanimous and organized unity, as a great gain. Answering the slander of the enemies that our party is losing its mental and physical flexibility, Vladimir Il'ich said: "No. We have not lost this flexibility. Whenever necessary--because of the entire objective state of things in Russia and throughout the world--to go forth, to advance on the enemy with selfless daring, speed and decisiveness, that is what we did. Should it become necessary, we will be able to do this again and again" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 45, p 136). That is precisely the way our party acted at all historical stages and that is precisely the way it is acting now and will act in the future.

The 25th congress became part of the brilliant galaxy of congresses of our Leninist party. The forthcoming 26th congress, for which currently the party and the entire country are thoroughly preparing, will also assume a proper place among them. Closely rallied around the Leninist Central Committee, the party is marching to its next congress, together with the entire people, full of creative forces, social optimism and confidence in the justness of the great cause of peace and communism.

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## OUTSTANDING RESULTS OF THE LENINIST FRIENDSHIP AMONG THE PEOPLES

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[Article by G. Aliyev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee]

[Text] The creation of a developed socialist society through the heroic toil of the Soviet people is a high achievement of contemporary social progress. It is a natural stage in our historical progress toward communism, ever more fully embodying the Leninist ideas and the cause of the Great October Revolution. Recently the Soviet people and progressive mankind solemnly marked the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth, the birth of the brilliant architect of the new, communist society and the true people's leader.

Again and again, leafing through Lenin's biography and studying ever more profoundly his immortal legacy, from the height of our achievements we realize with particular force the scale and wisdom of Lenin's thoughts and historical rightness. Lenin's doctrine is the concentrated expression of the mind, will and energy of the working class and all working people, embodied in the historical accomplishments of the Soviet people in all fields of social life. "The great energy of Lenin's mind and the beat of Lenin's warm heart," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "continue to live in the party's actions. Lenin's ideas, Lenin's political training and Lenin's science of winning are the inexhaustible source from which we draw confidence in our forces, courage, optimism and the will to win."

Lenin was with us in the full swing of the first five-year plans, and in the battles and victories of the Great Patriotic War. Lenin is with us today as well, when the Soviet people have reached new heights of construction, practically resolving the problems of the building of communism. Lenin's words and actions live in the wise decisions of the party and its Central Committee, in the monolithic unity between party and people, in the great accomplishments of the Soviet people, and in their noble aspiration to live, work and struggle like Lenin, like communists.

The great mission of preparing and heading the first victorious socialist revolution in history, and to combine the theory of scientific communism with the revolutionary struggle of the people's masses, befell V. I.



Lenin and the Bolshevik party. The Great October Revolution opened the age of the liberation of the working people from calamities, suffering and indignities triggered by the age-old domination of the oppressors. A new social system was born and the first socialist state in the world appeared. As Marx, Engels and Lenin predicted, mankind initiated a transition from prehistory to its true history. Lenin established and substantiated the constructive tasks of the liberated people with striking depth and perspicacity. He defined the main landmarks of the future growth of socialism into communism. Today mature socialist social relations, established on their own foundations, crown the revolutionary-transforming activities of the working people in the land of the Soviets.

At the new stage favorable conditions have been created for a considerable growth of production forces, perfecting our socioeconomic system, and steadfastly upgrading the prosperity of the working people. The establishment of a new historical community--the Soviet people--which rallied in a state of monolithic international unity all nations and nationalities in the country was an objective law of the emergence of our society to the height of developed socialism.

The Soviet person, developed in the revolutionary struggle for freedom and in days of peaceful construction, and tempered in the battles for the socialist fatherland, was the main result of the establishment of real socialism. This member of the new socialist system combines inflexible ideological convictions with tremendous vital energy, steady aspiration toward the heights of knowledge and culture, feeling of collectivism and concern for the public good, consistent internationalism and fiery patriotism. His common spiritual features embody the best of the heritage and traditions of all nations in the USSR.

The historical gains of our society, legislatively codified in the USSR Constitution, encompass the richest possible experience in strengthening socialist statehood and developing socialist democracy. They reflect the inviolable unity of the Soviet people. The party considers this unity one of the most important achievements of mature socialism of universal-historical significance. In his meeting with the voters of the *Baumanskiy* Electoral District in Moscow, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev defined the further strengthening of the unity of Soviet society as the main trend in the development of the country in the 1970's.

The communist party, created and hammered out by the great Lenin, is a vivid embodiment of the unity of our society and of its ideas and interests. Vladimir Il'ich emphasized that the basic meaning of the party's activities is "to lead the entire people to socialism, to guide and organize the new system, and to be the teacher, guide and leader of all working people . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, p 26). The Bolshevik party, Lenin's party, became the acknowledged political leader of all working people, and the directing and guiding force of Soviet society.

The contemporary stage in our country's life is characterized by the increased leading role of the party and the intensification of its theoretical, political and organizational activities. The October 1964 CC CPSU Plenum was of tremendous importance in the formulation of the political course under mature socialist conditions. Steadily implementing this course and the historical decisions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th congresses and the Central Committee plenums, the party, its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, insured the outstanding successes achieved by the Soviet people in the building of communism. The past 15 years have been marked by the further perfecting of the party's leadership of society, the strict observance of the Leninist norms and principles of party democracy, and the establishment of a truly Leninist workstyle. During that time the scale of material output more than doubled. The power of the country strengthened and the prosperity of the working people improved considerably.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, is making an outstanding personal contribution to the theory and practice of developed socialism and in the formulation and implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of the communist party and Soviet state. The Soviet people justifiably link the successes achieved in the new stage of development of our country, the headlong upsurge of the economy and culture, and the tremendous growth of the international prestige and influence of the Soviet Union to his dynamic and tireless activities. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works, which enriched Marxist-Leninist theory with new conclusions and concepts, present a great panoramic view of the building of communism. The outstanding trilogy, "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], which described with tremendous power the greatness of the military and labor exploits of the Soviet people, enriched the spiritual world of our contemporaries.

The steadily growing economic and scientific and technical potential of the socialist state and its invincible defense power, multiplied by our unique gain--the unity and solidarity between party and people and among all classes and social groups and nations and nationalities in the country, determine the great constructive power of the homeland of the October Revolution and its outstanding role in the destinies of the world and the progress of mankind. This powerful constructive force is an inexhaustible source of development and blossoming of each of the fraternal peoples of the USSR; it is the guarantee of their prosperity and happiness and splendid communist future.

To V. I. Lenin belongs the greatest merit for the creation of a multinational socialist state and the formulation and implementation of a program for the renaissance and blossoming of previously oppressed peoples who had fallen behind in their historical development. The doctrine on the national problem he created became the foundation of the party's national policy and the most important tool in the scientific management and guidance of a most complex area of social relations--national

relations. Embodied in the party's development of historically new relations among nations and nationalities, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, proved its vitality, consistency with the objective trends and laws governing the development of national and international processes, and its tremendous humanistic transforming force.

Soviet Azerbaijan is a convincing proof of the life-bringing power of socialism and of the triumph of Lenin's theory of the national problem. Under the party's guidance and in the international comity of fraternal republics, Soviet Azerbaijan achieved outstanding successes in all fields of social and spiritual creativity.

The renaissance of the once rightless people, the gigantic leap from age-old backwardness to the peaks of contemporary social progress, accomplished in unheard-of short historical time, and the blossoming of our republic's economy and culture are the embodiment of Lenin's behests and the results of the party's wise national policy.

The historical destinies of the people of Azerbaijan, with all their uniqueness and originality, resemble in a number of aspects and are the same, in the main features, as the historical destinies of the other fraternal peoples of the USSR. The main feature is the joint path of revolutionary struggle, the building of socialism and communism along which they continue to be led by the Leninist party. It is precisely by following this way that the previously oppressed toiling masses of all nationalities in Russia became the true makers of history, destroyed the exploiting system, surmounted age-old backwardness and were the first in the world to build a developed socialist society.

The party insured the gaining by the peoples of the country of one or another form of national statehood. It channeled their efforts to and created conditions for surmounting factual inequality in the economic, social and cultural areas, and for the assertion of socialist relations in all realms of life and interaction among nationalities. The party implemented the socialist changes by surmounting prejudices and biases which had developed in the course of centuries, promoting an internationalist awareness among the broad people's masses, invariably displaying great tactfulness and inflexible principle-mindedness. As a result of the full and irreversible solution of the national problem as we had inherited it from the past, socialist nations and nationalities were formed. National relations imbued with the ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism were organized. Processes of international consolidation among nations and nationalities within the new historical human community developed on the basis of achievements in this area.

The unbreakable ties of fraternity, comradely cooperation and mutual aid, born of the socialist society system and the party's national policy, enriched the national life of each of the Soviet peoples, extensively broadened its horizons, and introduced new features of international comity in the peoples' social and spiritual characters. Each fact

characterizing the development of socialist nations and national relations, and each of their achievements are triumphs of the Leninist doctrine and ideas. The history of each nation in our fatherland, including Azerbaijan, offers clear proof of this fact.

The revolutionary struggle and victory of the Soviet system in Azerbaijan are inseparably linked with Lenin's name and doctrine. His daily attention and support played a tremendous role in the establishment of socialism on Azerbaijan soil. Six decades have passed from the historical day of 28 April 1920, when the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. During that time the people of Azerbaijan have covered a distance equaling centuries. "Under the tried leadership of the CPSU, systematically implementing a Leninist national policy," state the greetings of the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the republic's anniversary, "in cooperation with all the peoples of our country, over the past 60 years, the working people of the Azerbaijan SSR achieved great successes in their political, economic and sociocultural life." The victory of the socialist principles in all areas of the republic's social life, as throughout the country, was embodied in the gigantic growth of production forces, radical changes in the social structure, sharp upsurge in the people's culture and education, and the firmly established new way of life.

Yet the significance of the Soviet system to the historical destinies of the people of Azerbaijan cannot be measured only in terms of socioeconomic accomplishments, however great they may be. One of the most important results of the achievements on the way to the building of socialism was their national renaissance. The Soviet system involved the people of Azerbaijan in the tempestuous process of independent historical creativity. The dialectics of this process is such that, having opened to the peoples the wide road to a communist future, socialism has given them back the best and most progressive features of their historical past. Becoming masters of their destiny, the republic's toiling masses also mastered the very rich classical spiritual legacy of previous generations and interpreted and recreated their own history. The Soviet system insured the nationalization not only of material, but of spiritual values. It is precisely in the Soviet age that the greatest poets and philosophers of the medieval East--Nizami, Fizuli, Nasimi, Khagani and other leading lights of ancient Azerbaijan culture, who enriched world civilization with their brilliant works, acquired citizenship rights in the spiritual life of our people, merged within contemporary culture and became accessible to all. It was precisely under the sun of socialism, relying on the powerful strength of our multinational state, that the people of Azerbaijan assumed an independent and proper place among the peoples of the USSR and the world over.

The Azerbaijani socialist nation was formed as a result of the changes in the entire system of social relations. On the basis of a socialist common economic life, territory, language and culture, the people of Azerbaijan



reached a high level of national development. They are linked with the peoples of our country through the deep comity of historical destinies, the single national economic complex of the USSR, and identical social structure and governmental-political system, spiritual affinity, and communist ideology. The progressive process of mastering the Russian language, which is the most important means for international communication and international unification, was widely developed in the republic.

The Russian language plays a tremendous role in the development of the people of Azerbaijan and in the upsurge of the general culture of the republic's population. It has entered all realms of its economic and spiritual life. The maximum utilization of the possibilities of the national and the Russian languages, and their harmonious combination with a view to insuring the fullest possible satisfaction of the requirements of the building of communism, are an objective law reflecting profound international processes and insuring in the final account both the blossoming of and rapprochement among nations. The Azerbaijan party organization pays constant attention to the dissemination of the Russian language. Our task is for every citizen of the republic freely to master the Russian language and for the Russian language to be as native to any Azerbaijani as his own. We consider this task one of the most important directions in all mass-political and ideological work aimed at the further advance of national relations and at strengthening and intensifying the international unity of the Soviet people.

Azerbaijan is multinational. "The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic," states the 1978 republic's constitution, "is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and working people of all nationalities in the republic." People representing nearly 100 nations and nationalities, merged within a single fraternal family, are jointly writing the labor chronicles of their sunny area, multiplying its glory and wealth. The Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast have enjoyed all-round development within the Azerbaijan SSR.

The unification of the republic's population within a single international collective of working people is a specific manifestation of the viability of the national-governmental structure of the USSR, and the triumph of Lenin's national policy. It vividly confirms the fact that the internationalist traditions of the Baku proletariat are living and developing in all of our present accomplishments. They appeared in the crucible of revolutionary battles, acquired a new meaning in the course of the building of socialism and communism, entered the treasury of the spiritual wealth of the masses, and became one of the main motive forces for the blossoming of Azerbaijan.

Our entire moral-psychological atmosphere is imbued with a spirit of internationalism established in the way of life and behavior of the people. Armed with the richest possible traditions of proletarian and



socialist internationalism, party and Komsomol members and nonparty people are brimming with the desire to strengthen the international unity of our society, improve relations among nations and develop them on the basis of the achievements of mature socialism.

The experience in the development of socialism acquired by the people of Azerbaijan in 60 Soviet years is a vivid confirmation of the powerful revolutionary-transforming force of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the fruitful international content and principles of the national policy of the communist party and Soviet state. It proves the tremendous historical advantages of the socialist social system which release the energy and creative initiative of the masses, and opens to them the path of free development and construction.

The friendship and fraternity among the peoples of the USSR are among the most important gains of our system. This is the concentrated manifestation of the successes and triumph of the Leninist national policy. The establishment of friendship in the relations among nations and nationalities is an outstanding achievement of durable universal-historical significance. As a component of the Soviet way of life and its outstanding moral-political value, the friendship among the peoples enriches their lives, comprehensively accelerates their development and creates favorable conditions for the blossoming of the economy and culture of all Soviet republics.

The powerful constructive force of the friendship among fraternal peoples is manifested in each achievement of Soviet Azerbaijan and in each of its steps forward, as in all other republics. "Friendship among the peoples," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, "has become part of the flesh and blood of our social life. Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Latvians, Kirgiz, Tadzhiks, Armenians, Turkmens and Estonians--all the peoples of our homeland see in one another friends and fellow workers, helping one another, working together, together participating in the struggle for the building of communism. Such is the great result of the Leninist national policy."

The ceremonies dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Communist Party of Azerbaijan developed into a vivid manifestation of Leninist friendship and indissoluble fraternity among the peoples of the USSR. The nationwide celebration of the anniversary of each fraternal republic has become a great and very useful tradition of great educational importance. Noting the anniversary of one or another republic, the entire country, the Soviet people, give its successes and achievements their due, strengthening international relations, and becoming more profoundly aware of the outstanding results of the friendship among the fraternal peoples. Such celebrations are a particularly clear and outstanding expression of the unique nature of relations of international fraternity, unparalleled in world history, emphasizing the unquestionable historical superiority of the socialist over the bourgeois way of life.

As we know, the exploiting system has always divided the peoples into ruling and oppressed, granting privileges to the former to the detriment of the latter. K. Marx and F. Engels profoundly revealed the inner reasons for relations of domination and subordination among nations, and defined the means for establishing international equality. Under the new historical conditions Lenin formulated a revolutionary program for radical changes in national relations, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. He ascribed a special role in resolving the national problem to the working class of the dominating nation. ". . . In Russia," he pointed out, "the proletariat of the oppressing nation is struggling and must struggle side by side with that of the oppressed nations. The task is to defend the unity of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism and rebuff the entire influence of bourgeois and reactionary nationalism" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 25, p 317). For the first time in universal-historical practice, the system of national-colonial oppression, which has endured through the centuries, was destroyed precisely by the Russian working class, by the working people of the great Russian nation. It is precisely the Russian people who assumed the noble mission of being the first to implement the ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity among nations.

The Russian people made a tremendous contribution to the practical solution of the national problem in our country. Their general and selfless aid revived previously oppressed nations, and helped them reach the peaks of contemporary social progress.

At all stages in the history of the Soviet state, the Russian people were, and are, in the vanguard of the builders of a new life, leading through their inspired toil and revolutionary scope the accomplishments of all nations of our homeland. Friendship with the great Russian people--the senior among equal fraternal peoples--is a tremendous social wealth which multiplies the strength and possibilities of each one of them. The people of Azerbaijan reached their true happiness through friendship with the Russian people. All socialist gains of the people of Azerbaijan are related to the fraternal aid and support of the Russian people. We deem it our duty and task to protect and comprehensively strengthen fraternal friendship with Russia and the Russian people, and to raise all generations of Azerbaijani population in a spirit of love and gratitude toward our elder brother and together with all the peoples of the USSR, increase the power of our fatherland.

Turning to the sources of the achievements of our republic we can see with particular clarity the effectiveness and fruitfulness of the comprehensive approach adopted by the communist party to the solution of the national problem. Concern for the planned and proportional development of the sum total of economic, sociopolitical and cultural aspects in the life of each nation and nationality; comprehensive consideration of all-union interests and of the interests of other nations in all realms of the national development of a given nation and consideration of its interests in resolving all-union problems; combination of measures aimed

at the intensive economic and cultural construction of each republic with ideological-educational work in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and friendship among the fraternal peoples--such are the most important aspects of the party's national policy characterizing its comprehensiveness, scientific substantiation and comprehensive solution of national and international problems of the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet state as a whole and in each separate republic.

The successes of Soviet Azerbaijan are also the result of the systematic solution of the entire set of socioeconomic, sociopolitical, state-legal, spiritual-ideological and cultural problems of the republic's development. The most complex problems in building the new life were and are being resolved by the party in accordance with the specific conditions and characteristics of the social and spiritual life of the people, and their historically developed traditions.

The historical documents of the Great October Socialist Revolution--"Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," and the appeal "To All Working Muslims of Russia and the East"--are a vivid proof of the attentive and considerate attitude toward the national characteristics and feelings of the nations. The appeal, which proclaimed the basic principles of Leninist national policy, stipulated, among other things, the following: "Structure your national life freely and without hindrance. You're entitled to do so. Know that your rights, like the rights of all the peoples of Russia, are protected by the entire power of the revolution and its organs, and by the soviets of workers and soldiers and peasants deputies." Having proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia and the abrogation of any and all privileges and restrictions, the Soviet system called upon the Muslim peoples to support the socialist revolution. For the first time in history the working people of the Islamic East were addressed in a language worthy of a man and a citizen. This was the language of the October Revolution, the language of Lenin's party.

All the nations and nationalities in our country, including those professing the Islamic faith, successfully surmounted their age-old backwardness, resolved their socioeconomic and cultural problems, developed and enriched their traditions, and above all became the masters of their own fate, acquiring a happy life in free labor and fraternal international comity. Everything achieved today by the peoples of the USSR is an attractive example to the working people of Asia and Africa struggling for freedom and national independence.

V. I. Lenin dreamed of seeing Azerbaijan a model socialist republic in all respects, believing that this would be the best possible agitation and propaganda for our cause throughout the tremendous multinational east. On his initiative, four months after the victory of the soviet system in Azerbaijan, the first congress of the peoples of the East was held in Baku, attended by nearly 2,000 delegates from 40 countries. The congress raised the slogan of "Workers of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!" which was approved by Lenin.

We proudly state that Vladimir Il'ich's dream came true. "Becoming, from a former colonial suburb of the Russian empire, one of the blossoming republics of our country building communism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "Soviet Azerbaijan is a convincing proof of the powerful creative force of socialism and an inspiring example to the young national states and the peoples fighting for social and national liberation."

Like that of the other fraternal republics, the experience of Soviet Azerbaijan confirms the great international significance of the Leninist national policy. This experience has irrefutably proved that independent historical creativity is not accessible merely to "chosen nations." The possibility and capability for active social construction and participation in the building of a new life by any nation, including that of Azerbaijan, were discovered and implemented by socialism, by the soviet system. The entire 60-year-old history of our republic could be used as an object lesson by all progressive forces taking the path of national liberation for the successful solution of the set of socioeconomic and cultural problems of independent development, surmounting tremendous difficulties along its way, and harmoniously combining national with international interests.

The achievements of our republic are one of the components of the historical experience of the multinational Soviet socialist state. This experience, in the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "gained global recognition. It provides support and gives strength to all fighters for social and national liberation." The very reality of fraternal relations among peoples, the unbreakable unity of their interests and objectives, their will and their actions, and the activities of the communist party in further promoting the Leninist national policy at the present stage favorably influence the development of the liberation struggle against imperialism and provide invaluable aid to the fraternal communist and workers parties and to the young countries which have taken the path of independent development.

Strengthening the unity of the multinational Soviet state, and the ever-broader development of cooperation among nations and nationalities of the USSR in the building of communism intensifies even further the revolutionizing international influence of the homeland of the October Revolution and of the Leninist theory of the national problem.

The stage of mature socialism introduced new elements in the development of national relations and in the growth of the international unity among nations and nationalities in the country. Today national relations are defined through the processes of intensified all-round economic integration among republics within the single national economic complex, in accordance with all-union and national interests. Today national relations are characterized by the high-level comprehensive social unity among nations and nationalities, the homogeneousness of their social structures, the harmonious combination of union with national statehood, democratic centralism and socialist federalism, as codified in the



Constitution of the USSR and of the Soviet republics, the domination of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the social mind, proletarian internationalism, and the international unity of national culture composing the single Soviet culture.

The further development and blossoming of nations and nationalities within the single Soviet people are organically paralleled by the ever-growing scale of international contacts and interactions, intensive processes of internationalization of aspects of life, broadening the processes of fruitful inter-republic exchange of material and spiritual values, and exchange of experience in building the new life and cadres. In the final account, all such processes lead to the even greater strengthening of the unity of the Soviet people and to its advancement and development. At the same time, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in his report on the draft of the USSR Constitution, "The sociopolitical unity of the Soviet people does not mean in the least the disappearance of national differences." The processes of the further consolidation of the Soviet people and, at the same time, of the blossoming of socialist nations maintain a complex dialectical interaction. They are interdependent. Occasionally, nonantagonistic contradictions may arise between them, which attentively studied and considered are resolved painlessly. However, it is entirely clear that each nation and nationality within the Soviet people gains ever more favorable possibilities for the development and advancement of progressive characteristics and qualities enriched with an international content.

Harmoniously combining national with international interests and requirements of social development, at the mature socialist stage the communist party is leading the fraternal peoples of the USSR along the path of even more tempestuous blossoming and closer rapprochement.

Continuingly summing up the tremendous practical experience in the functioning and advancement of national relations, acquired in the course of the building of communism, the party is creatively developing the principles of the Leninist national policy in terms of the requirements of Soviet contemporary life. On the basis of the achieved factual equality among nations, it insures the harmonious and comprehensive development of the economies of all republics. It is concerned with their efficient specialization depending on available natural and manpower resources, in the interests of the entire Soviet people and of each individual nation.

Mature socialism is a powerful booster of the development of all aspects of the life of Soviet Azerbaijan. The republic's economy and culture have taken a major step forward. Its sociopolitical life has become richer and more comprehensive. The 9th and 10th Five-Year plans hold an outstanding position in the chronicles of the republic in terms of constructive scope. This period has been marked by the high and stable growth rates of all economic sectors. It has been marked with a growing industrial and agricultural output with every passing year, the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and socialist obligations, considerable improvements of quality indicators in all economic sectors and the



increased contribution of the republic to the implementation of all-union tasks. What is particularly important is that this period has been marked by an enhancement in the political standard of the broad masses and their inexhaustible initiative and creativity.

Between 1970 and 1979, as a whole, the volume of industrial output in Azerbaijan rose by a 2.2 factor. Electrical engineering and other contemporary industrial sectors appeared and are successfully developing. Compared with 1969, the 1979 consumer goods output was higher by a factor of almost 2.5. Within that time labor productivity in industry rose by a 1.8 factor.

Radical changes took place in agriculture. In 10 years its gross output rose by a factor of 2.1. Compared with 1969 the 1979 harvest of the leading industrial crop--cotton--was higher by a 2.5 factor.

The prosperity of the people is increasing with every passing year. Every third person in the republic has improved his housing conditions and one out of five students is attending a school built during the 9th and 10th Five-Year plans. The average monthly wage of workers and employees rose 33 percent; kolkhoz wages rose by a 2.2 factor; payments and benefits from social consumption funds rose by a 1.8 factor.

In the 1970's we were able to surmount a lagging behind the average union level in the growth of the national income, which as we know is the summed-up indicator of public production effectiveness. All in all, including the 1980 plan, in the 9th and 10th Five-Year plans the absolute growth of the national income will be higher by a 2.4 factor compared with the 7th and the 8th.

The 10th Five-Year Plan was noted by the highest indicators of socio-economic progress. In terms of the growth rates of the republic's national income, its plan was fulfilled as early as 1979. In terms of the overall volume of industrial output it was fulfilled over 9 months ahead of schedule. By the end of 1980 goods worth 1.5 billion rubles will have been produced above the plan and the growth rate of industrial output will reach 47 percent, as against 39 percent planned for the five-year plan.

Implementing the party's agrarian policy and the decisions of the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, the agricultural workers achieved great successes. They outstripped the level of gross output planned for 1980 ahead of schedule, as early as 1978. On an average, between 1976 and 1979 the growth in the volume of gross agricultural output was 40 percent higher compared with the 1971-1975 period, whereas the planned figure for the entire five-year plan called for a 21 percent increase.

The five-year plans for sales to the state of grain, vegetables and fruits were fulfilled ahead of schedule, in four years. The republic assumed one

of the leading positions in the country in grape procurements. In the past 4 years our viticultural workers raised and harvested over 3.5 million tons of aromatic soft fruits, or as much as in the Eighth and Ninth Five-Year plans together.

The role of science in the life of the republic has intensified. Its growing influence on production, culture and the way of life of the people is an important characteristic of our time. In Azerbaijan science has become a powerful generator of innovative ideas and fruitful search for productive solutions. The new meaningful works, distinguished by their high ideological and professional standards, have enriched the artistic culture of the people of Azerbaijan.

A number of examples convincingly confirm the tremendous successes achieved by the republic in all fields of life. The most important and outstanding among them is that of the people themselves who became conscious creators of material and spiritual values and of socialist and communist social relations. The bulk of the working people of Azerbaijan are displaying the best qualities of the new man, such as industriousness, multiplied by profound knowledge and professional skills, a rich spiritual world, high idea-mindedness, moral purity, intolerance toward shortcomings and the opposites of the socialist way of life and toward all negative phenomena, inflexible loyalty to the homeland, and zealous Soviet patriotism and internationalism. Generally speaking, these are people whose active life stance is unquestionable.

The republic's working people are justifiably proud of the fact that the past decade has been the decade of the Red Challenge Banner for Azerbaijan. For 10 consecutive years, for successes achieved in the all-union socialist competition, the Azerbaijan SSR has been awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee.

On the eve of the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth, and of the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan SSR, the republic's working people reported an outstanding labor victory: the ahead-of-schedule implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The labor exploit of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia in the republic was most highly appreciated by the party and the government. The Azerbaijan SSR was awarded the Order of Lenin for great successes achieved in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress on the development of the national economy and for ahead-of-schedule implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan for industrial and agricultural output. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev warmly congratulated the republic's working people on the occasion of this victory.

Analyzing the factors which predetermined the socioeconomic upsurge of the republic in the Ninth and 10th Five-Year plans, we have full justification to consider that this is the result of the systematic implementation

of the general line of the communist party and the historical decisions of its 24th and 25th congresses and CC CPSU plenums. Our achievements became possible thanks to the constant attention paid to and concern for Soviet Azerbaijan by the party's Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, the Soviet Government and, personally, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. In order to provide Azerbaijan with practical assistance, during that period the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers passed five decrees related to our republic. These documents, of historical importance to us, prove that the Leninist traditions and concern for the development of each republic and people are living and operating in today's party affairs. They embody the Leninist national policy in its dynamics and development, translated into the specific language of socioeconomic decisions applicable to contemporary tasks. The party and government decrees play a tremendous role in surmounting the lagging of the republic's economy which took place in the 1960's, achieving high growth rates of production forces, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and improving the prosperity and culture of the working people. They laid a firm foundation for Azerbaijan's all-round development in the Ninth and 10th Five-Year plans and on a long-range basis.

Our successes are the result of inspired labor and extensively developed socialist competition which became a real school for economic management and a real force in the struggle for upgrading social production effectiveness and work quality.

The successes of Azerbaijan as of each Soviet republic are part of the country's overall achievements. They are based on the single national economic complex, mutual aid and fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR. This is one of the most important sources for our accelerated progress in all directions of economic and cultural construction.

Finally, there is yet another factor which predetermines the achievements of the republic: the increased organizational and ideological activities of soviet and economic organs, and of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations. By this we mean the further assertion of the Leninist norms of party life and the principles of objectivity and justice at all levels, the strengthening of party and state discipline, and a respectful, sympathetic, yet exacting and demanding attitude toward cadres. By this we mean the steady upgrading of the responsibility of the party members and leading workers, a principled attitude toward shortcomings and omissions, and extensive development of criticism, self-criticism and publicity of adopted measures.

It is also a question of advancing the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the working people in the spirit of the principles of the moral code of the builder of communism, strict observance of the norms of socialist community life, and an uncompromising struggle against misuses of official position, manifestations of a philistine, petit bourgeois and private ownership mentality, the disease of possessiveness, protectionism, bribery and all opposites to communist morality, all negative

phenomena. It is precisely the combination of all this that led to the creation of a healthy and effective moral-psychological atmosphere in the republic, in which the creative possibilities of every working person are being manifested ever more fully.

The decisions of the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum are a battle program in the struggle waged by the party members and working people in the republic, as throughout the country, for the further development of public production. Addressing the plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that, "We have set ourselves a major task such as upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. We must always keep it in sight. We must continue to consider how to accelerate scientific and technical progress, strengthen labor and state discipline, and insure the confident growth of labor productivity." The Azerbaijan party organization considers as its main task the skillful utilization of the initiative and efficiency of the masses, mobilize their efforts to achieve even more productive work and intensified search for reserves, and insure the further acceleration of the pace of development of the national economy.

In order to surmount existing shortcomings, unfinished work and difficulties, we shall pursue even more persistently and energetically the party's economic policy and strive to achieve best end results. As past experience indicates, the way to achieve this lies above all through an upsurge in the level of management and improvements in the economic mechanism, all-round advancement of the style and methods of all work, and the creation of an atmosphere of strict exactingness, organization and creative attitude toward labor.

The ways and means for intensifying ideological activities and bringing them closer to life, to the people, their interests and their requirements, are defined in the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Comrade L. I. Brezhnev provided a new impetus in the upsurge of all propaganda and education work in his outstanding speech in receiving the Lenin Prize.

Intensifying organizational and political-educational activities is our main task in the extensive and tense work of preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress. The party members and all working people of Azerbaijan are trying to mark the forthcoming congress with accomplishments worthy of our Leninist party. Fighting for the successful fulfillment of the high socialist pledges of the final year and of the entire 10th Five-Year Plan, the republic's working people are thus laying solid foundations for its further socioeconomic upsurge in the 11th Five-Year Plan, in the 1980's.

The successes and achievements of our republic at the developed socialist stage convincingly prove the insurmountable vital force and tremendous creative potential of the national policy steadily developed and enriched with new experience by the party. The party's national policy is a

policy expressing the will and interests of all peoples of the USSR and the basic laws governing the development of the new historical community--the Soviet people. Insuring the steady blossoming and all-round rapprochement among nations and nationalities, this policy is aimed at creating ever more favorable conditions for the happy life of the people. The people of Azerbaijan, all working people in the republic, consider this policy a reliable guarantee for their even better future.

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## KRASNOYARSK DECADE: RESULTS, PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 34-47

[Article F. Fedirko, first secretary of the Krasnoyarskiy Kray CPSU Committee]

[Text] In April 1918, expressing in his "Outline of a Plan for Scientific and Technical Work" his consideration on the efficient location of production forces of the Russian Soviet Republic, V. I. Lenin drew attention to the need to develop the areas east of the Urals. Implementing Lenin's behests, the party is systematically pursuing a course of accelerated involvement of Siberian natural resources in the country's national economy.

In April 1978, in the course of his trip to Siberia and the Far East, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, met with the members of the bureau of the Krasnoyarskiy Kray CPSU Committee. At the meeting he discussed the further growth of the economic potential of the eastern parts of the country and their enhanced role in the all-union industrial output. He particularly emphasized the great importance of Krasnoyarskiy Kray in resolving this problem. "The rich ore and raw material resources of your area," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "are getting to be very close to the processing enterprises. Already today this is yielding considerable economic results. . . . The complex nature of the development of the sectors in Krasnoyarskiy Kray is of great importance to the economy of the entire country." He noted the need for accelerated construction of industrial projects and issued a number of specific recommendations on the further development of production forces and the fuller and more effective utilization of production reserves. The party members and all working people in the kray accepted comrade L. I. Brezhnev's advice and instructions as a battle program for action for the creation of the biggest national economic complex in the eastern part of the country.

### I

Krasnoyarskiy Kray has extremely rich mineral, fuel-energy, timber, water and land resources. It accounts for over 40 percent the proven brown coal

reserves of the country, 18 percent of the union timber stock and 13 percent of all hydraulic power resources. It has extremely big deposits of ferrous and nonferrous metals, and hundreds of surveyed deposits of other minerals.

The high level of concentration of industrial and agricultural output, the kray's availability of highly skilled cadres of workers and engineering and technical personnel, and the very rich natural resources were prerequisites for the formulation of a long-term national economic program. Program proposals formulated by the kray party and soviet organs, together with scientists and specialists from various ministries and departments, as early as the end of the Eighth Five-Year Plan, submitted for consideration by directival organs, were approved. A special decree was passed on measures to regulate the comprehensive development of production forces of Krasnoyarskiy Kray for 1971-1980. Its most important stipulations were subsequently reflected in the decisions of the 24th and 25th party congresses.

The kray party organization faced the task of insuring the creation of a powerful base for the electric power industry and energy-intensive output and machine building through the intensive development of big industrial structures such as the Krasnoyarsk, Noril'sk, Kansk, Achinsk, Nazarovsk, Minusinsk, Lesosibirsk and Abakan industrial centers. The expansion of their economic potential was to be accomplished mainly through the construction and commissioning of big production facilities, reconstruction of existing enterprises, further increase in the level of mechanization and automation of production processes and enhancement of labor productivity in all national economic sectors. At the same time, the social infrastructure was to be developed at a proper pace. The party members and all working people welcomed the concern of the party and the state for the development of the kray's economy and culture with warm gratitude and actively undertook the implementation of the program, figuratively described as the Krasnoyarsk 10-year plan.

Five very big territorial-production complexes are taking shape in the kray, combining 10 industrial centers. Leading among them is the Tsentral'no-Krasnoyarskiy TPK [Territorial Production Complex] in which are concentrated nonferrous metallurgy, machine building, petrochemical and light and food industry enterprises, and where the powerful Krasnoyarsk GES is functioning. Currently the complex accounts for over 40 percent of the kray's entire industrial output. An extremely big plant for the production of heavy excavators, equaling Uralmash in importance, has been undertaken here. Existing enterprises are being intensively reconstructed.

The Severo-Yenisey Complex consists of a number of powerful production facilities of the Noril'sk Ore-Mining Metallurgical Combine, which extracts and processes nonferrous metal ores, big construction organizations and the Ust'-Khanay GES, the northernmost in the world. Also located here is the first gas pipeline beyond the polar circle between Messoyakha and Noril'sk.

The construction of the Nadezhdinskiy Metallurgical Plant is nearing construction.

The Siyansk Territorial-Production Complex is taking shape on the territory of the Khakasskaya Autonomous Oblast. It includes the Abakan, Siyanogorsk, Minusinsk and Chernogorsk industrial centers located in the vicinity of each other. Altogether, they include over 100 organizationally and technically interconnected industrial projects. They include complexes of metallurgical, electrical engineering and railroad-car manufacturing enterprises under construction and operating light and food industry enterprises. The Sayano-Sushenskaya GES, the most powerful in the world, will become the energy heart of the complex.

The Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex (KATEKa), known throughout the country, whose active construction was begun in 1979 in accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees "On the Creation of the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel-Energy Complex" and of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Developing the Work for the Creation of the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel-Energy Complex," offers extremely rich prospects. In terms of the production of fuel and electric power it will be unequalled not only in the country but throughout the world. The plans here call for the building of very big thermoelectric power plants generating 6.4 million kilowatts each and the development of coal mines with an annual fuel extraction of 60 million tons. In the future, at full capacity, the complex will produce 1 billion tons of coal and 100 million kilowatts of electric power. The electric power plants in the complex will produce in one year as much energy as all electric power plants in the country produced in 1959.

The development of the Nizhne-Angarsk TPK, whose energy center will be the Boguchanskaya GES, has been undertaken. Here complexes of timber processing combines will the total processing of timber raw material will be focused.

Currently problems are being developed related to the establishment of other territorial-production complexes and industrial centers, including in the northern part of the Kray in the Taymyrskiy and Evenkiyskiy autonomous okrugs, which will be celebrating their 50th anniversary next December.

The Soviet system brought the small peoples of the Yeniseysk North freedom from hunger and poverty, epidemics, merciless exploitation and national oppression. The Leninist national policy of the CPSU radically changed the life of the peoples of the north, enabling them to participate in the creation of developed industrial output and multisectorial rural and mining industries, and the development of their native culture.

The riches of the north have been put at the service of man. Today an active search for petroleum and natural gas and other minerals is under way in Taymyrskiy (Dolgano-Nenetskiy) and Evenkiyskiy autonomous okrugs and Turukhanskiy Rayon, whose population includes members of tens of nations

and nationalities. In the 9th and 10th five-year plans capital construction and industrial, social and residential building was developed here extensively. Transportation--water and air--and means of communications and television developed at a fast pace. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers February 1980 decree "On Measures for the Further Economic and Social Development of the Areas Inhabited by Nationalities of the North" opened new possibilities to the small nationalities of the kray.

The intensive growth of the industrial potential is inseparably linked with the further development of agriculture, science and culture, and the implementation of major social programs in the kray.

Implementing the decisions of the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, the kray working people undertook the intensification of agricultural production on the basis of the strengthened material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhazes, specialization, concentration and interfarm cooperation, and the improved material prosperity and cultural standard of the rural population.

We are faced with the task of sharply upgrading farming standards and the fertility of the fields, complete reclamation projects on an area of 394,000 hectares, build big animal husbandry complexes and create in the areas where industrial centers and territorial-production complexes are being developed specialized farms for the production of potatoes, vegetables, broilers and eggs.

The volumes of housing, cultural-residential and communal construction in the villages are rising. This five-year plan the pace of this construction rose over 11 percent. With a view to creating proper conditions for the population in the promising villages general construction plans are being formulated. A total of 248 of the 438 central kolkhoz and sovkhaz farmsteads already have such plans.

The material and technical base of higher and secondary schools and sectorial scientific research and design organizations broadened and strengthened considerably in the course of the implementation of the Krasnoyarsk ten-year plan. The Krasnoyarsk branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department that was established is developing successfully. Its task is to resolve basic scientific problems. Creative cooperation between collectives of institutes and enterprises and construction projects is expanding steadily and the effectiveness of scientific developments is increasing. At the same time the accelerated development of production forces requires the further expansion of the network of scientific institutions and the enhancement of their role in resolving economic and social problems.

The Krasnoyarsk 10-year plan contains an extensive social program which calls for the growth of the material prosperity and culture of the kray's working people and the population's income and consumption, upgrading the educational and cultural standards of the working people, and improvements in health care.



In the 10th Five-Year Plan alone the average wage of workers and employees in the kray rose 12 percent. In 1979 it was 210 rubles compared with 188 rubles in 1975. Retail trade rose and the volume of consumer services increased. Public consumption funds have increased. Over 1.7 billion rubles of the kray's budget were spent for public education, health and culture. Social insurance outlays have risen.

Today the kray has a university, polytechnical, technological, nonferrous metals, agricultural, three pedagogical and a medical institute, and 68 secondary specialized schools. In the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan alone over 100,000 higher and secondary level specialists were trained. The kray's vocation-technical schools have provided the national economy over 113,000 workers with different skills.

The comprehensive purposeful program implemented by the Noril'skiy Industrial Rayon is an example of the concern shown by the kray party organization for the population's health. The purpose of the program, known as the "health five-year plan," is to study the activities of the population of the city of Noril'sk, the industrial center above all, and the comprehensive practical utilization of the results of sociohygienic and medical-biological studies. Its implementation is greatly contributing to protecting the health of the working people in the northernmost industrial rayon in the kray, which is of great national economic importance.

Expanding the volume and upgrading the quality of medical services, bringing them closer to the population, and eliminating health-care disparities between town and country, have led to an increased natural growth of the population and a decline in the morbidity rate.

The kray is extensively engaged in the construction of planned preventive care establishments, sanatoriums and rest homes. The Krasnoyarskoye Zagor'ye Sanatorium, for 1,000 people, is being built on the basis of the local Kozhanovskiye Mineral Water Springs. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the number of working people annually strengthening their health in sanatoriums and preventive care institutions doubled.

Extensive work is being done in the kray to protect the air and water basins in order to insure normal living conditions for the population within the framework of the Krasnoyarsk 10-year plan. With every passing year the network of facilities for the treatment of sewage waters is expanding in Krasnoyarsk, Achinsk, Kansk and Chernogorsk. The construction of treatment systems has been completed in Noril'sk, Minusinsk, Dudinka and other settlements and cities. Facilities for the tapping and rendering harmless noxious gases are being installed at most industrial enterprises. The development of centralized heat supplies made the closing down of 150 small boiler facilities possible. In the 10th Five-Year Plan state expenditures for protecting the air and water basins in the kray exceeded 327 million rubles.



The kray's working people, who frequently work under severe weather conditions, must not have the feeling that they are living in a remote area from any viewpoint. They could and are entitled to enjoy all the benefits of modern civilization and culture. In the last decade cultural construction has been developed particularly extensively in the kray. Within that time 313 new cultural projects were completed and commissioned, including a state circus, the Art School imeni V. I. Surikov, arts and crafts workshops and a house of culture in Krasnoyarsk, a theater and music school with dormitory facilities for 980 students in Abakan, and rayon houses of culture and libraries. The inauguration of the State Theater for Opera and Ballet and the Krasnoyarsk State Arts Institute, in 1978, was a major event in the kray's life. A ballet school and symphony orchestra were created. The network of children's music and arts schools in the various rayons have been considerably expanded. The people of Krasnoyarsk are proud of their Siberian State Dance Ensemble whose outstanding art is widely known, not only at home, but abroad.

We consider the fact that in the 10th Five-Year Plan our labor resources have become noticeably stabilized and that the population's migration from the kray has been reduced the natural result of improved cultural and social living conditions.

## II

The implementation of programs for the comprehensive development of production forces in the kray, and the scale and complexities of the problems arising in this connection called for improvements in the methods and style of work of the party committees. Under new circumstances, in connection with the growth and quality changes of the economy, the responsibility of the local party organs and primary organizations for the solution of economic problems and for providing a truly scientific management of all aspects of life of the labor collectives has risen. It is precisely this high responsibility that the kray party organization is trying to develop in every party, soviet or economic workers, focusing its efforts on the implementation of party and state decisions and the kray's further accelerated development of production forces on the basis of an optimum combination of sectorial with territorial planning and the solution of the most important intersectorial problems.

The most topical socioeconomic problems of the kray are systematically submitted for discussion at practical and theoretical science conferences. As a rule, the country's scientists and specialists from different ministries and departments actively participate in such conferences. In 1979 alone, conference topics included "Ways for Upgrading the Effectiveness of the Work of Party Organizations at Construction Projects," "Scientific and Technical Problems of the Noril'sk Industrial Center and Ways to Resolve Them," "Basic Directions in the Development of Railroad Transportation in the Area of the KATEKa," and "Ways to Improve Production Planning and Management in the Kray's Industry." Recommendations issued at such

conferences are extensively used by party, soviet, economic and public organizations in their practical work.

The technical-economic councils set up on the kray, oblast, city and rayon party-committee levels, rallying within their sectorial sections a number of leading specialists and scientists, are of great help to the party organizations in coordinating the efforts of scientists in formulating recommendations on topical problems of the kray's development. The kray party committee also has a scientific council coordinating the activities of scientific and scientific research organizations for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Frequently in considering complex national economic problems, the kray and other party committees include currently in their decisions specific long-term programs for their implementation, developed with the help of kray specialists and scientists and interested ministries and departments.

The kray party committee bureau and the respective ministries have passed and are successfully implementing joint decrees on matters such as strengthening the base of the construction industry, developing rail and automobile transportation networks, strengthening the base of inter-kolkhoz construction organizations, broadening the material and technical base for the production of grain products, and improving specialist training. Such decisions contribute to the proper combination of the sectorial with the territorial planning methods and the observance of the principle of comprehensiveness in the development of the national economy.

The comprehensive development of capital construction and upgrading the effectiveness and quality of construction work are of exceptional importance to our tempestuously developing kray. In the course of the 10th Five-Year Plan the kray has created new specialized construction and installation organizations which are steadily expanding their capacities. With a view to further upgrading the technical and organizational standards of the work and shortening on this basis the length of construction time, a comprehensive plan for the further development of the construction industry and construction material industry, taking into consideration the requirements of scientific and technical progress, was formulated with the participation of the USSR Gosstroy, ministries and departments. This plan is being systematically implemented.

Aware of the fact that as major industrial centers and complexes are created, and as problems of upgrading the effectiveness of manpower utilization assume exceptional importance for the kray's economy, the kray party organization is paying constant attention to the shaping of stable labor collectives. In this respect it is helped by the soviet organs. In June 1979 the session of the kray soviet of people's deputies considered the condition of and measures to improve the utilization of manpower resources. The kray CPSU committee and soviet executive committee formulated a number of measures in connection with the promulgation of the CC CPSU, USSR

Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On the Further Strengthening of Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy." These measures are currently systematically implemented by the labor collectives.

The party committees and primary party organizations are focusing their main attention on improving the organization of labor, insuring the fuller utilization of the working time, advancing youth training for socially useful labor, upgrading cadre skills and insuring the all-round growth of labor productivity on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the further mechanization and automation of production processes. These efforts are yielding good results.

Thus, in the 10th Five-Year Plan state funds in excess of two billion rubles were spent on the reconstruction and technical retooling of operating enterprises in the kray; 470 mechanized and automated assembly lines were installed; 136 shops and sectors were comprehensively mechanized and 23 were automated. This had a positive impact on the growth rates of industrial output. Particularly extensive technical retooling was carried out by the Krasnoyarskugol' and Sibtyazhmash associations, the Noril'sk Ore-Mining Metallurgical Combine, aluminum and nonferrous metal plants, Sibelektrostal', and others.

The plans for the economic and social development of labor collectives are playing an ever more important role in insuring a comprehensive approach to the development of production forces. Whereas in the Ninth Five-Year Plan 253 collectives, cities and rayons had such plans, today their number has reached 1,432. A five-year plan for the kray's economic and social development was drafted for the first time.

The party committees are steadily working on improving the quality structure of management cadres. They are working to turn economic managers into literate and politically mature specialists and are concerned with increasing the party stratum among them. Currently 76 percent of the kray party organization members are engaged in material production.

In order to extend more completely the party's influence on all sides of life a number of party committees have been consolidated. At the same time the network of shop party organizations and party groups is broadening. Educational work among party members at sectors and brigades is improving. Essentially the kray's party committees are managed by party members with higher education well familiar with the production process; 75 percent of them are engineers and economic specialists. The share of all specialists has increased at all levels of the party apparatus. Improving the quality structure of leading party cadres has had favorable impact on the level and effectiveness of the organizational and political work of rayon and city party committees.

Regulating the process of the organization of new labor collectives has become the most important link in the party's economic management. The

party committees pay great attention above all to the creation of a healthy psychological climate and to upgrading the role of the primary party organizations in the communist upbringing of the working people. Over 4,500 specialists, including 440 people engaged in managerial economic work were transferred from existing enterprises and construction sites and assigned to the new labor collectives in order to strengthen them.

The practice of joint work by party committees of client enterprises and construction organizations, and the creation of joint temporary party groups at most important projects and production sectors, which consider problems of upgrading the quality of construction, shortening completion deadlines, and mastering production capacities, has become extensively widespread.

As we know, passing a good decision is insufficient. The main thing is to implement it properly. "The tasks facing us," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, "demand, among other things, to intensify and harden control over the implementation of planned assignments and decisions."

The kray party committee bureau and secretariat, all its departments, the Khakasskaya Oblast Party Committee, and the okrug, city and rayon party committees are focusing their main attention precisely on the organization of control over the implementation of their own decisions and on providing practical help to the party committees and primary party organizations.

The effectiveness of such an approach to control is obvious. Let us take as an example the Krasnoyarsk Aluminum Plant. At the start of the 10th Five-Year Plan its work was unstable. In order to correct the developing situation, a group of specialists from the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, and senior kray party workers were sent there. They helped the plant's collective to determine production bottlenecks and earmarked an efficient plan for action by the party committee and the economic managers, stipulating the mobilization of party members and the entire plant personnel for the elimination of shortcomings in the organization of the work, the proper deployment of cadres, the strengthening of labor discipline, improving the living conditions of the workers, and intensifying mass-political work. All this enabled the kray party committee bureau to pass a substantiated decision whose implementation is currently kept under strict control. As a result of the adopted measures the plant's collective substantially improved its work, fulfilled the 1979 State Plan, and has been stably working this year.

The party committees steadily rely on the commissions controlling administrative economic activities in checking the implementation of decisions. The kray has 2,642 such commissions, totaling over 11,000 party members. The commissions control important lines of economic work, such as the installation of new equipment and technology, timely completion and mastering of production capacities, quality of output and construction work, and



efficient utilization of transportation and material and financial resources. The commissions do not merely control, but provide great practical aid to the party committees and economic managers in the elimination of existing shortcomings.

Ways and means of control such as reports submitted at party committee sessions and party meetings by enterprise administrations, shop and sector chiefs, or section managers, covering one or another aspect of their production activities, practiced by the kray's primary party organizations, have proved their usefulness.

The soviets and trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations are extensively participating in controlling the qualitative and prompt solution of economic problems. The party members coordinate and head all control work from below, directing the activities of people's control groups and posts and the "Komsomol Beacon," and give them practical assistance. The party committees and bureaus of the primary party organizations consider the work plans of these organizations, discuss them and issue their recommendations.

### III

Socialist competition is the most important means for the further upgrading of production effectiveness and of political and labor education of the masses. Its participants are making a major contribution to the successful implementation of the comprehensive program for the development of the kray's production forces.

Following is a specific example. Answering the party's appeal to build quickly, economically and on a modern technical level, in 1976 the leading collectives of enterprises and construction projects of Krasnoyarsk, Achinsk and Minusinsk sponsored the patriotic initiative of launching a socialist competition under the slogan of "Let Us Give the Homeland More Output Through the Ahead-of-Schedule Completion and Mastering of Production Capacities!" The progressive collectives pledged to give the homeland additional output worth no less than one billion rubles by the end of the five-year plan.

The movement for the Krasnoyarsk billion developed along three main directions. The most important among them was insuring the production of additional goods worth 350 million rubles by commissioning new production capacities ahead of schedule. In order to insure the successful implementation of this task, together with the interested ministries and departments the kray party committee formulated programs for the development of the individual economic sectors and the commissioning of the most important projects. They include the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the Abakanvagonmash Production Association in Abakan, the Minusinsk Electrical Engineering Complex, the Noril'sk Ore-Mining and Metallurgical Combine, and the Achinsk Alumina Combine.



The staffs of the shock construction projects, headed as a rule by the secretaries of city and rayon party committees, play a major role in the development of the socialist competition for the ahead-of-schedule completion of production capacities. The staffs operatively consider and resolve all problems arising in the course of the implementation of adopted socialist obligations, and coordinate the activities of construction and installation organizations and consumer and material and technical supply services.

In the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the kray completed ahead of schedule 183 industrial projects, which contributed about 146 million rubles to the Krasnoyarsk billion.

Another source for the production of additional goods worth 250 million rubles is mastering ahead of schedule installed production capacities. In this case particular attention is paid to insuring comprehensiveness in the development of each enterprise and the sector as a whole. As a rule, the measures for the ahead-of-schedule installation of production capacities call for the simultaneous completion of housing facilities and sociocultural projects sufficient for the staffing of production facilities with workers and engineering and technical cadres. Involving operational workers in the installation and tuning of technological equipment, side by side with construction and installation workers, and their timely training at progressive enterprises in the kray and throughout the country play an important role in the fastest possible mastering of installed capacities.

The implementation of such measures has had a positive effect on mastering the capacities of a number of production projects, as a result of which additional industrial output over the first four years of the five-year plan totaled 350 million rubles.

The third line in the movement for the Krasnoyarsk billion is the production of above-plan goods worth 400 million rubles on the basis of the growth of economic production effectiveness. The main attention in resolving this problem is focused on the technical retooling of existing enterprises and applying the latest scientific and technical developments and progressive experience in the work. In the first four years of the five-year plan, thanks to the strictest observance of a regimen of savings, the application of contemporary scientific and technical achievements, and improvements in production organization, the kray's industry contributed over 300 million rubles of above-plan output to the Krasnoyarsk billion. All in all, between 1977 and 1979, the progressive enterprises contributed 805 million rubles to the Krasnoyarsk billion.

Over 1.2 million people are involved in the struggle for the Krasnoyarsk billion. The party members are the organizers of the labor competition: 52,500 or 95.5 percent of the party members employed in material production or kolkhoz members successfully fulfilled their 1979 obligations for additional output. The economic results of the application of measures

stipulated in the individual creative plans of over 25,000 engineering and technical workers and agricultural specialists exceeded 12 million rubles. Last year about 17,000 kray party members participated in rationalization and inventive work. The implementation of their suggestions saved 19.8 million rubles. They are successfully working on the fulfillment of their socialist obligations in the current final year of the five-year plan.

The overwhelming majority of city and rayon party organizations in the kray extensively apply the practice of hearing reports submitted by party members at party meetings on the implementation of their socialist obligations. Last year such reports were submitted by about 27,000 party members, including 10,300 workers and kolkhoz members.

The kray CPSU committee bureau set up an operative group working to intensify control and coordinate the efforts for securing the commissioning of scheduled projects. Senior personnel of the kray party, soviet and economic organs have been assigned to the scheduled construction projects. The construction of projects such as the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the Krasnoyarsk Heavy Excavators Plant and the Kanak-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex, are under the constant supervision of coordination councils headed by secretaries of the kray party committee. The councils include ministry and department heads.

A new form of socialist competition--the creative scientific and technical cooperation among collectives of different cities and oblasts participating in the building of most important projects--developed in the course of the construction of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, and approved by the CPSU Central Committee, has been extensively applied in 18 of the most important construction projects in the kray.

The kray party committees have intensified their activities in providing ideological support for the fulfillment of plans and socialist obligations and in disseminating the achievements and practical experience of leading production workers. This is the target of the system for the political education and economic training of the working people. Today over 82 percent of the heads of seminars, political courses and circles within the party and Komsomol education system and economic training are members of the "A Five-Year Plan of Effectiveness and Quality for the Propagandist" movement. In order to provide practical aid to the party organizations in mobilizing the working people for the successful implementation of adopted socialist obligations, kray, city and rayon party committee propaganda groups regularly visit the leading kray construction projects.

For example, the kray CPSU committee formulated a comprehensive plan of measures to provide ideological support to the ahead-of-schedule commissioning of the turbines of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES. It calls for measures aimed at mobilizing the efforts of construction collectives and defines the specific assignments of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and mass-information and propaganda media for the solution of the

main problem of the hydraulic construction workers. Similar measures were developed for the Nadezhdinskii Metallurgical and Achinsk Petroleum Refining plants, the Abakanvagonmash Production Association, the heavy excavators plant and the projects of the KAPTEKa. This extensive multiple-level work is based on the stipulations and conclusions of the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

The intensification of organizational, political and ideological work enabled the kray party organization to achieve specific positive results in the implementation of state plans and adopted socialist obligations, and the implementation of the Krasnoyarsk 10-year plan.

In nine years the volume of the kray's industrial output has increased by a 1.8 factor. The fastest possible growth rates were in sectors whose output rose by the following factors: ferrous metallurgy, 2.5; machine building, 2.5; light industry, 2.3; nonferrous metallurgy, 1.9; and construction materials industry, 1.7. The value of productive capital in industry exceeded 12 billion rubles. Let us emphasize in this connection that we were able to stabilize capital returns. This was extensively helped by the movement which developed in the kray for the fastest possible mastering of production capacities. Progressive quality changes were achieved in all realms of economic management: labor, metal and material outlays were reduced; profits and profitability at most enterprises rose. Compared with 1975 the volume of output bearing the state Emblem of Quality rose by a 5.5 factor.

The material and technical base of transport enterprises and organizations was strengthened. In the 10th Five-Year Plan alone 2,200 km of motor vehicle highways were laid in the kray, on which run the powerful trucks produced by the Kama plant; new VL-80KR electric powered locomotive engines are rolling on the tracks; the subdivisions of the Yenisey River Shipping Administration received new big and small river vessels. Air transportation developed particularly strongly in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Tens of new landing and takeoff strips with artificial lining were built in the kray; modern fast YaK-40, An-26, TU-154 and IL-76 airplanes are flying the kray's air lanes.

Agricultural production was developed further. In the 10th Five-Year Plan over one billion rubles' worth of capital investments were invested in the kray's agriculture. The average annual gross agricultural output rose eight percent, while marketable crop and animal husbandry goods rose 17 percent. Twenty-two big agricultural complexes are operating on an industrial basis.

A tremendous amount of construction was completed between 1971 and 1979. Capital investments exceeded 21 billion rubles. This includes 13 billion rubles in construction and installation projects. A total 770 major industrial projects and capacities were commissioned, including the first turbines of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES and the production of flatcars and

the heavy tonnage containers by the Abakanyagonmash Association; the plant for trailers and industrial structures of the Krasnoyarsk Combine has begun the production of semitrailers. As a result of the efforts of the construction workers and all kray working people, the industrial centers and rayons and territorial-production complexes whose creation has been included in the Krasnoyarsk 10-year plan and the 24th and 25th party congresses, are beginning to acquire tangible outlines.

The 10 years of practical experience by the kray party organization on the implementation of the comprehensive program for the development of production forces convincingly proves, therefore, the correctness of the party's course of comprehensive development of the eastern parts of the country.

#### IV

The kray's availability of rich natural resources and its natural weather and geographic characteristics predetermine its further accelerated progress through the comprehensive development of fuel-energy, mineral-raw material and timber resources, the location in the area of energy-intensive production facilities, based on the most efficient utilization of electric power and water resources, and the development of heavy machine building for the production of goods adapted to the conditions of Siberia and the north.

Taking into consideration the priority given the kray in areas such as electric power and the coal industry, in our view it would be necessary to formulate as soon as possible a scientific system for their development which would include the commissioning of hydroelectric power plants along the Yenisey and Angara power systems, rayon GES of the KATEKa, and big thermoelectric power plants in the kray's cities and enterprises.

Considering the tempestuous development of the kray's production forces, it also seems expedient to formulate and ratify through corresponding decisions measures to stimulate the inflow of new cadres, their retention and insuring maximum effectiveness in the utilization of manpower in all economic areas. The importance of this is exceptionally high also because we have a large number of all-union shock Komsomol construction projects and that it is precisely here, above all, that experienced cadres are trained. It is far from indifferent to us whether they remain in the area or, eventually, move to other parts of the country. Many other problems remain whose solution requires the closest possible attention of ministries and departments.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers July 1979 decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" stipulates measures to intensify the comprehensive approach to the solution of national economic and sectorial problems in planning the development of production forces and the utilization of natural resources.



This approach calls for paying greater attention to a progressive method of production organization, such as territorial-production complexes. It is a question of the coordinated development of a system of specialized production facilities within the TPK and of its infrastructure: industrial (unified transportation network, construction base, energy system and other sectors) and social (housing, service enterprises, schools, hospitals and cultural institutions). Our kray's practice in planning and building industrial centers within the TPK has proved their high economic effectiveness.

As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, we must "develop democratic principles and local initiative, unburden the upper echelons from dealing with minor matters, and insure operativeness and flexibility in decision making." Today one could confidently say that the implementation of the Krasnoyarsk 10-year plan proved the tremendous advantage of resolving a number of economic and social problems directly on the spot with the interested participation of ministries and departments. Yet the kray's economic management mechanism so far can resolve only an insignificant percentage of problems related to the comprehensive development of production forces and upgrading, on this basis, public production effectiveness, while many problems remain totally unresolved.

We believe that general plans are needed for each big TPK, to be ratified by the corresponding agencies and granted legal status. This would provide real opportunities for the local areas to exert the necessary influence on sectorial organizations and surmount departmentalism. Corresponding TPK management structures are needed, particularly in their formation stage. This is confirmed, in particular, by the experience in the development of the Sayansk Complex involving the participation of tens of ministries and departments. The creation of the complex has already taken a number of years. Yet its management has still not been organized as an integral system. There is no single plant, and therefore there are no special funds allocated for planning, and there is virtually no practical coordination in designing the individual projects in the complex, both in terms of time or planned technical and economic solutions. This leads to rather complex situations. Thus the turbines of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES have already produced their first billions of kilowatt hours of electric power, yet its main consumer--the Sayansk Aluminum Plant--still lacks a single completed electrolysis building. Yet the completion of the first such buildings was planned for 1979.

The Minusinsk Electrical Engineering Complex, consisting of 12 big plants, should yield high economic results. As a result of the effective choice of enterprises, based on similarity of technological processes, extensive cooperation, the creation of a single base for auxiliary and service facilities, and the reduction and simplification of transport networks, the number of complex workers will be reduced by 15,000 people and construction costs would be lowered. Unfortunately, the building of the plants within the complex is taking place slowly because of inadequate financing by the USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry.



So far poor work has been done within the TPK on the rational utilization of manpower and natural resources, and the formulation of general systems for the production and social infrastructure, intersectorial production facilities and repair bases. Planning the commissioning of production capacities, some ministries and departments considerably limit the financing of residential construction and cultural and consumer amenities. This considerably restrains the commissioning of new production facilities. The effectiveness of the TPK is obvious. Also obvious, however, is the need to further improve their management both in the stage of the establishment and practical activities of the enterprises within their structure.

Completing the 10th Five-Year Plan, the people of Krasnoyarsk are fully resolved to fulfill the state plans and socialist obligations and, together with the rest of the country, worthily welcome the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress, answering through their actions the tireless concern of the party and the state for the kray's accelerated economic and social development.

The kray party organization is currently focusing attention on upgrading further social production effectiveness and work quality, improving the economic mechanism on the basis of combining territorial with sectorial planning of the development of the kray's production forces, and increasing the volumes of output and capital construction through the fuller and more economical utilization of manpower, financial and material resources.

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## COSMONAUTICS FOR THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

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[Article by Academician V. Avduyevskiy]

[Text] Cosmonauts Leonid Popov and Valeriy Ryumin are carrying out their work assignments orbiting around the earth aboard the Salyut-6-Soyuz 36 complex. . . .

Already twice they have been visited by colleagues, first by the international crew consisting of USSR flier cosmonaut Valeriy Kubasov and cosmonaut researcher Bertalan Farkas, citizen of the Hungarian People's Republic, and by Yuriy Malyahev and Vladimir Aksenov, space researchers aboard the Soyuz T-2.

We already seem to be becoming accustomed to such events even though each one of them is an outstanding scientific and technical accomplishment, a new flight into the unknown, which became possible thanks to the coordinated activities of hundreds of specialists--production workers, researchers and test pilots.

Presenting government awards to the Soviet and Hungarian cosmonauts, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "The history of the conquest of space is taking place under our very eyes. Man is mastering the complex art of living and working beyond the range of the planet ever more deeply and thoroughly. We are legitimately proud of the fact that citizens of the socialist countries have made great contributions to mankind in this peaceful field as well."

The emergence of mankind in space is a natural historical action. As confirmed by the experience of the past 20 years, a variety of activities may take place outside the earth, such as placing various types of equipment and laboratories and, in the future, even factories.

At the turn of the century our noted compatriot K. E. Tsiolkovskiy substantiated the basic possibility for space flights and earmarked the ways for the development of rocket and outer space technology. After the October Revolution, as the course of the communist party for the industrialization

of the country and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress was being implemented, as early as the prewar years prerequisites were created for an approach to the practical solution of the problem of the conquest of space. In the first years following the victory of the Great Patriotic War, the new industrial sectors needed for the development of missile and space systems came into being.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev was at the origins of Soviet space accomplishments. His office as CC CPSU secretary was like a headquarters where the most important problems of the conquest of space were resolved. It was here that conferences took place with the participation of noted scientists, designers and specialists in various technical areas. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev could be frequently seen at the plants where rocket technology was being developed. In the course of several years, after he was assigned by the party to manage the domestic rocket construction and organizational work related to the conquest of outer space, a number of most complex basic scientific and technical problems were resolved by the design bureaus headed by noted scientists and designers: powerful rocket engines, faultless automated rocket flight control systems and reliable and perfect capsules were created. The main spaceport of the country--Baykonur--today known the world over--was built. Ground stations of the command-metering complex were commissioned in various parts of the country. The expeditionary ships of the USSR Academy of Sciences--floating metering centers--sailed the waters of the world's oceans. Finally in the early morning of 4 October 1957, a Soviet Sputnik went into orbit around our planet.

This date marks the beginning of the counting of the space era. It is a permanent record of a most profound social thought: The first step beyond the limits of our planet, which laid the beginning of the space efforts of mankind, was taken by the first state of workers and peasants on the eve of its 40th anniversary.

The development, designing and testing rocket systems which could launch into orbit around the earth artificial earth satellites became possible thanks to great achievements in chemistry, physics, metallurgy, technology, aerodynamics, heat transmission, ballistics and other scientific and technical areas and, mainly, thanks to the powerful industrial base created within a historically short time through the heroic toil of a people following the road of socialism.

The moment it appeared and began rapidly to develop, space rocketry began, in turn, to have a tremendous impact on the overall scientific and technical level of the country's national economy, and to contribute to the appearance of a number of new directions in industry.

Today we can openly claim that the penetration of outer space and the conquest of space around the earth are already bringing extensive immediate usefulness to the economy and to scientific development. The use of cosmonautics became an almost daily matter and there is no area of socially

useful activity or national economic sector to which the achievements of space technology do not or could not find an application.

Once Antoine de Saint-Exupery compared the airplane to the plow. Indeed, new technical facilities enable us to "plow" new unknown "land." In this sense cosmonautics has incomparably broadened our opportunities, enriched joint efforts with a new meaning, and faced mankind with new tasks.

The purpose of socialist social production is making its mark on all this. "We, mankind, need space not for the sake of setting records, even though the space heroes set such records by the nature of their service," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, presenting the high awards of the homeland to the crew of Soyuz T-2. "In the final account, things on earth are the beneficiaries of space discoveries."

Our planet is an oasis of life in the vastness of space. Its natural development is consistent with its laws. In order to study them, cosmonautics offered the astronomers basically new possibilities, providing them with inordinately effective means for observation and experimentation.

A new stellar science appeared thanks to cosmonautics: extra-atmospheric astronomy. Taking astronomy equipment beyond the atmosphere drastically broadened the area of research. The earth's atmosphere absorbs gamma rays, X-rays, ultra violet and virtually all infrared rays. Furthermore, the resolution ability of telescopes in the visible range is strongly limited by scattering of light, clouds, turbulence and other atmospheric obstructions. The possibility now exists to conduct observations covering the entire range of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Interesting information, quite important in understanding basic natural laws, was obtained in the study of short wave emanations with the help of apparatus aboard the Salyut stations and the Kosmos series satellites. Our ideas on the nature of solar activity and the mechanism of solar flares and sun spots, and the processes taking place in the solar corona and the atmosphere, strongly influencing earth's nature, were broadened considerably. It is precisely space technology that enabled us to establish the connection between solar activities and a number of geophysical, biological and weather phenomena on earth.

The understanding of solar processes also sheds light on the processes in remote stars.

The study of X-ray sources of nonsolar origin is of fundamental importance to science. Currently hundreds of such sources have been found. Many researchers identified them with binary systems consisting of a compact object (possibly a neutron star or a "black hole" theoretically predicted, possessing rather strong gravitation) and a normal star. X-ray radiation may appear when such objects are absorbed by the matter of the neighboring star.

Ultraviolet astronomy has acquired equal importance. It has broadened our ideas on the stellar atmosphere, interstellar space and intergalactic gas.

Inordinate possibilities have been acquired by space radio and infrared astronomy. It is penetrating the secrets of distance quasi-stellar formations and radio galaxies. Its development will require the placing of big antennas (with a diameter ranging into the hundreds of meters) in outer space, and securing through special systems their precise orientation, stabilization and permanent heat system.

Noting the successes of extra-atmospheric astronomy, let us note that it is as yet at the initial stage of development. Unquestionably, its further progress will enable us to understand more profoundly physical processes occurring in the universe and will substantially enrich our basic knowledge.

The solar system is of particular interest from the viewpoint of the use of space technology for astronomical research. Mankind has long been excited by problems of the evolution of the sun and the planets and, naturally, the earth, and in their interaction.

In recent years the possibility has appeared to study planets with the help of huge ground radars. For example, it is possible to measure the radiation of planets in the band of the radio range with which it penetrates the earth's atmosphere. Interesting data have been obtained on the dimensions of planets and their physical characteristics and topography. The temperatures and optical characteristics of their surfaces or their clouds have been assessed.

On the basis of ground observations, scientists have formulated a number of interesting suppositions concerning the characteristics of the planets and the space around them. Many such hypotheses were proven correct. However, data based on quite limited, fragmentary and indirect information and on exclusively theoretical computations and hypotheses are far from sufficient if we are properly to understand the nature of planets, their current and former condition and development, i.e., that which comparative planetology requires.

It would be entirely unrealistic to try to resolve problems of possible biological activity on other planets before developing the possibility to send to them space instruments equipped with automated instruments or manned ships.

Today we could say without exaggeration that studies conducted with the help of space technology have essentially changed our ideas on the planets and the moon and have enabled us to consider anew the origin of the solar system and the processes occurring on earth.

A vivid example of the successful use of space equipment in the study of planets is the direct measurements conducted in the atmosphere and surface



of the planet Venus, initiated in 1967 with the Soviet Venera-4 interplanetary station. As we know, that planet is concealed by clouds and its surface is totally inaccessible to optical observations from the earth. Science offered speculative views on its subject.

Following the flight of the Soviet automatic station, it became clear that Venus is quite different from our planet. It is an inordinately thick atmosphere essentially consisting of carbon dioxide with small quantities of nitrogen, water and oxygen, a pressure of about 90 atmospheres on the surface, and a temperature close to 500 C°.

Subsequent flights yielded information on the cloud stratum which contains sulfur and sulfuric acid compounds.

Measurements of the illumination intensity on the far side part of the planet, initiated in 1972 with the help of the Venera-8 station, made it possible to determine the boundaries of its cloud stratum and provided necessary information for the elaboration of a system with which to photograph its surface.

The wide photographs of the planet covered by clouds with the telephoto meters of the Venera-9 and Venera-10 landing systems were a triumph for Soviet space technology. They are of tremendous scientific significance. In particular, traces of recent tectonic activities were detected on the photographs.

The flights to Mars as well brought a number of surprises. The astronomers had been looking at that planet particularly closely, for, on the basis of a number of features, for a long time they had presumed the existence of noticeable biological activities on the planet and had even formulated hypotheses on the possible existence of a civilization on Mars.

It turned out that the atmosphere of Mars has a density lower than that of earth by a factor of nearly 100. Unexpected atmospheric phenomena, discovered with the help of space instruments, proved the existence of global dust storms capable of lasting several months.

The study of the geological features of Mars enabled us to develop a new concept on the past history of the planets in the solar system. Particularly interesting was the discovery on Mars of gigantic volcanic holes and huge cracks whose age appears to be about one billion years.

The flight to the moon, Mars and Venus of Soviet and American space sounding satellites, and the photographs of Jupiter and its satellites have already provided invaluable information on tectonic activities there in the past and the present, and enabled us to acquire a more accurate view on the age and development of the solar system, climatic changes, meteorological phenomena and the heat system of the planets. A young science--comparative planetology--important in understanding the development of the earth and forecasting its future, acquired a solid foundation.

Thus the study of all planets around the solar system and of small bodies, asteroids and comets, was developed on a broad front. The study of the latter should contribute to our understanding of processes which occurred at the initial period of the system's formation.

Thus entirely new horizons of knowledge were opened to science. At the same time, however, demands concerning technical systems for space activities, in which the production and research are indivisible, rose sharply. Thus a big radio telescope operating in outer space must be made with the help of strictly non-earth technology. Its complex scientific systems must also perform the functions of a flight apparatus.

The work of space probes must be combined to a maximum extent with the research and functional-technical operations of the entire set of board equipment. All this presumes the closest cooperation between scientists and engineers. In this area it would be difficult to distinguish between the significance of theoretical research and design.

Life on our planet and its further existence and development are inseparably linked with the naturally formed specific cover--the biosphere. As a result of lengthy evolution a dynamic balance was established among its various natural structures and between organisms and the environment. Through photosynthesis plants produce oxygen whose concentration, needed by anything animate, has been kept relatively constant for at least the last 50 million years. The ozone layer protects the earth's surface from the fatal influence of ultraviolet radiation. Carbon dioxide is absorbed by the plants on land by the phytoplankton in the oceans. An ecological balance which helps to maintain life is maintained in nature. It disturbance is fraught with unforeseeable consequences.

Industrial development, scientific and technical progress and population growth are inevitably related to the exploitation of natural resources, the extraction of petroleum, coal and other minerals, and to agricultural intensification. As a result of industrial activities a great amount of products of combustion, carbon dioxide, carbonic and nitric acids, and sulfur compounds are released into the atmosphere. Forests are being destroyed in a number of areas on earth. Rivers and the world's oceans are being strongly polluted by petroleum and harmful chemicals. Thoughtless handling of toxic substances and radioactive waste is another danger.

Scientific and technical and economic progress cannot be stopped. However, nor should we disturb the ecological balance, for the very conditions of the existence of life on earth may be threatened. The growing anthropogenic influences on the environment may prove to be the triggering mechanism of serious violations of this balance (the thermal balance, for example), which is still maintained by nature on earth.

Problems of environmental protection are closely interwoven and global. Thus the burning of a large quantity of coal in England raises the volume

of sulfur compounds in the atmosphere over Scandinavia. A sulfur haze has been detected even over the North Pole. Changes in the ice cover of the arctic and Greenland, and in the temperature of the world's oceans actively affect the weather and the amount of precipitation in various parts of the planet. Unwise cultivation of the land could cause the growth of deserts or, conversely, the swamping of fertile land.

Control over such processes on a global scale and obtaining the necessary data for improving human economic activities are possible only through the creation of a system of satellites continually observing the atmosphere, the ground surface, and the world's oceans. This would enable us to identify quite rapidly areas promising from the viewpoint of geological mineral prospecting, fishing, and timber development. It would enable us to determine water stocks in glaciers feeding rivers, identify areas with different moisture and contamination by pests, forecast crops, and so on. The study of the earth's surface simultaneously in various parts of the spectrum has turned to be particularly successful. It makes it possible to detect the existence of a number of characteristics and details undetectable through conventional photography.

On the other hand, the same systems provide the necessary information on the biosphere in all parts of the globe, enabling us to control the condition of the environment, the composition of the atmosphere, the degree of damage caused the ozone layer, oceanic pollution, and the preservation of wooded areas and fertile lands. True, we should note that, alas, on a global scale, so far the measures taken to protect the environment are behind the pace of its destruction. This is reported ever more frequently by satellite systems which provide comprehensive information on the condition of nature on earth.

Major legislation has been passed in our country on environmental protection, Foundations of Water Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics, and decrees of the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers on increasing environmental protection and improving the utilization of natural resources. All of them are focused on optimizing the interaction between man and the biosphere and the latter's preservation. Control with the help space technology will contribute to the implementation of such exceptionally important state laws.

The development of satellite meteorology has increased our understanding of the general laws governing the shaping of the earth's climate. The problem is rather complex, for the thermal condition of our planet, oceans, and atmosphere is unstable, depending on a number of factors, the most important of which is solar activity. In any case, permanent comprehensive global observation of the earth from outer space is a necessary means for acquiring data for the development of more advanced methods for estimating the climate and forecasting the weather.

Within a short time geographic and geological maps were charted with the help of satellite systems. They are more accurate than those resulting

from traditional methods, not to mention the entirely incomparable savings of time and funds in accomplishing this.

Global measurements of the earth's gravitational field and the obtaining of precise data on it would be totally impossible without satellite systems.

The fast increase in information flows--scientific, technical and business --as well as the increase in the various forms of communications among people are characteristic features of our time. For this reason organizations and private individuals need ever faster channels of communication, and the availability of telephone and telegraph communications and television facilities reaching the most remote parts of the globe. The successes achieved in radio engineering broaden the possibilities in this respect. However, a substantial increase in the volume of data transmittal is possible only by shortening the length of electromagnetic waves. Most promising are meter, centimeter, millimeter and micron wavelengths used in optical laser systems. Using ultrashort waves tens of television transmissions and thousands of telephone communications may take place at the same time.

However, as we know, ultrashort waves can propagate only within a direct visibility range. Here again cosmonautics came to the aid: artificial earth satellites began to carry radio relay facilities, in such a way as to position them in the area of direct visibility of transmitting stations and consumers. In a number of cases it has been found expedient to position communications satellites in areas of their reciprocal visibility.

For the past 15 years a communications system using Molniya high elliptical orbit satellites has been operational in our country, insuring multiple channel telephone and telegraph communications and retranslation of black and white and color television signals throughout the entire territory of the USSR. Five years ago the Raduga, Ekran and Gorizont communications satellites were launched on a geo-stationary orbit, i.e., the time they take to orbit the planet is equal to the speed with which it rotates around its axle. It is as though they are hanging motionless relative to the surface of the earth in specific and strictly determined points 36,000 km above the equator.

Currently the remote areas of our country receive color television programs with quite simple reception antennas.

Communications and radio relay satellites have firmly become part of our daily lives, replacing a number of expensive and complex ground systems. Moving at a great altitude they are always directly linked with the receiving centers and are a very effective means for the gathering and relaying of information from various types of specialized satellites which observe the weather and nature on earth, maintain low orbits, and have no direct contact with reception facilities.



The level of current space technology enables us to speak of the organization in the foreseeable future of a global system of communications with subscribers with no ground centers whatever and the creation of a single information area which could be used by any subscriber at all times and anywhere on earth. For example, the creation of systems of navigation satellites appears quite imminent. A user who connects with them with the help of portable systems would be able to determine his position, course and velocity with high accuracy.

Scientific and technical progress is closely linked with successes in the development of new and the improvement of familiar building materials. The idea of using the new equipment for this purpose was born with the very first space flight. Here weightlessness was the main additional technological factor. The absence of gravity is of great importance if the developed material goes through various phases of aggregate condition in the course of its manufacturing.

On earth, because of the force of gravity a natural convection always exists in a liquid or gas, as a result of which there is a stratification of the developed material as it cools off, and the heterogeneous distribution of specially introduced alloying admixtures. Furthermore, under ground conditions liquid substances inevitably touch the walls, are polluted by them, or even enter into chemical reactions with the container.

In a state of weightlessness there is no natural convection and a smelt does not have to touch the walls of the container.

Crystallized substances are extensively used in all scientific and technical sectors. The possibility to produce them is frequently determined by the level of development of the sectors themselves. Therefore, high perfection of crystals is necessary. However, the proper disposition of the atoms in the grid is disturbed when crystals are grown. Dislocations arise and the quality of the final product is greatly worsened.

The existence of so-called point defects is another imperfection in crystals: individual atoms leave their places in the crystal grid as a result of which the characteristics of crystals (electric conductivity, heat conductivity, density) change greatly.

Convective movements introduce additional disturbances and increase the number of defects.

Under conditions of weightlessness the mixing of substances and their homogeneous distribution takes place through diffusion which occurs quite slowly yet enables the atoms in the crystal grids of the forming substances to assume a strictly defined position and reduce the number of dislocations. As a result, the quality of an almost perfect crystal is tens of times superior to that of conventional crystals.

Whereas in conventional crystals the number of dislocations per square centimeter ranges from  $10^5$  to  $10^{10}$ , in order to be used in high-quality semiconductors it should be in the range of 10 per square centimeter. The quality of a semiconductor depends quite strongly on the evenness with which its blending admixtures are distributed. Even insignificant polluting admixtures, lesser than one millionth of a percent, are inadmissible.

The development of space technology is paralleled by the study of the behavior of matter in weightlessness or at low gravity, the study of natural and thermocapillary convection, diffusion in liquid and solid state, and thermocapillary effects. Such studies enable us to develop on earth previously unknown effects in order, subsequently, confidently to control the space production process.

The first step in space technology was the creation of proper systems and experimental laboratory facilities aboard a space ship, similar to those used on earth. The Salyut satellites proved to be the most suitable for such purposes. The studies initiated aboard the Salyut-5 are being successfully continued and developed on the long orbiting Salyut-6 ship as well as aboard probing rockets making short flights in weightlessness.

The largest number of experiments in space has involved the growing of crystals, above all for the semiconductor industry. A number of experimental semiconductor high-quality monocrystals have been obtained, germanium and silicon above all.

Also obtained in a condition of weightlessness were quite good gallium phosphide and arsenide, indium antimony, germanium selenide and telluride, monocrystals of triple mixtures containing components with entirely different specific gravities, such as cadmium-mercury-tellurium and cadmium-mercury-selenium, and other complex compounds possessing semiconductor qualities and of very important use.

Aboard the Salyut ships technological means are being developed for obtaining monocrystals of perfect structure made of solutions, melts or gases, with different speeds and means of heating and cooling. Various epitaxy methods are being studied, i.e., the growing of some fine crystalline strata of matter of a similar type on the crystal grids of others. The growing of strata with changed characteristics through this method leads to the development of miniature electronic instruments replacing circuits with thousands of transistors.

Also interesting are metallurgical experiments, particularly with a view to obtaining superconductor materials and magnetic materials with a high coercivity strength.

Alloys of substances with great differences in specific weights have been achieved. Such substances, hardening on earth, would inevitable stratify.

Technological experiments in space proved the possibility for producing high-quality glass for different purposes, particularly transparent long glass fibers with low light absorption, important in optical connections. Systems are being prepared for the production of particularly pure biologically active medical preparations through electrophoresis.

Inordinately broad opportunities have appeared for the production of composite materials which, as we know, are extensively applied in technology and construction and at home. Such materials could be reinforced, i.e., strengthened by superstrong thread-shaped crystals--"whiskers."

Physical-technical and technological studies under weightless conditions or at low gravity have given impetus to the development of new scientific directions, mathematical modeling of latest technological process in particular.

Observations of crystal forming in weightlessness helped to understand the mechanism governing the growth of crystals under different conditions. In particular, it has been noted that the speed of this growth could change in some cases. This leads to the consideration that it would be possible to control the characteristics of crystals.

Space technology is in fact merely at its beginning. Studies and developments in this area offer new possibilities in the knowledge of materials, metallurgy, solid-state physics and the study of the phenomena of heat and diffused transfer and convection. Unquestionably, the economic effect of such results would be substantial.

Qualitative results could be expected as well, i.e., the production of substances which are totally impossible to produce on earth such as, for example, a specially pure and biologically active medical preparations.

Our imagination helps us to see future space "factories": fully automated ships with complex equipment for the production of materials whose manufacturing in space would be considered expedient.

All life on earth and in the biosphere as a whole owes its existence to solar energy. All means without exception of our food, all deposits of coal, petroleum and gas, and the energy of hydroelectric plants are, in the final account, the products of solar radiation.

However, the ground atmosphere and cloud cover reflect approximately 40 percent of the solar energy back into space, while the remainder is absorbed by the atmosphere and the earth's surface. A certain amount of heat is temporarily accumulated on the surface and becomes part of the ecological cycle. In the final account, however, the entire amount of received solar energy is radiated back into space. Such is the more or less stationary thermal system to which the biosphere has adapted in the course of many millions of years.

Atomic energy, obtained from uranium, or the energy of thermonuclear reactions, which the physicists hope to obtain, are not directly related to solar radiation.

Heat is released from inside the earth as well through the breakdown of radioactive elements and gravitational compression. We have not as yet learned how to utilize it properly.

Today mankind faces an energy problem. Scientists have estimated that reserves of extracted fuel will be virtually exhausted in the second half of the 21st century. The petroleum deposits, which are severalfold lesser than coal, will be exhausted, apparently, earlier. Let us note that petroleum is the most valuable raw material for the chemical industry, and that in general, its use for heating is foolish.

The gradual burning of fuel, coal in particular, pollutes the atmosphere with carbon dioxide, sulfur oxides and other products. In the final account, this could have catastrophic consequences.

Unless the problem of developing controlled thermonuclear reactions is resolved, we may assume that for many years in the future nuclear breeder reactors, using natural uranium 238, will be the basis of the power industry. However, a restriction here is caused by the need to bury quite a substantial amount of radioactive waste. The point is that however deeply and reliably we bury such waste in the ground, we cannot deny that this is still undesirable "garbage" from the geohygienic viewpoint. The idea has developed, therefore, of removing radioactive waste with the help of rockets, sending them far into space in the direction of the sun. Such plans have been considered; it would suffice to take containers with used radioactive waste to approximately 200 km above the earth. The subsequent distance would be covered with the help of engines mounted on such containers using the heat released by the breakdown particles themselves.

We believe worthy of attention the use of space technology for the creation outside the atmosphere at a great altitude of orbital electric power plants which would convert solar energy directly to electricity. In order to create in space a sufficiently big electric power plant it would be necessary to deploy solar batteries covering an area of hundreds of square kilometers, maintaining a geo-stationary orbit, 36,000 km above the equator. A system of mirrors which would gather solar energy could be used to reduce the necessary number of scarce energy convertor semiconductors.

In order for such solar batteries to have an acceptable weight, their thickness should be minimal. However, this reduces their strength. Therefore, it is only in space weightlessness that the construction of such batteries appears realistic.

The installation and assembling of such structures from individual components placed into orbit by rockets would require the participation of



people familiar with basically new technological methods. Let us recall that the first experiments in space welding were carried out by V. Kubasov, aboard the Soyuz-6 spaceship in 1969.

The effectiveness of a space electric power plant would be determined by the efficiency of the solar batteries and their weight per unit produced electric power. This, in turn, greatly depends on progress in the industry engaged in the manufacturing of semiconductors and on successes in the study of materials in space.

We must master the means for assembling and installing structures consisting of ultralight materials and space welding. We must develop methods for maintaining the assembled structures at the proper points in space and in the required position.

The most difficult problem is that of using energy directly in orbit or transmitting it to earth in a radio range of super-high frequencies, for example, with the help of huge antennas.

Despite their seemingly fantastic nature, serious work is being done on similar problems today throughout the world.

On 12 April 1961 Yuriy Gagarin, a citizen of the Soviet Union, made the first space flight in the world. Today manned spaceships and stations are flying regularly. The large number of studies conducted in them laid the foundations for the development of a big series of automated instruments performing tasks facing science and the national economy. The successes achieved with the help of automated space instruments are obvious. Also clear are the ways for the further development of such instruments. Regardless of the fast increase in the number of reliably operating space automatic machines, the future of cosmonautics will continue to be based on the development of manned flights.

The main purpose of manned spaceships is that man is the main creative force in science. No instrument could substitute for the mind, feelings and intuition of the experimenter. The development of scientific instruments, computing equipment and computers, and the automated processing of experiments only raise the effectiveness of the studies conducted by the ship's crews.

Following the opening of space scientists in various fields obtained new technical possibilities as a result of the fact that, henceforth, they could locate their laboratories outside the atmosphere, in a state of weightlessness and, in the future, around other planets as well.

These could be multipurpose physics laboratories similar to the various models of today's Salyut stations. In the future entire comfortable space complexes will appear which will include scientific research, production, housing and medical areas. One of the tasks of such complexes will be the

direct study and observation of the numerous automatic instruments and, if necessary, their repair and tuning.

The discovery made by Soviet scientists M. I. and Ye. M. Vol'skikh that animals and superior plants have the ability to take nitrogen from the atmosphere, as needed for their normal life, directed Soviet cosmonautics, from the very beginning, to maintain in the cabins of the spaceships an atmosphere similar to that of earth. The persistent suggestions of some specialists that we use helium instead of nitrogen were rejected. "The fact of the acknowledgment of the need for nitrogen in the atmosphere inside spaceships for maintaining the normal life of the crews is of basic importance. It has insured the superiority of Soviet cosmonautics in terms of the lengthy stay of people in outer space. This is the unquestionable merit of M. I. and Ye. M. Vol'skikh," was the conclusion of a qualified organization.

Already now the ground control of spaceships involves the use of a large number of people, the building of a large number of stations for monitoring and controlling the flights. If most flight control problems continue to be resolved on earth, in the foreseeable future outlays for space flights could considerably exceed their economic results. The task therefore arises of organizing a control center at a high altitude in space. Equipped with the necessary computers, it will be able to control the work of all automated equipment. Such a space complex could (and unquestionably will) be autonomous. It should have its own facilities for navigation, ballistic computations and energy supply, and have facilities for the multiple launch and replacement of crews and specialists.

Flight safety will be insured through board instruments which will make technical diagnoses and will disconnect damaged units. The stability of a space complex faced with any type of damage could be as high as that of a modern ship which can remain afloat even when split in half.

A great deal more will have to be accomplished to develop manned space complexes. However, the problem is realistic and its solution is natural in terms of the progress of human society.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the opportunities and advantages to mankind from reaching outer space. One thing is unquestionable: the conquest of space will continue. An ever larger number of space instruments will effectively work around the earth, bringing great benefits to the national economy and science. An ever larger number of interplanetary stations will help our study of the solar system.

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## AS SEEN BY FOREIGN REVOLUTIONARIES

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[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences B. Sukhorukov on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the publication of V. I. Lenin's book "Detskaya Bolezn' 'Levizny' v Kommunizme" [Leftism--the Infantile Disease of Communism]]

[Text] This famous book by Lenin holds one of the leading positions among the major works of scientific socialism, together with which it forms the solid foundations of this great doctrine.

A revolutionary and philosopher of the Marxist school and training, V. I. Lenin posed in it the theoretical and practical problems which were assuming priority in the universal class struggle under changing historical circumstances and were dictated by the vital needs of the workers movement which, following the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, had entered a qualitatively new stage of development.

Lenin's book is an important landmark in the development of revolutionary theory and of the strategy and tactics of proletarian parties under the conditions of a victoriously initiated process of social liberation of mankind from capitalist oppression.

Under the direct influence of the ideas contained in the book, the process of consolidation of revolutionary forces within the labor movement in the capitalist countries intensified along with the separation from it of a leftist revolutionary wing and, as a logical completion of the process, the establishment, on its basis, of communist parties.

The entire power of Lenin's analytical talent and revolutionary pathos which comes out of each line of the work were aimed at arming the young communist movement with the science and the art of defeating the class enemy, exposing and helping to surmount the errors and delusions which appeared within it during those crucial years. What made this even more necessary was the fact that, one after another, communist parties were being organized in the capitalist countries and their number, together with

the size of their ranks, continued to grow tempestuously. Whereas in 1918, in addition to the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), there were eight other communist parties, six more appeared in 1919. This led Lenin to state in his book that, ". . . Communism is tempering and growing in all countries . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 87). In 1920 it expanded by nine new parties, while at the beginning of 1922 there were 37.

Under the circumstances of powerful revolutionary upsurge, spreading over the broad masses in all countries, the main task of the revolutionary workers movement of the times was to arm it with a revolutionary strategy and tactic consistent with the requirements of the age, preparing the proletariat for decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The strategy and tactics developed by Lenin for his and future generations of fighters for communism enabled the communists to take the path of the struggle for the transformation of the communist parties into truly mass revolutionary parties of the proletariat, able to rally and lead to the storming of capitalism all revolutionary and progressive forces more confidently, firmly and knowledgeably. The main task facing the communists--to learn how to reorient and regroup the masses and lead them to revolution--could not be resolved without surmounting the errors of "left-wing" doctrinairism.

Meanwhile, moods of sectarianism and political voluntarism clearly developed within the communist parties themselves: underestimating and, furthermore, refusing to work in bourgeois parliaments, trade unions and other mass proletarian organizations in which right-wing reformist leaders held firm positions.

Lenin's book comprehensively described the nature of sectarianism and dogmatism, and their manifestations in the communist movement. It provides an expanded characterization of the content of Lenin's style of political leadership of the masses, and the ability ideologically to win them over on the side of the revolutionary vanguard and to become organized for an adamant class struggle.

"Left-wing radicalism" in the ranks of the communist movement, metaphorically described by Lenin as the "leftist" infantile disease, hindered the young communist parties firmly to stand on their feet and become the vanguard force in the labor movement. Lenin neither exaggerated nor underestimated the danger of "leftism." Exposing its historical origins, he noted that it is "more than any else a growing-pain" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 41, p 184). He emphasized that it is also the result of the lengthy domination of the international social democratic movement of the parties and leaders of the Second International who were the channels of bourgeois influence. In his words, this was a kind of punishment for the opportunistic sins of the labor movement (ibid, p 15). Analyzing the historical and ideological origins of "left-wing" doctrinairism Lenin bluntly pointed out



that right-wing opportunism was, and remains, the principal enemy within the labor movement. It was precisely against it that the Bolsheviks invariably directed their struggle. "This remains the principal enemy on an international scale," was Lenin's conclusion (Lenin, op cit, Vol 41, p 14). This profound summation is based on the rich experience of the Bolshevik party which knew and saw both manifestations of opportunism: "on the right" and "on the left" ("the two deformities supplemented each other"), fought them, and tempered itself in the course of that struggle; what made this experience even more instructive and valuable to the communists the world over was that it was the experience of a party which had to its credit the greatest revolutionary merits and accomplishments. The conclusion reached by Lenin on the basis of the study of history of the international workers movement was fully confirmed by its subsequent history which includes the class battles taking place today.

Pointing out the danger of "leftism," Lenin noted that with all its seriousness it can be fully treated and cured. "The only thing we need to reach our confident and firm victory," he wrote, "is specifically the comprehensive and thoroughly planned awareness by the party members of all countries of the need to display maximum flexibility in their tactic. The splendidly growing communism, particularly in the leading countries, is currently short of this awareness and of the ability to insure the practical application of this awareness" (ibid, p 87). The bourgeoisie will not stop the striving of the masses toward socialism, for this aspiration is encouraged by the very conditions of life triggered by capitalism. "Communism will 'grow,'" Lenin emphasized, "decisively from all aspects of social life. Its shoots may be found decidedly everywhere" (ibid, p 86).

Lenin brought to light the nature of "leftism" on the basis of the experience of the struggle waged by the Bolsheviks against petit bourgeois radicalism, a struggle tirelessly waged since the foundation of the party. This experience, in which the young communist parties saw a vivid example for emulation, interpreted on the scale of the entire European and global revolutionary movement, was particularly instructive to them. The theoretical and practical recommendations contained in the book on overcoming "leftism" was substantiated by Lenin largely on the basis of the experience in the struggle--in terms of both victories and defeats--of the workers and communist movements in the Western countries, including by summing up the lessons of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe created by the October Revolution. In Lenin's words, revolutionary Russia possessed "such a wealth of international relations, such excellent information concerning the universal methods and theories of the revolutionary movement unmatched by any other country." The class struggle in the country, by virtue of the country's backwardness and the severe czarist oppression, "ripened particularly rapidly and absorbed particularly eagerly and successfully the corresponding 'latest word' of American and European political experience" (ibid, p 8). Science, he concluded, must "take into consideration the experience of other countries, particularly if other countries, also capitalist, are experiencing or have recently experienced a very similar

situation . . ." (Lenin, op cit, Vol 41, p 65). These unquestionable facts prove that Leninism is an international theory. This truth is convincingly proved in the book "The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism." It clearly traces the interconnection between national and international sources.

A number of outstanding leaders of the international workers movement have pointed out the internationalist nature and significance of the strategy and tactics developed by Lenin and the key thought contained in the book to the effect that "the Russian gives all countries something, something quite substantial applicable to their inevitable immediate future" (ibid, p 4).

To the Italian communists and the entire Italian revolutionary movement, Palmiro Togliatti wrote in 1959, Lenin's book became "more than a discovery. . . . From beginning to end this book is a live polemical work related to the most topical problems of the workers movement. . . . The criticism of petit bourgeois 'leftism,' and of the confused and garrulous revolutionism and occasional errors committed by the communists at that time . . . is quite subtle and very skillful. . . . Using the experience of a party which nobody could reproach of being conciliatory in matters of theory and revolutionism is used. The book was a starting point for all discussion and all the crises through which the communist party was able to realize its tasks and go to work to fulfill them" (P. Togliatti, "Problemi del Movimento Operaio Internazionale. 1956-1961" [Problems of the International Workers Movement, 1956-1961], Editori Riuniti, 1962, pp 317-318).

Not only in Europe but in other parts of the globe, in other continents, were the communists learning from Lenin revolutionary science, promoting in the masses the hope of their social liberation and confidence in victory. As the noted German publicist Maximilian Garden, Lenin's contemporary, wrote, "Hundreds of millions of people even in the darkest depths of Asia, saw in him, in Il'ich, one of their own, a brother, a friend, a teacher, a guard, and the burning beacon of their hopes" ("Politiki i Pisateli Zapada i Vostoka o V. I. Lenine" [Western and Eastern Politicians and Writers on V. I. Lenin], Association of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles, Moscow, 1924, p 32). "As they mastered Leninism," states, for example, the "Outline of the History of the Communist Party of Argentina," they (the Argentine revolutionaries--the author) successfully struggled against the sectarian and opportunistic deviations and against centrism which developed in the party immediately after World War I in a period characterized by revolutions and counterrevolutions in Europe, which had great influence on Latin America, on Argentina in particular.

"On the international level the sources which fed these currents were analyzed by Lenin in his basic book "Leftism . . .," the study and mastery of which enabled our party to determine the reasons for the appearance of such currents in our country" ("Esbozo de Historia del Partido Comunista de la Argentina" [Outline of the History of the Communist Party of Argentina], Anteo, Buenos Aires, 1947, pp 31-32). "The problems presented in the book," the Argentine communists wrote recently in another

research work, "Speak for themselves. To this day they retain their full significance in terms of our activities in the workers and general political movements, and in the struggle against capitulationist reformism which grovels before the dictatorship, and against leftist adventurism. The ideas contained in this work were used . . . in the formulation of our line of work with the masses, the line of our 11th congress, enriched by the 12th and 13th congresses, which are the main reason for the irreversible process of the turning of the masses to the left" ("Vigencia del Leninismo hoy y en la Argentina" [Pertinency of Leninism Today in Argentina], Anteo, Buenos Aires, 1970, p 49).

The book "Leftism . . ." was aimed, above all, at the international communist movement. Lenin hurried with its publication since soon afterwards, in July 1920, the Second Comintern Congress was to open in Moscow, where he wanted to tell the "leftist" communists the "full truth in their face . . ." (Lenin, op cit, Vol 41, p 39). It was desirable for the delegates to become familiar with the content of the book even before the opening of the congress. The date 27 April was entered on the finished manuscript. As early as 1 June the state printing in Petrograd produced the Russian edition. "Lenin distributed among several comrades the first copies of his new pamphlet 'The Leftist . . .', which has just been published in the Russian language," wrote at that time in his diary Wilhelm Herzog, a German publicist and publisher of the journal FORUM, well known in Germany in the 1920's (cited from NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA, No 2, 1970, p 112). W. Herzog was in Russia in May-August 1920 as guest of the Comintern. On 19 June 1920 he attended the meeting he mentioned of the Comintern Executive Committee in the Kremlin, in which Lenin participated.

Simultaneously with the preparation of the Russian edition, work on its translation and publication into foreign languages--German, English, and French--in Russia was underway under Lenin's personal control.

In another entry in his diary (9 June) W. Herzog noted about Lenin's book that, "Like all his other works, its style is exceptionally clear and graphic. . . . Unquestionably, this work by Lenin will draw great attention" (ibid).

William Galagher who, in his own words, was a model noted "leftist" sectarian, delegate to the Second Comintern Congress, recorded his initial impression on the book as follows: "I was taken to Smol'nyy, where my mandate was to be drawn up. I saw in the waiting room a book in English. It was the just published "The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism" by Lenin. Having glanced at what applied to Germany, I began to read the section discussing England. I was horrified to find out that I personally was in it, as the embodiment of a bad example! I had left Great Britain with a rather inflated view on my qualities as a political leader. What I now read in Lenin's book was like an icy cold shower" ("Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya i Mirovoye Osvoboditel'noye Dvizheniye" [The Great October Revolution and the World Liberation Movement], Vol 2, Moscow, 1958, p 106).

Indeed, before the congress W. Galagher had become a died in the wool "sectarian." Particularly interesting, therefore, is the outcome of his participation in the debates at the congress, the reading of the book, and his polemics with Lenin. "Before leaving Moscow," recalls W. Galagher in his book "Mutiny on Clyde," I had a talk with Lenin. He asked me three questions:

"Do you acknowledge being wrong on the matter of parliament and on joining the labor party?"

"Will you join the Communist Party of Great Britain when you return? (Two days previously a cable had been received announcing the founding of the communist party.)"

"Will you do everything possible to convince your Scottish comrades to join it?"

I answered "yes" to all three questions.

"Having made this pledge sincerely, I returned to Glasgow."

The book "The Leftist Disease . . ." rapidly spread abroad. As early as 1920 translations of the book were published in Germany, Britain, France, and Italy.

The bourgeoisie was doing everything possible to prevent the working people from learning the truth about the revolutionary events in Russia and deprive them of the possibility to become familiar with this along with other works by Lenin. The reaction resorted to slander, threats, and judicial persecution. Nor did it stop at white terrorism, particularly when the working people of one or another country, as was the case with Hungary or Finland, were able to take the political power away from it, even though for a while only. ". . . Acting thusly, the bourgeoisie acts as have acted all classes doomed by history to perish" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 41, p 87).

Describing those years, the Canadian publicist John (Vir) recalls that a big government poster depicting a wolf baring its fangs was hung by the authorities in the post office of his native settlement of loggers, lost in the Canadian forests. The inscription on the wolf read, "Bolshevism." Or else again, when in 1919 the police arrested the head of the general strike in Winnipeg, one of Lenin's works found in their possession was used by the guardians of "public order" as evidence in the trial of the strikers.

In the United States, in the city of Vancouver, in the state of Washington, the publisher of the local newspaper THE VANCOUVER FEDERALIST, published in 1921 in the newspaper Lenin's book "The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism," for which he was arrested and sentenced to a jail term (see VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 3, 1960, p 26).



Yugoslav veteran communists recall that the political prisoners kept in the jail of Sremska Mitrovica, on the Sava River, transcribed by hand Lenin's works, including "The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism," in order to be able to read them, interweaving the texts in fabrics for prisoners' clothing. They studied them collectively to be ready to struggle for their ideals.

Lenin's popularity as a great revolutionary and philosopher rose with tremendous speed and spread among the working people in the capitalist countries.

The workers leaders in these countries saw in Lenin a worthy heir and perpetuator of Marx' cause, and the greatest proletarian fighter who laid the beginning of the liberation of the proletariat on a global scale.

Through their class sense, it was precisely in Lenin that the masses saw the leader of revolutionary Russia. Anselmo Marabini, an Italian communist and Gramsci's fellow worker, describes the following typical event. In July 1917 Kerenskiy sent to the West a Menshevik delegation for propaganda purposes. The delegation included Gol'denberg and Krylov. ". . . The workers," A. Marabini writes, "organized for them triumphal marches on the main squares of Italy, as representatives of the Russian revolution. However, to the great amazement of the Mensheviks, all their speeches usually ended the warmest possible ovation for Lenin" (A. Marabini, "Lenin and the Italian Proletariat," ZHELEZNODOROZHNIK, No 1, 1925, p 10). Despite the fascist terror which was unleashed several years later, A. Marabini adds, Lenin's name had been deeply etched in the hearts of the Italian proletariat. This may be seen by the old revolutionary songs of Italy, in whose lyrics Lenin's name was interwoven. Thousands of Italian workers and peasants named their children after the leader of the world proletariat.

Not only the authorities and the open reactionaries hindered the dissemination of Lenin's ideas among the international workers movement. The right-wing reformist leaders as well "made their contribution" to this activity. Quite frequently it was precisely they who headed the organs of the workers press--the newspapers, periodicals, or publishing houses of the parties members of the Second International.

Due to the fact that right-wing socialists ruled the French proletarian organizations, before World War I Lenin's works had not been translated at all, noted, following a thorough study of the matter, Antoine Legendre, a veteran of the French Communist Party, and at one time head of the library of the Maurice Thorez Institute, who had drafted a detailed bibliography of Lenin's works in France. "The French working class began to be thoroughly familiar with Lenin's works," he said in 1967, "only after the Great October Revolution or, more specifically, in the period of the establishment of the French Communist Party, in 1920. . . . One of Lenin's first works to appear in the French language was the book 'The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism.'"

In Italy, in L'ORDINE NUOVO ("The New Order"), the newspaper whose editor in chief he was, Antonio Gramsci openly accused the central organs of the socialist party (mentioning, in this connection, the newspaper AVANTI and the party publishing house) of neglecting their duty to the party of "informing the proletariat on events and theoretical discussions within the Third International," and for continuing to publish totally worthless pamphlets and articles promoting the views and concepts of the bankrupt leaders of the Second International, while neglecting Comintern publications. "The works of the Russian comrades . . . which the characteristics of a Bolshevik revolution cannot . . . have been translated in Switzerland, Britain and Germany. In Italy . . . they are unknown," wrote A. Gramsci in one of his works (A. Gramsci, "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], in 3 vols, Vol . . . , Moscow, 1957, p 163).

A. Gramsci wished that the Italian proletariat would become familiar through L'ORDINE NUOVO with the works of the Russian comrades, the events in revolutionary Russia, and the process of development of the international communist movement, rather with the "opportunistic sermons" "from the right."

Lenin's practical and theoretical struggle against "leftism" in the workers movement in the new age was his tremendous contribution to the global liberation movement. Such a task could be assumed and carried out only by Lenin, who summed up the experience of the global revolutionary movement and gave it a refined theoretical aspect. Let us point out, yet once again, that it was a question of a specifically international problem. The documents confirm, in particular, that when "leftism" clearly appeared in 1918 at the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (most delegates were opposed to parliamentary forms of struggle, favoring boycott of the elections for the national assembly), the Spartakus leaders K. Liebknecht and R. Luxemburg saw this as a threatening danger. Criticizing the sectarianism shown in the tactical line supported by some of the delegates, R. Luxemburg said: "Comrades, you find radicalism all too convenient. Whatever the pressure of the masses may be we must display the necessary seriousness and think calmly. We are at the beginning of the revolution . . . for which reason we must ask ourselves what is the path leading most reliably to the education of the masses. . . . In order to maintain this struggle we also need the rostrum of the national assembly" (Helmuth Kolbe, "V. I. Lenin's Work 'The Left-Wing Infantile Disease of Communism,' A Meaningful Help to the Young Communist Party of Germany," BEITRAGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN ARBEITERBEWEGUNG, No 2, 1960, p. 263). This is a proper understanding of an essential element of revolutionary tactics! It is precisely the one to which Lenin gave its final shape in the brilliantly simple formula of working among the masses.

The appearance of Lenin's work in foreign languages triggered a broad echo in the foreign communist and workers movements. Its ideas rapidly became the center of a developed ideological-political struggle. Reports on the publication of the book began to appear in the press, the workers press

above all, with occasional reviews. Reading such publications, the contemporary reader, six decades following the publication of the book, can clearly feel the hot breath of the class battles of the period.

The documents shown below,<sup>1</sup> pertaining to the origins of the contemporary international movement, will enable us better to understand the entire greatness of the creative exploit then performed by Lenin.

In Germany, the central organ of the Communist Party of Germany, the newspaper DIE ROTE FAHNE ("Red Flag") announced in its 18 July 1920 issue to the party members the publication of Lenin's book "The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism" in German.

The 20 July 1920 editorial of the same newspaper turned to Lenin's work as an authoritative source in the struggle for the formulation of a consistent revolutionary line. It states, in particular, that the party has drawn proper conclusions from Lenin's criticism of "leftism" in Germany. Fulfilling our duty, the article further states, "we joined the parliaments, we are working in the trade unions, and have participated in the election of factory and plant committees. . . . Ever since we took this path the idea of communism is penetrating ever more profoundly within the people's masses" (DIE ROTE FAHNE, No 134, 20 July 1920).

At that time the periodical DIE INTERNATIONALE ("The International") wrote that, "Anyone who wishes to convince himself of the flexibility of the tactic which, under Russian conditions as well, was, and remains, necessary for a communist party, let him read the description of this tactic in this highly instructive just-published work by Comrade Lenin, 'The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism'" (DIE INTERNATIONALE, No 25, 1920, p 7).

Many conscientious workers who had initially been attracted by extreme revolutionary slogans were able, after reading Lenin's book, to understand the exceptionally complex ideological and political struggle developing in Germany and adopt sustained class positions. "Finally," wrote one such worker in DIE ROTE FAHNE, "after a long period of confusion, once again I have been able to develop a clarity which was escaping me in the intraparty disputes. . . . The duty of workers," he went on to say, "is to join the Communist Party of Germany, for it is absolutely necessary to have in Germany a good, disciplined communist party" (DIE ROTE FAHNE, No 176, 7 September 1920). Characteristic in this respect is the letter which Jacob Eckert, secretary of one of the local Communist Party of Germany organizations, sent to Lenin. The author points out the correctness and accuracy of Lenin's assessment of the situation within the German communist movement. "The crisis currently experienced by the German party concerns me greatly. . . . The study of your pamphlet 'The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism,' precisely strengthened in me the conviction that my viewpoint was accurate and that the tactic of the March campaign<sup>2</sup> clashes with all basic principles of communist tactics. . . . I believe that, with your rich experience, you will give us your highly valued advice as to how

to deal with the present situation' (cited from VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 3, 1960, p 25).

The struggle which the German communists-internationalists waged to surmount left-wing opportunistic trends and establish unity within their ranks was hard. It required a great deal of efforts and time. The process of mastering Leninism by the party of the German communists and of its transformation into a party of a new type began to develop particularly successfully after Ernst Thälmann assumed the head of the Communist Party of German Central Committee at the end of 1925.

The British edition of the book came in 1920 as well. It was published by the Communist Party of Great Britain. In connection with this event it published a leaflet which stated that, ". . . 'The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism' is a work necessary to anyone who is actively involved in the workers movement. It covers problems which are extensively discussed and are occasionally grounds for most violent differences.

"Lenin provides an exhaustive study of problems of revolutionary tactic and fearlessly tackles problems such as parliamentarianism, the attitude of the communist party toward the labor party and the trade unions and so on, as well as the general situation in England. The significance of the book goes further than that: A critical consideration of the programs, policies and activities of the various parties on the continent will arm the reader with the skill to understand the international situation, which is so important to the comrades today.

"Unquestionably, this book will introduce a clarity in the understanding of a number of things and will help us to be practically oriented toward a unity so greatly desired by all . . ." (cited from VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 3, 1960, p 24).

Four years later, reacting to Lenin's death, Harry Pollit, the noted leader of the British workers and communist movements, wrote about the beneficial influence of Lenin's work on the life and struggle of the communists in his country. "'The Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism,'" he pointed out, "was published before the founding of the Communist Party of Great Britain. At that time there were in England only a few small and inactive revolutionary communist groups. It was deemed impossible to unite all these groups within a single communist party since three of them refused to join a workers party, believing that such a policy would compromise their revolutionary position. Lenin's book destroyed, once and for all, the 'leftism' which existed in these and we could firmly claim that it contributed more than anything else, to the unification of the revolutionary elements within a single Communist Party of Great Britain. . . . Their influence (Lenin's works--the author) on the active revolutionary workers was tremendous . . ." (KRASNYY INTERNATSIONAL PROFSOYUZOV, No 2-3, 1924, pp 189-190).

Arthur MacManus, another noted British communist of the 1920's, at one time president of the Communist Party of Great Britain, wrote: "The



revolutionary movement of the British working class owes a great deal to Lenin for his advice, directives, and help. Despite the almost superhuman burden of responsibility imposed on him by the Russian revolution, he also found time to help comrades in other countries with his instructions. This was of great help to the revolutionary movement of our country, above all on the problem of our attitude toward a workers party.

"For several years we argued on how properly to apply the Marxist viewpoint to this problem. This was one of the most complex and difficult problems facing our movement. We know that differences in our party on this matter were so great that at its constituent congress the British Communist Party in fact split on the question of joining the workers party. At that point we were helped by Lenin's pamphlet. Under its influence both wings, following a thorough study of the problem, realized that they had misinterpreted the situation, poorly understood the significance of a workers party, and poorly applied their Marxism.

"Three years have passed since and the course of British political development has now proved that Lenin had assessed the situation with amazing clarity" ("POLITIKI I PISATELI . . ." p 52).

In the United States, as in many other capitalist countries, the revolutionary workers movement was also contaminated with "leftism." For a long time "it was corroded by a parallel trade unionism. . . . The left wing (the socialist party--the author) was imbued with antiparlamentarianism, muddling in revolutionary abstractions, and everybody was virtually ignorant as to how to approach the masses and guide them in their daily struggle" (W. J. Foster, "The October Revolution and the American Workers Movement," KRASNYY INTERNATSIONAL PROPSOYUZOV, No 10, 1927, p 361).

The welcome given Lenin's book in the U.S. communist movement is confirmed by a letter written by the American communist Robin Dunbar. "Your pamphlet 'Leftism-The Infantile Disease of Communism,' he wrote to Lenin, "impressed me so strongly that I rejoined the local socialist party (obviously, meaning the communist party--the editor), after having suffered for many years, by my stupidity, from leftism. As a clear, consistent, and analytical judgment, the book convinced me of the fact that if I want to help my socialist comrades I must lend a shoulder to the wheel and help push rather than stand aside and criticize. . . .

"In the struggle for socialism, regardless of all difficulties, and with the firm hope that Russia will come out of the hunger with lesser suffering, and wishing the proletarian dictatorship the world over all possible success, dear comrade, I send you my fraternal greetings. Robin Dunbar" (VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 3, 1960, pp 25-26).

In his book "Man of the People," Maurice Thorez wrote about works by Lenin such as "The State and Revolution," and "Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism," that the French communists and all the fighters of his

generation owe Lenin "an infinitely great deal. His thoughts, despite their profundity, are always accessible to the people." The same thought was expressed as early as 1924 by the French communist P. Pascal who, as he writes, met with Lenin in Moscow at the time of the founding of the Comintern. In his words, Lenin made "an ineradicable impression" on him with his speeches: profoundly substantiated and sympathetic toward the friends, and bitingly ironical toward the enemies of the revolutionary workers movement. Let us recall the words of a noted German left-wing social democrat who, emphasizing Lenin's inevitable logic, wrote that Lenin "like a scourge" forces everyone to take a position on the subject of real life. "If today there are Marxists in France, if there are communists not among the intellectuals but among the workers," P. Pascal wrote, "they became such not only thanks to the study of 'Das Kapital,' but also thanks to the study of Lenin's works 'Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism,' 'The Renegade Kautsky,' and 'The State and Revolution'" (L'HUMANITE, 4 February 1924).

On the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on 7 November 1920, L'HUMANITE published an editorial on Lenin's book entitled "Revolutionary Tactic," which stated the following: "Following are excerpts from Lenin's new book 'Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism,' in which the great revolutionary points out qualities such as flexibility and realism which are so greatly needed in guiding the proletarian movement" (L'HUMANITE, 7 November 1920). This was followed by two long excerpts from the final and 10th chapter of the book "Some Conclusions" from "Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism," in which Lenin concisely summed his analysis of the strategy and tactic of the revolutionary class. In particular, he indicated the need to master all forms of class struggle and the ability rapidly to switch from one form of struggle to another and to find the ways and means for leading the masses to the socialist revolution; he described the nature of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat which depends not on its form--legal or clandestine, or peaceful or violent, but on the content; he drew the attention of the communists to the need to be "maximally flexible in their tactic."

It is an interesting fact that those same excerpts from Lenin's book were reprinted, under the same title of "Revolutionary Tactic" in the 4 December 1920 issue of the newspaper L'ORDINE NUOVO, edited by A. Gramsci. Until 21 January 1921 the newspaper was the organ of the Turin section of the Italian Socialist Party, after which it became the organ of the Italian Communist Party. This fact offers specific proof of the accuracy with which Lenin assessed the situation within the Italian labor movement at the Second Comintern Congress, in his speech on the conditions for accepting the party as member of the Comintern, on 30 July 1920: ". . . The direction followed by the Communist International is consistent with the direction followed by the members of L'ORDINE NUOVO, and not by the current majority of leaders of the socialist party and their parliamentary faction" (Lenin, *op cit.*, Vol 41, p 254).

We know that in his articles and speeches of 1924-1925, i.e., at the peak of the struggle against the Bordiga movement, A. Gramsci frequently turned to "Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism," and to other works by Lenin. Thus, the virtually entire 1 March 1924 issue is dedicated to Lenin's memory. It mentions "Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism" as among Lenin's major works in the bibliography appended to the biographic essay "Vladimir Il'ich Ul'yanov,"<sup>5</sup> translated from the Russian by A. Gramsci himself.

AVANTI! ("Forward"), the organ of the Italian Socialist Party, advertised on several occasions, at the beginning of 1921, Lenin's book published by its own publishing house. On 15 February it carried an announcement on page one which stated that, "Lenin's activity is truly amazing. He leads the international communist movement, formulates the program of the Third International, polemicalizing in the press with his opponents the world over, addresses meetings, and still finds the time to write books. These are always books with high political and scientific qualities enjoying great and deserved success. Now the publishing house is published yet one more such book, the most widely discussed Lenin's book "Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism." "To Lenin the 'Infantile Disease' of communism is the extremist trend which preaches parliamentary or trade union absenteeism, refusal to participate in the work of parliament and in the electoral struggle, and avoiding 'work in the trade union leagues.' This trend is particularly strong in Germany, as a result of which a division has even occurred within the communist party of that country. Separating himself from the German extremists, Lenin considers the problem in its entirety, including the 'Infantile Disease' of the communists in Italy and other countries" (AVANTI! 15 February 1921).<sup>6</sup>

The problems of revolutionary strategy and tactic developed by Lenin in the book could not be more topical to the Italian revolutionary movement. The development of the debate on such problems among the various ideological currents with the workers movement is apparent from the 23 August 1921 AVANTI! editorial.<sup>6</sup> It presents in a polemic style Lenin's idea not only of the possibility but the necessity of compromises in the class struggle benefiting the proletarian revolution. "Whatever some super purists may say," the editorial read, "there is no policy without compromises, even when it is a question of revolutionary policy or revolutionary action. To claim the opposite means to be out of touch with reality. Naturally, everything lies in assessing the scale of the compromise and its consequences for the triumph of the corresponding principles and objectives. In this precisely lies the wisdom and caution of the politician and the revolutionary. The refusal to compromise a priori cannot be described either as wisdom, political caution, or circumspection. The long, persistent, and accurate activities of Marx and Engels provide a great deal of proof of the correctness of this thought. But let us leave Marx and Engels aside and turn to the present, to the recipient of the immortal honor to found the first soviet republic in the world, of which the great teachers dreamed. Let us turn to Lenin. . . . It is hardly a question of

compromises which the proletariat, already in power, made during the revolution, as the 'pure' communists like to quote in justification. Lenin himself repeatedly opposed this approach. In 1901 and 1902 the editors of ISKRA, one of whom was Lenin, signed a formal political alliance with the head of the liberals. After 1905 the Bolsheviks systematically called for an alliance with the peasantry against the liberal bourgeoisie without, for this, ending their support of the bourgeoisie against czarism and without interrupting the most merciless ideological and political struggle waged against the bourgeois-revolutionary peasant party, i.e., the social revolutionaries who were, in the final account, petit bourgeois. What a joke! These were the same petit bourgeois peasants with whom subsequently they made an alliance in 1917! All such historical facts dealing with events which preceded the 1917 revolution may be found in such an excellent and profoundly instructive book as the 'Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism' by V. I. Lenin . . ." (Avanti! 23 August 1921).

The accuracy and invariably topical nature of the basic stipulation of Lenin's theory of communist revolutionary strategy and tactic are confirmed not only by the history of the workers movement, in the course of whose analysis the leader of the world's proletariat provided a class characterization of compromises and drew the lines separating compromises necessitated by the objective conditions of the class struggle, not leading to a decline in the revolutionary energy of the masses, on the one hand, and compromises whose essence is appeasement of the bourgeoisie, on the other.

In the past six decades the world has changed unrecognizably. The tremendous changes which took place in the social aspect of the planet were entirely consistent with the designs and under the powerful influence of revolutionary Marxist theory. Lenin's work "Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism" immediately assumed, and still does, a unique position among them.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This applies only to the first responses to Lenin's book which appeared before 1924. A number of new documents, published for the first time in Russian, appear along with documents and testimony familiar or relatively unfamiliar to the contemporary Soviet reader.
2. This refers to the armed uprising of workers in Middle Germany in March 1921. The uprising was not supported by the workers in other parts of the country and was suppressed by the reaction (editors note).
3. In his letter to P. Togliatti, dated 27 January 1924, Gramsci shares his plans on the content of the newspaper's first issue: ". . . I shall dedicate the first issue essentially to Comrade Lenin. I shall write the editorial in which I shall try to depict the main distinguishing features of his personality as a revolutionary leader. I



shall translate his biography and present a small selection of his basic statements on the situation in Italy in 1920. . . . I believe that it would be more suitable for you to provide in this section of the first issue a review of Lenin's books and pamphlets published in Italian, relating it to the assessment of the role, activities, and prestige Lenin enjoyed in Italy throughout that period . . ."

(KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1977, p 94).

4. From August 1920 to the beginning of 1921 Lenin's work was also published in full by the journal IL COMUNISMO, published by the party leader G. M. Serrati.
5. The author of this survey thanks V. R. Grigor'yev for the selection and translation of the early responses to Lenin's work carried by the Italian socialist press.
6. Its author was the leader of the Italian socialist movement, a publicist and translator of several works by the founders of Marxism, Gustav Sacerdote (1867-1948), the author.

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## GREAT CREATIVE LEGACY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 68-69

[Article by Hiren Mukerjee, veteran of the Indian communist movement]

[Text] Sixty years have passed since the publication in 1920 of Lenin's work "Detskaya Bolezn' "Levizny' v Kommunizme" [Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism], a Marxist-Leninist classic. This work which is a pearl of scientific thinking, was written with passion and wisdom and with a profound penetration into the essence of things. Today it is bedside reading for anyone who is truly fighting for a general plan for the social progress of mankind and for socialism.

The 1920's are a distant yet memorable period. . . . British imperialism was doing everything possible, with its typical refinement and insidiousness, to isolate India from the outside world and from the powerful wind of the changes initiated by the first socialist country--the land of the soviets. However, imperialism was unable to turn back the wheel of history. Even though communist literature was strictly banned, the truth of communism was making its way. It is worth noting that in addition to articles in the periodical press, the main type of communist literature published in India and in other colonial countries was V. I. Lenin's biography (naturally, incomplete and not entirely accurate), published during his lifetime in the five basic languages (Hindi, Bengali, Urdu, Marthi and Kannada) and other Indian languages. Because of Draconian censorship, the translation of Lenin's works into the majority of Indian languages became possible only later. Lenin's works were factually banned before India gained its independence. True, in 1934, Lenin's work "Imperialism as the Higher Stage of Capitalism" had been translated into Hindi and published. Obviously, permission to publish was obtained as the result of the somewhat academically sounding title. A fact which also played a role was that the preface to that edition was written by our outstanding national leader Acher Narendra Dev. In the 1930's and 1940's the "Leftist Infantile Disease of Communism" was also being disseminated secretly. I recall that plans were made to translate it into Bengali and a search was already underway to find the precise equivalents of Lenin's vocabulary for that language. Obviously, the obstacles erected by the British colonial authorities could not be surmounted.

Therefore, this classical work by Lenin did not see the light in its full unabridged aspect until the 1950's. Nevertheless, its content was known not only by those who shared the ideas of communism but by members of the progressive wing of the national-liberation movement as well. When a movement for the creation of a popular front against fascism, this monstrous offspring of imperialism, developed following the Seventh Congress of the Communist International (1935), this work became a powerful weapon of the revolutionary forces and greatly contributed to the choice of a proper direction of the struggle in our country, India, as well. Here, as in other countries, the ideas expressed in the work showed with particular clarity their vital strength in the period of the struggle against fascism. At the cost of tremendous trials and tribulations the Soviet Union defeated this enemy in World War II. These ideas are proving their vital force in the contemporary complex circumstances as well. They help us to choose the correct strategy and tactic to insure the success of the struggle waged by the working class and the national liberation forces.

Directly aimed against the two main threats to the workers movement--right-wing opportunism and "left-wing" doctrinairism--this Leninist work is a splendid example of the factual implementation of K. Marx' and F. Engels' legacy: Our theory is not a dogma but a manual for action. The true revolutionary must not only be firm in theory but "maximally flexible" in his assessment and use of various specific situations. He must master all means of struggle. He cannot separate himself from the workers with far-fetched and childish "leftist" slogans. To follow, whatever the circumstances, the principle of "no compromise" means to display narrow-mindedness and vaingloriousness, for "there are compromises and compromises," and that which must be done at a given moment must be based on the circumstances. "Political activities are not the sidewalk of Nevskiy Prospekt," Lenin wrote, citing N. G. Chernyshevskiy.

In this case Lenin pays particular attention to one of the most important sources of the complexities which are inevitable in the course of the development of the class struggle. He cautioned that "petty production creates capitalism and a bourgeoisie on a steady, daily, hourly, spontaneous, and mass scale" ("Poln. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 6). For this reason the revolutionary movement must be prepared for a long, adamant, and desperate struggle "not to life but to death," a struggle "demanding endurance, discipline, firmness, and the inflexible united will" (ibid). In order to remove from society that which Marx described as the "abomination" of the centuries and to surmount, in Lenin's words, in a number of cases the force of habit, a most frightening force, the party's weapons must be iron discipline, and loyalty to the cause of the revolution.

On the basis of specific practical experience, as was always the case, Lenin wrote that "all such talk of 'from the top' or 'from the bottom,' of dictatorship by the leader or dictatorship by the masses, and so on, can be nothing but ridiculous childish nonsense, something like an argument as to

what is more useful to a person, his left foot or right hand' (Lenin, op cit, Vol 41, p 32). The communists, who began as a drop in the human ocean, draw their strength from the people, for they express the interests of the people and fight for their implementation.

The "leftists," Lenin explained, seem to be living in a world of illusions, imagining that "political parliamentarianism has become obsolete" everywhere. On the contrary, the parliamentary institution must be used as a rostrum. It is necessary to combine parliamentary with nonparliamentary work and, if necessary, legal with clandestine activities. Lenin proves that the extreme left communists, always favoring direct action, raving against any "bourgeois-mindedness," turn out, in practical terms, to be isolated from the masses.

Not only the fighters for socialism but the fighters for national liberation as well, in countries such as India, learn from Lenin. It is necessary to remember, above all, that Lenin taught us to be wherever the masses are, and that an alliance with the various toiling strata is necessary, strata which must be involved in the movement for social progress.

Lenin also taught that making use of the experience and the principles of Bolshevism does not mean a simple imitation of its tactics which were successful in Russia. "The revolution can win only when the 'bottoms' reject the old," he wrote, "and when the 'tops' can no longer live as of old" (ibid, pp 69-70). Naturally, this does not happen by itself. The victory is in the hands of the people's movement itself, of the broad masses of the struggling proletariat.

The history of the struggle for freedom and progress in India and in other countries has recorded a number of errors and cases of sectarian stupidity which could have been avoided. It was in his "Leftism--The Infantile Disease of Communism" precisely that Lenin spoke out against such sectarianism which, in fact, slides in the direction of the main enemy of the revolutionary movement--right-wing opportunism.

Seeking Lenin's advice and studying today his work, written 60 years ago, means strengthening the resolve to block both right-wing opportunism and left-wing doctrinairism. It means to formulate the strategy and tactic needed for the victory in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the social progress of mankind, and for socialism.

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## THE PERMANENT SIGNIFICANCE OF LENIN'S IDEAS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 signed to press 2 July 80  
pp 70-81

[Article by A. Bovin]

[Text] Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury has put out the book "V. I. Lenin o sovetskoy vneshney politike" [V. I. Lenin on Soviet Foreign Policy].\* The material contained in it relates to the period 1917-1922 and is well known to the readers. But put together in chronological order, it creates a new effect and makes it possible to penetrate the laboratory of Lenin's creativity in greater depth and represent the progress of Lenin's thought more clearly and distinctly.

Any revolution is a breakthrough into the future, which conceals much that is unknown and unexpected. This is all the more the case with respect to the October Revolution, which for the first time smashed the practices of an exploiter society. "The history of mankind," Lenin wrote in March 1918, "is accomplishing in our day one of the greatest, most difficult changes of boundless--it may be said without the slightest exaggeration, of world-liberating--significance" (p 37). Of course, there was the theory, and the Bol'sheviks had a party program, but they outlined only the general reference points of future development. And, moreover, these reference points concerned primarily domestic problems and indicated the direction and nature of the reorganization of social relations.

The Bol'sheviks also had a clear position on the question of war and peace. But, on the whole, the nature and prospects of the interaction of the socialist world with the world of capital remained beyond the horizon of existing ideas. It was here that the "terra incognita"--"uncharted land"--began in practice. In all the greater relief appears the creative genius of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, who knew how in the unbelievably difficult situation of those days to wrest Russia from the "terrible and criminal war," begin the "difficult and persistent" struggle for peace and, in the course of it, assert and try out in practice the fundamental principle of the Soviet state's relations with states with a different, opposite socioeconomic nature--the principle of peaceful coexistence.

\* Moscow, Politizdat, 1979, p 311.

## I

From about the end of 1919, when it was possible to claim with a sufficient degree of confidence that the revolution had withstood the blows of the interventionists, Lenin spoke repeatedly about a "miracle." "And one first of all asks oneself the question, how could this miracle have been accomplished...." "How did this miracle occur"? "Why did this miracle come to pass"? From the viewpoint of a simple accounting of forces, "this is truly a miracle." Unprecedented sacrifices were made, "and it was only for this reason that the miracle which occurred could have occurred." The leader of the revolution called the victory "of a weak, enfeebled, backward country" over "the strongest countries of the world" a "historical miracle,..." The use of words is, generally, uncharacteristic of Lenin's vocabulary. His rationalistic mentality was incompatible with any "miracles," even in their metaphorical sense.

What had, in fact, happened? What "had seemed inconceivable politically or militarily" had happened. And it was this "inconceivableness" and the unexpectedness of what was occurring--the existence of a sole socialist republic "surrounded by a whole number of imperialist powers which were ferociously hostile to it"--which psychologically, despite the strictly rational explanation developed by Lenin himself, I repeat, which psychologically was apprehended precisely as a "miracle." On the night of the Petrograd Uprising, "when we were in the Smolny..." Lenin said, "if that night we had been told that in 3 years we would be witnessing what we are witnessing now, our victory, no one, even the most confirmed optimist, would have believed it." At that time, in October 1917, Lenin explained, we conceived of "future development in a simpler, more direct form than actually occurred." We made rapid, direct and immediate support "from the working people's masses of the whole world" the "basis of our entire policy." And although the sympathy, solidarity and assistance of the world army of labor helped repulse the onslaught of the interventionists, the young Republic of Soviets did not receive the support it was counting on. "Fate has condemned us to isolation....," Lenin stated, summing up the results of the first year of Soviet power (p 69), and the Soviet Republic remained a long time "an oasis amid a raging sea of imperialist rapacity."

## II

All this confronted the party and its leader with a number of major practical-political problems for which an answer could not be found either in previous experience or in the theoretical work of the prerevolutionary years. History had confirmed Lenin's prediction: the power of the bourgeoisie and the landowners had initially been overturned in one country. But it was precisely this turn of events and the existence of the hostile, aggressive encirclement which posed "the question of foreign policy and international relations" as "the main question" and as one of the preservation and development of the revolutionary gains (see p 67).

It was primarily necessary to achieve peace and lead the country out of the "nightmare of endless killing." This task was raised squarely right on the second day of the revolution--in Lenin's Decree on Peace.

The intensity and embittered nature of the class battles, the acuteness of the political situation and the turbulent nature of the changes which were occurring left Lenin no time for reflection in the quiet of an office. The question of peace with Kaiser Germany and its allies, which had been put on the agenda by the development of events, interlaced into a single tight knot all the international problems of those dramatic days. All the strength and all the power of Lenin's intellect was needed in order, in deciding this very concrete and very practical question, to rise to theoretical generalizations of permanent significance.

To conclude or not to conclude the "filthiest," "archheinous" and "shameful" peace? Lenin insisted--yes, conclude. The "left" communists said "no," do not conclude, adopt a policy of "revolutionary war" and be prepared, in the event of defeat, for the "loss of Soviet power." Trotsky held the ill-defined position of "neither peace nor war." Today, from a distance of more than six decades, Lenin's viewpoint appears the most obvious and sole correct and possible viewpoint. It was not so then. At a meeting of Central Committee members and Bol'shevik delegates to the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January 1918, 32 delegates were for revolutionary war, 16 for Trotsky's position and 15 for Lenin's viewpoint. By a majority of votes (9 against 7) the party Central Committee supported Trotsky on 11 January. In the morning of 18 February, when the Germans had already begun the offensive, six Central Committee members against seven supported a proposal to send a telegram consenting to peace. Only in the evening of 18 February did Lenin's viewpoint obtain a majority of seven votes to five with one abstention. In fact the party was on the verge of a split. And it was only Lenin's authority, his iron logic, the force of his arguments and his persistence and unshakable confidence that he was right that saved the situation.

Lenin resolutely did not agree that the interests of international revolution prohibited any peace with the imperialists. "A socialist republic amid imperialists powers," he wrote, "could not, from the viewpoint of such views, have concluded any economic agreements and could not have existed, without flying to the moon" (p 29). Categorically objecting to the use of the war as a "pusher" of revolution, Lenin pointed out: "Such a 'theory' would signify a complete rupture with Marxism, which has always rejected the 'prompting' of revolutions developing in line with the ripening of the awareness of the class contradictions giving rise to revolutions" (ibid.). In asserting this Vladimir Il'ich was by no means denying that a victorious proletariat could help its class brothers abroad. He was merely emphasizing that the forms of this help should not have anything in common with "exporting" revolution.

At the Seventh Special Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Congress the "left" communists fought rearguard battles. Bukharin was still saying that "...there can be no peaceful cohabitation between us--between the Soviet Republic and international capital"--but the majority of delegates were firmly for Lenin. The ideas which he expressed in the course of the debate on the Brest peace were an important and essential element of the formation of the comprehensive concept of peaceful coexistence.

### III

Whereas initially the existence side by side of states of a different type was interpreted as a temporary consequence of the lateness of the revolutions in Europe, the conviction gradually strengthened in Lenin--as the Soviet power's international position was consolidated--of the inevitability and prolonged duration of this coexistence. Whence the policy of maintaining lasting, stable relations with the capitalist world, primarily economic relations. The idea of grants arises within the framework of this policy. "On reasonable terms," Lenin wrote to the American workers in September 1919, "grants are desirable for us also...throughout the period when socialist and capitalist states will exist alongside one another" (p 89). Grants did not become to any extent prevalent for a variety of reasons. But the mere discussion of this idea reinforced and strengthened sentiments in favor of the organization of regular interstate economic relations.

In April 1919 the NEW YORK TIMES carried a report on W. Bullit's and L. Steffens' conversation with Lenin. "He declared," Bullit recounted, "that Bol'shevist principles would be capable of standing competition...with the conventional ideas of democratic administration and wanted the Soviet system to have equal opportunities here and the world to observe this." Competition of the capitalist and socialist systems under peaceful conditions--this was Lenin's idea and Lenin's notion, which was taking shape by that time, of the most expedient nature of their mutual relations. By mid-1920 this idea had assumed what is for us now its customary form. The report of G. V. Chicherin, people's commissar for foreign affairs, at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on 17 June 1920 said: "Our slogan was and remains one and the same: peaceful coexistence with other governments, whatever their type. Reality itself has led us and other states to the need to create long lasting relations between the worker-peasant government and capitalist governments."

Analyzing the nature of the said reality, Lenin stated that "a certain, albeit highly unstable" equilibrium had been created in international relations. "We have a certain equilibrium which is unstable in the highest degree," he repeats again and again, "but which is certain and undisputable, nevertheless." And it was this "certainty," this "undisputability" of the equilibrium which had emerged which allowed Lenin, despite all its obvious instability, to draw a conclusion of fundamental importance: "...We have won for ourselves conditions wherein we can exist alongside



the capitalist powers, which have now been compelled to enter into trade relations with us. In the process of this struggle we have won for ourselves the right to independent existence" (p 175). It is not difficult to understand that the independent existence of a socialist state alongside capitalist powers is an actual (and logical) prerequisite of the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Precisely this policy--under the leadership and with the direct participation of Lenin--became the policy of Soviet Russia.

Despite all its novelty, the principle of peaceful coexistence was not divorced from previous history. Approaching international affairs "in conformity with a legal awareness of democracy in general and the working people's classes in particular," the socialist state apprehended entirely such principles of international relations formulated back in the course of the antifeudal revolutions as equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs and so forth. Furthermore, it was precisely the socialist state which for the first time in history viewed these principles not as good wishes which are recalled occasionally, but as real, practicable basis for the dealings of states in the world arena. The inseparable connection of the principle of peaceful coexistence with general democratic principles strengthens the entire fabric of international life.

Starting from the equilibrium which had come about in international relations, Lenin developed the idea that now "we have not only a breathing-space, we have a new period, when our basic international existence in the network of capitalist states has been won" (p 176). And, building a bridge from foreign policy or problems to domestic ones, he pointed out: "We now no longer have to talk about just a breathing-space but about serious opportunities for new building for a longer time." Lenin regarded the RSFSR's growing relations with neighboring countries as "a guarantee that we will be able to devote ourselves fundamentally to the cause of economic building and be able to work tranquilly, solidly and confidently for a longer time" (p 187). This was Lenin's brilliant principle of the possibility of building socialism while the capitalist encirclement was maintained. With this approach the policy of peaceful coexistence appeared as a struggle to secure favorable foreign policy conditions for socialist building. Proletarian internationalism also was suffused with new content with this approach. "Now," Lenin emphasized, "we are exerting our main influence on international revolution with our economic policy.... The struggle has been transferred to this sphere worldwide. We will accomplish this task, and then we will have won internationally conclusively and for certain" (p 197).

#### IV

Lenin's works contain not only general theoretical-political instructions concerning the international activity of the socialist state. We encounter in them a mass of most interesting thoughts and recommendations concerning specific diplomatic practice and methods of conducting affairs

with the capitalist powers. Recalling the first steps of Soviet diplomacy, G. V. Chicherin writes of Lenin's "inimitable political realism" and his "unrivaled flexibility." Firmness and persistence in defending fundamental positions were just as characteristic of Lenin, of course. But Chicherin had no need to write about this. They were self-evident. They had been insularized by decades of the underground and the bitter struggle against Tsarism. It was important for Chicherin to stress the naturalness with which Lenin experienced "the change from the former views of an underground revolutionary party to the political realism of a government in power..." which was extremely difficult for everyone.

Delivering the closing remarks on the report on peace at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, just the second day after the victorious uprising, Lenin resolutely opposed making the demand for peace categorical. "A categorical approach," he reasoned, "could prove disastrous for our entire cause. We cannot demand in such a way that any insignificant deviation from our demands give imperialist governments the chance to say that it is pointless entering into peace negotiations on account of our irreconcilability" (p 19). And further: "We do not dare and must not give the governments a chance to hide behind our obstinacy..." (p 20).

We ask ourselves the question: was not this flexibility forced on him and was it not explained by the weakness of the international positions of a state which had just been born? After all, this was a time when, in Lenin's words, we "had to bide our time, retreat and maneuver." Well, there is probably some grain of truth in such an argument. But precisely a "grain." Lenin's thinking was not tied only to the topic of the day. It had a more general character: a categorical approach is binding. A categorical approach sharply limits the space for political maneuvering and forces one to remain frozen in a position formulated at one time in the past, which allows the partner clear tactical advantages and enables him, should he so wish, to quit the discussion in point, giving as his reason for this the irreconcilability and obstinacy of the other side. At the same time a change in categorical positions dictated by circumstances always looks like a retreat, which also fails to promote the success of a given diplomatic action.

Lenin kept an attentive watch on how this diplomatic step of the Country of Soviets or the other would be reflected in the alignment of forces within the bourgeois camp. He wrote: "In considering the tasks of the Soviet power's foreign policy at this time the greatest caution, circumspection and self-control are required so as not to help the extreme elements of the war parties of Japan and Germany through an ill-considered or hasty step" (p 32). And again, with reference to "this time," anxious not to provoke "an immediate and general offensive against Russia," Lenin expressed ideas which go far beyond the confines of the specifics of those days in their significance. He taught people to see the different strata, groups and factions of the bourgeoisie distinguished from one another by political persuasion, degree of bellicosity and different attitude toward

contacts with Soviet Russia. There are "reasonable capitalists" and "sensible representatives of the bourgeoisie." But there are also representatives of the "war party" and adventurist elements." And it is not a matter of indifference to us, Lenin writes, "whether we are dealing with representatives of the bourgeois camp who thirst for a military solution of a question or with representatives of the bourgeois camp who gravitate toward pacifism..." (p 230).

The correlation of forces between "reasonable capitalists" and the "war party" is a variable determined by many factors. Some of them are beyond the range of influence. This is why Lenin cautions against ill-considered, hasty steps capable of intimidating and repelling "reasonable capitalists" and giving the "war party" the trump cards.

Seeing off a Soviet delegation departing for Genoa, Lenin demanded: "Do everything possible and some of the impossible to strengthen the pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie" and to insure that the "pacifist camp of the international bourgeoisie's split with the camp of the crudely bourgeois, aggressively bourgeois and reactionary bourgeois" be even deeper (p 219, 220). This task has become no less topical since those days. On the contrary. The struggle for the relaxation of international tension and for peaceful coexistence makes it urgently necessary to finely differentiate political opponents, increase the isolation of militarist, adventurist circles in the West and encourage and stimulate the trend toward political realism. Thus "caution, circumspection and self-control" have by no means lost their significance.

## V

Lenin's ideas on peaceful coexistence together with the ideas he developed on the socialist country's international duty under the conditions of the class struggle in the international arena have constituted the permanent theoretical foundation of Soviet foreign policy. In various periods of the history of the Soviet state--in years of peace and years of war, in an atmosphere of international tension and under detente conditions, when we were alone and when the capitalist encirclement was breached--these ideas proved their viability and their conformity with the fundamental singularities of our era. But the foundation is called a foundation because it serves as the basis and point of departure for the subsequent development and enrichment of corresponding notions and concepts.

International relations are to a large extent not primary but secondary and tertiary and, in general, "derivative, transferred relations (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works] vol 12, p 735). This means that proportionate to the changes in the base, primary relations, that is, proportionate to the social changes within states, whose interaction forms the system of international relations, there are changes in the content and nature of the latter. Consequently, the principles of foreign policy

activity connected with them are transformed. The chain reaction of revolutions and profound social changes which began as a result of the rout of fascism led to the formation of the world socialist system, destroyed colonial empires and called into being dozens of independent developing states, sharply enhanced the relative importance of the international workers and communist movement and led to a general shift of world public opinion to the left. Under the new historical conditions the forces of peace clearly began to gain the ascendancy over the forces of war. This made it possible to also pose anew a number of questions connected with the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence.

"History suggests that peace is a breathing-space for war..." (p 33). This is what Lenin said in the political report of the Central Committee to the Seventh Special Russian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Congress. So it had been. Had been for 10, 100 and 1,000 years before Lenin, and so it was in his day also. Therefore for the leader of the first socialist state the peaceful coexistence of the sole socialist country with capitalist encirclement signified at worst a brief "breathing-space" and, at best, a peaceful "period," which would inevitably be followed by a frontal clash with capitalism. "It has to be remembered," Lenin cautioned in December 1921, "that we are always only a hairsbreadth away from any invasion" (p 206). The invasion began less than 20 years later....

Now the situation is different. A real opportunity has now emerged for realizing in practice Lenin's concept of a "just democratic world" and a "lasting and just peace." Proceeding from the new correlation of forces the CPSU and the other communist parties drew the conclusion of the possibility of preventing the outbreak of world war and preventing the postwar time from again becoming a prewar time. Of course, as long as imperialism remains, so too do the deep causes of aggressive policy. But it is precisely the point that with the present correlation of forces the possibility has arisen of essentially blocking and restricting the paths leading from these causes to their consequences. In other words, of putting imperialism in such a position where aggression ceases to yield it political dividends.

What has been said applies primarily and mainly to world war. Its probability and the probability of a global nuclear missile conflict has now been reduced. Local wars are another matter. We say and write from time to time: "Peace is indivisible." This assertion is in the realm of what ought to be and is correct as an ideal and an expression of intentions. But in the realm of what is, in actual reality, in the last 35 years in this world there have been over 140 wars and military conflicts in which more than 80 states have participated. Approximately 10 million have perished in these clashes, according to calculations of the NEW YORK TIMES.

The danger of local wars is far from just local. Affecting the interests of the main antagonistic world forces, such wars exacerbate international tension and threaten to develop into conflicts of more extensive proportions. This is why it is so important to constrict the possibilities of



the outbreak of local wars. This is extraordinarily difficult. The causes of local wars, the majority of which break out in the world of developing states, are connected, as a rule, with the actions of imperialism. At the same time the general instability of the situation in the developing states, territorial disputes, national-tribal and religious discord and the personal ambitions of this political leader or the other frequently possessing almost unchecked power cannot be ignored. Primarily a general upsurge in the socioeconomic and political development level is in principle capable of removing the grounds for conflict here. However, a big positive role could be played right now by the dissemination and consolidation in the appropriate regions of the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. This process has already begun and will undoubtedly strengthen.

## VI

Reflecting on the international position of the Russian Soviet Republic, Lenin wrote in April 1918: "...Exclusively discord among the imperialist powers...represents a real, not paper, guarantee of peace for us" (p 45). In our day contradictions among imperialist countries, although playing a certain part, broadening socialist foreign policy's potential for maneuver, in no way serves as a guarantee (even less, exclusively) of the preservation of peace. It is now primarily the might and cohesion of the socialist community which act as this guarantee. The mass antiwar, anti-militarist movement, which embraces hundreds of millions of people on all continents, also acts as such a guarantee. "...We must help the peoples intervene in questions of war and peace," Lenin said at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. "Peace cannot be made only from above," he said on 10 (23) November 1917 at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. "Peace must be reached from below" (p 22). This instruction of Lenin's for the democratization of foreign policy and the active and conscious participation of the people's masses in the struggle against war and for peace came to be realized right in the very first years after October. But only as of the middle of the 20th century was it firmly established in the practice of international life. The force of mass public organizations actively supporting peace is a force of mass action and a force of progressive world public opinion with which imperialist politicians now have to reckon.

They also have to reckon with the change in the nature of war itself connected with the military-equipment revolution and the appearance of nuclear weapons.

K. Clausewitz's formula "war is the continuation of policy by other means" is well known. Any war, regardless of its scale and regardless of the means of destruction employed, was, is and will be a continuation of the policy of this class or the other. This is axiomatic. But Clausewitz's formula also had other, by no means axiomatic, content. It presented the

statesman with a choice: to achieve a given political goal it is possible to act either by the peaceful path or with the aid of armed coercion. Both alternatives are permissible and perfectly justified, it is only important to choose the most suitable for the given conditions. And although, for example, the policy of Bismarck, who created the German Empire with "iron and blood," hardly admits of a moral justification, it cannot be denied rationality: the chosen means led to the achievement of the set goal.

So it was. But now? Is it now possible to regard a general nuclear missile war as a "different," but still rational means of state policy, that is, as an expedient variant of political choice and political conduct? Obviously, the potential of a retaliatory strike, which would crash down on an aggressor, deprives this choice of any rationality and automatically turns aggression into the suicide and self-destruction of the aggressor.

In his time Lenin had every reason to say of World War I, which had inflicted unprecedented catastrophes on the peoples, that it had at the same time "accelerated social development in an unprecedented way" and that the war "gave a push to history, and it is now flying with the speed of a locomotive." This could also be said of the Second World War. But of a third? N. K. Krupskaya recalls that, pondering the nature of war and contemplating the future, Lenin said, back in 1918, that modern equipment now increasingly aided the destructive nature of war, but that there would be a time when war would be so destructive that it would be altogether impossible. It would seem that man has already approached such a time. Here, at this point of the analysis, the interests of the capitalist and socialist countries intersect. The capitalist because the bourgeoisie, despite its inherent policy of adventurism, is not disposed toward signing its own death warrant. The socialist because socialism's foreign policy is in principle a peace-loving policy and organically incorporates humanism and an aspiration to secure painless forms of social progress.

So, nuclear missile parity as a condition contributing to the success of a policy of peace... From this statement it is possible to move in different directions. In an atmosphere of "cold war" and the growth of international tension mankind is under the Damocles' sword of a "balance of fear." Such a balance is also peace, but a peace in which no one feels at ease and in which the tomorrow is hidden behind an ominous mist of uncertainty. The Soviet Union proposes another prospect. Peaceful co-existence in its current understanding is not only the absence of a "hot" war: it is the surmounting of the inertia of the "cold war" with all of its insidious zigzags. It is the establishment of trust and mutual understanding between states and all-around cooperation between them on the basis of complete equality and mutual advantage. This cooperation, as available experience shows, is realized in practice through a complex of various mutually acceptable agreements. It consequently presupposes the willingness of the sides to make mutual concessions and compromises on this question or the other. In each specific case each side aspires to

derive the maximum possible advantage for it in a given situation, but at the same time knows that to obtain something, something must be ceded. Lenin realized full well that, without this, peaceful coexistence would remain a hollow phrase.

## VII

V. I. Lenin warned: The struggle for peace "will be difficult and hard" (p 21). This was true when Soviet Russia was struggling for a way out of World War I. It was true when the Soviet Union was attempting to prevent World War II. It is also true now, when our country is struggling for the continuation and extension of the relaxation of tension and the reorganization of the entire system of international relations on the basis of the principles of equality and justice.

The 1970's may rightly be called detente years. However, even in the second half of this decade it became clear that the imperialist powers, primarily the United States, were manifestly trying to apply the brakes. This trend was perfectly clear by the end of the 1970's. Mankind has entered the 1980's in a troubled atmosphere of increased militarism, the increased aggressiveness of American imperialism and a hysterical propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union.

What has happened? Why have the "war party" and the "adventurist elements" in the ruling circles of the world bourgeoisie been able to squeeze out the "reasonable capitalists"? Why have certain of those figures who a few years ago were campaigning for detente now cooled toward it, to put it mildly? In the most general form these questions may be answered thus: because many politicians and ideologists of capitalism have been intimidated by the pace and scope of the social changes accompanying the process of a relaxation of international tension. And, however strange this may seem, it is the politicians of the strongest capitalist power which have been possessed by fear and bewilderment to the greatest extent. Whence the galvanization of the military-industrial complex, the growth of conservative, jealous sentiments and attempts to again don the uniform of international policeman. "On every occasion," we read in the American paper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, "that the United States feels particularly uncertain, it instinctively goes for its gun."

The bourgeois consciousness is inclined to put at the center of its interpretation of detente and peaceful coexistence the idea of preservation of the social status quo. It is impossible to agree with this interpretation. The policy of peaceful coexistence has clearly-drawn boundaries. Its sphere is relations between states. The policy of peaceful coexistence is designed to find a solution to the most acute present-day political problem--preventing a total nuclear missile clash, directing the antagonism of the two systems into the channel of peaceful competition and "supporting in everyway," as Lenin said, "all attempts at the peaceful solution of questions in dispute" (p 146). But there is another

problem, which may be called the main social problem of the present day. Its content is civilization's transition to a new, higher level of development and the elimination of all forms of social and national oppression. Whereas the first is being solved by way of agreements between states, the second is being solved by way of a struggle between the classes and between the oppressed and the oppressors.

It is possible and necessary to ban war as a method of a "showdown" between states. And in this sense peaceful coexistence includes the status quo requirement. But it is impossible to "ban" a civil or national liberation war and it is altogether impossible to "ban" revolution as a method of changing political and social orders. Of course, it would have been better if the Portuguese colonialists had quit Africa themselves, but this they did not do, and the peoples of Angola and Mozambique had every right to throw them out by force. Of course, it would be better if the terrorist regimes in Chile and Paraguay themselves renounced power, but they will not do this, and it is the peoples' right to oust tyrants.

The world in which we live is experiencing a period of major social changes. The peoples of dozens of states and whole continents have been seized by a desire to reorganize social practices. Furthermore, as scientific theory predicted and as experience has shown, the easing of international tension and an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence are stimulating progressive changes and increasing the impact of advanced, democratic ideas. Peace, Lenin said, "advances matters an infinite number of times better than war..." and "...any peace will give our influence a hundred-fold bigger and wider road" (p 146). Initially bourgeois politicians and ideologists did not adopt a very serious attitude toward such statements. But then they saw that this is how it is. They saw and took fright. "In retrospect, the balance sheet of the 10-year policy of detente," FRG politician K. Biedenkopf said, for example, "is for us a simple negative... While contributing to a weakening of our military and defense readiness detente has paralyzed us in the ideological dispute and, not least, had an influence on the destabilization of our democratic social system." The changes in Angola and Mozambique, Ethiopia and Afghanistan and Iran and Nicaragua, in a word, everywhere where the peoples are taking their fate into their own hands, are put among the same negative consequences of detente.

Peace really is indivisible from social progress. But not because this is what communists want but primarily because such are the laws of social progress. It is, of course, possible to deceive oneself and make out that what is happening in Afghanistan or Ethiopia is the result of some people's "intrigues." But a serious policy cannot be built on the basis of analgetic illusions. Just as it cannot be built by proceeding from the belief that force is capable of halting the historical process.

Identifying their interests with the interests of conservative historically doomed regimes and regarding support for liberation movements as breaking the "rules of the game," the imperialists are attempting by way of



military threats, economic sanctions and political pressure to change the policy of the Soviet Union. It is hardly necessary to prove at length that this is a waste of time. Lenin said back in 1922: "We have seen enough threats and more serious ones, furthermore, than that of a dealer about to slam the door.... We have seen the threat of guns on the part of allied powers which possessed virtually the entire world. The threat of these did not frighten us. Be so kind, gentlemen European diplomats, not to forget this" (p 223). In some places, unfortunately, the "gentlemen diplomats" have forgotten this. But in vain. In vain because hysteria and a desire to "intimidate" and even "punish" lead to political decisions which can solve nothing. They can only aggravate the general international atmosphere and slow the pace of detente.

But, in principle, there is no way back. And those who are currently hurling thunder and lightning against detente and appealing for an arms buildup will have to recognize sooner or later that attempting to adapt the world to the ideas of American and other imperialist politicians is hopeless. They themselves will have to adapt to this world, a world which is changing and will continue to change. As far as the relaxation of international tension and peaceful coexistence are concerned, their task and meaning is to insure that the inevitable clash of the interests of socialism and capitalism brought about by these changes do not approach the line beyond which "nonexistence" begins.

The political configuration of the modern world is incomparably more complex than in Lenin's day. But the pivotal, main singularity of the structure of the world community--the division of the world into two opposite sociopolitical systems--inevitably shows through the intricate and many-colored pattern of intersecting and opposed political interests. The world-historical significance of this fact and factor was clearly formulated for the first time by Lenin: "There are two forces in this world which can determine the fate of mankind. One force is international capitalism.... The other force is the international proletariat..." (p 108). Returning to this idea, he emphasized: "Two camps, in all deliberateness, now stand facing one another on, without the least exaggeration, a world scale" (p 144).

Lenin regarded the mutual relations of the two camps as the pivot and axis of all international life and as the basis for the polarization of world social and political forces. "...All the events of world politics," he wrote in the propositions for the Second Comintern Congress, "are inevitably concentrated around one central point, namely, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which groups around itself, inevitably, on the one hand soviet movements of progressive workers of all countries and, on the other, all the national liberation movements of the colonies and oppressed nationalities..." (p 165).

Practice and history have made inevitable amendments to the details of Lenin's analysis with reference to the specific situation in a specific

historical period. But in all its principal features--theoretically and methodologically--it is relevant today also. The struggle of the two systems remains the fulcrum and nerve cord of all world politics. It is precisely this which determines the permanent significance of Lenin's ideas on peaceful coexistence. Incorporating both rivalry and cooperation and remaining as the status of the class struggle and a means of achieving compromise solutions, the policy of peaceful coexistence represents the sole prudent and realistic framework of man's existence in a divided world.

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## FOR HIGH STANDARDS AND EFFECTIVENESS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

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[Article by Aleksandr Lilov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party has always ascribed prime importance to ideological work. The party has rich experience in this work, acquired in the period of the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism. Presently as well, at the stage of building a developed socialist society, it firmly and consistently relies on Marxist-Leninist theory, mastering and creatively applying the experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, considering ideological work one of the most important realms of party, state, and social activity, steadily improving it.

The party bases its study of qualitative improvements in ideological work above all on the conclusion that changes have taken place at the present stage in the interaction between the objective and subjective factors in our society. As the BCP program, adopted at the 10th Party Congress, stipulated, the role of the subjective factor legitimately increases in building a developed socialist society.

As a mature Marxist-Leninist party, the BCP is clearly aware of the dialectics of the objective and subjective social development factors. We are familiar with K. Marx's and F. Engels' brilliant discovery that the motive forces of society are contained in factual socioeconomic processes, that human history does not develop randomly and arbitrarily but follows its objective laws, and that social life determines the social consciousness of the people. However, this basic conclusion on the existence of a straight and objective logic of social changes does not mean in the least that society or man are the passive products of historical necessity. Conversely, as V. I. Lenin points out, in "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," the highest task of mankind is to achieve an objective mastery of the logic of the development of social life in its general and basic aspects in order to adapt to it as clearly and critically as possible its social awareness and the awareness of the

progressive classes (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 16, p 345). Consequently, it is only through the knowledge and mastery of objective social laws that man can change and advance social reality, and limit the scope of spontaneous, unpredicted, and unexpected processes.

This dialectical concept cannot be ignored. Under the contemporary conditions of building a developed socialist society, it retains its entire significance and strength. Furthermore, it is precisely the socialist society that creates the most favorable conditions for the interaction between the objective and subjective development factors. On the basis of the factual interaction between a revolution in social relations and a revolution in the scientific and technical field, the socialist social system acquires unparalleled possibilities. Qualitatively new processes develop in the economic base of society, radically changing objective conditions. This contributes to the strengthening of the subjective factor. Marx and Engels wrote that along with the substantiation of historical actions the volume of the masses whose product they are will consequently rise. The building of a developed socialist society, as the result of the conscious efforts of all classes and social groups, is a brilliant confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist stipulation of the increased role and significance of the subjective factor in the historical process.

In other words, today the struggle waged by our party and people for building a developed socialist society has entered a stage in which the pace of progress in all areas of social life is beginning to depend more directly and more decisively precisely on the activities of the subjective factor. This underscores the need for a more extensive development of the creative energy of the people's masses on the basis of clearly formulated and objectively substantiated socioeconomic objectives, with a closer inner unity and organization of individual units, and the systematic intensification of the interconnection between production and nonproduction activities and labor, performing, and organizational-managerial work. At the same time, the significance of the subjective factor grows also in the area of restricting and eliminating random and undesirable phenomena adverse to society, in surmounting arising contradictions, and facilitating the course of natural social processes, and encouraging and accelerating them.

Changes in the position and the significance of the subjective factor in the dialectics of social development create a new situation on the ideological front as well. Lenin perspicaciously considered that "The deeper the change we would like to make, the more we have to increase the interest in and conscious attitude toward it, convincing ever more millions and tens of millions of people of its necessity." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." Vol 42, p 140). Such a formulation of the question remains topical to this day. The legitimate growth of the role of the subjective factor



will require purposeful work for the further enhancement of the conscientiousness, organization, and activeness of the party members and all working people, and the intensification of the specific historical substantiation and purposefulness of the creative activities of the broadest possible people's masses, based on the qualitative characteristics of the given stage. For this reason the ideological front must play a very substantial role in all manifestations of the subjective factor. More precisely, ideological activities themselves must be raised to a level consistent with the level of development of the subjective factor in the stage of building a developed socialist society. What does this mean?

K. Marx wrote that making world history would be, naturally, quite easy had the struggle been launched only when absolutely favorable chances of success were present. The struggle for the present and, even more so, for the future is developing not under ideal but real and, consequently, complex and contradictory conditions. Therefore, at each development stage real difficulties and contradictions must be surmounted.

Under the conditions of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, when the efforts of the BCP were focused on the elimination of the economic backwardness of the country, the creation of a powerful material base, and, on this basis, the shaping of new socioeconomic relations, the ideological front was faced with important tasks which called for the surmounting of considerable difficulties. The elimination of the private ownership of productive capital and of exploitation removed the main objective hindrances to rallying the people's masses and insuring their unity of action. However, this did not automatically change the awareness of the masses. At that time classes and social groups were still the bearers of specific and frequently contradictory or even directly opposite interests and views. Their ideological positions were distinguished by their complexity and variety. This variety of classes and social groups participating in the social progress demanded that the ideological front promote more profoundly in the minds of the people the principles of the new society, to surmount prejudices and some ideological differences between the working class and the other population strata, and to expose the insidious intrigues of bourgeois politics, ideology, and propaganda. Therefore, the basic task and purpose of all ideological activities at that time were to make the broad people's masses aware of the truth that the ideas of scientific socialism are "nothing but the clear and sensible expression of their needs, still unrealized yet vaguely and personally felt" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 22, pp 534-535). The work to surmount the variety of views and ideological positions of the different classes and social groups turned the ideological process into something relatively separate from the overall spiritual and political life of the country. This process developed primarily and essentially in the ideological-political area of the superstructure. It had its own problems and approaches, and its own clearly earmarked area of action. The remaining considerable disparity between the conscious and spontaneous elements in the minds of

the masses gave a specific nature to the trends and forms of ideological work, substantially determining its boundaries.

Today, under the conditions of the building of developed socialism, all this has radically changed. As a result of the profound changes which have taken place in the material and technical base of society, socialist classes and social groups among which new and friendly relations are being established have already been formed in terms of structure, level of maturity, nature of labor, and common interests. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, developed socialism is "a stage of maturity reached by the new society in which the restructuring of the sum total of social relations on collectivistic principles inherent in socialism is completed." It is precisely on the basis of such principles that substantial changes occur in ideological activities. They become one of the most important factors in molding the growing socialist awareness of the masses and in the acceleration of integration processes within the socialist society itself. Ideological activities are now able to formulate and resolve problems and earmark objectives which affect society at large, for local, group, and individual interests have become far more unified and inseparable from the problems resolved by the entire society and the objectives toward which it aspires. At the same time, ideological activities are developing not only in the area of the ideological-political superstructure. Imbuing all classes and social groups, and covering all social areas, they reach the economic foundations of social life. In other words, to an ever greater extent socialism is appearing not only in the material and technical and social activities and policies but in extensive mass ideological work which, being closely linked with life, is making a substantial contribution to social development and to the common progress of the socialist society. Therefore, as a powerful weapon in the mobilization of the subjective factor, ideological work itself becomes its effective component. Its purpose is to awaken the interest of the people's masses in the ever more profound mastery and utilization of the objective laws governing the development of the socialist society and in the most active participation of everyone separately and of all people together in social processes, and in work for the good of the people.

Implementing all this, at the same time ideological activities find a powerful base and support in the socioeconomic processes themselves and in their results and accomplishments. Today it is not only ideological activities by themselves alone, but the fast and comprehensive development of the socialist society that yield tremendous political, ideological, and moral results.

The more considerable our gains become, the more obvious it becomes not only to us, the builders of a socialist society, but to all working people and all honest people on earth, that socialism is the desired, necessary, and inevitable future of all mankind. The tremendous accomplishments of the USSR in the building of communism, and the successes

achieved by the Bulgarian People's Republic and the other members of the socialist comity convincingly prove that in the modern age socialist ideas play a far greater role than ever before, and, above all, that this role is steadily increasing. This is explained, above all, with the fact that real socialism is the main generator of ideas which are today the motive forces of development of all human society on a global scale. Even more significant is the fact that real socialism not only generates ideas but implements them. The experience of the Soviet Union and the other members of the world socialist comity confirmed the Marxist-Leninist concept that socialism is a social system which radically resolves antagonistic class contradictions created by capitalism, makes a tremendous quality leap in all areas of social development, and creates a base and subjective and objective prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism. Systematically implementing its specific historical tasks, socialism converts from lower to higher development stages, revealing more completely its advantages. That is why real socialism is influenced not only by ideas but by its own reality. The ideological effect of this influence is tremendous and global.

That is precisely why imperialism, capitalism, and revisionism have now taken as their target the successes, advantages, and example of real socialism. Continuing to oppose communist ideas and communist parties in its own countries, after the Helsinki Conference the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries is focusing elite ideological forces in the struggle against real socialism. The struggle is developing in accordance not only with the present but the future as well. All of us are witnessing the noisy and numerous attempts made by bourgeois social scientists, ideologues, and propagandists to fabricate, substantiate, and circulate a variety of "constructive," "post-industrial," "futurological" and other models, concepts and objectives, thus expanding the fight against socialism. Today the ideological confrontation involves not only the ideological and political struggle but the essential and sharply topical problems of economic growth, social uses of the discoveries and achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, ecology, demography, and others. The tendentious and class-limited interpretation of social progress, the persistent popularization of fatalistic pictures of the future, and the dissemination of forecasts which the capitalist society finds consoling are the arsenal of means supplied by bourgeois ideology in its struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the socialist and communist ways of development, and against the present and future of mankind.

All this confirms that now, when socialism has gradually and successfully turned from theory toward social reality, ideology becomes one of the most important sectors of the struggle against real socialism.

The conclusion? We must intensify and improve the ideological activities of the socialist countries and of the international communist and workers'

movements. This is required by the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, the building of socialism and a developed socialist society, and against bourgeois ideology, opportunism, and revisionism. Briefly stated, this means the following: no underestimating, abating, or delaying ideological work. Conversely, comprehensive efforts must be made to energize it and, something particularly important, its level and effectiveness must be decisively upgraded. Such is the order of the age in which we live and struggle for the victory of communism.

To us, Bulgarian communists, it is unquestionable that without an efficiently organized and operating ideological front, armed with the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, able to provide a prompt answer to new problems, and tirelessly fighting bourgeois ideology, the party would be unable to successfully implement its program for building a developed socialist society and create conditions for a gradual transition to communism. That is precisely why the BCP and its Central Committee are taking the necessary measures to make the level of ideological work consistent with the socioeconomic, political, and cultural tasks currently implemented by our society.

As early as the 10th BCP Congress (1971) the major and responsible task was set of reorganizing the activities of the entire ideological front, making it consistent with the needs and requirements of the contemporary stage--the stage of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. The February 1974 BCP Central Committee Plenum earmarked a comprehensive program for improving ideological activities. In the subsequent years energetic work was launched to implement it. The process of comprehensive reorganization of the ideological front was particularly intensified following the 11th BCP Congress (1976). In 1978 a national conference was held to discuss such topics. It thoroughly analyzed the results in the work to improve ideological activities and earmark measures for further improvements in connection with the qualitative changes which had taken place in our social development and the tasks, problems, and requirements of building developed socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic. A few of them will be considered in the present article.

The dynamism of socioeconomic processes in our society, the rapidly changing international circumstances, and the new requirements, based on the growing cultural, educational, and information standards of the people, force us to rely mainly on the quality and effectiveness of ideological and political-educational work, and to decisively improve and update both its content and the ways, means, and methods used. Unquestionably, the closest possible attention should be paid both today and, particularly, in the forthcoming period, to problems of a highly effective ideological activity, contemporary in terms of content, standard, organization, psychology, facilities, and management.



Formulated by the 11th BCP Congress, the strategy of achieving high quality and effectiveness in all realms of social activity, subsequently concretized in the stipulations and decisions of the National Party Conference (1978) created factual circumstances for the discovery and utilization of the tremendous possibilities and reserves of our social system and directed the efforts of the party and the people toward this.

Day after day life proves that under the conditions of the creation of the economic base of mature socialism, broadening the participation of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the international division of labor, and the development of the scientific and technical revolution, the party course toward high effectiveness and quality is objectively necessary. It is the only correct one. It is scientifically and practically substantiated. It is no accident that the working class and all working people in our country warmly supported this course and enthusiastically undertook its implementation.

It is precisely in the struggle for high effectiveness and quality everywhere and, above all, in the realm of economics, that the main efforts on our ideological front are concentrated. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, the tasks in economics are not exclusively economic. "They are also political and ideological, for they affect the present and the future of the working people of our country. Ideology is not somewhere in the clouds. It is, above all, the concentrated expression of economics, the essence of a specific economic system, and of problems which it resolves at each stage of development."

Consequently, the question now is, on the one hand, the extent to which the correct and substantiated party course is being comprehensively and fully implemented in the various sectors and activities; on the other, the extent to which the ideological front becomes a powerful and daily operating factor of the practical implementation of this course, i.e., what are the results of the ideological support given to the struggle for high quality and effectiveness.

Under the conditions of the nationwide struggle for achieving planned objectives, our ideological front would be unable to successfully fulfill its functions and obligations had its own work not been distinguished by the necessary quality and effectiveness. We must surmount the disparity between qualitative and quantitative changes in ideological activities. We must most sharply and competently raise questions related to the application of quality criteria in assessing the work of all organizations on the ideological front.

The quantitative approach still frequently takes the upper hand in ideological activities. Primacy is given to extensive criteria while quality criteria factors are mastered less rapidly. Therefore, while continuing to saturate social life with the required ideological activities, we are

aspiring toward qualitative changes, giving priority to the factors which upgrade its effectiveness and standard.

Naturally, our ideological front has always made a contribution to any major accomplishment of the party and the people, and in all successes and gains in the building of socialism. However, today this contribution could and should become even more substantial, more significant, consistent with our tremendous ideological potential and contemporary needs.

Under the present circumstances it is no longer sufficient to be satisfied with the fact that we are rapidly responding to arising problems and make them known to the broadest people's masses. A mere explanation and propaganda of a new strategic party course is today clearly inadequate. Even though it is an exceptionally important part of ideological influence, it is far from being an only one and a self-seeking one. The number of meaningful ideological measures is a substantial means for achieving such influence. In itself, however, it has never been nor could it become a precise measurement of the factually accomplished work. It could be such a measurement less than ever today, when profound changes must be made in the thinking and labor activities of the people and in the style and methods of their work, and when we must rapidly eliminate shortcomings in the organization of the work and sharply improve its specific results. Our ideological cadres must abandon a number of obsolete concepts and routine methods for work and assessment criteria. They must surmount the negative consequences of introducing educational into ideological activities. They must more extensively interpret the propaganda and agitation functions of ideological work under contemporary conditions, and reformulate the question of their effectiveness.

Consequently, the problem of effectiveness and quality of ideological activities is facing us with exceptional urgency and is assuming key significance.

Let us particularly emphasize, however, that today it is a question of the need not only for an accurate theoretical formulation of the problem of effectiveness of ideological work but, above all, of the proper and purposeful orientation of practical efforts in that direction. The effectiveness of ideological activities is not an abstract concept but living reality. Naturally, the efforts of our scientists, trying to determine their comprehensive nature, components, and criteria, deserve all possible support, for it is obvious that the richer theory becomes the richer will practical results be. As to effectiveness as a real process and result to be insured in daily life, this is a matter not for the future but the present.

The BCP program clearly formulates the main criterion of effective ideological work: The level of activity of the masses in sociopolitical,

economic, and cultural life, and the extent to which Marxist-Leninist ideas and the party's policy are converted into a material force.

Such a formulation of the problem has nothing in common with the criterion turned into a joke because of its vulgarizing nature, according to which the state and effectiveness of ideological work are determined directly and exclusively through economic results. Neither does it have anything in common with educational activities, according to which the ideologues provide knowledge and explain, while economic workers are responsible for the implementation of the plans. It is entirely clear that the ideological front has its own specific "field" of manifestation--the "field" of consciousness, outlook, and conviction of the masses, the activeness and behavior of the individual, the level of mobilization of the labor collective, and its readiness to implement the party's policy. Production improvements are not achieved spontaneously, through random factors. In the final account, they are the specific manifestation of the level of the socialist awareness of the working people. The more effectively the ideological front contributes to upgrading socialist conscientiousness--political, social, labor, professional, moral, ethical, and so on--the more successfully it will fulfill its purpose as a means for upgrading quality and effectiveness and, consequently, the greater its own effectiveness will become.

Now, after the 11th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, the struggle for upgrading the effectiveness of ideological work is related to considerably higher social criteria.

New opportunities open to the ideological front to influence even more actively the economic and any other realm of social life by steadily upgrading the socialist conscientiousness and labor and social activeness of the working people, the youth in particular. At the same time, today a particularly urgent need is felt to eliminate the harmful tendency of determining the results of ideological and educational work only through implemented measures rather than their overall educational and practical effect.

We are faced with the task of learning how to measure the effectiveness of ideological work on the basis of the factually manifested conscientiousness and activity of the working people. In this case we must bear in mind the three levels of this assessment:

First, the assessment of ideological-educational measures themselves: their timeliness, topics, quality, scope, and so on. This measurement is intermediary. So far it has been used either as a main or the primary criterion. Since it has no autonomous significance, it should be used in combination with the other two measurements;

The second is the assessment of changes in the conscientiousness of the working people through the manifestation of their views, feelings,

knowledge, outlook, convictions and evaluation criteria, and social mentality. This measure is used exceptionally rarely and one-sidedly. In the best of cases isolated examples are given of one or another manifestation of individuals, without adequate knowledge of the objectiveness and the representative level of conscientiousness of the working people. An exception is allowed only when we are dealing with data of empirical sociological studies. Naturally, this measurement is quite important but, once again, it cannot be considered and used independently, for we are trying not only to make changes in the minds of the people but to encourage corresponding practical actions and activities;

Third, the assessment of practical activities and behavior triggered by the influence of ideological-educational measures. This closes the circle and leads to the final effectiveness criterion. Unfortunately, such an assessment is rarely provided, and it is usually quite inaccurate and general, without separating the specific contribution of ideological work to a given practical result from the influence of other basic factors.

In this connection, we must develop a scientific classification for criteria with which to assess the effectiveness of ideological activities and practically use it in the work of party and social organizations and specialized ideological institutes.

Here the following must be borne in mind:

The results of labor activities. It would be impossible to assess the effectiveness of ideological and educational work in the labor collectives without taking into consideration labor accomplishments. Naturally, we cannot return to the position of a vulgarized understanding of the matter. It is well-known that a number of factors influence the results of labor activities. However, this does not give us the right to underestimate the results of the production activities of individual economic units and labor collectives as one of the measures of ideological-educational work as well. The underestimating of this objective criterion, despite its full relative value, would take us once again back to education in ideological work, which was rejected by life, or else to the positions of a technocratic approach;

The unity of labor collectives, based on the implementation of party policy. The participation of the labor collectives in shaping the party's policy and in its practical implementation largely depends on their unity. Internal quarrels and unprincipled disputes sharply lower labor accomplishments and the usefulness of ideological-educational work. By themselves, they are indicators of insufficient consciousness. That is why the effectiveness of ideological activities should be measured and rated also in accordance with the level reached in the unity of the collective, as one of the most important indicators of its ideological-political maturity. In this case it is important to know on what base,



for the sake of what objectives, and through what ways and means was the unity of the collective achieved, for occasionally such unity could conceal egotistical private or group interests and socially unacceptable objectives and means;

The development of the socialist individual and the strengthening of his social activeness. The effectiveness of ideological-educational work should be assessed according not only to the labor but the political and, in general, the social activeness of the working people, on the extent to which it implements its shaping and stimulating functions related to the development of the individual and his knowledge, culture, convictions, mentality, needs and requirements, labor and sociopolitical activity, health and ability to work, and social qualities;

Existence of negative phenomena in the collective. This is a very important indicator which confirms the level of effectiveness of our ideological-educational work. Cases of "small truth" are a substantial hindrance in the implementation of socioeconomic policy and in the proper upbringing of the working person of the socialist society. In many places, however, party, sociopolitical, economic, and administrative organs continue to display unjustifiable tolerance toward loafing, parasitism, theft of public property, violations of labor discipline, and other antisocial phenomena. The existence of negative manifestations in a given collective or microenvironment should be a criterion in assessing the effectiveness of ideological-educational work.

Since each of these criteria is, to a certain extent, relative, they must be used as a set.

Naturally, it would be impossible to provide here an exhaustive system or classification of all basic effectiveness criteria. Our objective is to earmark an approach which should be mastered and applied in our practical activities, at all levels and in all units. It is entirely obvious that without the establishment of precisely such an approach we would not have a complete, accurate, and representative view of the real results of our ideological efforts. Consequently, we would be unable to undertake sufficiently reliable, substantiated, and purposeful activities for the implementation of the necessary changes in the content, and ways and means of ideological work.

In order to achieve quality changes and effectiveness of ideological work, we must improve its functioning as a unified system using modern ways and means. This means that a higher level of unity of action must be achieved among the different units and levels on the ideological front in order to create factual conditions for a more purposeful and broader channeling of its efforts aimed at the satisfaction of the requirements of sociopolitical life, economic construction, and cultural development. At the same time, it means the possibility for a differentiation of ideological influence, depending on specific conditions within

labor collectives and social groups, and on current and long-term problems facing society. Today the comprehensive approach assumes a key significance. The comprehensive programs and unified long-term plans for ideological-educational work in the *krugs*, target programs on major political, cultural, and other problems, sociological, psychological, and other studies, and so on, are essentially new aspects in the organization and management of the ideological front, formulated on the national and regional levels.

Currently problems related to further upgrading the standard and effectiveness of ideological-educational activities in primary party organizations plays a pivotal role in our work. This is no accident, for the crux of the matter is that in the same manner that the combat capability of the party at large depends, in the final account, on the condition of the primary party organizations, their combat capability, political maturity, and ties with the masses, the general condition, role, and effectiveness of all ideological party activities greatly depend on the condition and level of ideological-educational work carried out within such organizations and by them among party and Komsomol members and all working people. The more actively and effectively the primary party organization fulfills its ideological and educational functions, the more successfully it will develop as the basic party cell, as the political nucleus of the collective and as its authoritative leader.

Finally, in order to raise ideological work to a qualitatively higher level, we must substantially improve the organizational-technological, methodical, and experimental foundations for the utilization of the achievements of the social sciences in the ideological and educational activities of the party and the other social organizations. As we know, Lenin described our ideology as scientific. This presumes a high level of development of science and certain scientific work. Our experience and practice have invariably supported this truth: The ideological area of the developed socialist society could successfully implement its functions in social life only by having profoundly scientific and theoretically elaborated foundations. That is why today we need greater effectiveness and a more advanced organization for providing scientific services to ideological work, the implementation of a unified policy in the study of the ideological process, and the application of a scientific approach and a rational organization at all levels of ideological practice.

All these new processes, phenomena, ever growing requirements, and comprehensive criteria face us most strongly and urgently with the question of upgrading the level and broadening the range of competence of ideological workers. Our cadres have reached a high educational standard which is steadily growing. Today, however, we can no longer be satisfied by this fact alone, if it does not lead in practice to surmounting manifestations of narrow-minded thinking, dull routine, or lack of imagination,

and if the elements of routine and of falling behind life and social progress or the achievements of science continue to exist in the factual ideological process. Today we need the creative aspiration of highly skilled workers, masters of their work, elite, if we may say so, ideological cadres, infinitely loyal to the cause of communism and the communist ideals, cadres with high general, ideological, and specialized culture, with a developed social contemporary way of thinking, not only knowledgeable but able, efficient, and talented.

The significance of the individual is increasing in all social life. The decisive force which, in the final account, will materialize the party's policy and move social progress ahead is man with his convictions, and his will to act. In our time ideological problems cannot be resolved by partial temporary objectives. It profoundly affects the global problems of human life, and the way of thinking and way of life of the working person in the socialist society. Here ideological positions and class interests meet. Evaluation criteria and the normative requirements of the socialist society, the educational functions of management practices and social control, the power of the public opinion of the labor collective and the mass information media, and the standards governing human interrelationships are vividly manifested.

In his report to the 11th BCP Congress, Comrade Todor Zhivkov drew the conclusion that as a result of objective changes in society and of the party's educational work, the socialist individual is the predominant type of individual in our country. This fundamental summation reflects one of the most impressive gains of real socialism. The experience in building the new society confirmed the Marxist-Leninist truth that the socialist revolution is necessary not only in order to achieve a radical change in state power and the forms of ownership and social production, but also for achieving profound communist changes in the way of life and the upbringing of the people.

It would be theoretically groundless and practically harmful, however, to consider that the process of shaping the socialist individual in our country has been completed at the present stage. In terms of its essential nature, it is a continuing process of reproduction of corresponding political, moral, esthetic, labor, professional, and other qualities, taking place not automatically but through systematic and purposeful educational influences. Analyzing the development of the socialist individual, we must reject as equally erroneous the manifestations of utopian idealization and ethical absolutism as well as the underestimating of achieved historical gains and the tremendous experience acquired by our social practice and ideological work.

The shaping of the socialist individual is an important stage in the comprehensive development of man. The concept of a socialist-type individual expresses the main characteristics of human awareness and

behavior, determined by the specific-historical content of socialist social relations. We are faced with the practical task of purposefully guiding this process and accelerating it in accordance with social requirements and laws. As the socialist-type individual appears at the present stage, elements of a certain incompleteness and immaturity of new features and qualities are letting themselves be known, related to the specific molding of the socialist mind and the unevenness of some of its components. In this case, it becomes necessary, on the one hand, to surmount the adverse manifestations and all possible deviations from socialist norms and, on the other, to assert the new features and characteristics consistent with the nature of social relations at the present stage, helping their conversion into the type of ideological and other qualities which are inherent in the citizen of the mature socialist society.

What determines today the ever growing theoretical and practical significance of the problem of the individual in the ideological process? Why are we raising such questions?

Without a specific connection with quality characteristics and with the behavior of the individual, which are today of decisive significance in the implementation of the party's policy, the study of social phenomena and the entire theory and practice of ideological work would be merely a verbal manifestation without practical effectiveness.

At the same time, the nature, dynamics, and scale of social changes require the even broader development of the constructive and purposeful activities of the people's masses and their social initiative and creativity, and increased responsibility. Concern for the good of society, and the interest displayed by every individual in the prosperity of all must become the main content of the moral awareness of any person in the same manner that the all-round development of individual capabilities and talents have been, and remain, the supreme objective of social progress under socialism. A developed socialist society presumes a mature socialist individual, whose shaping and development would insure the organic unity of a socialist awareness, individual human originality, socially required behavior, inner organization, and creative accomplishments.

Consequently, the solution of these problems is the primary task of our ideological-educational work. That is why all activities of party and economic organs and their managers, aimed at the further shaping and development of the socialist individual, must take place on a broader, more competent and purposeful scale, fully according to the objective requirements of social practice and the lofty criteria formulated at the 11th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference. The quality and effectiveness of the work for the all-round development of the individual must not fall behind the pace and rhythm of changes in the material base of society if we want them to be effective factors in the acceleration of social progress.



Placing on the agenda the key problems of a socialist organization of labor and planned economic management, our party brought to light a number of social processes which increased the objective possibility and historical necessity for the comprehensive development of the working person in the socialist society. The party committees and organizations and our ideological cadres must be properly knowledgeable in such matters. It is precisely toward this that we must direct their entire organizational and political work. It is no accident that today the party documents pay particular attention to upgrading the role in modern production not only of collectives but of individuals. This will create more favorable conditions for the worker not only to produce more, better, and more effectively, but to become a direct social activist which, in turn, will influence the growth of labor productivity. This triggers the objective need (while conditions make this possible) for the all-round development of man as a worker, i.e., the upgrading of professional skills, intellectualization of labor, combination of labor activities with participation in sociopolitical life, broadening scientific and technical and artistic creativity, and so on.

Therefore, the scientific organization of labor and changes in its functional division are the base of the process in which industry guided by society on a planned basis creates, as Marx said, people with comprehensively developed capabilities. Therefore, under socialism, social relations and the scientific and technical revolution do not weaken, as the technocrats claim, but, conversely, intensify the role of the socialist individual in material production and in all social life. At the same time, progress toward social homogeneousness under the conditions of developed socialism means the further enrichment of the qualitative characteristics of the working class.

Today one of the main practical tasks of ideological-educational work is to implement even more completely and effectively the process of shaping and comprehensively developing the socialist individual, extending the process to all working people, the growing generation in particular, upgrading their social activeness, initiative, and creativity, and waging an adamant struggle against the vestiges of the past in the minds and behavior of the people.

This question becomes particularly topical in terms of the party's ideological work under the contemporary conditions of the ideological struggle. The efforts of the bourgeois ideologues are becoming ever more intensive and coordinated in their attempts to compromise the Marxist-Leninist concept of man as allegedly inconsistent with his essential nature. Never before have problems of human existence been discussed so sharply as now, when new socialist forms of life are replacing the old forms of human activities, and when priority is given to the ideological-value confrontation between the two global systems, in

the center of which are the problems of the individual, his rights, freedoms, and morality. It is no accident that these problems proved to be the target of the ideological campaign waged by the Carter administration against the socialist countries. It is no accident that they are being developed and disseminated not only on the basis of the tactical requirements of the present but as a kind of attempt to offer a theoretical alternative to scientific socialism, as "proof" of the needlessness of any revolutionary reorganization of society in general. The ideological struggle demands of the socialist individual ideological firmness and an active life stance. In order to mold such qualities we must achieve the organic synthesis of Marxist-Leninist convictions, national pride, high internationalist awareness, and class irreconcilability.

The Bulgarian communists welcomed with great interest and satisfaction the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," aimed at upgrading its effectiveness and quality and at advancing the ways and means used in this area. We are proud of the successes achieved by the great Soviet Union in molding the new socialist individual and in the communist upbringing of the people's masses. The programmatic objectives and major tasks earmarked in the decree are yet another confirmation of the vanguard role which the CPSU, land of the soviets, and the Soviet people play in the building of communism and in the development of science, culture, and public education in the contemporary world. On the basis of Lenin's concept that the socialist society is strong through the conscientiousness of the masses an outstanding program has been formulated for the further shaping of the new man and of new relations among people, and for upgrading the quality and effectiveness of ideological and political-educational work.

The Bulgarian Communist Party will continue to draw from the theoretical and practical treasure chest of the CPSU, creatively applying under our conditions the rich and incomparably valuable Soviet experience.

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## DISASTROUS RELAPSES INTO A POLICY OF STRENGTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 94-105

[Article by V. Kortunov]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee June Plenum's complete approval of the foreign policy activity of the Soviet leadership headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, its confirmation of loyalty to Lenin's banner of peace and cooperation between peoples and the constructive program of a solution of topical problems of the struggle for detente and security in Europe and for the consolidation of universal peace put forward at the May meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee have attracted the attention of the entire world. This attention is perfectly natural when we consider that the present encroachment of imperialism, primarily of the U.S. ruling circles, on the relaxation of tension is a challenge to mankind.

How are we to explain the paroxysm of militarist intoxication prompting President Carter and his entourage to so unceremoniously violate Washington's international commitments and squander contrary to the true interests of the United States and mere common sense that which is positive which has been built up in the years of detente by the efforts of many peoples and governments? An exhaustive answer in its own way to this question was provided by C. Vance, recently resigned secretary of state. Speaking at Harvard on 5 June, he ironically noted the nostalgia reigning in American ruling circles for the "good old days" and their dislike of a world which is experiencing rapid changes and in which the United States no longer, alas, has "absolute power."

Possessed by the idea of bringing back what cannot be brought back, these circles and their sympathizers in other countries are unwilling to admit the irreversibility of the social and political changes occurring in the world and are attempting to counterpose to them a policy of diktat and coercion, "freeze" the ongoing renewal of the world in the ice reefs of a "second cold war" and rehabilitate the historically spent policy of strength. It is precisely on this path that they hope to surmount the profound and all-embracing crisis of imperialism. A crisis which is affecting all aspects of the foreign policy of monopoly capital, which has been shaken in the 20th century by an unprecedented exacerbation of the internal contradictions of bourgeois society, the division of the

world into two systems and the coming into being of the communist formation, the collapse of colonial empires and new phenomena connected with the development of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution. It is the result of the new alignment of forces within the framework of the imperialist camp and in the international arena as a whole. For this reason this very crisis, including the policy of strength and its roots, evolution and historical limits, and, consequently, the causes of the current exacerbation of international tension must be viewed in the overall context of sociopolitical changes in the modern world.

## I

Each historical era engenders its own international order ultimately reflecting its objective requirements and the will of the ruling classes.

For centuries and millenia when power remained with the exploiters, international relations were based on power in its most naked, military form. In the history of them there was essentially no other method of the resolution of emergent problems than by means of "fist law." The political map was carved and recarved on the initiative of the ruling elite, depending on the power of the parties claiming the acquisition of foreign territory, new "spheres of influence" or other privileges at the expense of other peoples.

The despotisms of the Old Orient, the republics of ancient Greece, the Roman and Chinese empires, the states of the Middle Ages and the absolute monarchies of late feudalism were created by fire and sword. Despite the tremendous diversity of social structures, political regimes and forms and methods of the foreign policy of these states, their true goal always remained the plunder and enslavement of other peoples, and the customarily preferred means was violence and, most often, war.

The coming into being of the capitalist formation was marked by a new wave of bloody conflicts which surpassed in scale everything that history had known hitherto. At the same time the very development of the production forces, the task of the international division of labor and the formation of a world market demanded a greater stabilization of interstate relations and a greater degree of their dependability than before, under the dynastic relations of the era of feudalism, say. In response to these objective requirements an international order emerged which acquired the name of the "balance of power" system.

This system took shape in its principal features in Europe following the Peace of Westphalia (1648), formed the basis of international relations in the period of the Napoleonic Wars and was finally consolidated at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). Based on the "concert of the great powers," as Western diplomats figuratively christened this order, it continued to exist right up until World War I.



The "balance of power" represented a kind of crown and at the same time the "last word" of the bourgeois world's "civilized powers" in their aspiration to find a solution which might at least to some extent regulate the mechanism of international relations and bring the action of the purely power factors of foreign policy under control. Beginning with the "Great Plan" of Duke Maximilian Sully, who back in the 17th century proposed making the concept of "natural borders" underpinned by an arrangement concerning a certain balance of power the basis of the European system, and particularly following the formation of the Holy Alliance, this idea subsequently permeated the entire history of political thought of bourgeois Europe of the 19th century. It still has many disciples among politicians and experts in international relations in the United States and West Europe. Many of them are even now continuing to work on re-animating this old idea with reference to contemporary conditions.

We would recall that under the system in question the greatest advantage was derived by whoever was ultimately in the driver's seat. In the 19th century this was, for example, Great Britain. As a balancer-state and kind of arbiter in relation to the other European powers, it secured its own interests at their expense. Fanning the contradictions among them and at the same time striving for the necessary equilibrium in their mutual relations, it supported, depending on the fluctuations in the power situation, sometimes one and sometimes the other party to the conflict, remaining master of the situation in all circumstances.

Whence it can be seen that this order was in practice merely a fruit of the traditional policy of strength. Decisions within the framework of this system were essentially determined upon exclusively by power considerations. And the equilibrium itself was maintained primarily in the military-political rivalry of the biggest European powers, which resolved their contradictions chiefly at the expense of small countries and peoples. It is doubtless also that this order on the European continent created for the same powers optimal conditions for the implementation of their hegemonist plans beyond Europe. It is not fortuitous that the 19th century was marked by the consummation of the colonial division of the world.

The "balance of power" system did not insure and could not have insured genuine peace either in Europe or, even less, outside it. At best, it merely regulated international relations somewhat in the interests of the most powerful groupings of the bourgeoisie and resulted in very brief and extremely unstable truces among them.

But even this unsteady order, relative in the highest degree, which the European bourgeoisie saw in the "balance of power" system, was exploded in the 20th century by the very development of capitalism at its imperialist stage, when it had acquired an uneven, spasmodic nature, by virtue of which, having burst ahead, this imperialist state or the other was no longer interested in preserving a balance of power but in repartitioning the world and achieving world rule.

Bourgeois society's embarkation upon the monopoly stage of development initiated a new stage in the evolution of the policy of strength as a sociohistorical phenomenon. Since then we have had a situation which is paradoxical at first sight: imperialism's military potential grows continuously, but its political yield unswervingly diminishes to the same extent. Guns as an instrument of foreign policy become increasingly devalued with the passage of time. A characteristic singularity of the increased crisis of the foreign policy of imperialism as a whole is expressed here.

V. I. Lenin defined imperialism as reaction top to bottom. In the sphere of international relations this is manifested in the policy of intimidation and diktat, the fervor of militarism, an intensification of the trend toward the solution of international problems precisely by power methods and in world wars. At the same time imperialism is, as Lenin emphasized, "transitional or, rather, dying capitalism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 27, p 424). And this extends not only to its domestic but also its foreign policy, including and, possibly, to an even greater extent, its power, that is, military aspects.

In the era of imperialism wars assume the biggest possible proportions--they become world wars. Thus power politics in their ultimate expression--war--arrive at their historical limit. Having assumed world proportions, war, the greater, the more so, becomes an anachronism as a means of achieving political ends.

The enemy groupings participating in World War I proved unable to accomplish the tasks they had set themselves. War did not untie but, on the contrary, pulled even tighter the Gordian knot of imperialist contradictions. Being always an instrument of foreign policy and its "last word," it essentially acquired self-sufficing significance. What had been foreseen even by the German military theoretician Karl Clausewitz, whose works were so highly valued by Lenin, occurred. "Since war is a part of policy," he wrote, "it, consequently, will also assume its properties. When policy becomes more far-reaching and powerful, so war too becomes the same; and this growth could continue to a height where war assumes its absolute aspect" (K. Clausewitz, "On War," Vol 2, Moscow, 1936, pp 365-376). In other words, he was suggesting that war could move beyond the political framework, begin to operate according to its own laws and, as soon as this happened, cease to be a means of rational policy and become end in itself.

Having actually lost control over events, the warring powers found themselves deadlocked. The policy of strength was mired in a world war. And no one can say what further disasters might have been brought down on mankind had not a state-organized working class come to the forefront of history. The victory of the October Revolution tore Russia free from the imperialist carnage and thereby accelerated its end.

A fundamentally new contradiction--between socialism and capitalism--which pushed the interimperialist contradictions into the background, appeared in international relations after this. To the well-known expansionist aspirations of the exploiter classes there was now added another, just as permanent a factor--anti-Sovietism, as the concentrated manifestation of anticommunism. The content of international politics, including the nature of its power methods, was from that time on increasingly determined by social features. The class struggle of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat moved into the world arena and extended to the sphere of interstate practice. Developing earlier to a large extent autonomously, the process of the social transformation of the world and the sphere of international relations proper were now put in a position of direct interconnection.

With the division of the world into two sociopolitical systems they both determined perfectly clearly the principles of their mutual relations. The Soviet republic proposed to the capitalist states a policy of peaceful coexistence, mutually beneficial economic cooperation and noninterference in internal affairs. The Western powers responded to this with intervention, economic blockade, diplomatic boycott and anti-Soviet provocations. In other words, in the antagonism with socialism they gambled on force and on liquidating socialism through arms.

The entire history of international relations--from Versailles to Munich and World War II--testifies to this. Even the Versailles system, which the Entente powers planned to consolidate in Europe after World War I, contained, together with their imperialist claims on the defeated countries, a clearly expressed anti-Soviet tendency. Subsequently, as the Soviet state strengthened, it was precisely this accent which gradually gained ascendancy over all others.

Fascism was nurtured, Hitler's war machine was created, the anti-Comintern Pact was knocked together, we had the intervention in Spain, Austria's annexation, the partition and seizure of Czechoslovakia and the attack on Poland and World War II was unleashed to loud-voiced speeches about the "red danger."

## 7

It seemed that the world was about to be swallowed up in the orgy of violence unleashed by Nazism. But an end was put to this outrage also. Never before had the policy of strength suffered such a fiasco. The fascist aggressors and those who connived at them showed graphically whither an aspiration to world domination leads and what this policy represents in practice in its most consummate form. The dock in Nuremberg and Tokyo was its finale. The victory of the Soviet Union and its decisive role in crushing the strike groupings of imperialism revealed a new historical reality: from a factor of war and the enslavement of the peoples strength itself for the first time in international practice became in the hands of socialism a factor of insuring peace and defending progress common to mankind.

The volleys of World War II had not even died down before the ruling circles of the West, primarily the United States, began preparations for a new anti-Soviet adventure. Taking advantage of its temporary monopoly of atomic weapons, American imperialism did everything to impart new impetus to the policy of strength. It was actually a question of the intention to put the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution which had just begun at the service of the hegemonist solicitations of the overseas monopolies.

The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a prologue to the "cold war" and a prelude to Churchill's Fulton speech, in which he called for "Christian civilization to be led on an anticommunist crusade," the "Truman Doctrine," which openly proclaimed as the main task of U.S. foreign policy the eradication of communism wherever "a threat of it appeared" and the formulation of the bellicose, anti-Soviet doctrines of "massive retaliation" and "containing" and "rolling back" communism. Atomic weapons were assigned the primary role in this strategy. "The atom bomb in the hands of the United States," U.S. Senator E. Jones said plainly in 1945, "will be the big stick of American diplomacy."

Only a few years had gone by, however, and life had shattered these illusions. U.S. monopoly of atomic weapons was broken, and in time the Soviet and American nuclear missile potentials were evenly balanced. As a result the question of what would the scientific-technical revolution work for--peace or war--was posed on an entirely new plane. Everyone could see that in the antagonism of the two systems it was not the patrimony of capitalism but a most important factor of social progress.

Imperialist circles are entirely responsible for the fact that this revolution has appeared to present-day generations of people in military armor. They criminally usurped its first fruits primarily to build up the arsenal of aggression. Traditional power politics acquired a new physical base and, at first sight, new possibilities. It was precisely from this premise that the "cold war" strategists and the authors of the above-mentioned doctrines proceeded.

Yet the scientific-technical progress of our day, which signifies a new stage in the development of the production forces of all mankind, also contains in this respect completely different tendencies which are objectively operating in a directly opposite direction, to the detriment of those counting on naked power as a category of international influence. These tendencies are all the more important in that mankind is confronted by such global problems as the use of raw material and energy resources on a world scale, the protection of the natural environment, the conquest of space and the world's oceans and many others which can in no way be solved by means of war and which imperatively demand the joint efforts of all countries. In other words, an international order which could guarantee the peaceful coexistence of all states, large and small and developed and underdeveloped economically, and correspond to their mutual interests.



The aspiration of imperialism to utilize the achievements of science and technology for military purposes has given rise to a situation wherein armed force could be converted from a means of policy into a means of annihilation of all civilization and of everything living on our planet. Even from the experience of World War I Lenin concluded that militarism creates the danger of "undermining the very conditions of human society's existence" ("Collected Works," vol 35, p 396). Now, based on the current level of development of science and technology, the ominous spiral of the arms race is soaring rapidly and scaling unprecedented quantitative and qualitative heights. It is calculated that the total explosive potential accumulated by all countries since the war amounts to the equivalent of 60,000 megatons of TNT. This colossal amount can be pictured if we just consider that only 6 megatons were expended during World War II. Sufficient weapons have long been laid down in the arsenals of the currently opposed military-political groupings for the destruction of a potential enemy many times over. There is no point on the globe which is beyond the reach of missile carriers of atomic death. And inasmuch as nothing that has been annihilated once can be further annihilated many times over, the arms race is an absurdity.

But this situation also signifies something else, namely: from the viewpoint of imperialism's international tasks its military potential is beyond the reach of political goals. Imperialism has forged a sword which it can no longer draw without risking its own destruction. What is more, this sword, in the sense of the exorbitant expenditure connected with it, is proving so heavy that the alarm was recently sounded by G. [Treyres], chief economist of the Washington Center for Defense Information: "Our ambitions exceed our capabilities." Many American international affairs specialists, particularly Hans Morgenthau, have long been stating the need for a reassessment of power factors. "The process of the unlimited increase in military power which began in the nuclear age," he observed in his book "A New Foreign Policy for the United States," which came out back in 1969, "has proceeded hand in hand with the process of the devaluation of its practical use."

Our times have revealed one further historical phenomenon: it has become obvious that the arms race, whatever monstrous proportions it may assume, cannot insure military superiority for those who seek it. Hypothetical adversaries' capacity for mutual annihilation makes this task obviously insoluble.

All these trends, which have been developed mainly in the latter half of the 20th century, ultimately and to an ever greater extent point to the need for a fundamental reorganization of international relations on a democratic basis (we would note, incidentally, that these same trends in combination with the growing shortage of mineral fuel are forcing people to ponder the possibility of the transformation of the "military atom" into the peaceful atom).

In the first half of this century imperialism occupied the predominant positions in world politics. Exerting a decisive influence on the content and nature of international relations, it essentially had the opportunity to impose its contradictions on the whole world. This also determined the priority of the policy of strength and, as a result of this situation, the inevitability of world wars. At the junction of the 1950's and 1960's, however, imperialism forfeited its chance to act as it saw fit. A qualitatively new historical situation had evolved which in Western terminology was called "nuclear deadlock" (or "atomic stalemate"). In practice the "paralysis of military power" was demonstrated particularly graphically during the 1962 Caribbean crisis, when the American imperialists were forced to retreat and refrain from the use of armed force. It became particularly perceptible at the start of the 1970's, when the USSR achieved nuclear missile parity with the United States. On taking office in 1969, President R. Nixon publicly acknowledged that the two powers' strategic potentials were by and large equal. "The gap has been closed," he declared. "It will never occur again...."

Imperialism was essentially confronted with an alternative: either to renounce the policy of strength altogether or to attempt to adapt it to the new realities. The West's political leaders were at the crossroads. Some of them gravitated toward moving at least some way toward accommodation with the objective changes in the world. Others preferred to be guided by the old rule: "if you do not know what must be done, do what you know" and called for a continuation of the former policy without any changes. Ultimately, as recent years have shown, imperialist reaction took the path of a search for new methods and forms of the use of power in foreign policy.

3

So, strategy under the conditions of the nuclear missile parity of the Warsaw Pact and NATO... What could it be? This question confronted both East and West. But whereas for the socialist community the new historical situation did not require any reexamination of the principles of foreign policy, for the imperialist states it signified a need for "an agonizing reappraisal of the values" of all traditional approaches to international relations.

At its 24th and 25th congresses the CPSU put forward a wide-ranging action program: political detente and its reinforcement with military detente and the multifaceted cooperation of all peoples and states. This corresponds wholly and fully to Lenin's concept of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems which was initiated in the Decree on Peace. Refuting the imperialist policy of strength and some states' oppression of others, it proceeds from respect for the vital interests of all peoples and their sacred right to determine their own fate.

The new situation was apprehended differently in the West. Here it aroused considerable bewilderment. Faith in the omnipotence of military

power had been undermined. But nevertheless, retaining its aggressive essence, imperialism continued to cling desperately to the policy of the "big stick." As a result a highly contradictory phenomenon was observed in international life in the 1970's: the process of the relaxation of tension developed simultaneously with the arms race.

Forged willy-nilly to reckon with the new demands of the time, the West's ruling circles officially announced their readiness to switch in relations with the Soviet Union "from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation." This trend was reflected in concrete measures to improve the international atmosphere and institute mutually profitable cooperation between states and in the drawing up of a number of important agreements (including agreements on limiting certain areas of the arms race). At the same time the military budgets of the NATO countries grew continuously, the military assembly lines continued to operate at full capacity and the policy of strength was set in motion in this form or the other every time the slightest opportunity for this presented itself.

A reinterpretation of power methods in foreign policy has always been inconsistent, ambiguous and incomplete among political strategists and experts in international problems in the United States and other imperialist countries. Recognizing through clenched teeth that the military factor can no longer be regarded as some absolute guarantor of political assets, they hereupon proposed filling in the developing "vacuum" with "nonmilitary parameters of power." In other words, changing the key of the old policy without, however, affecting its essence.

"Power and military calculations apparently have increasingly less relation to the external affairs of the majority of states," the American political scientists H. Kahn and B. Bruce-Briggs wrote at the start of the 1970's in the book "Things to Come. Thinking About the Seventies and Eighties." "Power and influence increasingly tend to be based on a country's wealth and technical capabilities." Domestic economic and technical development combined with peaceful trade and overseas capital investment and not expansionism and aggression appear to these authors as the most profitable and more acceptable methods of achieving the majority of national goals.

Certain American scholars went even further. They called on the United States to put aside the power concepts of the "cold war" and "learn to talk with the world in a different language." But the holders of these views usually remained in the minority. Despite a certain reappraisal of imperialism's foreign policy priorities in favor of nonmilitary spheres of the antagonism of the two systems (economic, political, ideological), for the majority the military factor remained, as before, the main one. Reliance thereon was practically embodied in the strategy of "realistic deterrence." As many of the West's military and political figures asserted, it is fundamentally different from all former military-political concepts of imperialism, particularly the "flexible response" doctrine.

whereas the latter aimed at the immediate use of nuclear power, the former was basically oriented toward psychological forms of the use of "retaliation potential."

Constant bluffing about nuclear war is becoming the background of imperialism's "active foreign policy." It is seen as profitable in Washington's eyes for its relative vagueness and for the fact that it makes it possible to blackmail other countries in all sorts of ways, not excluding the "measured" use of military force in crisis situations. A position is being created which will allegedly afford the West an opportunity of making constant use of its nuclear potential for pressuring an enemy, without going as far as a global war. Such tactics could, in the belief of imperialist politicians, be employed in local wars, in a struggle for "spheres of influence" and in negotiations on various international problems.

By making skillful use of the means of "deterrence," T. Schelling, an American specialist in the field of strategic studies, wrote, a state which possesses great military strength could obtain everything which is unobtainable by policy alone. What is implied by this state is, of course, the United States. It was not for nothing that the "multipolar" world concept--a kind of new edition of the "balance of power" system--became fashionable in the West in these years. Under the pretext of correcting the former "bipolar" structure of the world of the "cold war" period (the USSR-U.S. opposition) with regard for the development of new "centers of power" (West Europe, Japan, China) the apologists of imperialism are attempting to revive the old system, but now on a global basis, with Washington, in the role of international arbiter, at the head. "In the foreseeable future," the journal SURVEY prophesied in February 1973, "the United States will be at the pinnacle of the following triangles: United States-USSR-China, which is important from the viewpoint of the problems of war and peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament and arms control, and United States-Japan-West Europe, which is important from the viewpoint of economic interaction within the framework of the developed world...."

The aggressive policy of the United States and its NATO allies brings us back to Lenin's idea that militarism is nurtured not only by certain monopoly capital groupings' interest in obtaining fabulously huge and always assured profits but also by its very social nature. In this sense militarism was and remains "the main instrument of the class domination of the bourgeoisie" ("Complete Works," vol 17, p 188). Under modern conditions, if this concept is interpreted broadly, with reference to the arms race, the inciting of military hysteria and the "China card," militarism and the bluffing over force represent in fact the bourgeoisie's undeclared war against world socialism, the national liberation movement, the working class and all the working people's masses of the capitalist countries.

The question involuntarily arises: How can militarism be combined with the policy of easing international tension which the U.S. Administration



officially adopted in the 1970's? After all, it would seem that the one completely excludes the other! But the Western interpretation of detente attempts to combine the incompatible.

One's attention is primarily caught by the fact that the policy of East-West dialog was proclaimed by Washington simultaneously with the adoption of the "deterrence" doctrine. In other words, the parallel development of detente and the arms race has been permitted from the very beginning. What is more, as recent events, particularly of the latter half of the 1970's, have shown, imperialism would like to interpret detente itself as a conservation of the existing situation which excludes any progressive sociopolitical changes in the life of the world community. Whence the persistent claims that the increase in the West's military potential not only does not contradict detente but, on the contrary, constitutes an obligatory prerequisite thereof.

"American strength is essential," we read in Nixon's 9 February 1972 message to Congress, "if we wish to switch from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation.... American weakness will not further the cause of peace, on the contrary, it will undermine the prospects for peace." This same idea has been developed by other U.S. presidents. "...A strong defense is the most reliable path to peace," Ford said. "Strength makes detente attainable." "Undiminishing American strength," Carter declared on 12 December 1979, "is the sole possible basis for the broader and truly reciprocal relaxation of tension which we are striving for in relations with the Soviet Union.

It is significant that in a June message to the Democratic Party Platform Committee the same Carter deemed it best for him "to disassociate himself" from his two Republican presidential predecessors. Having accused them, without any embarrassment, of his offenses--excessive adherence to "maintaining the status quo" and "emphasizing the predominant importance of a policy of strength"--he postured as a champion of "stable changes in our turbulent world." But which precisely? Such as expectations of which are identical with outright retrogression. Such as those which are essentially the equivalent of counterrevolutionary coups, whether in Maoist China or al-Sadat's Egypt, and which therefore from the viewpoint of the historical perspective represent "momentary success."

Washington, as we can see, conceives of detente only "American style." Yet in the 1970's, as, incidentally, always in the past, the world developed by no means that way. These years again confirmed that the social process is irreversible and that it is taking place by virtue of objective historical laws, under the conditions of detente or without it. At the same time they also showed that detente is not some neutral factor. Engendered by the social shifts of the present day, it is itself creating, in turn, more favorable conditions for the further transformation of the world for the good of all mankind.

Precisely in this decade a new upsurge of the liberation struggle of the people was observed in the international arena which was crowned with the collapse of reactionary regimes in a whole number of Asian, African and Latin American countries. Life itself showed that there is no force on earth which can halt the inexorable process of the transformation of social existence. It confirmed the correctness of the words spoken by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev back in October 1973 at the World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces: "Where there is colonialism, there will be a struggle for national liberation. Where there is exploitation, there will be a struggle for the liberation of labor. Where there is aggression, there it will be repulsed. The people's masses aspire to change the world and will change it."

Despite the hopes of imperialist reaction, detente has led neither to a "softening" of the socialist system in the USSR nor to the "disintegration" of the socialist community. On the contrary, the 1970's were marked by a further strengthening of the world socialist system. This was particularly evident against the background of the crisis phenomena of the bourgeois world, the growth of imperialist contradictions and the weakening of the role of the United States as leader of the capitalist world.

4

Seeing that the detente process is developing in accordance with objective historical regularities and not as they would like, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, primarily the United States, began to apply the brakes to it and undermine it increasingly openly. It is significant that this turnabout coincided with the moment when political detente had closely approached the job of limiting the arms race, that is, directly touched on a most cherished sphere of monopoly capital. A considerable part was undoubtedly also played here by the position of the present Chinese leadership, which had emerged from the isolation of the "cultural revolution" period and had formed a bloc with imperialism.

The antidetente policy was adopted long before the present events in Afghanistan, the exacerbation of the situation in the Near and Middle East and the appearance of Soviet SS-20 missiles (as they are called in the West), to which NATO generals constantly refer. As has now become known, back in 1975, that is, the year of the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the NATO countries were drawing up a plan for equipping the North Atlantic bloc's West European springboard with new missiles.

In the summer of 1977 under direct pressure from the United States the NATO Defense Planning Committee approved directives for all its members concerning an annual increase in military budgets through 1984. The next step in this direction was taken at a NATO Council session in May 1978. Its participants sanctioned measures to increase the combat readiness of the bloc's armed forces, including the air force and navy. Finally, in

December 1979 President Carter announced that subsequently there would be a "real" increase (after inflation) in U.S. military spending of more than 4.5 percent annually.

These programs for a buildup in NATO's military power are aimed at creating unprecedented "deterrence" potential, which, as Z. Brzezinski declared with cynical frankness, Washington and its allies intend to use "for political mutual relations between East and West." As acknowledged by U.S. Defense Secretary H. Brown, they are designed to insure by the middle of the present decade NATO's military superiority over the Warsaw Pact. No secret is made here of the fact that it is a question of a nuclear superiority putting the "potential for assured destruction" at the disposal of the United States.

What is this? A literal return to the Truman-Dulles strategy of "brinkmanship"? There is no simple answer to this question. On the one hand we have Washington's obvious aspiration to again switch to the tactics and jargon of the "cold war." And, on the other, reflecting the crisis of imperialism's foreign policy and intensifying it even further, this adventurist course is now assuming considerably more refined and, consequently, more ominous forms.

The Pentagon is again hailing the doctrine of "limited war," but aspiring to give it a new covering. According to the present scenario, it is proposed to deliver the first strike "only against carefully selected military targets" of the enemy such as strategic missile launch silos, airfields, troop-buildup locations and others. It is planned for this purpose to create a special potential incorporating the MX intercontinental missiles. The task of the strike is to put a "potential enemy" in a position in which he is deprived of the capacity for responding in kind. In this version, it is said, war would not assume global proportions.

Such arguments are downright deception for nothing could in reality hold back war were it to begin in such a "limited" framework. Only maniacs ready to sacrifice hundreds of millions of lives, if not all mankind, to their plans are capable of thinking thus. No one should forget that an aggressor's missile would not have had time to reach its set target before an all-shattering retaliatory discharge followed.

While creating a first-strike potential and aspiring to bring a "limited war" closer to the borders of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, by stationing a new generation of American missiles in West European countries also, Washington strategists are at the same time stepping up their interference on the "periphery." "I personally," Carter declared in June 1977, "would wish...to aggressively challenge the Soviet Union and other countries, by peaceful means, of course, in order to acquire influence in all areas of the world which, in our opinion, are of decisive importance for us today or could acquire such importance in 15-20 years."

These geopolitical pretensions are now fixed in the so-called Carter doctrine. Its logic is simple in the extreme: There should be an "American presence" everywhere where America has "vital" interests. For their "protection" the United States, providing itself with a new stick in the form of a "rapid-response corps" and "intervention force," is setting about "putting things in order" in this world. The aim is, in general, the same as that of Hitler's doctrine of gaining "Lebensraum."

It has frequently been possible recently to encounter in Washington's aggressive lexicon the expression or, rather, the kind of appeal "to escape from the Vietnam syndrome." It is essentially a question of writing off the lessons of American imperialism's defeat in Indochina and other regions of the world and consigning them to oblivion in the name of even more senseless adventures.

The American professor G. Kiefer brings complete clarity to this formulation of the question. "Tomorrow's battlefield," he asserted, "will be the whole world. Today the task is to secure for ourselves as many strategically important points in the world as possible and train our forces to hold on to these territories." Believing that it is precisely the developing countries which could cause American imperialism the most "trouble" in the future, he expresses the opinion, which is widespread in Washington, that military intervention in crisis situations on the "periphery" will be a principal direction of the policy of strength in the 1980's.

The hegemonist inclinations of American imperialism in combination with an unrestrained arms race testify that U.S. ruling circles have still not been delivered from the illusory hopes of changing the strategic balance in their favor and thus settling the historical dispute between the two systems with military force. Moreover, they are now attempting to underpin this policy with the political consolidation of the West, the broadening of interaction with reactionary strata in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the creation of an anti-Soviet alliance with the Chinese hegemonists.

According to the calculations of overseas strategists, this policy should in itself exert a moral-psychological influence on the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole and make them "more compliant" both globally (East-West negotiations) and locally (in a variety of difficult situations on the "periphery"). In accordance with this approach, the arms race appears an essential part of political bargaining. In the well-known Wake Forest speech in March 1978 Carter said: "Arms control agreements represent an important goal as a guarantee of our national security. But this will only be possible if we maintain the armed forces at sufficient levels." And later, with reference to West Europe: "Acting on the basis of our strength, we will be able to conduct negotiations with the Warsaw Pact on a reduction in nuclear arsenals in the European theater."

Such demagogy is thrice dangerous. It is aimed at exonerating the real culprits of the arms race, shifting responsibility to the Soviet Union and rendering the problem of disarmament practically insoluble. It is



particularly harmful in our day, when the approximate equivalence of the military potentials of the opposed groupings affords a real possibility of reducing armaments without harming the security of either side. Such a possibility could be lost for the arms race is capable of reaching a level at which any agreement would be useless inasmuch as it would no longer be possible to control it. And if today the ruling circles of the United States and its allies are incapable of offering the world anything other than a continuation of the multiplication of means of mass destruction, this means that their policy is incompatible with the vital interests of all mankind and, what is more, threatens its very existence.

Currently, when the world has encountered a new relapse into the imperialist policy of strength, millions of people are naturally asking: Can the White House, inasmuch as it manifestly aspires to this, demolish the edifice of detente and impose a "second cold war" on the world?

While by no means belittling the danger of this relapse the fact should, however, be borne in mind that no one has yet succeeded in reversing the course of history.

The 1970's showed the groundlessness of imperialism's attempts to adapt its traditional policy of strength to the new conditions, that is, to the conditions of the nuclear age with its new correlation of forces of the two systems and with its new successes of the peoples' liberation struggle. Of course, imperialism could make the detente process problematical, although it would not be easy by any means. But it can no longer and never will be able to achieve its class aims on the paths of a policy of strength.

It is right here that we have the essence of the question, an essence which is illustrated particularly clearly in the example of imperialism's anti-Soviet policy." "Imperialism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev observed, "tried to test us back at the dawn of the emergence of Soviet power, and we all remember how that ended. The fascist aggressors tried to break us in the bloodiest war experienced by mankind. But they were routed. We were tested in the 'cold war' years, the world being pushed to the edge of the abyss and one international crisis being unleashed after another. But even then no one could shake us. It is useful to recall all this today." And if before, even under the conditions of its former might, imperialism was unable to gain the ascendancy over socialism, even less will it succeed in this now.

The imperialist policy of strength is in a blind alley. There was and remains only one sensible, historically predetermined compromise way out-- to recognize one and for all not in words but in practice peaceful

coexistence and peaceful cooperation as the obligatory standards of the mutual relations of states with different social systems, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or South and North America and in the Western or Eastern hemisphere. There is not and cannot be an intelligent alternative to the policy of detente.

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FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF BATS . . . .

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 106-117

[Article by Aleksandr Chakovskiy]

[Text] Once the great Hegel wrote aphoristic-elegiac lines on Minerva the owl flying into the darkness. What the wise philosopher meant was that knowledge falls behind accomplishments and that the study of actions is possible only when no action could be turned back or repeated. All that is left for philosophy is to paint in white colors against the grey background of history. Hegel's claim could hardly be considered entirely just. Unquestionably, however, the way it was put was beautiful. It has been frequently used by many writers, sociologists and political experts in their works.

Of late, however, a new phenomenon has become noticeable. Some Western literary workers (by far not only writers), unlike those who merely "embellished" their writing with this Hegelian sentence, are showing a tendency to play the role of Minerva the owl or, at least, to learn it. True, whereas owls can, if not stop time or turn it back, at least objectively to analyze what is, as we know, there is only one Minerva. This does not discourage those who proclaim themselves the "Minervas of our time." Considering the bats, they decided that the latter could pass for owls.

They were not bothered by the fact that such unsympathetic animals spend a considerable part of the day hanging upside down and that, furthermore, their eyesight is very poor. It would be difficult to imagine how bats look at things. However, the fact that a person who has chosen such a position would look at everything "upside down," i.e., in a deliberately twisted way, is unquestionable.

Nevertheless, today such "bats," used as Minerva owls, are in great demand in the West, particularly in the anti-communist camp. The enemies of the new world need "analysts" and "soothsayers" of all kinds. They need "bats" hanging "upside down," looking at the world in a twisted light. They need Pythians-astrologers. Even though anti-communism--this type of ideology or, rather, "anti-ideology"--has never had a shortage of Pythians

dedicating the first part of their life to drawing political horoscopes and, the second, to explain the reasons for which their predictions failed to come true, in our days "Pythianism" in the West has become one of the few professions still not threatened by unemployment.

In the past the abusers of communism had the possibility to attack only its ghost. Ever since socialism became reality, however, they were faced with the following alternatives: either to acknowledge that the ideas of communism are not utopian, and that they are being implemented in real life, or else to claim that their implementation merely confirms the unfeasibility of the ideas themselves.

Real socialism, i.e., the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, is the constant and only target of "observation" of professional "bats." These observers not only "look at" but prophesy, proving to their listeners that their evaluations are the result of long and profound thought. True, all such evaluations may be factually reduced to one thing only: socialism "did not happen" in the Soviet Union and the slogans of the October Revolution "were not implemented."

Thus, the "bat analysts" and the Pythian astrologers essentially agree on one thing: to slander contemporary real socialism and, being themselves at the brink of the precipice, predict its "flaming gehenna."

Yet, such "analysts" and "soothsayers" come in different types. Let us begin with one of them.

#### Genre a la Mary Magdalen

This genre, actively encouraged by the anti-communist ideologs, could be described as "confessionary." As a rule, operating within it are the renegades of the communist and workers' movements. Naturally, among them the employers value more those whose "leftist" beliefs professed in the past were publicly known.

Apostasy is a long-known phenomenon and the Marxist classics have frequently pointed out its reasons. They wrote about the unreliability of people who join the revolutionary struggle when it is in a state of upsurge, and of the romantic illusions of such individuals who, as a rule, are the offspring of "intermediary" social strata. Lacking experience in the political struggle, and deprived of a clear class awareness, these people hasten to join the movement above all for reasons of adventure and ambition. They wave red flags and chant revolutionary slogans. . . . They also "give up" the moment the class enemy opens at such flanks not polemical but machine-gun fire. Or else, they "make themselves scarce," "blaming" the revolution for being unable, in one fell swoop, immediately to implement all the slogans under which it was made. Nevertheless, the official "revolutionary practice" of those who seemed to have been parts of the "harbingers" but are now "bats" is quite valued in the West. Who is to be trusted if not "eye-witnesses"?!



The renegades assume the role of a repentant Mary Magdalen. Their speeches and writings follow the same pattern. "Yes, I sinned, yes, I believed in communism, yes, I joined the communists. . . . Now, however, tragically shaken up by socialist reality, I reject it and appeal to all the others to reject it. . . . A curse on the contemporary model of socialism! I sang its praises but I now shout 'Anathema! Anathema!' . . . "

In the past I have had the opportunity personally to meet with some such "turncoats" such as, for example, the Englishman Stephen Spender and the Italian Ignazio Silone, former members of the revolutionary movement and, subsequently, gaining extensive fame precisely as being anti-Soviet and members of the, so to say, "intellectual vanguard" of anti-communism.

I ask myself why did they betray? Was it because the bourgeois attacks frightened them? Or else, realizing that the revolution demands both sacrifices and, above all, daily common selfless work? Or else, simply, were they "short of breath" at sharp historical turns? Was it because treason has been quite highly paid starting with the times of Judas? Let us recall that the Western press had not written a word about the American writer Howard Fast who was once a member of the communist party. The month he abandoned it, however, he immediately became "the biggest," "the most outstanding," "the most talented." . . . Previously the rain slipped through the cracks in his roof since, as a rule, the communists are poor. Betraying, however, Fast found himself under a downpour of gold. . . .

Honestly speaking, I have always preferred clashes with open support of bourgeois ideology and the capitalist social system, rather than with former "leftists." As a rule, the latter have something pathological, something which, to use Freudian-like terminology, could be described as a "guilt complex." Probably, such people always hear charges of treason even before they have been voiced. This fans their anger and hatred for anything which they had once supported.

Perhaps it is because of such rage that their services are so welcome in the anti-communist headquarters. Naturally, therefore, it is precisely renegades who originated the anti-Soviet "confessionary" genre. For this they are valued and encouraged by those who promote and direct anti-socialist campaigns. It is profitable to have at one's disposal a many-faced Judas who could say, "I knew Christ personally and I do not repent for selling him out for 30 pieces of silver." He gives a repentant-emotional coloring to his base behavior, for which reason he is particularly valued in the anti-Soviet "nomenclature."

Thus, we have the "Mary Magdalens--the repentant radicals." They play a particular role in the current attacks mounted on the "battle ranks of socialism." The British writer Kingsley Amis was considered at one point a "leftist," a friend of the Soviet state. He spared no effort in his works to expose the sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy of the bourgeois world. Last year, a correspondent of the periodical THE LISTENER told Amis, in the course of an interview, the following:

"I have noticed that whenever a political event takes place, as a rule, in your interviews you say that you have not shifted to the right . . . but that it is the others who have veered strongly to the left.

"K. Amis: Yes.

"Question: Is it really so? It seems to me that it is your position that has switched noticeably to the right.

"K. Amis: I simply realized what socialism is. . . . No single form of communism offers any hope. . . . At that point, the basis of my life program became to oppose the Soviet state."

So, that's it! Not a threadbare anti-communist approach headed by the White House, not the anti-Soviet speeches by Mrs. Thatcher, and not the deafening thunder of the propaganda drum of the bourgeoisie led Amis to the idea that under such circumstances to be a leftist would be both unsuitable and dangerous. He simply "clarified for his own sake what socialism is."

The Biblical Magdalen did not cite "objective reasons" to justify her sinfulness. Amis and those like him do. This includes the events in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, as these are the primary reasons frequently mentioned by the renegades. The fact that, from a certain viewpoint, apostasy is simply materially profitable, they ignore.

Here is another example: that of David Horowitz, former editor in chief of the American periodical RAMPARTS. Last December he published in THE NATION an article whose tragic-melodramatic title was "The Disappointment of a Radical." He "confessed." "Ever since, 30 years ago," he wrote, "I first participated in a May Day march along New York's Eighth Avenue, I always considered myself a soldier of the international class struggle which, one splendid day, would rescue all mankind from poverty, oppression, racism and war . . . ." ("One splendid day"? Obviously, we shall not be picky as to words.) This is followed, however, by the purest political confusion. In a paroxysm of repentance and self-justification, in one single breath, Horowitz equates the "Kampuchean communists" with the Pol Pot fanatics, "seeing no difference between the Chinese attack on Vietnam and the Vietnamese 'invasion' of Kampuchea. . . ."

However, Horowitz considers that the main fault of the left is that it failed to show "political realism" and understand the real nature of the Soviet state. " . . . The Soviet Union," Horowitz writes, "is a country in which the revolutionary socialist formula--state ownership of productive capital--was tried and proved unfounded. . . . Today the utopia itself in which the left believed is being questioned. Such is precisely the meaning of the Marxist crisis." And, again: "I was . . . I understood and I was disappointed . . . I repent and anathemize everything in which I believed." Such is the "repentance" system.

The well-known French literary critic and journalist Pierre Dax, with whom I was acquainted when he was still the errand-boy of one of the biggest French writers, has been anti-Soviet for many years. Before that he was a communist. Recently, Dax wrote a commentary to an interview which was granted by the former Soviet military and now fiercely anti-Soviet Grigorenko, now living in the West. Both the interview and the comment were printed in March by the periodical FIGARO-MAGAZINE. A month later Dax published in that same periodical his own article apocalyptically named "The Roots of Horror." In his interview Grigorenko described the Soviet Union as the receptacle of all vices and, depicting himself as at least yesterday's head of the Soviet general staff, using imaginary figures, he peremptorily "proves" that the Soviet state is no more and no less than an inexhaustible arsenal of all kinds of armaments which may be used any time.

The system of "proof" is approximately as follows: how many atom bombs does NATO have? One thousand? The Soviet Union, however, has . . . 10,000! How many tons of chemical weapons do the Americans have? Forty thousand? The Soviet Union, however, has . . . 350,000! Who says that the Socialist countries are peaceful? "I believe that the Soviet intervention in Europe will come quite soon . . . , possibly even before the end of 1980," predicts the decrepit anti-Soviet Pythian. In his "comment" Pierre Dax, "disappointed" of communism, describes Grigorenko as the "hero of our alarming time, following a straighter role than others." As to the situation in Kampuchea (with which he deals in the article "The Roots of Horror"), according to Dax himself the mass genocide practiced there by the Pol Pot people is the logical result of their systematic support . . . of the ideas of communism and Lenin. Actually, this "bat" which has "seen the light," states that "it is not the first time that the communist utopia has triggered monstrous catastrophes."

I already mentioned that this "comment" by Dax applied to the Grigorenko interview. Former Soviet citizen Grigorenko is a so-called dissident, i.e., "thinking differently," as interpreted by the West, and an anti-Soviet subversive, according to ours. In this connection allow me a certain aside and raise a question which may seem initially only rhetorical. What is the main reason for the support of dissidents by Western anti-communism? The answer seems to be elementarily simple. The dissidents speak out against the Soviet social system, i.e., against real socialism. Consequently, their objectives coincide with those of international anti-communism, for which reason the dissidents enjoy its active support.

The point is that in order to attack real socialism, the foreign anti-Soviets need "witnesses for the prosecution," similar to those who, in Czarist times, congregated around consistories in the hope that those seeking a divorce may hire them as "witnesses to adultery."

The West needs the dissidents as "eye-witnesses." Those among them living in the Soviet Union are valued more highly, for the same reason. Exiles or those expelled from the country come cheaper, for with every passing

month and year, they find it ever harder to begin their next blunder with the words, "I witnessed this."

For the time being, however, the dissidents are being fed by presenting to the West their "confessionary" prose (I shall not discuss at present other "deliveries" of a special nature). I must note, in this connection, that even this feeding trough is threatened. In this case, it is a question not of the Soviet authorities but of people in the West quite removed from communism yet able to think logically, who are beginning to be quite fed up with the persistent attempts of imperialist propaganda to present the writing of the dissidents as "first-hand" proof.

Thus, D. Sims, director of the USSR Studies Department of the Center for the Study of Strategic and International Problems of Georgetown University, wrote, in connection with the noise stirred in the West after a Soviet court sentenced the anti-Soviet Orlov: ". . . A number of statements by the group (a reference to the notorious "group for monitoring the implementation of the Helsinki agreements," whose leader Orlov had appointed himself --the author) indicate that its objective was far from merely helping the implementation of the final act but to discredit the Soviet system abroad. Furthermore, the tone of the statements contained in the documents of the group was, in a number of cases, . . . hostile to the authorities. . . . It would be quite fruitful to ask," he goes on to say, "how would the majority of Americans react had there been a group of dissidents within the United States claiming to be engaged in monitoring the observance of the final act . . . in the United States, using as its basic work method appeals to foreign governments, including unfriendly ones. . . . The members of this group would meet a great deal of hostility in the United States. Some of them would be targets of a thorough investigation on the part of the FBI. . . . Therefore," D. Sims concludes his article, "in reality, the group monitoring the observance of the Helsinki agreements in the USSR was prosecuted not in the least for such activities . . . , as its objectives were far broader. In fact, the group tried to undermine the position of the USSR in the international arena. . . . The dissidents challenged the foundations of the Soviet system."

Why is it that efforts are being made in the West to present them as "selfless dissidents"? Why are they mentioned at all? The question is answered by Henrich Ball, a writer whose views and convictions would be considered, to say the least, controversial. He writes: ". . . If I, for example, were to write something in defense of the Soviet dissidents, all I have to do is pick up the phone and find myself in print. However, should I mention domestic political problems, I hear it said: Well, here he is at it again."

#### Anti-Communism Is Sounding "General Assembly"

The entire world knows that the United States is raising a "fast reaction corps." However, this is a military unit whose objectives are universally



known: to use the force of arms to "bring to order" anyone and everywhere wherever, in the view of the White House, American "interests" are affected. I believe that long before the raising of this military-police corps the anti-communist ideologs had set up another detachment code-named "the disappointed." The specific nature of the military corps is its "super-mobility." It must have the latest destructive weapons and consist of throat-cutters by training and vocation. The specifics of detachment of the "disappointed" is that it consists of renegades who have officially the right to say "I have seen and know all this." The emphasis is put on the "effect of presence."

How to explain the fact that the theme of "disappointment" has been sounded of late ever more loudly in the anti-Soviet chorus, even though demand for Judases and anti-communist ideologs has always existed? I believe that this is explained by the contemporary stage of the struggle waged by imperialism against real socialism in general. Specifically, this applies to the successes of socialism, to its increased influence on the souls of the people in general, and on the national-liberation movements in particular. These are endless attempts to establish the world domination of American imperialism. It is for this purpose that there is not only re-arming, re-arming, and re-arming, but that this maniacal use of the "military threat" which, allegedly, real socialism carries, is justified. Nevertheless, noting that this new (or, rather, renovated) reason for the struggle waged by imperialism by all possible means against real socialism, it would be erroneous to forget the other methods used to compromise the new, the socialist world.

The use of a great variety of means . . . means that no big strides could be made with the help of renegades alone. The "advantages" offered by their "confessionary" genre include a basic weakness: the authors are renegades and the reader knows this. Therefore, that which, as planned by the ideologs-anti-communists, should have secured a trust in the "repentants" as being eye-witnesses, automatically triggers mistrust toward them as renegades. Complaints about Soviet missiles or speculations on the "Afghan problem," and appeals for the "true anti-Soviet service" of "repentant sinners" far from exhausts the strategy of the contemporary anti-communist campaign against the USSR. Our enemies find it exceptionally important to distort the purely humane nature of contemporary socialism. For this reason, they are making desperate efforts to involve in their anti-socialism "shock detachment" members of the "independent" intelligentsia, i.e., those who could not be blamed of having to settle "personal accounts" with communism, or of trying to redeem their "guilt complex."

Two years ago the so-called "Committee of Intellectuals for a Europe of Freedom" was organized in Paris. The playwright Eugene Ionesco was elected committee chairman while one Allen Raven was elected secretary general. The committee included "senior" anti-communists: Raymond Aron, a cold war veteran and a militant enemy of Marxism; Jean-Francois Revel, a columnist writing for the periodical L'EXPRESS; Jean-Marie Domenec, a professional

advocate and popularizer of any anti-socialist dissident and editor of the Journal ESPRIT; Louis Povel, a "philosopher" and supporter of the "consumer society," plunged into the depths of mysticism; and Francois Peyta, a professional "Sovietologist."

Cecil Rhodes, whose name has become a symbol of colonialism, may have "taught" in his time propaganda methodology. He cautioned the missionaries who marched, as a rule, ahead of the armed colonizers, that "frontal" propaganda is frequently unsuccessful. Opening his statement, for example, to a faithful Moslem, that Allah does not exist and that Sabaoth is the true god, such a missionary risks to end his "propaganda" with a curved yataghan plunged into his stomach.

No, the "intelligent" missionary should begin his "address" by praising Allah. It is only after gaining the favorable disposition of the Muslim and his trust that he should surreptitiously convince him of the advantages of believing in Sabaoth and Christ. Meanwhile . . . meanwhile armed colonizers would be able to assume command heights. I do not know whether or not this French committee was familiar with Rhodes' tactics. However, its 130 members motivated their "initiative" not in the least with a desire to attack real socialism but with . . . the need to find a solution to the "value crisis" which is currently afflicting the Western world.

The assessment was right. Western intelligentsia is quite fed up with the various big and small committees created to gather signatures in favor of anti-Soviet dissidents. But what about a solution to the spiritual crisis in the Western world? This is worthy of serious attention. . . .

Initially, it was as though the committee would not betray the hopes of those who "sought a solution." In its initial "manifestos" it exposed the role of politics in the bourgeois state, manipulating public opinion, describing it an "inevitable evil." Quite soon afterward, however, both the tone and nature of the "manifestos" and "declarations" changed. Obviously, the heads of the committee had decided that they had carried out the first part of Cecil Rhodes' behest and could pass on to the second.

Obviously, politics in the bourgeois countries, naturally, should be criticized. Yet, it is merely one of the many "imperfections" in a generally splendid system! Under its olive branches freedoms grow and develop unhindered. . . .

Therefore, was the "Committee of Intellectuals for a Europe of Freedom" created only for the sake of praising the "free" capitalist world?

Yes, for this too. But not for this only. For what else? For the sake of, having sung its "alleluias" to the capitalist world, it would switch to "anathemizing" the socialist world. It turns out, the committee intends to safeguard European freedom without criticizing the gap between official and real freedoms in the capitalist world, without exposing the corruption

and terrorism, the dirty and bloody ball danced by the capitalist Satan, but by slandering the world from which this same Satan has been expelled once and for all.

The name which the organizers gave their committee has already been forgotten. From time to time, something is mumbled as to the advantages of a "pluralist Europe," which should be "preserved," and about "European originality" which should be encouraged. . . . However, now the committee clearly and unequivocally states that its main task is, "to rescue the freedom and culture of the socialist countries." No, the security of Western Europe is not threatened by the deployment of new American missiles. It is not the military adventures of the United States, similar to the one which, happily unsuccessfully, was recently mounted in Iran by the Carter administration, that threaten the world, leading it to the brink of a war 10 times more terrible than the one already experienced by Europe; it is not the NATO arms race, no, the tranquility of the European continent, according to Mr Raven, is threatened by "communism--which is obviously today the principal totalitarian force in the world."

Naturally, the tone, strategy and tactics of the attacks mounted against the socialist state are given by the United States--the cold war veteran. There too one finds a "national" committee (all such committees are "national" even though all of them do not even think of limiting their activities to national affairs). Initially, the American committee was named the "National Committee for a 'Free Europe.'" (Obviously, there were no philologists in America to draw attention to the absurdity of such a name which would sound approximately the same as had a country thousands of kilometers away from the Mississippi would set up a "national committee" to struggle for the "purity" of that river.) Actually, when this committee was created in the United States as early as 1949 on the initiative of CIA Director General B. Smith, his deputy A. Dulles, Gen D. Eisenhower, and the capitalist N. Rockefeller, no one was thinking of philology and logic. As intended by the American administration, real socialism was to be destroyed with the atom bomb.

However, the atom bomb is an irresistible weapon only when all the attacked have is a stone ax. The creation in the USSR of a "responding" atomic and, subsequently, hydrogen bomb somewhat cooled off imperialist ardor. Now, once again the White House and the Pentagon find the committee quite useful. It has expanded and set up a radio station. No, not a "Free America," but, once again, "Free Europe," for in the United States there is such an abundance of "freedom" that it could be used to line up bridges instead of asphalt. . . .

The radio diversionists have a number of tasks. The main one is, as was stated in one of the "instructions" by editors and commentators, "to suggest to our listeners to act more energetically for the reorganization of the existing Soviet system. . . ." The "instruction" was written long ago. Today, however, when American imperialism is once again trying to organize

a "crusade" against the Soviet Union, it is a kind of "combat regulation" for the detachment of anti-Soviets of the various "arms."

The expression "various arms" is not merely a phrase or a rhetorical definition. Imperialism is trying to create anti-communist "arms" in an abundant number. Everyone has been assigned a role: "the religious people," the "sociologists," the "demographers," the "Kremlinologists," and, naturally, the artistic intelligentsia--writers and cinematographers. Imperialism is trying to create a sort of anti-communist "octopus" with a large number of "tentacles."

#### Attacks on Socialist Artistic Creativity

Let us consider the role which anti-communism assigns to the artistic intelligentsia. It is called upon to make its contribution which could lead to the creation of a "new ideology" consistent with the current political situation. This situation, however, as stated by Patrick G. Caddel, is characterized by the fact that America is experiencing an unprecedented crisis in the area of its statehood. Here is what this executive, employed by Carter himself to study public opinion, said: "The people are gaining the impression that the president is already helpless in the face of the problems he encounters. The public is no longer psychologically linked with any given party. Intellectually, it is not satisfied with any type of ideology. The parties are 'literally dying.'"

"What we need," Caddel goes on to say, "is not to patch up the old but to create a new ideology. Unfortunately, the clear formulation of such an ideology exceeds the intellectual forces of your obedient servant. We need a new synthesis of ideas. To use the language of the philosophy of knowledge (Minerva's owl!--the author), we desperately need an ideological 'paradigm' to replace the 'models of capitalism and free enterprise.'"

Well, such a "paradigm" does exist in the world: the socialist social system, embodied, for the first time, in the Soviet Union. Yet, it is precisely this that Caddel does not need. Conversely, he needs, more than anything else, to compromise, to compromise its ideals, politics, and culture. In the area of culture, naturally, literature comes first, for Belinsky himself wrote that "it is the awareness of the people, the blossom and the fruit of its spiritual life." To misrepresent and slander Soviet literature would mean to fulfill to a great extent the task of defaming the Soviet socialist system in general and its spiritual content. How is this to be achieved and through what method? A critical analysis of the corresponding ideological mechanics is knowledgeably provided by Leipzig University Professor Erhard Hexelschneider in his article "Soviet Literature in the Contemporary Ideological Struggle," published in the periodical WEIMARER BEITRÄGE (GDR).

Anti-Sovietism is "what is pitted . . . against the growing international prestige of Soviet literature. All ways and means are focused on



distorting the historical achievements and the contemporary foreign and domestic policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and to belittle the significance of its experience in terms of the world revolutionary process. The aesthetic variety of Soviet literature and its turn to the topical problems of life in Soviet society are interpreted as its weakness. . . . Primitive, coarse and frontal anti-Sovietism, largely based on arguments borrowed from the times of the cold war and the times of fascism, is interwoven with refined anti-Sovietism, concealed, occasionally presented even as an attempt to 'improve socialism.'"

Therefore, whereas in its time the struggle against the the ghost of communism allied Pope and king, and Guizot and Metternich, and French radicals with German policemen, today raging together in the anti-communist Walpurgan Night Pentagon generals, "repentant sinners"--renegades, "Kremlinologists-political experts," and literary workers who, in Lenin's words, have become the "indelible coolies" of imperialism. Some brandish "Pershing" missiles, threatening to put an end to real socialism "like Hussars." Others use the scalpel or, more precisely, pathological anatomy; others again are shedding crocodile tears for the "unreachable dreams" while trying to discredit Soviet culture. In a word, everything has been combined in this anti-communist home. . . .

Let us try to clarify this. Despite the entire variety of genres, the efforts of anti-Soviet "analysts," "prophets," and "professional mourners" agree on the essential. The essential is like "bats" which have replaced in contemporary bourgeois society Minerva's owl, to see the socialist world "upside down." To see and depict what they see and, in any case, to persuade the others that black is white. In the final account, at the risk of a certain schematism, the methodology of all such "genre" supporters could be reduced to the principle of "everything upside down."

Have antagonistic classes been eliminated in the Soviet Union? No, a new ruling class--the party-state bureaucracy--has been created. Does the Soviet constitution guarantee individual rights, inconceivable and non-existent in the capitalist society? It deprives man, however, from the main right without which all other rights, naturally, fade--the right to engage in subversive activities against the state. Has the Soviet Union proclaimed a peace program? Once again, conversely, Russia is presented as the main military threat for the entire world. What about Soviet aid to Afghanistan, based on a treaty? No, it is an "invasion," an "intervention"! Does Soviet culture belong to the people? No, the true bearers of Russian culture are the dissidents whose attitude toward the people is most remote. Does Soviet literature consider itself "part of the general-proletarian cause" proclaiming as its most important principles party-mindedness and nationality? Nothing of the sort. Even though some socialist realists have remained in the USSR, they could hardly be compared in terms of talent and popularity with writers which have long abandoned this method and socialist militancy, and who are indifferent to the priority tasks set

by the party. Democracy? What are you talking about! We have exactly the opposite, "solid totalitarianism."

It would be wrong to deny or underestimate the significance of the provocative anti-communist slander. It is no secret to anyone that some Western writers were "recruited" by anti-communism to fight real socialism and its literature. They come in several varieties. They include "convinced" anti-communists, the spiritual heirs of Orwell; they include "renegades," or, rather, "swaying" people who yesterday were signing petitions in defense of socialism while today "adopt" anti-Soviet dissidents; others are plunged into the search for a mythical "third way." . . .

How to explain all this? It seems to me that an accurate answer to the question is provided by Professor Hexelschneider. He writes the following: "They are developing, above all, the anti-Soviet concepts which, ever since the founding of the Soviet state, have been fearlessly cultivated by the ruling classes in the capitalist countries, constituting the main content of mass bourgeois propaganda, and which are indeed influencing the population and, for many of them, make virtually impossible an unprejudiced attitude toward Soviet literature."

The writers and literary workers "recruited" by imperialism, carrying out their "social assignment," are not using primitive methods (they were not recruited for this purpose!). They "study" Soviet literature, "dissect" it, every time discovering in it ever new "characteristics" which, naturally, would misrepresent this literature. Yesterday it was blamed for subordination to the "party dictate." Today they have "discovered" in it a hidden opposition to socialism. Yesterday Soviet literature was belittled by comparing it with the national traditions of the Russian classics. Today they are seeking in it "chauvinism," and "Slavophilia." All such "discoveries" are supported, night and day, by the Western press and radio stations whose announcers are endlessly reading the "works" of dissidents who either escaped from or were thrown out of the socialist countries, while the "literary experts" among the "displaced persons" who ran to the West along with the German fascists or the Vlasov forces, replacing one another at the microphone, "scientifically" slander Soviet literature. . . . Constantly anti-Soviet seines are being cast in the Western literary seas. Is it amazing that, occasionally, they may catch a big fish?

#### Peace and Socialism Are Indivisible

Therefore, has anti-communism been successful in its plan and summoned to "active anti-Soviet service" the Western artistic intelligentsia? Has it been able to misrepresent socialist culture, and slander in the eyes of the peoples a literature created by hundreds and thousands of writers in the USSR and the other socialist countries?

No, for to assume this would mean to make a tremendous mistake. Neither direct or indirect bribery, provocative propaganda, or the flying of the

"bats" pretending to be Minerva's wise owls, have helped the enemies of socialism to turn the Western artistic intelligentsia into the "intellectual fast reaction corps." Yes, the anti-Soviets by vocation or misunderstanding are not silent. Not so recently, a group of known American writers (several people) signed a letter in defense of the talentless "Metropol'," a letter which made it irrefutably clear that they had not even read this graphomaniac collection. From time to time, all sorts of radio voices name one or another writer who has thoughtlessly signed "statements," "declarations," or "protests" defending one or another criminal prosecuted in one or another socialist country. Like Maupassant's priest who had the passion of writing letters of recommendation to anyone and who ended his spiritual career by recommending a criminal subject to prosecution, these writers have participated in the anti-Soviet orgy of the "bats."

However, it is not their voices or signatures that determine the attitude of the honest Western intellectuals towards the Soviet Union, its culture, and its literature. The ideologues of anti-communism demand of the writers to break their ties with the socialist world or to use their encounters with the writers from the socialist countries to attack them. Yet, last year, the second international writers' meeting was held in Sofia under the slogan of "Peace Is the Hope of the Planet." Whereas the first such encounter took place at a time when the United States was merely bringing up its anti-Soviet "intellectual troops" to the "launching positions," last year the battle was at its peak.

Nevertheless, the famous American writer John Cheever not only attended the meeting but, addressing it, emphasized that it reflects the Helsinki spirit.

Another writer, a veteran of American literature, the universally known Erskine Caldwell, expressed in his greetings his confidence that the meeting between writers of the socialist and Western countries "will be a powerful impetus in the further efforts to make peace a reality of our time."

How many inflammatory speeches against the socialist world have been made by Margaret Thatcher ever since she assumed power in Britain! Yet, one of the biggest English writers, Lord Snow, addressed himself to the participants in the Sofia meeting with the following words: "We must not allow atom bombs to fall in the hands of criminals or madmen."

I must mention yet another speech by the British writer E. Smith. She began her speech as follows: ". . . We are meeting in Bulgaria, a country where the socialist revolution took place 30 years ago. We are meeting in a society applying the principles of socialism. Here the child is considered a priceless treasure which can neither be sold, traded, or wasted or else lost through carelessness. The children are endlessly protected

and nothing is spared for their sake, for the children are the beginning of the future. As conceived by the socialist society the future means not only the life of today's children but the life of grandchildren and great-grandchildren, developing ever further in the generations to come. This distant future is impossible without peace. That is why it has become axiomatic for the socialist society, whose plans are directed toward the distant future, to be inseparable from peace. A national policy which considers the possibility for a happy and prosperous life for the future generations is a policy based on selfless morality. Yet, since it is necessary for such selflessness to be inherent in the morality, outlook, purposes and behavior of the citizens of this country, it asserts these qualities in the education and upbringing of the children.

"In the Western society where I was born and grew up," she went on to say, "matters are different. With us the concept of the future is interpreted more narrowly, even though far from all acknowledge this and, perhaps, even understand. Individualism absolutely dominates contemporary Western society. Essentially, individualism is equal to egotism and the view of the egotists, naturally, does not extend into the future. To the convinced individualist it makes no sense at all to consider the future extending beyond his own life. It is on such grounds that a very careless attitude is developed on the subject of rescuing mankind from death."

E. Smith concluded her speech as follows:

"To me the good is socialism and I have chosen it."

I already mentioned Orwell, the now-deceased writer-anti-communist. I did not do so without a purpose, for today something similar to "an Orwellian boom" is taking place in England: his books--pasquils attacking the revolution and socialism, such as "Animal Farm," and "1984," are being published and republished in large editions. Orwell marked 1984 as a "landmark," as the "beginning of the end" of the existence of a more or less normal human society and the advent of another, divided, split world endlessly at war, while man has been converted into a dull robot. It is indicative, therefore, that the famous American science-fiction writer R. Bradbury spoke out against Orwell's "Pythianism" underlined by a malicious parody of socialism.

"Nonsense!" he exclaims on the subject of Orwell's hysterics. "Nineteen eight-four will never come." Naturally, the year itself will come, the writer explains, but not as a symbol of the end of the world and of turning mankind wild, but as a natural continuation of the historical path along which people expect new and better times.

West German writer Fridrich Hitzer responded even more sharply to the anti-communist forecasts of the future. He said:



"Pictures of fear and horror predominate among the imaginary characters created in recent years and disseminated by the mass information media in the capitalist society. . . . This includes all conceivable catastrophes and doomsday situations. . . . The trite theme of this daily apocalypse is that of demagogy on the subject of the "Soviet threat," a demagogy which helped the capitalist war industry to pile up profits by the millions . . . and heat up the arms race. . . . Catastrophes and crimes which have become the consequences of the painful fantasies on the subject of this threat and danger have cost the lives of millions of Germans. . . . Is it possible to forget this?"

Norman Cousins, the known American publicist and long-time editor, is, naturally, not a communist. This is no secret. However, arriving last year in Batumi, at the meeting of Soviet and American writers, he deemed it his duty as an honest man to speak out against one of the most widespread slanders according to which the Soviet Union is presented as a "closed" society in which "free American literature" is, allegedly, "banned." Cousins wrote: ". . . The works of many American writers are far more disseminated among it (the Soviet "readership mass") than in their own country. Naturally, books translated into tens or more languages of the peoples of the USSR have a mass market. Yet . . . even had American books been offered to the Soviet readers in the original, their sales would be greater in the USSR than in the United States."

The world-famous writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez makes no secret of his support of the ideas of real socialism in which he sees a guarantee for the blossoming of a progressive and democratic culture. ". . . I believe," Marquez stated in an interview given to the Mexican periodical SIEMPRE!, "that socialism will preserve the cultural traditions of the peoples and raise them to most brilliant results."

Therefore, what is the capitalist world pitting against real socialism? Naturally, its own self, its "openness," its "democracy," and its way of life. Incidentally, as reported by the periodical THE NATION, of late American corporations have begun generously to finance the publication of special books promoting the "virtues" of capitalism. Yet, here is what American Professor Robert (Sayney) writes about such "virtues" in an article symptomatically entitled "What Are We Suffering From and Why," published last year by the British periodical ENCOUNTER:

"Capitalism . . . created a great civilization. . . . Steadily rising tension . . . creates a pathological concern and fear, destroying the family, leading to the spreading of drug addictions, looseness, and distorted cults. . . . Man is becoming the confused viewer of what is taking place around him, a consumer deprived of roots, swimming down the current, an unstable and manipulated being, mentally oppressed, while the civilization triggered by this galloping economy is deprived of its stability and is becoming explosive. . . . We have now entered the 'latter stage of Western history.' These are cruel times characterized by

emotional ferment, resort to violence and moral stupefaction. Above all, it is characterized by the abandonment of basic human values in art and in the lives of individual people and of society at large."

These are sad and bitter words! Minerva's owl is flying away into the darkness, when youth can no longer be restored and when knowledge leads to despair. . . . I recall a cartoon in a Soviet journal at the very beginning of the war. A prison cell. Chained to the floor is a young beautiful woman wearing a Phrygian bonnet: France. Standing at the door is an old jailer with a bundle of keys hanging on his belt: Petain. The caption reads: "Madam! I am no longer able to love you, but . . . am still unable to betray you!"

Neither modern imperialism nor its ideology--anti-communism--can bring happiness to their own people. Yet, they are still able to arm themselves, to prepare for a new war, and to slander. The very existence of the Soviet Union and, in general, of the Soviet world is considered by imperialism as a challenge to its tyrannical domination over millions of people and tens of countries. It slanders this world tirelessly, with refinement, and with ever-growing force.

We tried to show that recruitments in detachments of slanderers are not always unsuccessful. Therefore, we should not underestimate the consequences of the slander as given to us in an art form by Don Bazilio in the famous "Barber of Seville." Yet, we have a terrible weapon against bourgeois slander: the truth.

Imperialism is trying to suppress it. We must double and triple our efforts so that, using all possible means, to take our truth to the minds and hearts of millions of people in the West and the East, the truth of the true values of real socialism.

Yes, we have enemies. However, we have friends as well. By this I mean not only the convinced communists the world over, not only the working people who are finding the imperialist yoke ever more intolerable. I include among our friends also those who do not share our socio-philosophical views but whose subjective honesty and interest in the peaceful future of mankind dictate the need to oppose the anti-communist lie and to tell the truth about socialism.

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## LOYAL PARTY AIDS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 118-120

[Review by V. Arkhipenko of the book "Soyuz Molodykh Lenintsev" [Young Leninists Union] by Ye. M. Tyazhel'nikov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 367 pages]

[Text] Many works have been written about the Komsomol in whose ranks, over several decades, over 150 million people acquired Marxist-Leninist training, about its great path and heroic accomplishments. The present book which offers the reader a broad view of the historical path of the Komsomol and of the life and activities of the multimillion-strong army of boys and girls in our country at the present stage, under the conditions of developed socialism, introduces new and essential aspects in the chronicles of the Leninist Youth Union.

The theme of the book is defined in the introductory sentence itself in the first section:

"The appearance and establishment of the Komsomol and its entire history are indivisible from Lenin and the activities of the communist party" (p 9). The author discusses in detail this idea in each of the chapters covering the different aspects of Komsomol activities.

The author emphasizes that the principles governing the guidance of the youth movement, formulated by V. I. Lenin, determined its entire way of development. To this day they are the basis of Komsomol practices, helping the party organizations to properly control the variety of Komsomol activities.

Lenin and the party were at the origins of the Komsomol, carefully guiding its first steps. Over 200 articles, speeches, and letters contain statements expressed by Vladimir Il'ich about the youth, showing his views on the interrelationship between the Marxist Party and the growing generations. Topical to this day is the outstanding speech of the leader at the Third All-Russian RKSM Congress, justifiably described by A. V. Lunacharskiy as bottomless. To this day modern youth finds in it answers to the most vital questions, accepting it as the party's instructions to the youth detachment of the builders of communism.

In 1929, after Vladimir Il'ich's death, the Komsomol Central Committee Plenum passed the decision "to add the name of Comrade Lenin to the RKSM." The Komsomol justified its high title throughout its activities, which included great accomplishments in the labor of the five-year plans, and heroism and the firmness in the struggle for the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland. "The Komsomol remains the Leninist shock brigade whose tens of millions of members are young enthusiasts, accomplishing great exploits. . . ." noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "They move ahead our entire communist project, asserting through their example the truth of Marxism-Leninism, and combining the achievements of contemporary science with work for the good of the people."

The author clearly shows that today as well, implementing Lenin's behests and the stipulations of the party's Central Committee, as in the past, the Komsomol is always concerned with the political education and upbringing of the youth. The author emphasizes that the true Komsomol member tries to think and act on the level of the progressive ideas of the time and the topical tasks set by the party. Familiar with Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, and the history of the CPSU and the Komsomol, the Komsomol member is called upon to skillfully apply this knowledge in daily life, work, and struggle.

The book describes the structure and trends of the current system of Komsomol political training based on a differentiated approach to the students, and consistency and continuity in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Here is a characteristic detail of our time: The number of young people without secondary education has drastically declined among the students attending the political training system. Over the past 5 years the number of young people with secondary and higher education attending circles and seminars rose from 2.7 million to 5.6 million. This is a clear result of universal secondary education.

The book offers exhaustive data on the structure and the functioning of the system for youth economic training, Leninist lessons, which have become a most important structural component within the Komsomol political education system, and the Leninist examination--an effective means for testing the ideological training of adolescents. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasizes that the role of the Leninist examination must continue to be enhanced as part of the comprehensive solution of the problem of the communist education of the youth.

As the author points out, a noteworthy phenomenon of the present is that the Leninist appeal of the Third Komsomol Congress for learning communism has not only not lost its topical nature but is heard more loudly with every passing year. The main feature of Komsomol work and its party guidance is to teach the youth to be the worthy replenishment and replacement of the builders of communism.



In this connection, the moral education of the youth is of tremendous importance. The author emphasizes that it must be consistent with the level of the requirements set for it by the party at the present stage. The Komsomol is strictly guided by the tasks formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress and its conclusion on the need to develop within everyone an active life stance which is the core of the moral growth of the Soviet people under mature socialist conditions.

One of the main sections of the book is entitled "Working Together With Workers and Peasants." It describes the scale and purposefulness of the labor accomplishments of the Komsomol and their deep social meaning. Together with the entire nation the Soviet youth actively promoted the new life, participating in the socialist reorganization of the economy and the making of the cultural revolution. Having proved during the first five-year plans its ability to build most powerful enterprises and new cities and lay railroad tracks thousands of kilometers long, it is continuing its great work today.

The shock Komsomol projects symbolize these accomplishments. The exploits of the builders of Magnitka, Dneproges, the Stalingrad Tractors Plant, and the Turkbiz are continued by the young builders of today's giants: the ore-mining and concentration combine at the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, the Sayany-Sushenskaya GES, Atomash, and the Baykal-Amur Main Line. Following the completion of Komsomol'sk, the first youth city, Neril'ye, Bratsk, Sungait, Nevopolotsk, and Tol'yatti appeared on the map of the country. Quite recently entirely young cities arose and are continuing to grow: Naberezhnyye, Chelny and Volgodonsk. Today 150 of the most important projects of the 10th Five-Year Plan are all-union shock Komsomol construction projects.

The Komsomol made a tremendous contribution to the reorganization of agriculture as well, helping the party to implement collectivization, develop the virgin lands, and build very big irrigation systems in Central Asia, along the Volga, and in the Northern Caucasus. Today, when the tremendous task of developing the Nonchernozem and the considerable upsurge of agricultural production in 29 oblasts and autonomous republics in the USSR is being implemented, the Komsomol is the most active participant in the fulfillment of this great plan.

The author clearly describes the role of the Komsomol in training a worthy labor replenishment of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia. The Komsomol is developing ever more effective methods for vocational guidance and labor upbringing of children and adolescents. It helps to expand and intensify the tutorship movement. The book describes in detail the new methods of labor education applied by the Komsomol organizations at the present stage.

The party comprehensively concerns itself with the fact that, in its work among the youth, the Komsomol takes thoroughly into consideration the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution. The book describes this aspect as well of Komsomol activities, indicating the ways through which young people become involved in scientific and technical creativity, and analyzes the experience of public youth associations which are making a substantial contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Noteworthy in this respect is Moscow's experience. Here, a comprehensive program for the participation of the youth in the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises was drafted and is implemented under the guidance of the party organizations. It has focused the attention of young men and women on important public production matters, offered them work possibilities, and involved the city's Komsomol organizations in a system of activities. The program calls for upgrading general educational and vocational standards and skills of young workers and specialists. It earmarks means for the participation in the struggle for production quality, economy and thrift, application of scientific and technical achievements, and technical creativity.

The reader will acquire useful information also from the section dealing with the socialist competition among the various youth groups, the fruitful initiative of the young builders of communism, and the changes occurring in the organization and types of labor competition. "...The times have given a new meaning to the innovation movement, dictated by the contemporary stage of social development," the author notes. "Under developed socialist conditions and the scientific and technical revolution, the meaning and forms of socialist competition have been influenced by the higher level of technology and production economics, maturity of social relations, and the education, standards, and conscientiousness of the competition participants" (p 189).

Analyzing youth initiatives and types of labor competitiveness, the author considers the various aspects of the initiatives, traces their effectiveness and dynamics, gives useful recommendations to the organizers of the socialist competition, and indicates ways for the better utilization of moral and material incentives and for insuring their proper correlation.

The book deals extensively with the topic of "Komsomol and Culture," in which the role of the youth in the spiritual life of society is considered. The Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism of the young builders of communism are described in detail. The author speaks of the heroism of Komsomol members during the war years and the fraternal ties between the Komsomol and the progressive youth organizations of many countries. The Komsomol members of the present generation protect

the great traditions of their predecessors, considering it their supreme duty to protect the freedom and independence of the socialist fatherland.

The Komsomol is the party's active aid in promoting a peaceful foreign policy. It is doing tremendous work to comprehensively insure the unity and solidarity of the international communist and democratic youth movements and to focus the efforts on the creation of a united militant anti-imperialist front by all progressive young people in the world. Resolving these problems, the Komsomol and the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations are cooperating with 1,350 national, regional, and international youth and student organizations in 130 countries.

The section entitled "Effective and Qualitative Komsomol Work" has an important position in the book. It considers, above all, the activities of the primary Komsomol organizations. The intensification and effectiveness of the Komsomol's influence on the youth and on all aspects of social life directly depend on the enhancement of the level of intra-union work.

"The notion still frequently prevails," the author writes, "that major and outstanding accomplishments are within the possibility only of big Komsomol organizations. Life, however, has long refuted this erroneous belief. Small does not mean weak. The prestige of a Komsomol organization is based not on its size but on its militancy, on the activeness of every Komsomol member" (p 291).

Using specific examples, the author supports the justice of this viewpoint. The reader will be exposed to a great variety of forms of intra-union work, see the comprehensive nature of Komsomol participation in all areas of sociopolitical activity, and draw information on the requirements currently facing the Komsomol worker.

At the beginning of 1980 the Komsomol totaled nearly 434,000 primary and about 1 million shop organizations and Komsomol groups. Currently the huge Komsomol membership totals 39 million.

This large youth army is the enthusiastic and direct heir of the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the senior generations. The Komsomol helps each of its members to master the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, realize the tasks and objectives of the building of communism, and define his specific position in the revolutionary reorganization of the world.

The reader will unquestionably share the basic conclusion drawn in the book:

"The Leninist Komsomol was, is, and will always remain the reliable aid and combat reserve of the communist party, and its loyal support in the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of communism. The multimillion-strong union of young Leninists will always embody the revolutionary thrust, romanticism, and eternal youth of the land of the soviets, and the aspiration of young men and women to live, work, and struggle in a Leninist and communist manner" (p 365).

This conclusion is backed by the entire history of the Komsomol and its current accomplishments in the important sectors in the building of a communist society.

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CSO: 1802



## THE SOVIET SCIENTIST TODAY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 121-122

[Review by O. Deyneko, candidate of economic sciences, of the book "Formirovaniye Lichnosti Uchenogo v Usloviyakh Razvitogo Sotsializma" [Molding the Personality of the Scientist Under Developed Socialist Conditions], by R. G. Yanovskiy, Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1979, 286 pages]

[Text] In resolving the vital problems facing the national economy, particularly on the eve of the new five-year plan, the CPSU is relying on the effective help of the scientists. The all-round support of the development of science as a direct productive force is the focal point of attention of the communist party and Soviet state. Understandably, success in the progress of knowledge depends, above all, on the scientists, on their skills, creative capabilities, and possibilities effectively to use such capabilities and, therefore, on their personal qualities as well.

That is why the publication of R. G. Yanovskiy's monograph on molding the personality of the scientists under contemporary conditions meets very topical requirements of the building of communism. It is an extensive study of the formation and the development of the scientific worker of a socialist type. It provides an interesting summation of the practice of party-political work in one of the biggest scientific centers in the country--the USSR Academy of Science Siberian Department. Also valuable are specific data cited in the book on the mechanism for the comprehensive support of research and development and for upgrading their returns related to the needs of economic and social progress.

The author focuses his attention on four most important problems: the place and role of the scientific intelligentsia in the socialist society, the conditions for its creative activity and molding the personality of the scientist, the sociopolitical and moral responsibility of the scientific worker under developed socialist conditions, and the party guidance of scientific collectives.

For over six decades the development of science in our country has been characterized by specific and unprecedented sociopolitical and economic

conditions. In this respect, as in other areas of social progress, implementing the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, our people act as pioneers. Their experience is instructive not only to themselves but to other nations which have taken, after them, or are now taking the path of socialism. That is why this book which sums up an important segment of this experience draws attention going far beyond strictly professional interests. The author describes the molding of the Soviet scientific intelligentsia. In this case the purposeful activities of the Leninist party, which insured the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the country, the all-round development of culture and education, and the training of scientific cadres, played an important role.

The increased number of scientific institutions and the organization of a single state scientific system were paralleled by the ideological and political upbringing of the scientists. Today's party stipulation is that every scientist, whether working in the humanities or the natural sciences, must have a dialectical-materialistic outlook and be a fighter for the interests of the working class and all working people, and for the ideals of Marxism-Leninism. The reader will find interesting the statistical data contained in the book characterizing the dynamics and scope of scientific creativity under the Soviet system and the progressive quantitative and qualitative changes in the cadre composition of scientific institutions. A very valuable analysis is provided of the development of science in the eastern part of the country on the basis of the extensive use of archives of Siberian party committees.

It would be pertinent to mention here that the author is not a researcher from the outside who sums up existing experience but an active participant in the process. For 10 years (from 1965 to 1975), as secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee in the city of Novosibirsk, he was directly involved in resolving problems related to the implementation of the measures of the USSR Academy of Science Siberian Department for the comprehensive development of basic research, the utilization of scientific results by the national economy, and the training of scientific specialists.

As the author notes perfectly accurately, the creative potential of the scientific workers is realized the more successfully the more effective are the forms of cooperation between scientific and production collectives. At the same time, interscientific cooperation among scientists contributes, on the one hand, to increasing the returns from research and development under the conditions of the intensified differentiation of sciences, and, on the other, expanding integration. Ever more frequently complex problems arise at the crossing points of various fields of knowledge, requiring for their solution the joint efforts of representatives of various skills and the use of variety of methods. Advancing the system of scientific management and organization is, precisely, the area in which the party expects the closest possible organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism.

The author substantively describes the set of social, political, and ideological factors which determine scientific and technical progress, in the center of which we find the subject of this creativity--the man of science with his characteristic features, outlook, life stance, and behavioral motivations. The author convincingly criticizes the familiar revisionist concepts of "elitism" and "alienation" through which attempts are made in the West to misrepresent the status of the scientific intelligentsia in the socialist society. He shows the position of honor and high level of its participation in the nationwide cause of building communism and its organic ties with the working class and all social working strata.

The significance of the professional (specialized) as well as general and political standards of the scientific workers is rising. It is no accident that the author emphasizes this, for under contemporary conditions the scientist must not only profoundly master specific knowledge and skills but be involved with the higher spiritual values and master a perfect methodological standard of scientific work and display high-grade thinking and impeccable behavior. Thus, the comprehensive nature of personality development becomes a most important requirement in the development of the creative worker. In the final account, it is the binding ties among the qualities of his personality that determines his moral consciousness. The moral responsibility of the scientist to society becomes particularly great today. "The progress of science, education, and technology," the author emphasizes, "is directly proportional to the existence in scientific ranks not only of gifted but of highly moral workers" (p 159).

Developed socialism contributes through the entire way of life to the molding of a high sociopolitical consciousness and social activity. Anything which hinders or conflicts with this must be firmly uprooted. Ideological support and a sociopolitical approach to the solution of the topical problems of development of science and technology are becoming ever more important today. That makes the role of the party's management of the activities of scientific collectives particularly important. The party members rally and mobilize their forces for the solution of socially significant problems. A separate chapter discussing this topic meaningfully shows the nature of the party's leadership of scientific and technical progress, experience, and topical problems of ideological and organizational work among scientists and socialist competition among them.

The author considers the struggle for a rational attitude toward the environment, on a scientific basis, as the high civic duty of workers in the sciences as of all Soviet people. The scientific and technical revolution calls for taking ever more into consideration the ecological aspects of human production activities. Practical experience has raised the socialist principles of the utilization of nature to the level of priority problems of sensible and thrifty economic management. Analyzing them, the author shows the advantages of socialism in the solution of such problems. In this respect interesting examples are quoted from the activities of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department. Regrettably, this most

topical subject is treated in the book only to the extent of a single small paragraph.

In our view, a proper interpretation has been given to another most important sociopolitical problem--that of scientific replacements. The author considers as a mandatory condition for the viability of a scientific collective the training of highly skilled researchers and the expanded reproduction of specialist cadres. He gives as an instructive example the experience of the Novosibirsk institutions in the molding and upbringing of talented youth. It is precisely at the stage of training the scientific replacements that the features of the personality of the scientist of a new type are developed.

Finally, speaking of the quality of the work as a whole, let us note as a positive fact the proper scientific system and, in particular, the subject index and the extensive bibliography. This makes the work quite convenient for propagandists, party and scientific workers, and the readership at large.

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CSO: 1802



## ART WHICH DISCOVERS THE WORLD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 123-125

[Review by L. Parfenov, candidate of art sciences, of the book "Otkryvaya Mir" [Discovering the World], by A. Kamshalov, Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1979, 256 pages]

[Text] The history of Soviet cinematography shows the important role which is assigned to art in the socialist society and how beneficial the social and moral climate of socialism are to artistic creativity. Born only two decades before the October Revolution, as entertainment, within an amazingly short historical period the motion picture became in our country a great art, a powerful means for the education and enlightenment of the masses, and an inseparable part of the spiritual life of the people.

In his greetings to Soviet motion picture workers, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of cinematography, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU secretary general and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, emphasized that, "Today, as throughout the 60 years of its history, the motion picture is an active promoter of the party's ideas and policies, participating in the implementation of the great plans formulated by the 25th CPSU Congress, clearly reflecting the greatness of the accomplishments of our society and the inviolable friendship among the peoples of the USSR building communism in fraternal unity."

Presenting the detailed story of the importance of cinematography as an active assistant of the party in ideological work and its active participation in the building communism is no simple task. It requires not only a profound familiarity with the material but the ability to analyze accurately and substantiatedly and to compare the phenomena of life and reality. It requires the sincere involvement of the author and love for cinematography. In my view, the book under review written, above all, for young people, meets all these requirements. I am confident, however, that it will be read with interest by people of different ages, for in terms of its data and scope it comes close to essays on problems of the history of the motion picture.

It is no accident that the author begins his book with a description of the first motion picture show which took place on 28 December 1895 on Boulevard des Capucines in Paris. This excursion into the past enables him, yet once again, convincingly to emphasize the tremendous distance covered by the motion picture in our country and how greatly fate was affected by the fact that after the revolution this art became a property of the whole people, and a spokesman for the progressive communist ideals.

The structure of the book organically follows the author's intent. He traces the history of the Soviet motion picture through its most significant phenomena. However, we do not find here the usual chronological presentation of the material. With the exception of the first chapter, freely, as dictated by the purport, the author uses historical examples and describes the development of the various topic lines in our motion pictures. The headings on the chapters accurately reflect their content: "The Most Important of the Arts," "Man and His Age," "The Working Man on the Screen," "The Fighting Screen," and "The Spirituality of the Screen."

From the very first days of the revolution, V. I. Lenin, the communist party, and the Soviet Government paid tremendous attention to the development of the motion picture, firmly believing in its future and comprehensively helping to turn cinematography into a great people's art, directing and inspiring the motion picture workers to resolve the most important ideological-creative problems. The author traces the basic stages in the organization of the motion picture in our country. He recalls the immortal films of the 1920's and 1930's, such as "The Battleship 'Potemkin,'" "October," "Mother," "Land," "Chapayev," "We Are from Kronshtadt," "The Deputy from the Baltic," The Maxim trilogy, "Counterplan," "The Great Citizen," "Seven Braves," "Member of the Government," "Lenin in October," "Lenin in 1918," "Man with a Weapon," etc.

As we know, the bourgeois historians of the motion picture have done everything possible to belittle the significance of Soviet cinematography of the 1930's, stating that at times our cinematographers were, allegedly, bound within the framework of the method of socialist realism. The Soviet motion picture scientists have properly rebuffed such misrepresentations, having proven, yet once again, the exceptional role which our outstanding motion pictures of that time played in the development not only of Soviet but of global progressive art. Outstanding passages deal with this most important period in the history of cinematography in major recently published works such as the four-volume "Istoriya Sovetskogo Kino" (History of the Soviet Motion Picture), written by a big collective of scientists from Moscow and all union republics, and "Kratkaya Istoriya Sovetskogo Kino" [Short History of the Soviet Motion Picture] by R. N. Yurenev.

Equally convincingly and substantively A. I. Kamshalov proves the intransigent significance to the entire further development of cinematography of the ideological and artistic discoveries made in the motion pictures of the 1930's. The book contains an interesting story on the film "Deputy from

the Baltic." The author compares it with A. Block's poem "The Twelve," drawing the conclusion that they are similar in terms of meaning and spirit, revolutionary feeling, and philosophical concept.

However, he focuses most of his attention on our cinematography today. The look at motion pictures of the past emphasizes the continuity among different generations of masters of the screen and the continuation today of the great revolutionary traditions of "the most important of the arts."

The author describes in detail the contemporary stage in the development of the Soviet motion picture and shows the tremendous significance to the fruitful progress of the motion picture of most important party documents such as the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the CC CPSU decrees "On Measures to Insure the Further Development of Soviet Cinematography" and "On Literary-Artistic Criticism" and the addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and his greetings to the Soviet cinematographers.

The main characteristics of today's cinematography are active treatment of contemporary problems, the great topic and genre variety of motion pictures, the successful activities of cinematographers in union republics, and the unparalleled influx of young creative forces in cinematography.

The author describes both the achievements of the Soviet motion picture and the as yet unresolved problems. Particularly interesting are his considerations on presenting on the screen the image of our contemporary. Occasionally, he writes, literature and the press pit against each other the social portrait of young people of different generations. Yet, today's young generation is the direct and worthy heir of the senior generations whose lot was heroic participation in the revolution and the Civil and Great Patriotic wars, the construction projects of the first five-year plans, and the postwar restoration of the national economy.

"The age faced the different generations with different social problems. The means for their solution have been and will be different as well. The generation of the 1920's-1950's honorably fulfilled its historical mission and bequeathed to the generation of the 1960's-1970's, as the holy of holies, the great words which froze on the mouths of our fathers and grandfathers. . . . Our time is a time of tremendous accomplishments, major social changes, and great scientific discoveries. As in the past, it is the hands and minds of the young that build the huge hydroelectric power plants and new cities, and lay gas pipelines and pierce tunnels. Fully stressing their willpower and all the strength of their personalities, they master new lands, storm the heights of science and technology, and develop the traditions of their fathers. Time goes on and it has changed a great deal in the aspect of the Soviet youth. However, there is something which remains unchanged, intangible, inherited by each generation entering life: the basic purpose of each generation of Soviet youth--the happiness of their socialist homeland" (pp 205-206).

The author cites examples of the heroic exploits of contemporary youth, each of which could become movie subject. He notes the cinematographic successes in which authors and actors have been able faithfully to present the rich spiritual world of our contemporary, his thoughts and feelings, and his labor efforts. At the same time, the author mentions the need for a more energetic and daring development of socially significant topics and for creating more live and profound characters of Soviet people--the real workers, collectivists and fighters, guided in their lives by the moral principles of communism.

Purposeful work on the characters of our contemporaries and heroes of different generations of the Soviet people is one of the basic problems being resolved in all stages in the development of our cinematography.

Both practitioners and theoreticians of the art of the screen have always been excited by the problem of tradition and innovation. The author speaks of the need for any true artist to address himself to the viewer, to discover something new experienced and felt by the viewer. However, this does not mean a rejection of everything acquired in the past. "True innovation precisely consists of inheriting, developing, and enriching traditions rather than rejecting or blindly duplicating them" (p 217).

Actually, the entire book deals with the continuation of the outstanding traditions of the motion picture of socialist realism. For example, the chapter "The Fighting Screen" traces the development of the heroic-patriotic theme in the Soviet motion picture, starting with the best movies of the 1930's on the Civil War and the history of our homeland, through films made in the difficult times of the Great Patriotic War, and through recent works such as "Liberation," "The Dawns Here Are Quiet . . .," "The Belorussian Station," "Burning Snow," "They Fought for the Homeland," "Front Without Flanks," "On March the Soldiers," "Ascent," "Twenty Days Without War," and others.

The author extensively discusses the best works of motion picture journalism and the documentaries. Thus, the same chapter also deals with classical examples of documentaries such as "Defeat of the German-Fascist Troops at Moscow," "Leningrad in Battle," "Stalingrad," "The Battle for Our Soviet Ukraine," and "Berlin," as well as recent documentaries such as "Together with the Soldier," "The Soldier Marched," and "The Kurilov Wheatmeal Loafs."

Thoroughly analyzing the condition of contemporary Soviet cinematography, the author also states that along with major and truly talented works, a number of indifferent and uninteresting movies are still being made in our country, justifiably emphasizing that "scenario weaknesses, illustrativeness, and absence of deep penetration into the essence of the investigated phenomenon can only discredit a major topic and turn off the viewers" (p 98). He addresses himself to the most important concepts of Marxist-

Leninist aesthetics, confirmed through the entire practice of the art of socialist realism. "Yes, a work cannot become an artistic phenomenon or the creation of an artist unless it contains the truth, the depth of the character of a person or an age. It is only by drawing new ideas from this source that the artist will be able to make creative discoveries. Therefore, the real truth of life alone, as depicted by the motion picture, could bring about success. It is only a work that has been felt and experienced that may become a phenomenon of art, stimulating further creativity. Knowledge of life and observation, to which we add the imagination of the artist, high professionalism, and involvement with the creation on the screen guarantee the viability of the art" (p 99).

Sometimes, the authors of some critical works are accurately blamed for giving a one-sided interpretation or excessive praise of one or another work, when enthusiasm or personal prejudice prevent a sober assessment. This could not be said of this work, for the author has tried to provide an objective and substantiated study of both the merits and shortcomings of motion pictures.

The author offers a number of examples of profound ideological and artistic study of pictures such as "Father of the Soldier," "Bonus," "I Asked for the Floor," "Daughters and Mothers," "In Love," "Come September," "A Word for the Defense," "The Hottest Month," and many others. True, in a number of cases, for some reason the author skips over some no less important pictures, merely mentioning them. Naturally, the size of the book does not allow a comprehensive and profound analysis of all motion pictures and the author has the right to focus on one or another picture as he wishes. Nevertheless, reading some passages, we feel a sense of regret that so little space has been allocated for some major works. At the same time, occasionally the opposite feeling develops: Was it necessary to write so extensively on films which have not become noticeable artistic phenomena?

The objective evaluation of a work and a proper understanding of the significance and depth of the problems it raises, and the vitality of characters are possible only by considering the work in the context of its time and by correlating it with contemporary problems. The strong aspect of A. I. Kamshalov's work is his study of cinematography in close connection with reality. This enables the author not only accurately to assess successful movies but to find in imperfect motion pictures the elements of something new and basically essential.

The idea of the importance of the educational functions of cinematography runs throughout the book. Such functions can be met only by firmly following the principles of party-mindedness and nationality, the principles of socialist realism, comprehensively and profoundly reflecting real life. This makes the book particularly topical in the light of the tasks formulated in the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work."



## UNPROMISING NON-MARXIST CONCEPTS OF THE FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 125-127

[Review by Prof V. Tumanov, doctor of juridical sciences, of the book "Fiasco Futurologii" [The Failure of Futurology] by G. Kh. Shakhnazarov (Critical Essay on the Non-Marxist Theories of Social Development), Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 352 pages]

[Text] Let us immediately point out that the subtitle of the book more accurately reflects its content than the title. Some of the concepts considered by the author could hardly be directly classified as futurological in the traditional understanding of the term as synonymous with attempts to engage in non-Marxist social forecasting. In our time, however, basically, theories of social development must be turned to the future. In this sense the author has the right to equate "futurology" with "non-Marxist theories of social development."

The appearance of futurology in the West and the intensification of the futurological aspect of bourgeois social science prove the existence of a certain updating of capitalist ideology. In the past the capitalist ideologists did not consider the future at all: The private ownership system was depicted as the ideal model determined by history once and for all. The dominating premise was, "That is how it is and that is how it will be."

What is the reason of this "futurological modernization"? Is its manifestation a result of the inner logical of development of bourgeois social science? No, the author answers: Here we mainly trace the following social reasons: "As a separate discipline futurology developed in the West as an alternative to Marxist-Leninist and communist views on the future of social development" (p 4). It developed when these concepts were confirmed by the development of the world socialist system and the course of the universal revolutionary process.

Forecasting, even when based on an objective foundation, is an exceptionally complex area of theoretical activities. The results of such activities become quite confused and distort the real prospects if based on prejudice. The author emphasizes, in this connection, that roughly stated, the

duty of bourgeois futurology is to build a "noncommunist future," and "substantiate" ways to it unrelated to the progressive development of real socialism. For this reason alone it cannot be considered a science, even though "it does not follow in the least that high-level intellects may not operate in its area. Let us recall that in their time a number of serious astronomers took their nourishment around the table of astrology, and that Johann Kepler himself 'drew' horoscopes" (p 6).

In the first section of the book the author considers the technological futurological concepts (which he graphically describes as "techno-idylls"), which includes the theory of "convergence," or the "social democratic plan for the future."

As we know, social theories do not come out of thin air. For this reason, the author properly pays particular attention to the interpretation, from Marxist positions, of the real processes and phenomena with which the bourgeois theoreticians are speculating. He convincingly exposes the theoretical groundlessness of their basic conclusions and forecasts, showing that the scientific and technical revolution does not replace the social revolution, and the "techno-idylls" cannot counter the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the inevitable victory of socialism and communism and that it is not a convergence between two social systems that is taking place but an internationalization of social life and a further accumulation of prerequisites for the victory of socialism on a global scale; finally, that the social democratic concept of a "third way" is not a real alternative for scientific socialism and leads away from the real paths of social progress.

The impression develops that even though the "techno-idylls," like "convergence," are theories claiming to depict the future, in reality, they reveal a nostalgia for the past, for the "golden age" of capitalism. The real course of the scientific and technical revolution has clearly shown that social problems cannot be resolved "technologically," as follows from the prescriptions of the "techno-idyll," and that the power structure cannot be established on a class-political technical-managerial basis, as their authors proclaim. In the past 20 years that the theory of "convergence" has existed, it neither obtained nor could obtain any kind of real practical proof. Nevertheless, this is not to mean that "techno-idylls" and "convergence" have abandoned the ideological arena. It may even be expected that they will be thoroughly rebuilt as justifiably pointed out by the author (see p 56).

In the second part of the book, from a consideration of some "futuro-theories" in their general aspect, so to say, the author turns to the study of problems shared by a number of social development concepts, whose solution is of major importance in the study of the future, since it carries an extensive "futurological load."

One such problem is the following: revolution or reform? In his argument with extreme left-wing neo-anarchic ideology, on the one hand, and social

democratic reformism, on the other, the author emphasizes an important and somewhat ignored aspect of the correlation between revolution and reform. He properly notes that their difference is not found in the least in the fact that the first is a coercive action while the second is peaceful. This is the way that reformists interpret the problem. They consider that the "revolution mandatorily involves coercion, the beheading of round heads, the seizure and razing of the Bastille, the shot fired by the 'Aurora,' the storming of the Winter Palace, and so on" (p 177). In reality, the basic distinction between revolution and reform lies not in the means used but in the results achieved. There is a revolution if, first of all, the power has shifted from one class to another; secondly, if there is a change in the form of ownership as a result of this shift. If no such results have been achieved, things have not gone beyond the reform stage. In this connection, the author refers to the possibility for a peaceful revolution. Let us add to this that there have been many cases in history in which some reforms were the consequence of coercive mass actions, i.e., that they took place not peacefully in the least.

Yet another artificial dilemma raised by bourgeois ideology is the fact that equality allegedly excludes freedom, resulting in facelessness on the individual level and totalitarianism on the level of the political-managerial structures. The slogan of defending freedom is used to sanctify factual inequality which is mandatory attribute of the capitalist system. In reality, there could be no freedom without equality. It is no accident that the revolutionary formula firmly blended together the two concepts. Freedom is not an automatic product of equality any more than equality is the automatic product of freedom. Both require a number of socioeconomic, political and juridical conditions and prerequisites. As the author emphasizes, "Freedom must become the base for equality while equality must become the base for freedom" (p 234).

The author ends this book, written in a journalistic style, with a literary aside. The study of futurological theories, using the language of concepts, is expanded by a critical study of books by the British science fiction writers A. Huxley, "Brave New World," and G. Orwell, "1984." These like many other bourgeois authors projected a dark future for mankind. However, it is not such predictions or their theoretical-futurological analogs, that are becoming reality but the scientific Marxist-Leninist prediction and its answer to the question of "quo vadis," which has always faced mankind and will face it even more urgently in the thermonuclear age. This is not only the final conclusion but the theme song which runs through a meaningful and comprehensive book imbued with the pathos of the struggle against anticommunism.

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Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 80 pp 127-128

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"SSSR-Avstriya. 1938-1979 gg." [USSR-Austria, 1938-1979]. Documents and materials. With preface by A. A. Gromyko. I. N. Zemskov editor in charge. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 159 pages.

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