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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 4, March 1981

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

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ACCOUNTABILITY REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND
THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE CPSU IN THE FIELD OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 pp 3-65

[Speech by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary; passages enclosed in
slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Comrade delegates! Esteemed guests!

The regular 26th CPSU Congress has commenced its work (applause).

As always, the congress will have to review results and to determine tasks for the future.

In assessing the path that has been followed one can say firmly that the 25th congress correctly determined the fundamental trends and directions of social development (applause). The Leninist general line of our party is being confidently implemented. The tasks put forward at the previous congress are being successfully fulfilled on the whole.

The national wealth of the country has significantly increased as a result of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Its productive and scientific-technical potential has grown. The defense capability of the Soviet state has been strengthened. The level of well-being and culture of our people has risen.

The family of Soviet peoples has become even more cohesive and lives in even greater harmony (applause).

A major event was the adoption of the Soviet Union's new Constitution. It opened up a higher stage in the development of socialist democracy. The participation of Soviet people in running the affairs of society and state is becoming increasingly active.

The unbreakable unity of party and people grew even stronger over the past 5 years. It was and remains a source of the mighty strength of our society (applause).

In the international sphere, the period under review was a complex, tempestuous time. It was marked above all by the intensive struggle of two trends in world politics: on the one hand, the course toward curbing the arms race, strengthening peace and detente and the defense of the sovereign rights and freedom of peoples; on the other hand, the course toward undermining detente, boosting the arms race,

the policy of threats and interference in other people's affairs and the suppression of the liberation struggle.

They were years of further growth in the might, activity and prestige of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

The revolutionary struggle of peoples marked up fresh victories. This is shown by the revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, and the overthrow of the antipopular monarchical regime in Iran. The liquidation of colonial empires was effectively completed in the seventies.

The sphere of imperialist domination in the world has narrowed. The internal contradictions in the countries of capital and the rivalry between them has sharpened. The aggressiveness of the policy of imperialism, above all American, sharply increased.

In circumstances in which, toward the start of the eighties, clouds gathered on the international horizon the Soviet Union persistently continued the struggle to eliminate the military threat, for the preservation and deepening of detente, and in practice developed mutually advantageous cooperation with the majority of the countries of the world.

Together with other peace-loving states and realistically-thinking circles in the West, we have carried on the struggle against the arms race during the period under review.

If one asks any Soviet person, communist or nonparty member, what it is marked by, above all, this path, in recent years, then in reply you will hear: This path is marked above all by the fact that it has managed to preserve peace (lengthy applause). People of different ages and professions say from the bottom of their hearts, thank you, party, for this! (lengthy applause).

It is quite clear today that the Soviet Union and its allies are now more than ever before the main bulwark of peace on earth.

As a whole, comrades, the period after the 25th congress was not an easy one. There were many difficulties both in the economic development of the country and in the international situation.

All the same, the tasks that had been set were achieved. This is further proof of the enormous possibilities of the socialist system, the selflessness of the Soviet people, and the correctness of the principled, class policy of our Leninist party.

I. On the International Policy of the CPSU

Our struggle to strengthen peace and deepen the relaxation of international tension is, above all, a struggle to insure for the Soviet people the necessary external conditions for the resolution of the constructive tasks that lie before them. By this we are also resolving a problem whose nature really affects the whole world, for at present there is no question which is more vital and more important to any people than the preservation of peace, insuring the primary right of each man—the right to life.

1. Development of the World Socialist System and Cooperation Among Socialist Countries

Comrades, all these years, the party and its Central Committee and Politburo have been giving unremitting attention to strengthening friendship and cooperation with the countries of socialism.

Together with them we are building a new socialist world, a type of relations between states which is unprecedented in history, relations which are just, equal and fraternal.

It is in such a spirit that our relations with the countries of the socialist community--with Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia--are developing.

A principled unity of views has been established among us on all big problems of socioeconomic development and international policy. This is the result of the constant interaction of the fraternal communist parties and is our common achievement.

It is very important that profound mutual understanding, trust and agreement exist between the leadership of our parties.

In these years there have been 37 friendly meetings at the highest level in the Crimea; without the formalities of protocol and in a comradely atmosphere, we have discussed prospects for development of our relations and key problems of world politics, and have set forth the tasks for the future. Each meeting has brought something new and useful. I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to the leaders of fraternal countries and parties for this kind of cooperation (applause).

The exchange of party-government delegations has been a regular one. Conferences of secretaries of central committees on issues of international relations and ideological and party organizational work have become normal practice.

The party organizations of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are connected by numerous threads. They are connected at all levels, from republics, krays and oblasts to rayons and large enterprises. Cooperation between state organs, public organizations and production collectives has acquired a lively and fruitful character. Contact in the spiritual sphere, close ties in the field of ideology and culture, have become the firm norm.

Since olden times relationships between states have been called international but it is only in our times, in the world of socialism that they have really become relations between peoples. They involve the participation of millions upon millions of people. This, comrades, is the main gain of socialism and its great service to mankind (applause).

The field of our cooperation embraces more and more new spheres. An example of this is the Intercosmos program. The cosmonauts of the fraternal countries are working not only for science and for the national economy; they are also carrying out a political mission of immense importance.

Allow me, from this rostrum, to greet warmly the heroes of space, the courageous sons of the countries of socialism (lengthy applause).

The constitutions of the majority of fraternal countries stress the idea of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. This shows great faith in our country and we respond in the same way. The new Constitution of the USSR declared friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with the countries of socialism to be the keystone of Soviet foreign policy.

The past period has shown convincingly the influential and fruitful role played in European affairs, and in international affairs as a whole, by the activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization and primarily by its Political Consultative Committee. Having earlier laid the road to the European conference, the supreme political organ of our pact, at its meetings in Bucharest, Moscow and Warsaw put forward a number of new initiatives which attracted much attention in the world. Their main aim is to defend detente, to give it an energetic rhythm, a second wind, as they say.

In these years a new organ of our cooperation was set up—the Foreign Ministers Committee. One can already say that it has totally justified itself. The operational nature of coordination of foreign policy actions has increased.

The construction of the Joint Armed Forces has been conducted in a harmonious manner. And here, as always, good work has been done by the Defense Ministers Committee.

The Central Committee reports to the congress: The military-political defense alliance of the countries of socialism is loyally serving peace (applause). It has at its disposal everything necessary to reliably defend the socialist gains of the peoples, and we will do everything to insure that this will continue to be so in the future (lengthy applause).

Comrades! We are far from painting the picture of the contemporary socialist world in entirely festive colors. Difficulties do occur in the development of our countries. The transition to intensive development of the economy, the realization of major social programs and the formation of a communist awareness do not all come about immediately. It requires both time and untiring creative efforts; and, of course, it is essential to learn from each other.

During the years of socialist construction the fraternal countries have accumulated diverse, positive experiences in the organization of production, management and the resolution of national economic problems.

We know, for example, how skillfully the work of agricultural cooperatives and enterprises in Hungary has been organized and how valuable is the experience of rationalizing production and saving energy, raw and other materials in the GDR. There is much interesting and valuable experience in the social security system in Czechoslovakia. Bulgaria and a number of other European socialist countries have found useful forms of agroindustrial cooperation.

Let us comrades study more attentively and make wider use of the experience of the fraternal countries (applause).

It is well known that the decisive front in the competition with capitalism lies in the sphere of the economy and economic policy. At the last congress we, like the other fraternal parties, put forward the further intensification of socialist integration on the basis of long-term, specific programs as a priority task. These programs are called upon to help resolve the most acute and vitally important problems of the national economy.

These programs are now being embodied in concrete deeds. Integration is gathering pace, specialization in production has yielded noticeable gains in virtually all branches of the economy, science and technology. About 120 multilateral and more than 1,000 bilateral agreements of this nature have already been concluded. Coordination of the 1981-85 national economic plans of the CEMA countries is nearing completion.

When we talk of our joint labor successes, we are justifiably proud to name such major projects as the Soyuz gas pipeline, almost 3,000 km long, the Mir power grid system which has been supplemented with new electric power transmission lines, the Ust-Ilimsk cellulose combine, the Erdenet mining and metallurgical combine in Mongolia, nickel works in Cuba and numerous other new construction projects. Ahead of us we have even grander deeds to perform for the good of our whole community.

What has been done by the socialist countries in economic development, in raising the people's standard of living is a whole epoch (applause).

The recent years have not been the best for the national economies of a number of socialist states. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the rate of CEMA members' economic growth over the past 10 years was double that of the developed capitalist countries. CEMA members have remained the most dynamically developing group of countries of the world.

The CPSU and other fraternal parties intend to turn the two forthcoming five-year plans into a period of an intensive production and scientific-technological cooperation among countries of socialism.

Life itself sets the task of supplementing the coordination of plans with reaching agreements on economic policy as a whole. The agenda of the day also includes questions such as a rapprochement between the structures of economic mechanisms, further development of direct ties between ministries, associations and enterprises taking part in cooperation and the creation of joint firms. Other forms of merging our efforts and resources are also possible.

As you can see, comrades, we have many large problems. Maybe it would be useful for the leaders of fraternal countries to jointly examine them in the near future.

It goes without saying that the Soviet Union, like our socialist partners, would like to see ties in all respects to be mutually advantageous.

The Soviet Union receives from the fraternal countries many types of machinery and equipment, transport, consumer goods, and certain types of raw materials. For its part, the USSR sends to the socialist market oil, gas, minerals, cotton, timber, and, of course, various industrial products. Over the past five-year period we have received from the CEMA countries goods worth R90 billion, and our exports have exceeded R98 billion.

One cannot now imagine the confident development of this or that socialist country, its successful solution of such problems, let's say, as providing energy resources and raw materials and introducing the latest achievements of science and technology without communications with other fraternal countries.

We are tackling the problems which arise from our cooperation jointly and seeking ways to combine more correctly the interests of each of the fraternal countries with common interests. This concerns, for example fixing reduced prices for oil, gas and other raw and material industrial goods which the CEMA-member countries supply to each other.

There are special instances, too, when friends need urgent help. So it was with Vietnam, which, in 1979, was the victim of Beijing's barbaric aggression. The USSR and other socialist countries urgently sent them food, medicine, building materials and supplied military equipment. It was the same with Kampuchea, laid waste by the Pol Pot gang, Beijing's henchmen.

This, comrades, is socialist internationalism in practice (applause). Soviet people understand and approve such a stand (lengthy applause).

We all have an interest in insuring that the socialist market is capable of satisfying the growing requirements of the countries of our community. The benefit of supplementing one another's economic possibilities is of course not measured in purely commercial terms. The fulfillment of this task requires a responsible approach by economic managers and party personnel, and a profound grasp of the indissoluble community of interests of the fraternal countries.

We also favor developing trade and economic relations with the West. This, incidentally, is one of the factors in the stabilization of international relations. Here, however, one must also consider the policy of the capitalist states. They not infrequently attempt to use economic ties with us as a means of political pressure. Surely this is shown by all manner of bans and discriminatory trade restrictions with one or another socialist country.

One must say, altogether, that the fulfillment of creative tasks by our countries in recent years has been accomplished under more complex circumstances. The deterioration of the world economic situation and sharp price rises played a part. The slowdown in the detente process and the arms race foisted on us by imperialism also places no small burden on us.

It is a fact that there has been a noticeable sharpening of the ideological struggle. For the West it does not consist just of the opposition of ideas, but puts into play a whole system of methods designed to undermine the socialist world, to shake it loose.

The imperialists and their accomplices systematically conduct hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They denigrate and distort all that takes place in these countries. For them, the main thing is to turn people against socialism.

The events of the recent past confirm again and again that our class adversaries learn from their defeats. They act against the countries of socialism with increasing refinement and insidiousness.

When to the subversive activity of imperialism are added mistakes and miscalculations in internal policy, grounds are created for increased activity by elements hostile to socialism. That is what has happened in fraternal Poland, where the enemies of socialism, with the support of outside forces, are creating anarchy and endeavoring to turn the development of events into a counterrevolutionary channel. As was noted at the last plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, in Poland a threat to the foundations of the socialist state has arisen.

Polish comrades are now working on overcoming the crisis situation. They are striving to raise the fighting capacity of the party, strengthen ties with the working class and the working people, and draw up a concrete program for improving the condition of the Polish economy.

Important political support for Poland came from the meeting in December last year of leading figures of the Warsaw Pact countries in Moscow. That meeting showed clearly that the Polish communists, the Polish working class, the working people of that country, can firmly rely on their friends and allies. We will stand up for socialist Poland, fraternal Poland, and will not leave her in the lurch (stormy, lengthy applause)!

The events in Poland convince one once again how important it is for the party, for the strengthening of its guiding role, to lend a sensitive ear to the voice of the masses, to struggle resolutely against all manifestations of bureaucratism and voluntarism, to actively develop socialist democracy, and to pursue a balanced and realistic policy in foreign economic relations.

The history of world socialism knows all kinds of trials. It has had complex and critical moments. But communists have always boldly met the attacks of the adversary and won out (applause). That is how it was and how it will be (lengthy applause) and let no one have any doubt about our common determination to secure our interests and to defend the socialist gains of the peoples.

We struggle for the just cause of the peace and security of peoples, for the interests of people of labor. On our side is the truth of Marxist-Leninist teachings. Our strength is in unity and cohesion.

At the last congress it was said that the process of rapprochement of the socialist states was under way. This process continues to develop. But it does not blot out our national specificity and the historical peculiarities of the countries of socialism. In the variety of forms of their social life and the organization of their economy, one should see what is really there, a wealth of ways and methods, the affirmation of the socialist way of life.

Our relations with the socialist countries which are not members of the Warsaw Pact or CEMA are continuing to develop as well.

Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation is making progress in numerous areas. The principles and accords that have been agreed upon constitute a good foundation for its further expansion. Soviet-Yugoslav friendship has deep roots and we have no doubt as to its future.

The Soviet Union is in solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful, democratic unification of the motherland free from outside interference, and strives to deepen and enrich ties with it.

One has to assign a special place to China: The experience of the PRC's socioeconomic development over the past 20 years or so is a grave lesson that shows what the distortion of socialist principles—its essence both in domestic and foreign policies—leads to.

The current leaders of China themselves call the state of affairs in their country during the period of the so-called Cultural Revolution "the cruelest feudal-fascist dictatorship." We have nothing to add to an evaluation of this kind.

Changes are now taking place in China's domestic policies. Time will yet show their true essence. Time will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will find it possible to overcome the Maoist legacy. However, as yet, one unfortunately cannot speak of any changes for the better in Beijing's foreign policies. As before, they are directed at aggravating the international situation, coming close to imperialist policies. Naturally this will not put China back onto a healthy path of development. Imperialists will not be socialism's friends.

There is a simple calculation behind the readiness of the United States, Japan and a number of NATO countries to expand military-political ties with China, that of exploiting its hostility to the Soviet Union and to the socialist community in their own imperialist interest. That is a risky game!

But as far as the Chinese people are concerned, we are profoundly convinced that their true interest would be met by a policy of peace, only a policy of peace and normal relations with other states.

If Soviet-Chinese relations remain frozen, the reason for this does not lie in our position. The Soviet Union has not sought and does not seek confrontation with the PRC. We are following the course determined by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and we would like to construct ties with it on a good-neighborly basis. Our proposals aimed at normalizing relations with China remain in force, just as our feelings of respect and friendship for the Chinese people remain unflinching.

Comrades! As a whole, as you see, the Central Committee carried out a vast amount of work in the interests of developing and intensifying our relations with the socialist countries. World socialism is confidently advancing in the developing of the economy and culture, the perfection of social relations and socialist democracy, in literally all spheres. And we Soviet communists are proud of the role which the party of Lenin and the homeland of the Great October are playing in this (lengthy applause).

2. The Development of Relations With the Liberated Countries

Comrades! One of the important results of the party's international activity in the period under review consists in the noticeable broadening of cooperation with countries that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke.

These countries are very diverse. Some of them, after liberation, have taken the revolutionary democratic path, while in others capitalist relations have become established. Some of them are pursuing a genuinely independent policy; others are today still following in the wake of the policy of imperialism. In a word, it is a fairly variegated picture.

I will begin with the states that have a socialist orientation, the countries that have chosen the path of socialist development. Their number has increased. The development of these countries along the progressive path does not, of course, proceed uniformly. It is taking place in complex conditions. But the main directions are similar: the gradual liquidation of the positions of the imperialist monopolies, the local grande bourgeoisie and feudal lords, the curbing of the activities of foreign capital. Commanding heights of the economy are being secured for the people's state, and a transition to planned development of productive forces is underway. The cooperative movement is being encouraged in the countryside. The role of the working masses in public life is being increased, and the state apparatus is gradually being reinforced with national cadres dedicated to the people. The foreign policy of these countries is anti-imperialist. In them, revolutionary parties reflecting the interests of the broad masses of the working people are growing stronger.

In the period covered by this report the Soviet Union has concluded friendship and cooperation treaties with Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique, Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. A friendship and cooperation treaty was recently signed with Syria; I am sure that it will serve well the further development of Soviet-Syrian friendship and the cause of achieving a just peace in the Near East.

With the liberated states, we are developing broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation, beneficial to both sides. A large place in our relations belongs to the construction in those states of major economic projects in which the Soviet Union participates in one form or another.

Among the projects completed in recent years there are several of major importance which even occupy a leading place in the economy of the countries in question. These are, for example, the Ath-Thavrah hydropower complex in Syria, which produces more than 70 percent of the power generated in the country; the second phase of the metallurgical works in Algiers, which has increased its capacity to 2 million tons of steel; enterprises for extracting 2.5 million tons of bauxite in Guinea and so on.

Our country gives assistance, as far as possible, to many liberated countries in training cadres—engineers, technical workers, skilled workers, doctors and teachers.

Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are working selflessly at building sites in the countries of Asia and Africa, in industry and agriculture, in hospitals and education establishments. They are worthy representatives of their great socialist homeland. We are proud of them and send them our cordial wishes for successes (lengthy applause)!

We also help, together with the other fraternal countries, in strengthening the defense capability of the liberated states, when they turn to us with such requests. This took place, for example, in Angola and Ethiopia. Attempts were being made to deal with the people's revolutions in these countries by means of encouraging internal counterrevolution or aggression from outside. We are against exporting revolution but we cannot agree either with the export of counterrevolution (applause).

Imperialism unleashed a real undeclared war against the Afghan revolution. This created a direct threat to the security of our southern border also. This situation forced us to render the military assistance which the friendly country asked for.

The plans of Afghanistan's enemies failed. The well-thought-out policies of the People's Revolutionary Party and the government of Afghanistan, headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal, which correspond with the national interests, strengthened people's rule.

As far as the Soviet military contingent is concerned, we shall be ready to withdraw it on agreement with the Afghan government. For this, the sending of counterrevolutionary gangs into Afghanistan must be completely stopped. This must be consolidated with accords between Afghanistan and its neighbors. Reliable guarantees are needed to insure that there is no new intervention. Such is the principled position of the Soviet Union and we adhere to it firmly (applause)!

The revolution in Iran has a special character. It was one of the major international events of recent years. With all its complications and contradictions, it is fundamentally an anti-imperialist revolution even though internal and foreign reaction is striving to change its nature.

The Iranian people are seeking their own path to freedom and prosperity. We sincerely wish them success in this and we are ready to develop good relations with Iran on the bases of equality and, of course, reciprocity (applause).

In several countries of the East recently Islamic slogans have been actively raised. We communists respect the religious convictions of people of the Islamic faith just as of other religions. The main issue is the aims pursued by the forces declaiming particular slogans. The liberation struggle can unfold under the banner of Islam. This is shown by the experience of history, including the most recent history. But reaction also operates with Islamic slogans while raising counterrevolutionary mutinies. Consequently, the whole essence of the matter is the real content of a particular movement.

Comrades, our cooperation with India occupies a major place in the Soviet Union's relations with the liberated countries. We welcome this power's increased role in international affairs. Our links with it continue to become stronger. Soviet-Indian friendship has, in both of our countries, become a deep-rooted popular tradition (applause).

As a result of the recent talks in Delhi with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other Indian figures, the whole complex of Soviet-Indian relations was considerably advanced.

Cooperation with peace-loving, independent India will remain one of the main directions of Soviet foreign policy.

We see no obstacles to establishing good cooperation with Indonesia and with the other member-countries of ASEAN as well.

In the past 5 years, 10 new states have gained independence in Africa, the Caribbean and Oceania and have been recognized immediately by the Soviet Union. The birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the increasing strength of the liberation struggle in Namibia, and now in the Republic of South Africa, show clearly that the rule of the old-style colonizers and racists is drawing to a close.

Imperialists do not like the fact that the liberated countries are strengthening their independence. By thousands of ways and methods they are trying to bind those countries to themselves so as to be free to dispose of their natural resources and use their territory for their strategic designs. In this, wide use is made of the old method of the colonizers: "divide and rule."

It is precisely from these positions that the West approaches the Iran-Iraq war, which has now been going on for 5 months—an absolutely senseless war from the point of view of the interests of those states, but very advantageous to imperialism, which has constant visions of reestablishing its positions in that region. It is to be hoped that both Iraq and Iran will draw the right conclusions from this.

The Soviet Union resolutely advocates that this fratricidal war be brought to an end as soon as possible and the conflict settled by political means. We are endeavoring to promote this in practice.

Now, the Near East problem. In trying to secure a dominant position in the Near East, the United States embarked on the path of the Camp David policy, the path of splitting the Arab world and organizing a separate collusion between Israel and Egypt. American diplomacy did not succeed in turning this separate anti-Arab collusion into a wider, capitulatory agreement, but it was successful in something else. Renewed exacerbation of the situation in the region occurred, resulting in a Near East settlement being pushed back.

What is to be done now? We believe that it is time to get things moving again, time to return to an honest collective search for an all-embracing settlement on a

just and realistic basis. Given current circumstances this could be done, say, within the context of a specially convened international conference.

The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in work of this kind in a constructive spirit and with good will. We are prepared to do this jointly with other interested countries, with the Arabs (including of course the Palestine Liberation Organization) and Israel. We are prepared for such a joint search with the United States. We had, I would remind you, certain experience in this respect several years ago. We are prepared to cooperate with the European states, with all who display a sincere desire to secure a just and stable peace in the Near East.

The United Nations Organization can clearly continue to play a useful role in resolving this question.

As for the substance of the matter, we continue to be convinced that to achieve genuine peace in the Near East, Israeli occupation of all the Arab territories seized in 1967 must end; the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own state, must be realized; and the security and sovereignty of all the states of this region, including Israel, must be insured. Such are the basic principles. The details can, of course, be the subject of talks.

The nonaligned movement, which this year marks its 20th anniversary, has been and remains an important factor in international relations. Its energies are directed against imperialism and colonialism, against war and aggression. We are confident that the key to the further enhancement of the role of the nonaligned movement in world politics, which we would welcome, lies in its loyalty to its basic principles.

In the mid-seventies the former colonial countries raised the question of a new international economic order. The rebuilding of international economic relations on a democratic basis and on the principles of equality is historically natural. Much can and must be done here. But of course one cannot, as is sometimes done, reduce the question merely to a distinction between the "rich North" and the "poor South." We are prepared to work toward the establishment of just international economic relations, and are in fact doing so.

No one should doubt, comrades, that/the CPSU will continue to pursue consistently the development of cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries and the consolidation of the alliance between world socialism and the national-liberation movement (lengthy applause)./

3. The CPSU and World Communist Movement

Now, about the communist party's line in the world communist and workers' movement.

The international working class and its political vanguard, the communist and workers' parties, have approached the brink of the eighties with confidence. They have approached us as active fighters for the rights of the working people and for the peace and security of all peoples.

The communist movement continued to expand its membership and to strengthen its influence among the masses. Communist parties now operate actively in 94 countries of the world. In the last 10 years alone, about 800,000 new fighters joined their ranks in Western Europe. Is this not evidence of the invincible, attractive force of communist ideas (applause)?

Our party and its Central Committee worked actively to expand and intensify all-round cooperation with the fraternal parties. During the period under review, the members and candidate members of the Politburo and the secretaries of the Central Committee alone received several hundred party delegations. In turn, representatives of the CPSU took part in congresses and other functions of the communist parties.

We regularly informed the fraternal parties about events in our internal life and about our foreign policy actions. Foreign comrades also had many opportunities to acquaint themselves with the practical activities of the CPSU in local areas, in the republics, oblasts and enterprises. As our friends themselves say, all this helps them with their work.

Contacts with foreign communists also enable our party to acquire a better understanding of the situation in individual countries.

As the influence of the communist parties grows, the tasks facing them become ever more complex and varied. This sometimes gives rise to differing assessments and to differences in approaches to resolving specific issues in the class struggle. It also evokes debate between the parties.

In our opinion this is quite natural. Communist parties have held dissimilar opinions on this or that issue. Life has proved convincingly that, while divergences may exist, one can and must develop political cooperation in the struggle against the common class opponent. Time and practice are the supreme arbiters in solving problems that arise. Lenin was profoundly correct when he pointed out that many disagreements "could and would disappear without fail. This result would be achieved by the logic of the joint struggle against a truly formidable enemy, the bourgeoisie..." ("Poin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 255) (applause).

Not long ago the leadership energetically defended the right to a specific national character in regard to the ways and forms of struggling for socialism and socialist construction. However, if one approaches the matter without preconceptions then one should recognize that no one is imposing on anyone any patterns or schemes which ignore the particular features of this or that country.

The position of Lenin on this question is well known. He wrote that "all nations will arrive at socialism. This is inevitable, but they all will get there in not quite the same way. Each introduces a particular feature of one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate of socialist transformation of the various aspects of public life" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 123).

Our party adheres steadfastly to this Leninist line, which has been clearly confirmed today by historical practice. Consider, comrades, that all the forms, methods and ways of socialist revolution have not been mechanical repetitions of another's experience in any one of today's socialist countries. The GDR or Poland, Hungary or Cuba, Mongolia or Yugoslavia--all socialist countries have carried out a revolution in their own way, in forms that were dictated by the correlation of the class forces inside each of these countries, by national conditions and by the external situation.

There has been both armed struggle and peaceful forms of transition to a new social system, both a rapid coming to power by the working classes and processes which have extended over time. In some countries the revolution had to defend itself from foreign intervention, in others it got by without outside intervention.

The creation and consolidation of the foundations of socialism, the construction of socialist society, as I have already said, have also had and continue to have their peculiar features in various countries.

Therefore, to talk of some kind of unification, to contrast communist parties on the basis of recognition of the paths they have chosen to reconstruct society is possible, I think, only when one ignores real facts.

Sometimes critical opinions are voiced in some communist parties with regard to some or other concrete aspects of the development of our country. We are not at all of the opinion that everything has been ideal in our country. Socialism in the USSR was built under unbelievably complicated conditions. The party was trailblazing through virgin territory and no one knows better than we what difficulties and shortages were encountered along that path and which of them still remain to be overcome.

We listen attentively to comradely and constructive criticism. However, we are resolutely against criticism which distorts socialist reality, thus rendering, willy-nilly, a service to imperialist propaganda, the class enemy.

Our party proceeds from the fact that differences in opinions between communists can be overcome provided, of course, they are not differences in principle, between revolutionaries and reformers, between creative Marxism and dogmatic sectarianism, ultraleftist adventurism. Here, naturally enough, there can be no compromises, today as during the times of Lenin (applause). But when communists are struggling for the common revolutionary cause, we proceed from the fact that a patient, comradely discussion of various views and positions answers their common goals best.

The consistent struggle of communists for peace, against imperialism's aggressive policy, against the arms race which brings the threat of nuclear disaster to the peoples, constitutes a grand, unifying principle, a mighty factor for the further cohesion and growth of authority of the world communist movement.

The main thing consists of this: that communists equipped with Marxist-Leninist teachings see the essence and the future of processes taking place in the world in

a deeper and more correct way than anyone else, that they draw correct conclusions from this for their struggle for the interests of the working class, the working people of their countries, for democracy, peace and socialism.

The CPSU builds its relations with the fraternal parties on this foundation. We have good relations with the vast majority of communist parties, the French, Portuguese, German, Greek, Finnish, Danish, Austrian and other communist parties of Europe. The CPSU has the same good relations with the fraternal parties of the countries of America, Asia, Africa and Australia. We will continue to strengthen these relations in the name of our common cause, the cause of peace and socialism (applause).

A major event in the life of the international communist movement was the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe in 1976. It defined reliable guidelines for the working class, the broad masses of the workers in the struggle against the arms race for strengthening detente and for social progress.

A new stimulus to the struggle against the danger of war was given by the Paris Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe in 1980. It promoted stepping up activity in the struggle of the popular masses of the continent against the serious danger hanging over Europe concerning the decisions by the NATO bloc to deploy in Europe new American missiles with nuclear charges.

In the review period there has been a strengthening of the CPSU's cooperation with other democratic forces. In particular, our links with the socialist and social-democratic parties of Finland, Belgium, Sweden, Japan, Spain and a number of other countries have received further development, chiefly on questions of the struggle against the danger of war.

Of great importance have been the contacts with the leadership of the Socialist International, our participation in the Socialist International's conference on disarmament, the contacts with the working group created by it on this problem and the reception of its delegation by the CPSU.

Contemporary social democracy has considerable political weight. It could do more to defend the vital interests of the peoples, and, primarily, to strengthen peace, improve the international situation and rebuff fascism, racism and attacks of reaction on the political rights of the working people. In practice, however, the social democratic leaders are far from always acting in this direction.

Many of them are infected with the virus of anticommunism. Some allow themselves to be drawn into the campaign against the socialist countries organized by imperialism and, citing so-called Atlantic solidarity, justify the arms race. It is clear that such a policy is not in keeping with the interests of the working people. We resolutely condemn it.

However, we will actively support all steps which further the cause of peace and democracy. Given the current deterioration of the international situation, cooperation with social democrats, trade unions, religious circles and all democratic, peace-loving forces on the matters of preventing war and strengthening peace

appears important to us. The World Parliament of Peoples for Peace, which took place in Sofia last year, was a good example of such cooperation.

Soviet communists welcome the achievements of the communist parties in expanding their ranks, in consolidating their ties with the masses, in defending the interests of the working class and of all working people, their democratic rights and freedoms, and in struggling against the omnipotence of the monopolies, against the growth of militarism and for the socialist orientation in the development of their countries.

Comrades! The communists in the capitalist countries are carrying their loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism through terror and persecution, through prisons and the barbed wire of the concentration camps, and through unstinting and often very difficult daily work for the benefit of the peoples (applause).

We express ardent solidarity with our brother communists who are languishing in the torture chambers of fascist dictatorships, who are being subjected to police repressions and who are waging a difficult struggle in the underground. We express solidarity with those who are being discriminated against and who are being deprived of their civil and political rights simply because of their convictions and because they belong to the party of the working class (applause).

Honor and glory to the communists, courageous fighters for the cause of the people (stormy, lengthy applause)!

4. Relations With the Capitalist States. Opposition to the Forces of Aggression. Δ Policy of Peace and Cooperation

Comrades! In the period under review the Soviet Union has continued to pursue actively the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation with the capitalist states and of firm rebuff to the aggressive intrigues of the imperialists.

These years have seen further aggravation of the overall crisis of capitalism. Of course, capitalism has not ceased to develop, but it is going through its third economic recession in the past 10 years.

Inflation has reached an unprecedented rate. In the developed capitalist countries prices have risen by an average factor of 2.3 since 1970, including a factor of 1.5 since 1975. The inflationary curve is becoming still steeper. It was no accident that, upon taking office, the new U. S. President admitted that the United States is suffering "one of the worst periods of inflation in its national history" and that "inflation threatens to shake the very foundations of life" for millions of Americans.

It can be seen quite clearly how little help state control is to the capitalist economy. Adopting measures against inflation, bourgeois governments assist stagnation in production and growth of unemployment. Striving to check the crisis slump in production, they further increase inflation.

Social contradictions have been aggravated noticeably. In the conditions of capitalist society, the use of the latest scientific-technical achievements in production turns against the workers and throws millions of people outside the gates of plants and factories. Over the last decade, the army of unemployed in developed capitalist countries has doubled. In 1980 it comprised 19 million people.

Attempts to reduce the tension of class struggle by means of any social reforms are equally unsuccessful. The number of participants in strikes has grown by more than a third over the last 10 years, reaching 250 million, according to official data alone.

Interimperialistic conflicts are also being aggravated. The struggle for markets and sources of raw materials and energy is intensifying. Japanese and West European monopolies are competing more and more successfully with American capital even in the domestic U.S. market. During the seventies, the U.S. share of world exports was reduced by almost 20 percent.

The difficulties being experienced by capitalism are also influencing its policies, including foreign policy. The struggle around basic questions of the foreign policy orientation of capitalist countries has been aggravated. Recently, those who oppose detente, arms limitation and improving relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism have increased their activities noticeably.

Adventurism, willingness to gamble with the vital interests of mankind in the name of one's own narrow self-interested aims--this is what is showing through with particular monotony in the policies of some of the most aggressive circles of imperialism. Displaying total scorn for the rights and aspirations of peoples, they are trying to depict the liberation struggle of the popular masses as a manifestation of "terrorism." They have truly set themselves an unattainable goal--to place a barrier in the path of progressive changes in the world and reassume the power to decide the fates of peoples.

Military expenditures are growing at unprecedented rates. In the United States, they have reached \$150 billion per year. But even such astronomical figures do not satisfy the American military-industrial complex. It demands more. The U. S. NATO allies have promised to build up military allocations automatically almost until the end of this century, giving in to Washington's demands, although some of them did so quite reluctantly.

A considerable part of these vast resources is being spent on the accelerated development of new types of strategic nuclear weapons. Their creation is accompanied by doctrines dangerous to the cause of peace, such as the notorious Carter directive. They want to make people believe the notion that nuclear war can be limited. They want to reconcile them to the idea that such a war is permissible.

But this is downright deception of the peoples, since a limited war--according to American conceptions--in, say, Europe would mean, at the very beginning, the certain destruction of European civilization. And of course the United States itself could not remain untouched by the flames of war. It is clear that such plans and doctrines are a serious threat to all peoples, including the American

people. These plans are meeting with condemnation everywhere in the world: The peoples say a resolute "No" to them (applause)!

The imperialist circles think in terms of domination and coercion in relation to other states and peoples.

The monopolies want other people's oil, uranium, nonferrous metals, and the Near East, Africa and the Indian Ocean are declared to be in the sphere of "vital U. S. interests." The American military machine is actively forcing its way into the area and preparing for a long stay. The island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, Oman, Kenya, Somalia, Egypt--what will be the next move?

In order to share the expenses with others, while at the same time binding its NATO partners more strongly to itself, the United States is pressing for an expansion of the bloc's functions. The Washington strategists would clearly like to involve in their military preparations scores of other states and enmesh the world in a spider's web of U. S. bases, airfields and arms depots.

In order to justify these kinds of activities, they spread tales about the "Soviet threat" to the oil wealth of the Near and Middle East and to the oil transport routes; a deliberate fabrication since its authors are well aware that the Soviet Union has no intention of encroaching on either of these things. Generally it is absurd to think that it is possible to "defend" the West's oil interests by turning this region into a powder magazine.

No, we have altogether different views on how peace can be genuinely safeguarded in the region of the Persian Gulf and on the approaches to it. Instead of gathering more and more new sea and air armadas, troops and armaments here, we suggest that the military threat be lifted by concluding an international agreement. By joint efforts and by taking the legitimate interests of all sides into account, it is possible to create in this region an atmosphere of stability and calm; it is possible to guarantee the sovereign rights of the region's states and security of sea and other communication lines linking it to the rest of the world. This is the essence of proposals put forward by the Soviet Union recently (applause).

This initiative has received wide support throughout the world including a number of Persian Gulf states. Incidentally, opponents of the Soviet proposal have also come forth. It is not difficult to guess in whose camp they are found. We hope that the governments of the United States and other NATO countries will calmly and in an unprejudiced manner ponder this whole question so that it is possible to jointly look for a solution acceptable to all.

Moreover, the attainment of an accord on this question could mark the beginning of a very important process of reducing the military presence in various regions of the world's oceans.

Throughout all these years we have been following a principled and constructive line in relations with the United States. Unfortunately, the previous Washington administration by no means relied on the development of relations or on mutual

understanding. Attempting to exert pressure on us, it began to destroy all the positive results which had been scored with no little difficulty in Soviet-American relations over the preceding years. As a result, our bilateral relations in a number of areas were set back. The SALT II treaty has been frozen. The United States has unilaterally broken off talks with us on certain arms limitation issues, such as cutting arms supplies to third countries.

Unfortunately, even after the change of leadership in the White House, candidly bellicose calls and statements are being heard from Washington, calls and statements which seem to be specially intended to poison the atmosphere of relations between our countries. In any case, we would like to hope that those who now determine U. S. policy will ultimately be able to look at things more realistically. The military-strategic equilibrium prevailing between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, is objectively serving the maintenance of world peace. We have not been and are not now striving for military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit such a superiority to be established over us. Such attempts, as well as trying to talk to us from a position of strength, are absolutely futile (lengthy applause)!

Not trying to disrupt the equilibrium which exists and not imposing a new and even more expensive twist in the arms race would be evidence of genuine wisdom. Truly, the time has long since come to eliminate from serious policy the ragged scarecrow of the "Soviet threat."

Let us look at the real state of affairs.

Whether the question is one of strategic nuclear arms or of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, there is an approximate equality between the sides. The West has a certain advantage in some kinds of weapons; we have the advantage in others. The equality could be even more enduring if we were to conclude pertinent treaties and agreements.

They also talk about tanks. The Soviet Union indeed does have more of them. However, the NATO countries have a large number of tanks also. Furthermore, they have considerably more antitank weapons.

In addition, the story of Soviet superiority in overall troop strength does not correspond to reality. If one looks at the United States together with the other NATO countries, their overall troop strength is slightly higher than that of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact.

What question can there be of any Soviet military superiority?

A military threat has indeed loomed over the United States as well as over all the other countries of the world. But its source is not the Soviet Union, not its mythical superiority, but rather the arms race itself, the tension which persists in the world. Joining hands with America, the American states and all the countries of our planet, we are prepared to struggle against this genuine, not imaginary, threat. To attempt to defeat each other in the arms race and to count on victory in a nuclear war is dangerous madness (applause).

It is generally recognized that the international situation depends to a large degree on the policies of the Soviet Union and the United States. In our opinion, the present state of relations between us and the sharpness of international problems demanding solutions dictate the need for dialogue at all levels and, what is more, an active dialogue. We are ready for dialogue.

Experience shows that the decisive link here is meetings at the highest level. This was true yesterday and remains true today (applause).

The Soviet Union wants normal relations with the United States. From the point of view of the interests of the peoples of both our countries, and of mankind as a whole, we just do not have any other reasonable path (applause).

Comrades! The past 5 years have been years of purposeful struggle by the party and Soviet state for peace and security in Europe.

On the European continent, despite the efforts of the enemies of detente, peaceful cooperation among the countries of the two systems is generally developing quite well. Political contacts have become broader and fuller. On a number of major foreign policy problems we frequently manage to find a common language. Economic, scientific-technical and cultural links are growing and acquiring new dimensions. Multilateral conferences on various questions of European cooperation have been held.

An extensive system of ties has developed between ourselves and France. A practically continuous political dialogue is maintained at various levels, primarily with President Giscard d'Estaing. Soviet-French trade volume has tripled. Cooperation in the sphere of science, technology and culture embraces over 300 themes and trends. And although we do not agree with all of France's actions in the international arena, our relations remain a major factor of detente and we favor their further dynamic development (applause).

Our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany have on the whole developed favorably on the basis of the 1970 treaty and the subsequent agreements. The meetings with Chancellor H. Schmidt in 1978 and 1980 just as the earlier meetings with W. Brandt have made a useful contribution to the cause of detente on the European continent and broadened the horizons of the mutually-advantageous Soviet-West German links. In the past 5 years our trade with the FRG has almost doubled. Major projects such as the delivery of equipment for Atomash, the Oskol electro-metallurgical combine, chemical industry enterprises and pipes and equipment for gas pipelines occupy a significant place in our economic relations.

But there are spheres, and not unimportant ones, where the positions of the USSR and the FRG differ considerably. It is sufficient to mention the attempts by Bonn at times to circumvent the quadrilateral agreement on West Berlin, and to disregard the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic on a number of questions. We favor the strict and total observance of the understandings reached in the 1970's. This is important for mutual understanding and cooperation between our two countries and for the cause of peace in Europe.

Certain progress has also been made in our relations with Italy. Political contacts take place; economic cooperation is expanding as well as mutual familiarity with the cultural heritage of our peoples.

Soviet-Finnish relations are developing on the firm foundation of friendship and good neighborliness. We note the true value of the contributions made by Finland and by President Kekkonen personally, to the cause of strengthening European security. We are also satisfied with the fact that our economic links are developing satisfactorily and the joint construction of large industrial projects is proceeding successfully.

We are ready to develop further good relations with our neighbor Turkey. We have traditional links with Greece. We welcome the successful development of relations with Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Cyprus and a number of other European countries. After a 40-year break, relations with Spain have returned to a normal course.

As far as Soviet-British relations are concerned, here, unfortunately, there is stagnation--and not through any fault of ours. This, I think, does not correspond to the interests of either the Soviet Union or of Britain.

In speaking about European affairs, one should also not fail to mention the fact that new serious dangers have threatened the peace in Europe. This concerns, above all, the NATO decision to deploy new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. This decision is not an answer to an imaginary Soviet challenge, nor a run-of-the-mill modernization of the arsenal as they claim in the West. We have before us an obvious intention to change the existing military balance in Europe to NATO's advantage.

It should be clear that the deployment of new American missiles aimed at the Soviet Union and its allies on the territory of the FRG, Italy, Britain, the Netherlands or Belgium can only affect our relations with these countries, not to mention the damage which will be done to their own security. Thus the governments and parliaments of these countries have grounds for considering this whole matter again and again.

The vital interests of the European peoples demand that Europe follow a different path --that which was laid in Helsinki.

We believe that the process started by the European conference should be uninterrupted. Any form of talks--multilateral or bilateral--should be used to solve the problems troubling Europe.

Our relations with Japan: Negative aspects are becoming stronger in its foreign policy course--playing up to the dangerous plans of Washington and Beijing and a tendency toward militarization. However, we do not consider that this is, as one might say, Tokyo's last word. We hope that farsightedness and understanding of their own interests will gain the upper hand. The Soviet Union continues to be in favor of firm and really good-neighborly relations with Japan.

The role of the states of Latin America in the world arena has considerably increased, including the role of countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina,

Venezuela and Peru. We note with satisfaction the broadening of mutually useful links between the USSR and Latin American countries and we are ready to develop these links even further.

There is also considerable potential for the development of relations with Canada and the door for further broadening of cooperation with it, just as with the other capitalist states, will remain open—for the very broadest cooperation with governments, parliaments, business circles, cultural figures, and public organizations.

In this way, comrades, the policy of peaceful coexistence outlined by Lenin is having an increasingly determining influence on contemporary international relations. The 1970s showed this with great convincingness.

Life demands fruitful cooperation among all states in order to resolve the peaceful and constructive tasks facing each people and the whole of mankind.

This cooperation is not utopia without foundation. Its shoots, though still modest, do exist. And now in our days they must be seen, valued and developed.

Useful cooperation is now developing, including within the framework of international organizations, between a considerable number of states in fields such as the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy, combating of epidemic diseases, liquidation of illiteracy, protection of historical and cultural monuments, and weather forecasting services. Our country is taking an active part in all this.

In a word, there already exists a proven basis for a further development of the field of practical, peaceful cooperation among states. The necessity for this is more and more obvious. Suffice it to mention problems such as, for instance, the discovery and utilization of new energy sources, food supplies to the planet's growing population, preservation—in all its abundance—of our earth's nature, and exploration of the heights of space and the depths of the world's oceans.

5. To Strengthen Peace, Deepen Detente and Curb the Arms Race

Comrades! The struggle for lessening the threat of war and curbing the arms race has been and remains the pivotal direction of the foreign policy activities of the party and state. At the present time this task has acquired a special significance and urgency. The point is that rapid and profound changes are taking place in the development of military technology. Qualitatively new types of weapons, primarily weapons of mass destruction, are being developed—types that can make control over them, and therefore also a coordinated limitation of them, an exceptionally difficult, if not impossible matter. A new stage of the arms race would disrupt international stability and greatly intensify the danger of war.

The situation is made worse by the fact that the policy of the aggressive imperialistic forces has already led to a considerable increase in international tension with all the dangerous consequences that stem from that.

There is probably no state which has in recent years put before mankind such a broad spectrum of specific and realistic initiatives on some of the most important problems of international relations as the Soviet Union has.

Let me start with the problem of limiting nuclear arms--the most dangerous problem for mankind. For all these years the Soviet Union has been struggling decisively to put an end to such an arms race and to stop the further deployment of arms on the planet. As you know, great work was done in preparing the treaty with the United States on the limitation of strategic arms. Much was done during talks with the United States and Great Britain on completely banning nuclear weapons testing. We made an important move in stating and confirming that we will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries which do not allow nuclear weapons to be deployed on their territory. But we also proposed more: to stop producing nuclear weapons and to start reducing nuclear weapon stocks until they are completely eliminated.

The Soviet Union actively worked for the banning of all other types of weapons of mass destruction. A certain success was achieved in this direction during the period under review. The convention banning the affecting of the environment for military purposes came into effect. The basic provisions of a treaty banning the affecting of the environment for military purposes came into effect. The basic provisions of a treaty banning radiological weapons have been provisionally accepted. Talks on the elimination of chemical weapons from arsenals continue, albeit intolerably slowly. Through the actions of the peace-loving forces it was possible to halt the implementation of plans for the deployment of the neutron weapon in Western Europe. Thus, all the greater is the peoples' indignation at the attempts once again being made by the Pentagon to suspend the Damoclean sword of this weapon over the countries of Europe. We reaffirm that we will not begin its production if it does not appear in other states, and that we are prepared to conclude an agreement banning this weapon once and for all.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact have made a number of concrete proposals for military detente in Europe. In particular, we would like the participants in the European Conference to pledge themselves not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other, and not to expand existing military blocs or to create new ones in Europe or in other continents.

The Soviet Union and its allies have proposed the convocation of a European conference to discuss the resolution of issues regarding military detente and disarmament in Europe. This matter is the focus of attention at the current meeting in Madrid.

We also did not reduce our efforts to achieve progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. In this area, the socialist countries have gone more than halfway to meet their Western partners. But it must be said plainly that if the Western countries continue to drag out these talks further, while simultaneously building up their military potential in Europe, then we shall have to take this fact into consideration.

Many important initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and its allies over the past 5 years have been approved by decisions of the United Nations, including the UN General Assembly special session on disarmament.

The Soviet proposals on strengthening international security and limiting the arms race still stand. Soviet diplomats and all staff on the foreign policy front are continuing to work actively to see them implemented under the guidance of the party Central Committee.

Our activities are in harmony with the aspirations of other countries and peoples. Suffice it to recall that many states on various continents have submitted proposals, which have received broad international support, to declare Africa and the Near East, as well as Latin America, nuclear-free zones and to create zones of peace in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. Moreover, the decisions of the European Conference are in effect aimed at making all of Europe such a zone.

Comrades, we are continuing the struggle for a radical improvement in the international atmosphere. The peace program proclaimed by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses has been and remains a reliable compass here.

The state of affairs in the world today demands new additional efforts in order to eliminate the threat of war and strengthen international security. Permit me to report to the congress a number of moves aimed at this goal.

In recent years, as you know, hotbeds of military conflict have arisen, quite often threatening to grow into a great conflagration, first in one then in another part of the world. As experience has shown, to extinguish them is no easy task. It would be much better to apply preventive measures to prevent such hotbeds from occurring.

In Europe, for example, this objective is served to some extent--and generally quite well--by measures to strengthen trust in the military sphere, carried out on the decision of the European Conference. These are: prior warning about military exercises of ground troops and invitations to observers of other countries to attend them. These measures are now being implemented on the territories of European states, including the western regions of the USSR. We have already said that we are ready to go further, to give notification of naval and air force exercises as well. We have proposed and are again proposing that notification of major troop movements also be given.

Now we would like to propose that the area of application of such measures also be substantially extended./We are prepared to extend them to the entire European part of the USSR, on the condition that the Western states make a corresponding extension of the area of measures of trust./

There is a region where devising and applying measures of trust, taking into account, of course, the region's specific character, could not only defuse the situation locally but also become a very useful factor in strengthening the foundations of universal peace. This is the Far East, where such powers as the

Soviet Union, China and Japan are neighbors. There are also American military bases there. /The Soviet Union would be ready to hold specific talks with all interested countries on measures of trust in the Far East./

In submitting these far-reaching proposals on measures of trust we proceed from the fact that their implementation will also lead to further progress in the cause of disarmament.

Furthermore, concerning our proposals on the Persian Gulf, sometimes it is said that they cannot be separated from the question of the presence of a Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan. What can be said about this? The Soviet Union is ready to try to reach agreement on the Persian Gulf as an independent problem. It is also ready, of course, to participate in a separate settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan, which I have already stated earlier. /But we do not object to the questions connected with Afghanistan being discussed in conjunction with the questions of security in the Persian Gulf./ Naturally here only the international aspects of the Afghan problem can be discussed, not internal Afghan affairs. The sovereignty of Afghanistan must be fully protected, as must its nonaligned status (applause).

We once more issue an urgent appeal for restraint in the sphere of strategic armaments. The peoples of the world must not be allowed to live under the threat of a nuclear war being unleashed.

The limitation of strategic arms and their reduction is a special problem. /On our part, we are ready to continue without delay appropriate talks with the United States of America while preserving everything positive that has been achieved up to now in this sphere./ Negotiations can, of course, only be conducted on a basis of equality and identical security. We will not enter into an agreement giving one-sided advantage to the United States. There should not be any illusions on this score. In our opinion all the other nuclear powers should also join in such negotiations in due time.

The Soviet Union is ready to hold talks on the limitation of any kind of armaments. At one time we proposed a ban on the creation of the U. S. Trident submarine missile system and our own corresponding system. This proposal was not accepted. As a result the Americans have created the new Ohio class submarine with Trident-1 missiles. We have created the analogous Typhoon system. But who has gained from this?

/We are ready to reach agreement on limiting the deployment of new U. S. submarines of the Ohio class and similar ones in the USSR. We could also enter into accord on banning the modernization of existing ballistic missiles and the creation of new ones for deployment aboard these submarines./

Now on the subject of nuclear missiles armaments in Europe. An ever more dangerous accumulation of these is taking place. A kind of vicious circle has formed. The action of one side evokes countermeasures by the other. How can this chain be broken?

We propose that agreement be reached on establishing a moratorium now on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missile facilities of the NATO countries and the USSR--in other words, to freeze both quantitatively and qualitatively the existing level of such facilities, including, of course, the forward-based nuclear facilities of the United States in this region./ This moratorium could come into force immediately as soon as negotiations on this question commence, and would be effective until a permanent treaty on limitation or, even better, on reduction of such nuclear facilities in Europe is concluded. In this we proceed from the position that both sides should curtail any kind of preparations for the development of corresponding additional means, including the U. S. Pershing-2 missiles and ground-based strategic cruise missiles.

The peoples should know the truth about the consequences, ruinous for mankind, which nuclear war would bring. /We propose the creation of an authoritative international committee which would demonstrate the vital necessity of averting nuclear catastrophe;/ the committee might include the most prominent scientists from various countries; and the whole world could be informed of the conclusions made by them (lengthy applause).

There are, of course, also many other topical international problems in the modern world. The sensible resolution of them would make it possible to lower the heat of the international situation, and would make it possible for peoples to take a calmer breath. But for this, a far-sighted approach, political will and boldness, authority and influence are required. That is why we think that it would/be useful to convene a special session of the Security Council, with the participation of the top leaders of member states of the council, in order to seek the key to improving the international atmosphere and to preventing war. Leaders of other states, if they wished, obviously, could also take part in the session./ Naturally, thorough preparation for such a session would be required in order to insure positive results.

Thus, comrades, the new measures which we are proposing embrace a broad circle of issues. They concern both nuclear missile weapons and conventional types, land forces, naval forces and air forces; they concern the situation in Europe and the Near, Middle and Far East. They incorporate measures of both a political and a military nature. All these proposals are unified by one single aim, our one common aspiration, to do everything possible to lead people out from under the threat of nuclear war and to preserve peace on earth (lengthy applause).

This, if you like, is an organic continuation of the development of our program of international life in our day.

To defend peace--there is today no more important task in the international context for our party, our people and for all the peoples of the planet (applause)./

By defending peace we work not only for the people alive today, not just for our children and grandchildren, we work for the happiness of dozens of future generations.

If there is peace the creative energy of peoples, drawing on the achievements of science and technology, will certainly solve the problems which trouble people today. Of course, our descendants will then come up against new and even higher tasks. Well, that is the dialectic of progress, the dialectic of life.

/Not preparation for war, condemning peoples to a senseless waste of their material and spiritual wealth, but the consolidation of peace--that is the guiding thread to tomorrow (stormy, lengthy applause)./

II. The Economic Policy of the CPSU in the Period of Developed Socialism

Comrades! Let us go on to issues of the CPSU's economic policy. Leadership of the national economy is the heart of all the activities of the party and state, for it is in the field of the economy that the foundations of the resolution of social tasks, of strengthening the country's defense capability and of an energetic foreign policy are laid. It is here that necessary prerequisites are created for the successful progress of Soviet society toward communism.

1. The Basic Results of Economic Development of the USSR in the Seventies and the 10th Five-Year Plan

Entering the seventies, the party made an all-round analysis of the state of the national economy and determined the main paths for resolution of the socioeconomic problems of developed socialism. The invariable policy requirement--all in the name of man, all for the good of man--served and still serves as the point of origin of the party's political approach to the economy (applause).

Hence the line of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses toward a more profound reorientation in the national economy to multifaceted tasks connected with enhancing the well-being of the people. Hence also the congresses' instruction on decisively moving to the primary, intensive factors of economic growth, and the instruction on raising the efficiency and quality of all work.

Such is the orientation of the CPSU's economic policy for the long term (applause). In its creative development, in the mobilization of communists and all the working people to bring this policy to life, the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee devoted to economic construction played an important role. These plenary meetings made a realistic analysis of the state of the national economy, focused the attention of the party on unsolved problems and promoted the formation of modern economic thinking. Each of them was in essence a school of socialist management and taught our cadres and entire party the science and art of managing the economy.

The results of the development of the national economy convincingly confirm the correctness of the party's economic strategy. The country has made considerable progress in all aspects of creating the material and technical basis of communism. A qualitatively new level was achieved by the productive forces of Soviet society. The scientific-technical revolution is developing deeply and extensively, changing the appearance of many forms of production and of entire sectors. Soviet science occupies leading positions in very important spheres of knowledge. The country's economic might reliably guarantees further progress along the path of communist construction.

The development of the country in the years 1971-1980 is shown in the following figures.

**Principal Indicators of the Economic and Social
Development of the USSR in the 1970s
(in billions of rubles—comparable prices)**

<u>Item</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1980 as percentage of 1970</u>
Gross social product	637	1,061	167
National income used for consumption and accumulation	282	437	155
Resources of national income directed to consumption and nonproductive construction	219	354	162
Industrial output	352	627	178
Agricultural output (average annual production)	100.4	123.7	123
Capital investments	80.6	133.5	166
Fixed productive assets (at end of year)	531	1,149	216
Freight turnover of all types of transportation (1 billion tons-kms)	3,829	6,165	161
Retail trade	158.1	268.5	170
Social consumption funds	63.9	116.5	182

Soviet people have worked well and done shock work. Closely united around the Leninist party, taking its plans as their personal vital concern, the working people of town and country spared no effort to increase the economic potential of the homeland. Honor and glory to the Soviet man, the man of labor! He is the chief and invaluable wealth of our society.

Over the past decade a stubborn struggle has been waged to raise the efficiency of the national economy. The most concentrated index here is labor productivity. In this period it has increased by almost 50 percent. On the basis of the achievements of science such modern industries as atomic machine building; space technology; electronic, microelectronic and microbiological industry; laser technology; production of artificial diamonds and also of other new synthetic materials have received further development or have been created.

A characteristic of the seventies has been the major changes in the deployment of productive capacities. In accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress,

the process of forming territorial production complexes is underway in the RSFSR's European part, in the Urals, in Siberia, in the Far East, in Kazakhstan and Tadzhikistan.

Over the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, these complexes yielded the total all-union increase in oil, gas and coal. In northwest Siberia in 1970, extraction of oil (gas condensate included) amounted to 31 million tons. In 1980 extraction exceeded 312 million tons. Gas extraction over this period increased from 9.5 billion to 156 billion cubic meters. Orenburg gas men extract in excess of 48 billion cubic meters of gas now. Miners of the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz complex extracted approximately 67 million tons of coal in 1980--almost triple the 1970 figure. The Sayany, Bratsk-Ust-Ilim, South-Yakut, Karatau-Dzhambul, Mangyshlak and South Tadzhik territorial production complexes play a growing role in the economy of the country's Asian part. The Baykal-Amur Mainline opens up great possibilities for moving further eastward and northward.

Industrial development of new regions is important both in social and political areas. Production collectives that come into being there bring with them high living and working standards, a new modern rhythm of life. Yet another bright chapter is being added to the annals of heroic accomplishments of the Soviet people.

All of this is the result of the farsighted policies of the party. It is the result of the courage and enthusiasm of workers, engineers and technical workers and scientists, who, working in difficult and at times unbelievably difficult conditions, put some of the richest natural resources to the service of the national economy (applause). What was done by them is a true feat, a feat for the people and on behalf of the people (lengthy applause).

The seventies were a period of steady growth for heavy industry. Output of means of production rose on the same scale as over the previous 20 years. Power production rose at twice the rate of that in the sixties. The unified power grid of Siberia was linked to the single power grid of the country.

One-of-a-kind hydraulic power units were commissioned at the Sayan-Shushenskoye, Ust-Ilim, Nurek, Inguri, Dnepr, Nizhnekamsk and other hydroelectric stations. Building was completed on some of the largest thermal power stations--the Zaporozhye and Ulegorsk. The nuclear power industry is growing at rapid rates. New power sets have been put into operation at the Leningrad, Chernobyl, Kursk, Beloyarsk, Armenia and Bilibino AES'. The nuclear power industry is receiving powerful modern equipment. Atomash--the main supplier of nuclear steam-producing installations--started output.

The country's metallurgical industry continued to be strengthened. Over the past decade, the national economy received 460 million tons of steel more than in the previous one. A broad program for the development of the engineering industry was implemented. Its output in 1980 had grown by a factor of 2.7 in comparison with 1970; output of instruments increased by a factor of 3.3 and output of computer hardware and software increased tenfold.

Noticeable quantitative and qualitative advances took place in the chemical and petrochemical industry. During 1971-80 the output of these industries more than doubled. Particularly big successes were achieved in the production of chemical fertilizer. The entire spectrum of chemical manufacturing is also developing. The very large Nitron and Polimir associations, the Tomsk chemical works, the Pri-kumsk, Omsk and Shevchenko plastics works, and a number of other new enterprises form the nucleus of the modern chemical industry.

The technical basis of agricultural production has been substantially strengthened during the last two 5-year plans. The provision of chemicals, the comprehensive mechanization and industrialization of land husbandry and livestock production have been intensified. Land improvement work is being conducted on a broad scale. Capital investment in the agrarian sector of the economy has been increased in order to carry out these difficult tasks. During the 10 years it amounted to over R300 billion. This represents an increase by a factor of 2.3 compared with the previous decade. The intensification of agriculture made it possible to steadily increase the volume of output even though the number of workers went down. During the past decade it grew by a 1.3 factor per ha compared with the previous decade.

Another result of intensification has been greater stability in agriculture. In spite of the fact that 3 of the last 5 years were unfavorable, the average annual grain harvest reached 205 million tons. The cotton harvest amounted to almost 10 million tons in 1980. The agricultural produce obtained during the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans, as a whole, was worth R272 billion more than during the two previous five-year plans (applause).

All this means, comrades, that the multifaceted, purposeful work of the party and all workers in agriculture and the industries connected with it--work aimed at boosting agriculture--is producing tangible results.

The growth of the economic might of the Soviet state has permitted, in the seventies, the fulfillment of a broad program of raising the people's well-being. Thirty-two billion rubles were allotted for implementing state measures to raise earnings, pensions, allowances, and so on; and each such measure is a real and weighty improvement in the main direction for us--to make better the life of the Soviet people (applause).

The minimal earnings, rates and salaries for average-paid industrial, office and professional workers have been raised in all sectors of the national economy. Average monthly earnings exceeded R168 in 1980 and increased by a factor of almost 1.4 compared to 1970. The payment for the work of the collective farmers grew at even higher rates. Payments and benefits from social consumption funds increased almost twofold.

The minimum pensions for industrial, office and professional workers and for collective farmers were raised in the 9th and 10th five-year periods. The material and everyday living conditions were improved for those who took part in the Great Patriotic War. Allowances were introduced for children from families not well provided for. Grants have been increased for students at institutes of higher

education, and for those studying at secondary specialized educational establishments and technical colleges. Pupils in the first five grades have begun to receive textbooks free of charge.

The production of consumer goods has the most direct relation to living standards. In the seventies this almost doubled compared to the previous decade. Nonetheless, here, as with providing the population with foodstuffs, there are problems and deficiencies about which I shall talk in greater detail later.

In the seventies the area of housing constructed exceeded the whole urban housing stock at the beginning of the sixties. The scale of housing construction, comrades, is our great social achievement.

Thus, the main target of the party's economic strategy is being consistently implemented. Despite the complexity of the questions at issue here, the course mapped by the party is being unswervingly put into effect (applause).

All in all, the seventies can be assessed as a major step in the development of the country's economy and that of all the union and autonomous republics.

The successes of the past decade are, to a large extent, determined by the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The following table provides a general picture of what has been achieved:

Basic Indicators of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR
in the 10th Five-Year Plan Compared to the 9th Five-Year Plan
(average yearly levels, billions of rubles in comparable prices)

Item	9th Five-Year Plan	10th Five-Year Plan	10th Five-Year Plan as percentage of 9th Five Year Plan
Gross social product	769	989	129
National income used for consumption and accumulation	329	409	124
Resources of national income directed to consumption and nonproductive construction	258	325	126
Industrial output	438	581	133
Agricultural output	113.7	123.7	109
Capital investments	98.6	126.8	129
Freight turnover of all types of transportation (billion tons/kms)	4,625	5,833	126
Retail trade	191.4	246.1	129
Social consumption funds	78.6	105.4	134

The sociopolitical significance of those results is seen by the CPSU Central Committee in the fact that, on the basis of steady improvement in the economy, there has been a continuing improvement of the whole system of social relations and of our socialist way of life. Behind what has been achieved is the selfless toil of tens of millions of people, the active work of the party organizations, the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions and Komsomol, and the scope of socialist competition. And today, as we look back on the years that have passed, we can say with full justification: Gigantic work has been done; our great homeland has become stronger, richer and more beautiful (lengthy applause).

While giving due acknowledgment to the truly historic achievements of the Soviet people, the CPSU Central Committee also clearly sees difficulties, shortcomings and unsolved problems. Not all targets have been achieved. Not all ministries and enterprises have fulfilled their plans. There are still bottlenecks and disproportions in the national economy.

The causes are various: among them are the operation of objective circumstances outside our control; insufficient work in planning and management; insufficient exactingness of a number of party organs and economic managers; infringements of discipline and instances of bad management. But possibly the main cause is that we have not yet fully overcome the force of the inertia, tradition and habit established at a time when it was the quantitative, rather than the qualitative aspect that was to the fore.

All this has been thoroughly discussed at plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. Specific decisions aimed at improving lagging industries and links have been adopted. And now it is a matter, leaning on accumulated experience, of eliminating even more decisively the obstacles hindering the growth of the economy. There is only one way for this—raising exactingness, learning to work and manage more efficiently. This is not an easy thing to learn, but we communists are persistent and purposeful people. We have set off along this path and we shall not turn from it (lengthy applause).

2. Topical Problems of the National Economy of the Eighties and of the 11th Five-Year Plan

Comrades! The tasks for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the eighties are set forth in detail in the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-85 and the Period Through 1990." More than 121 million people took part in its discussion. The draft has received full approval and support from the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia.

A large number of useful proposals, additions and refinements have been introduced, which will, without doubt, enrich the contents of the document. From the rostrum of the congress, permit me to express gratitude to all comrades, communists and nonparty people who have participated in the discussion of the "Basic Directions" (applause).

The proprietary interest shown by millions of working people in the party's socio-economic plans and their concern for state affairs are an expression of the true democratism of the Soviet system. This is an important guarantee of the successful implementation of our plans.

Special Features of the Eighties and the Main Task of the 11th Five-Year Plan

The country has entered a new decade, possessing a mighty economic and scientific-technical potential and a multimillion army of trained cadres, devoted to the cause. This determines our possibilities. At the same time demands, too, are growing and the scale of investments, which are necessary both for the normal work of the national economy and for satisfying the growing demands of the Soviet people, are increasing. These production and personal requirements will have to be satisfied in conditions which are not easy.

In the eighties, as you know, a number of factors which will complicate economic development will operate. One of these is a reduction in the growth of labor resources. Another is an increase in expenditure in connection with developing the east and north, as well as an inevitable growth in expenditure on environmental protection. One must add to that the fact that there exist quite a few old enterprises which require fundamental rebuilding. And roads, transportation and communications also lag behind the growing needs of the economy. Consequently, serious efforts and large funds are required here as well.

The draft of the "Basic Directions" embodies the continuity of the party's economic strategy. It also takes into account the specific conditions in which the country will develop. It is precisely from this standpoint that the targets of economic growth and the basic ways of achieving them are determined. "The main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan," the draft guidelines say, "consists in providing for a further growth in the well-being of the Soviet people on the basis of a stable and progressive development of the national economy, and acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the transition of the economy to an intensive path of development, a more rational use of the country's production potential, the utmost economy of all types of resources and an improvement in the quality of work."/

In accordance with the calculations at hand, the national income used for consumption and accumulation is to be increased by 1990 by a minimum of a factor of 1.4; capital investment will increase by approximately the same. It is planned to increase the national income in the 11th Five-Year Plan by 18-20 percent, output of industry by 26-28 percent, and output of agriculture by 12-14 percent. The total volume of capital investment over the 5 years is planned to be of the order of R711 billion to R730 billion.

Development of heavy industry is a necessary prerequisite for the resolution of all tasks of the national economy, both production and social ones. This especially concerns its base industries, primarily fuel and power. I shall not give the figures, as they are known to you. I should merely like to stress that the task of improving the structure of the fuel and power balance is becoming more and more pressing. The share of oil as a fuel must be reduced, and it must be replaced with

gas and coal. Nuclear power must be developed faster, including fast-breeder reactors. Of course, life demands a continuation of the search for fundamentally new sources of energy, including laying the foundations of thermonuclear power engineering.

I think it necessary to single out the rapid development of the extraction of Siberian gas as a task of primary economic and political importance. The Western Siberian deposits are unique. The biggest of them, Urengoy, is set apart by such gigantic reserves that both the country's domestic needs and exports, including exports to capitalist countries, can be insured for many years. We are faced with making the extraction of Western Siberia's gas and oil and their transportation to the European part of the country into very important sections of the energy program of the 11th and also the 12th Five-Year Plans. Such is the directive of the party Central Committee, and I hope it will be supported by the congress (lengthy applause).

We expect that interested socialist countries will take part in implementation of this program, just as the development of nuclear power engineering. This would be of vital importance for our whole community.

Looking to the long term, there should also be a thorough study of the question of production of synthetic liquid fuel on the basis of the coal of the Kansk-Achinsk basin.

Major appropriations are being allocated for the development of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy during the new five-year plan. We will, of course, bring new metallurgical capacities into operation. But there also exists another way of overcoming the shortage of metal: more skillful and complete utilization of that which is being produced.

A 50 percent reduction in losses and waste in metal processing would alone be equivalent to a 10 percent increase in production of finished rolled ferrous metal. Reduction of waste in metallurgy itself and also in the loss of metal through corrosion is also a substantial reserve. And what a saving there would be countrywide from reducing the weight of machine tools and equipment, raising the quality of metal and metal articles or, say, from expanding the production of metal substitutes. There is opportunity for work here for our scientists, designers and rationalizers. Of course, investment, effort and a certain amount of time will also be required for all this, but on a far smaller scale than for endless expansion of metal production.

The new five-year plan will be a serious test for/builders./ A characteristic feature of it will be the utmost concentration of forces on the earliest completion and commissioning of those enterprises which are capable of insuring the greatest increase in production and easing bottlenecks. We have already embarked on this course, and it must be unswervingly followed.

I must dwell specially on the work of/transportation./ In view of the seriousness and scale of the problems which have accumulated in transportation, we came to the conclusion that they can only be resolved on the basis of a long-term, comprehensive program. The drafting of such a program was envisaged in the "Basic Directions."

The railroads account for more than half of all freight turnover. Appropriations for their development in the five-year plan, which has begun, are being increased by more than 30 percent. This already allows for the modernization of the rolling stock and the improvement of the rail network. It is important to concentrate on the development of station tracks. This is an economic and rapid means for increasing the throughput capacities of the railroads.

The program must provide for an increase in the coordination of all types of transportation. Rail, motor vehicular, air, sea, river and pipeline. The shifting of power-generation and the raw material base over to the east requires an acceleration in the development of roads, pipelines, and airports in Siberia and the Far East.

As with many other problems, the transportation problem should not be resolved in an isolated manner. Reducing transportation costs is a great, all-state task. The way to resolve it is the rational deployment of production forces, the drafting of optimum timetables for freight flow and the ruling out of cross-hauls.

And there should, of course, be a substantial improvement in the carriage of passengers; violations in timetables should be reduced to a minimum; terminals and airports should be made more comfortable; the general standard of service should be raised.

The CPSU Central Committee calls on all workers in power-engineering, metallurgy, and other branches of heavy industry, construction and transportation workers to mark the new five-year plan with shock-work of initiative, work for the good of the homeland (lengthy applause).

Comrades! Each industry is faced with its pressing tasks and specific problems. But there are problems that cover the whole sphere of the national economy, and the main one is the completion of the transition to a primarily intensive path of development.

The intensification of the economy, the raising of its efficiency--if one is to recast this formulation in the language of practical deeds--consists above all in the results of production growing faster than the expenditure on it; while investing comparatively fewer resources in production it should be possible to obtain more from it. Planning scientific-technical and structural policy should be subjected to the solution of this task. Both policy in the field of management and the methods of running the economy must work for efficiency. Permit me to express confidence that the formulation of the question in this way will be approved in full by our party congress (lengthy applause).

The delegates of the congress will have to hear and discuss the report of Comrade Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-85 and the Period Through 1990." On my part, I would like to express certain considerations of principle which are significant for our economic policy in both the next five-year period and during the present decade as a whole.

To Use Production to a Fuller Extent and More Effectively

Enormous resources indeed are involved in the national economy. It has been repeatedly noted that the Soviet Union has taken first place in the world with regard to the production of many important products, including oil, steel, cement, chemical fertilizers, wheat, cotton, and mainline electric and diesel locomotives. We have the largest machine tool pool in the world. We have surpassed other countries in the number of engineers. And we can, comrades, take pride in all this.

But alongside pride there should always be the presence of a feeling of high responsibility, a responsibility that the enormous potential created by the Soviet people should be used in a businesslike fashion and with full return.

As compared with the world's best indices per unit of national income we spend more on raw materials and energy. Therefore, there is a possibility to increase substantially the output of finished products with the resources already available.

I have already mentioned what a more rational and economic use of metal can yield. And this applies fully to virtually all types of resources, be they ores, timber or building material. Take oil, for example: Enormous reserves of it can be found by raising its extraction coefficient from under the ground. Much can be obtained from improving engines and switching automobile transportation over to diesel and gas fuel.

The extracting industry sectors as a whole should, apparently, be approached in a new way as well. Already today a lion's share of capital investments is allocated to them. And yet the demand for raw materials and energy sources will continue to rise. Consequently, successes of the entire national economy will depend to a great extent on the rise of the extracting industry's effectiveness. The path toward this lies through the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, complex and profound processing of minerals and a wider use of secondary resources.

The urgency of these tasks is connected with the fact that what is meant here are riches which cannot be replenished. For their correct and thrifty use we are responsible not only before the present but also before future generations. And no one has the right to forget this.

The improved use of production capacities opens great opportunities--that is, of machines, equipment, means of transportation, reduced demurrage, a higher shift coefficient, the creation of technological schemes which save energy and materials--this is where our efforts will have to be concentrated.

In the conditions of the eighties the thrifty and economical attitude to labor resources will acquire special importance. This is a complicated matter which requires the solution of numerous tasks of an economic, technical, social and educational nature.

Training our sights on the economy and on a fuller and rational use of what is at the country's disposal requires a new attitude to many questions of economic management. In part this means that it is necessary to improve and strengthen the

higher levels of the corresponding industries, the so-called fourth process stage of metallurgy, the finishing work in construction and in light industry. To a great extent they determine the quality and at times also the quantity of output.

It was stressed at several CPSU Central Committee plenums that our further advance will increasingly depend on the skillful and effective use of all available resources: labor, basic assets, fuel, raw material and farming and animal produce.

Comrades, the fulfillment of the greatest and most complex tasks is now within our ability. But something which would seem to be simple and very commonplace is becoming the pivot of economic policy--a thrifty attitude to public property, the ability fully and expediently to use everything we have. The initiative of labor collectives and mass party work should be directed toward this. Technical policy, and the policy of capital investments and the system of plan accountability indices must also be directed towards this.

The party Central Committee calls on the congress delegates to confirm this conclusion as one of the most important principles of the CPSU's economic strategy for the coming period (lengthy applause).

The economy must be economical--such is the call of the times.

All National Economic Sectors Must Be Brought Up to the Forward Limits of Science and Technology

The circumstances in which the national economy is to develop in the eighties make the acceleration of scientific-technical progress even more pressing. No one needs convincing of the great significance of science. The Communist Party proceeds from the premise that the construction of a new society is simply unthinkable without science.

The CPSU Central Committee advocates the continued raising of the role and responsibility of the USSR Academy of Science and improvement of the organization of the whole system of scientific research. This system must be considerably more flexible and mobile, intolerant of fruitless laboratories and institutes. There must also be a more attentive attitude to the needs of science, and a more attentive provision of scientific establishments with equipment and instruments and expansion of experimental plants.

The country greatly needs the efforts of the major sciences, together with the elaboration of theoretical problems, to be concentrated to a greater degree on the resolution of key national economic questions, on discoveries capable of making genuinely revolutionary changes in production.

The accurate formulation of the practical tasks which demand maximum attention from scientists is above all the job of the central planning and economic bodies, the State Committee for Science and Technology. At the same time, science itself must constantly "disturb the peace," showing which sectors have been stagnating and lagging behind, and where the modern level of knowledge enables one to move forward faster and more successfully. One must think over how this work can be turned into an integral part of the management mechanism.

The promotion of scientific discoveries and inventions is the decisive and most critical field today. Research and development work should be linked more closely economically and organizationally with production. We have fine examples of this--ZIL in Moscow, LOMO and Elektrosila in Leningrad, the Paton Institute in Kiev and many others.

However, one frequently comes across impermissible sluggishness in the adoption of promising developments. Whether it is a question of continuous casting of steel or powder metallurgy, on-off DC power transmission lines or making high-strength artificial fibers, the reasons why we at times lose our lead, and spend a great deal of money buying from abroad the kind of equipment and technology which we are quite capable of producing ourselves, and often with higher quality, must be examined.

Personal demand on leaders of departments, enterprises and institutes for production of new kinds of output and introduction of new progressive technology must be increased. Everything which makes the process of introducing new products difficult, slow and painful must be eliminated (applause). The production process must be vitally interested in adopting more quickly and in a better way the fruits of thought and the fruits of labor of scientists and designers. The resolution of this task is, of course, not a simple matter, and demands a break with outmoded habits and indices. But it is absolutely necessary for the country, for the people and for our future.

Another point is the level of requirements applied to the quality of output. I think it should be the very highest--in accordance with the best world and Soviet models, no less. We cannot and should not agree to anything less. One must accustom oneself to this, and work to achieve it, resolutely discarding everything that is outmoded, backward and of little practical value (applause).

Yet another issue: While resolving the tasks which we have set ourselves, we can no longer be reconciled to the lagging behind of the scientific and designing base of a number of sectors--the light, food and medical industries, agricultural and some other kinds of machine building. It would be certainly worthwhile for the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology and ministries to carry out work in assessing the scientific and design base of various industries and introduce proposals for a certain regrouping of scientific forces. Here we have every right to count also on help from industries having a particularly strong scientific base, including defense.

In short, comrades, close integration between science and production is an urgent requirement of the present day. The CPSU Central Committee is convinced that workers in science and technology, engineers, designers and heads of industries and production plants will do everything possible to be equal to this requirement (applause).

The basis of scientific and technical progress is the development of science. And it is primarily the machine-building industry which can open wide its doors for the new. Everything progressive created by scientific and engineering thinking must be immediately mastered by the machine-building industry, embodying it in

highly effective, reliable machinery and instruments and technological lines. Truly revolutionary possibilities are opened up by the production and introduction of miniature electronic control machinery and industrial robots. They should receive the broadest application.

Today, in looking forward to the next 5 to 10 years, we cannot forget that it is precisely during these years that the foundations will be laid for the national economic structure with which the country will embark upon the 21st century. It must embody the main features and ideals of the new society, stand in the vanguard of progress and personify the integration of science and production--the indestructible union of creative thought and creative labor (applause).

Basic Directions in Raising the People's Well-Being

Comrades! The party is putting forward an extensive program for a further increase in the people's well-being during the 11th Five-Year Plan and the eighties as a whole. This program embraces improvements in all aspects of life of the Soviet people: consumption, housing, culture, leisure and working and living conditions.

The proportion of the consumption funds to the national income is planned to be raised to 77.3 percent in 1985. Let me recall that in 1980 this figure was 75.3 percent. Social consumption funds will grow considerably. It is envisaged that more than R16 billion will be spent during the five-year plan on centralized measures to raise wages and other payments and benefits to the population. The minimal pensions conditional on age or infirmity, paid to industrial, office and professional workers and to members of kolkhozes will be raised. Other measures will also be implemented to improve further the social security services for the population. State aid to families with children will be increased.

It is envisaged that such an important measure as raising the minimum working wage to R80 a month and wages and salaries for industrial, office and professional workers will be undertaken (applause). In the period between 1981 and 1985 the average monthly wage will increase by 13 to 16 percent and will reach R190-195. Collective farmers' income from the public sector of the economy will increase by 20-22 percent. It is envisaged that a number of wage benefits will be extended, such as length-of-service bonuses in the eastern rayons in particular, and regional coefficients.

It goes without saying that the raising of the working people's standard of living is not confined to increase in monetary income. The CPSU Central Committee considers that the task now being brought to the forefront is that of improving the supply to the population of food and also of industrial consumer goods.

Over the last five-year plans, food production has increased; at the same time, the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo, knowing well the situation in each republic and each oblast, see that difficulties in supplying food to the population are still occurring. In this connection measures have been taken, and are being taken, both by using domestic resources and through foreign trade.

In order to achieve a radical solution of the problem, it has been deemed necessary to develop a special food program, which will insure a considerable increase in output of agricultural produce and link agriculture more closely with the industries concerned with storing and processing its products, and, of course, with retail trade. In other words, its aim is, in the shortest possible time to solve the task of providing a regular supply of food to the population. Work on the program has only just begun--all the more reason to direct attention to the questions at issue here.

The foundation of the food program is the further improvement of agriculture. The main directions of the work before us in the sphere of agriculture were mapped out in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum held in July, 1978. They remain in force.

The first task is to boost production of those types of agricultural produce the shortage of which is causing the most perceptible interruptions in supply. I refer above all to meat and other animal products.

In the 11th Five-Year Plan production of meat is to be increased by more than 3 million tons and will reach 18.2 million tons annually in 1985. The CPSU Central Committee addresses the party organizations of republics, krays and oblasts, rayon party organizations and all toilers of the countryside: Land husbandry today is a front of shock labor (applause). The maximum persistence must be displayed, comrades, the maximum initiative and flexibility, and all reserves and possibilities must be used in order not only to fulfill but substantially overfulfill the set plans.

The main difficulty is the shortage of fodder. The draft of the "Basic Directions" provides for an increase in the 11th Five-Year Plan of the average annual production of grain to 238-243 million tons. Bearing in mind that the demand for grain used in foodstuffs is fully satisfied, serious emphasis must be laid on cultivating grain crops for forage. Their portion of the gross grain crop must be considerably increased.

It is advisable, in particular, to extend the sowing area of corn for grain crops, as well as soya, in Moldavia, the southern oblasts of the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. Many regions of the country have good conditions for cultivating peas, barley and oats. Generally speaking, the time has come to actively set about providing a systematic transition, taking into account natural economic conditions, to a more rational structure of the grain-crop growing area. Science and specialists must have a decisive say in this matter.

Together with grain it is necessary, of course, to increase the production of coarse and succulent fodder and protein additives; at the same time the breeding and productivity of livestock should be improved and industrial poultry farming should be developed.

Comrades, if we speak of agriculture as a whole, then it faces the same main problem as other branches of the national economy: raising effectiveness and quality. We will continue to allocate large financial and material resources to

the countryside and continue the systematic transition of these sectors to an industrial basis. However the balance is now being transferred--and this is a distinguishing feature of the agrarian policy of the eighties--to returns from capital investments, growth of productivity of agriculture, to a deepening and improving of its links with all sectors of the agroindustrial complex.

The point is that efficiency of land use, especially the use of improved lands, machines, fertilizers and fodder should be raised decisively and that yields of all crops should be increased. This demands even greater attention to the raising of skills of cadres, to scientific recommendation and to studying and making use of world and domestic experience. We are also talking about a further growth in the supply of equipment for agriculture, the raising of productivity, of service life and reliability of machines and equipment delivered to the countryside, improvement in the quality of chemical protection agents for plants and of fertilizers and improvement in rural construction.

Finally, it is difficult to envisage an efficient agroindustrial complex and modern countryside without a developed road network, reliable transportation, elevators, warehouses and storehouses, refrigeration plants and packing facilities. Disorder or lagging behind in any of these links will inevitably be reflected in the quantity and quality of final output.

Already today the volume of output produced by agriculture makes it possible to improve noticeably the supplies of numerous types of foodstuffs to the population. For instance, in the last five-year plan the average annual per capita consumption of vegetables and fruit increased at a considerably slower rate than their production. The main reason for this is losses. Consequently, while continuing to increase the production of vegetables and fruit, it is necessary to improve their transportation, storage and processing. Kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry have a direct task to deal with this. Party and administrative organs in republics, krais and oblasts and the corresponding central department should render all-round support to the new ministry.

The agenda includes expansion of the range and increases in the output of most nutritious products and improvement in their quality. This makes it necessary to develop the capacities of the processing industry and to equip it with modern, highly productive equipment. I believe that the five-year plan should call for a more marked growth in investment in the above-mentioned industries. I am confident that this will meet with complete approval from the party and the people (applause).

Of course, a necessary ingredient of efficiency is the further improvement of the economic conditions of work at kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The success of all plans, all programs, depends on the attitude to the job, on the conscientious work of agricultural workers and that means also on the system of moral and material incentives.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a broad decree on this matter. In it, the practice of unfounded interference in the economic activity of kolkhozes and sovkhoses by certain party and administrative

officials is condemned. The decree quite explicitly says that a unified plan for purchasing agricultural products must be established for 5 years, with an annual breakdown for republics, krays, oblasti, rayons, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. At the same time a system of incentives for farms which increases the sale of products to the state in comparison with the average annual level in the last five-year period is being introduced. This should result in a greater correlation between material incentives and end results and, in particular, an improvement in qualitative indicators.

It is very important that the measures enumerated should be implemented consistently (applause).

The basis of socialist agriculture has been and remains the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. But this certainly does not mean that one can disregard the potential of private subsidiary farms. Experience shows that farms like these can be of substantial help in the production of meat, milk and certain other products. Gardens, kitchen-gardens, poultry and stock belonging to the working people are all part of our common wealth.

The CPSU Central Committee found it necessary to pass a decree on additional measures for the development of private subsidiary farms. It envisages the establishment of conditions--both material and moral--which would raise the interest of citizens in subsidiary farming and above all, in raising stock and poultry. One must help kolkhoz and sovkhos workers with the young animals and fodder. This concerns both those who keep stock privately and those who are prepared to feed stock belonging to kolkhozes and sovkhoses. A number of republics and oblasti have experience in doing this and it is worth extending it.

Subsidiary plots at industrial enterprises must also enjoy the utmost support. On behalf of the congress permit me to express the profound conviction that in the production and processing of agricultural produce the toilers of the village and industrial workers will augment their efforts and achieve further high targets (applause).

/The expansion of production and improvement in the quality of consumer goods and the development of the services sector/assume importance of the first order in the party's efforts to boost well-being.

We have achieved successes, considerable successes, in this field. However, at the party congress, it is important to concentrate attention on something else. After all, it is a fact that plans for the manufacture of many consumer goods, especially fabrics, knitwear, leather footwear, furniture and television sets are not fulfilled year in and year out. There have not been the necessary advances either in quality, finish and range. Order must be imposed in all these matters without delay.

It is essential to make arrangements to provide light industry with modern equipment, to improve the supply of raw and other materials to it and to improve planning and management in the industry. It is necessary to improve conditions of work and life of light industry workers. The role of trade in determining the

range and quality of wares must be raised. It is also necessary to raise considerably the technical equipping of enterprises providing municipal and consumer services, to distribute them more evenly around the country and to train skilled cadres for them.

A large role is assigned to heavy industries in the program for the development of production of consumer goods and services envisaged by the "Basic Directions." They produce more than a half of consumer goods, excluding foodstuffs.

The structure of management in the chemical industry was changed not so long ago. This is directly related to the question about which I am speaking. We expect substantial improvements from the new Ministry of Chemical Industry in the output of synthetic fabrics and fibers, plastics, dyes and other materials necessary to increase the quantity and, chiefly, to improve the quality of consumer goods.

And, finally, local initiative is of immense importance. In no other sphere of the national economy do local possibilities and local reserves play such a role as in meeting daily consumer demand, in serving the population. Soviets of people's deputies at all levels should adopt specific measures to improve the production and sales of industrial goods and to develop the sphere of services.

As you know, comrades, the draft of the "Basic Directions" for the next five-year plan provides for a certain acceleration in the rate of development of Group B. It will somewhat exceed the rate of growth of Group A. This is good; the job is to create a truly modern production of consumer goods and services for the population which meets the needs of the people.

Concluding this theme, I would like to go beyond the confines of purely economic problems and take the question somewhat further. What we are discussing--food products, consumer goods, services--are questions of the daily life of millions upon millions; the shops, canteens, laundries, dry-cleaners--people go there every day. What can they buy? How are they received? How are they spoken to? How much time do they spend on all kinds of household chores? The people, to a great extent, judge our work by how these questions are tackled. They judge strictly and exactly, and this must be remembered (applause).

Specific concern about a specific human being, his needs and requirements, is the beginning and the end point of party economic policy. I am reminding you of this in order to stress once again a simple and very important idea: that the production of goods for the population and the development of the service sphere is one of the party's first priorities and must be treated as such (lengthy applause).

Improving Methods of Economic Management

Comrades! The solution of the problems that face us, and the use of the opportunities at our disposal, depend largely on the level of economic leadership, the level of planning and management. I am sure every manager and every party worker is well aware of that.

In modern conditions, discipline and personal responsibility--especially the responsibility of economic, administrative and party leaders--become far more important. The interests of the state as a whole must always stand above the interests of particular ministries and enterprises. Rights--big rights--are given to managers so that they may use them to the full. But, at the same time, every manager must also constantly remember his high responsibility--responsibility toward the people he has been entrusted with leading, and toward the party and the people.

The first thing I want to speak of is responsibility for fulfilling state plans. The party has always regarded the plan as law not only because it is approved by the Supreme Soviet, but because only its observance insures the smooth operation of the national economy. Let us speak frankly. This self-evident truth has begun to be forgotten. The practice of downward adjustment of plans has become widespread. This practice disorganizes the economy, demoralizes cadres and teaches them to be irresponsible.

I am least of all inclined toward adopting a formalist approach. It may be that cases do occur when it is necessary to modify plans. But these must be, precisely, cases--very unusual circumstances. When exceptions are met with more and more often, there is understandable alarm. Are we too often following the lead of those who want an easy life, marching among the frontrankers, receiving prizes but not, in fact, fulfilling the plans?

Evidently the time has come to increase the severity of exactingness both toward plan discipline and the quality of plans themselves. The plan should unquestionably be realistic, balanced, but equally unquestionably it must be fulfilled (applause).

Another vital task is that of surmounting the lack of coordination of the actions of different departments. At the 25th CPSU Congress, the necessity was discussed for creating systems of management for groups of similar and interrelated industries. To this end, integrated interindustry subunits have been set up at the USSR Gosplan. A USSR Council of Ministers commission was set up recently to deal with aspects of the development of the Western Siberian oil and gas complex, as well as an interdepartmental territorial commission attached to the USSR Gosplan and located in Tyumen'. These are steps in the right direction. They help territorial-production complexes to be better managed and regional and industry interests to be better taken into account and combined. This work must be continued.

I would like to talk especially about management on the level of associations and enterprises. As you know, various versions, various schemes have been tested. Much varied experience has been accumulated. And it is precisely this experience that tells us that the search must be continued. Its general direction, it seems to us, is the expansion of the independence of associations and enterprises and of the rights and responsibility of managers of the economy.

Naturally, the appropriate economic atmosphere and organizational and management relations must be created simultaneously. That is precisely what is envisaged in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the further improvement of the economic mechanism and of the planning system, adopted

in 1979. They must be consistently implemented, and at the same time one must continue to advance and solve the problems which have built up.

Altogether, one must note that the improvement of organizational structures of management cannot tolerate sluggishness. One must not adapt the live, developing organism of management of the economy to the obsolete customary forms. On the contrary: the forms must be made to correspond to the changing economic tasks, and this is the only way that the issue can be formulated.

The tasks that are put forward by life require that the theory of economic science be developed and that it be brought closer to the needs of economic practice. What is needed is the mobilization of the creative potential of the whole of our society. At the center and in the localities, in all links and all cells of the national economy there must be a growing understanding of the problems arising; improved efforts must be made to discover and put to use the possibilities that exist.

This means developing a style of work organically combining assiduousness and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise; practicality and efficiency with an aspiration towards great targets; and a critical attitude to shortcomings with an unshakable conviction of the historic advantages of the path we have chosen (applause).

Comrades! The questions of managing the economy are not purely economic ones; they are also of a political and party nature. It has long been well known that party slogans and programs are a living part of the work of the masses. The more profound the reform that we wish to carry out, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin said, "the higher we must raise interest in it and have a conscientious attitude, and the more we must convince millions and tens of millions of the need for it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 140). The economic policy that the party is putting forward for the 11th five-year period and the 1980s reflects the basic, vital interests of the Soviet people. By unifying and merging the creativity, initiatives and energy of the masses, it insures that our society moves steadfastly along the path of improving the well-being of the working people and creating the material and technical base of communism (stormy, lengthy applause).

III. Sociopolitical and Spiritual Development of Soviet Society and the Party's Tasks

Comrades! In conditions of mature socialism the link becomes increasingly close between economic progress and sociopolitical and spiritual progress of society. Proceeding from this, the CPSU Central Committee has given constant attention to questions of the development of the social class and national structure of Soviet society, to improving the socialist way of life, to our state organization and democracy.

1. Development of the Social Class Structure and National Relations

In the seventies the drawing together of all the classes and social groups of Soviet society continued. This is an objective but by no means spontaneous

process. An important role is played in it by the social policy of the party and the state. Our aim is to create a society in which there will be no division of people into classes. And we can say quite definitely that we are slowly but surely making progress toward this great aim (applause).

What grounds are there for such a conclusion?

The role of the working class in the life of society is increasing and its numbers are growing. There are now in the country approximately 80 million workers, two-thirds of the employed population. This means that the working class has become not only the most numerous class here but also the majority of the people who work. An increasing number of workers are becoming members of party, trade union and Komsomol committees and of higher and local organs of state power. This is quite right, comrades, and we welcome it!

The strengthening of the leading role of the working class is undoubtedly connected with the increase in its ideological and political maturity, level of education and professional qualifications. Ten years ago only slightly more than half of the workers had incomplete or complete secondary education and higher education; now three-fourths have. It is pleasing that the vocational training for the young influx into the working class is improving. In the sixties only one-third of young men and women obtained a skill in the system of vocational technical education. But in the 10th five-year period alone there were 12.5 million people, that is, two-thirds of workers entering production work. The very nature of the labor of a modern worker is also changing. This work is increasingly acquiring an intellectual content.

As the industrialization of agriculture progresses, profound changes are taking place in the life of the/kolkhoz peasantry. /Its labor is gradually growing closer to the labor of the workers. There are more and more machine operators in the village along with other workers using the latest machinery. It is thus not surprising that the number of collective farmers with secondary (complete or incomplete) and higher education has increased in 10 years from 39 to more than 60 percent.

A great influence is exerted on the social structure of the countryside by the rapprochement of the two forms of socialist property and the development of interfarm organizations, taking part in which are both kolkhozes and state enterprises. Of not inconsiderable significance also is the change in forms of organization, the payment for the labor of collective farmers and the dissemination among them of the system of social security which has been established for workers and employees. All this, comrades, is leading to what Lenin described as the destruction of the difference in the social position of the worker and the peasant.

Of course, we still have no small number of backward farms, no small amount of villages which need rebuilding, renewal and amenities. Without this it is impossible to achieve the creation of stable labor collectives and to utilize efficiently the production potential created in the countryside in the interests of a successful fulfillment of the foodstuffs program. In a word, much effort, time and

funds will be required to improve the cultural and domestic services for life in the countryside and to overcome the substantial disparity between town and country.

But it is already pleasant today to visit many kolkhozes and sovkhoses. It is pleasant to enter the spacious and light rooms where urban comforts are combined with the special nature and requirements of rural life. The new nature of the labor, the modern way of life and look of such villages--these, comrades, are the good fruits of our social policy (applause).

The numbers of our intelligentsia grew faster than any other group during the period under review. Now one in four workers in the country is linked in the main with intellectual labor. Not only in science, education and culture, but also in material production and in the whole life of society, the intelligentsia is playing an ever more significant role.

In turn, in the production activities of millions of workers and collective farmers, physical and intellectual labors are intertwined ever more closely. Many of them are rationalizers and inventors, authors of articles and books, and state and social activists. They are highly cultured and intelligent people in the full sense of the word.

Evaluating the experience of our society's development over the past decades it is possible, I think, to assume that the coming into being of the classless structure of society will, in the main and on the whole, take place within the historical framework of mature socialism.

It is the contemporary working class that has been and remains the leading force of this process--its, to use Marx' words, "social mind and social heart" (lengthy applause). Its revolutionary ideology and morals, collectivist psychology, its interests and ideals are now becoming the property of all layers of Soviet society (applause).

The obliteration of interclass differences naturally poses new tasks for social policy. It is concentrated more and more on overcoming the differences that go beyond the framework of individual classes, on resolving problems which demand the most attentive taking into consideration of peculiar features and interests of each group of our society.

In connection with this I wish to emphasize the necessity of equalizing social differences in the territorial sense so to speak. In various regions of our huge country, cultural and everyday-life conditions of the people are not identical. It is precisely such differences which, not infrequently, complicate the situation concerning labor resources in a number of places. The implementation of the program for the development of Western Siberia, the BAM zone and other localities in the Asian part of the country has increased the influx of population here. All the same, to this very day, people often prefer to go from the north to the south, or from the east to west, although a rational deployment of production forces demands movement in the opposite directions.

It is sometimes thought to be enough to increase the pay scales in Siberia, the Far East and in northern regions, and people will not leave these areas. Scales

are naturally necessary. However, the problem will not be solved by this alone. More often than not, a person leaves, say Siberia, not because the climate did not suit him or the pay was too low, but because it is more difficult to get housing there or to get one's child into a kindergarten, and there are few cultural centers. That is why in the present five-year plan we intend to carry out in these regions the construction of housing and of the whole field of sociocultural facilities; to improve the provision of consumer goods for the population at an even faster rate. Everyone will agree that the situation here must be changed, moreover, in the near future (lengthy applause).

In Central Asia and a number of areas of the Caucasus there is, on the contrary, a surplus of manpower, especially in the countryside. That means that the population of these parts must be more actively involved in the development of the country's new territories. Of course, production necessary for the national economy must be developed here, and the training of skilled workers of the native nationality—above all among rural youth—must be carried out on a wider scale.

In accordance with the instructions of the 25th party congress, the Central Committee gave serious attention to the development and implementation of an effective demographic policy and the problems of population, which have become more acute of late. The chief path to their solution is the intensification of concern for the family, newlyweds and, above all, women (applause).

After all, it is clear to everyone how hard it sometimes is to combine the duties of a mother with active participation in production and social life.

A number of measures were adopted in the 10th Five-Year Plan to improve the conditions of work for working women, family holidays, and consumer and cultural services. It must, however, be said plainly: There has been no appreciable change as yet. More broad and effective measures are required and, as is known, they are planned for in the "Basic Directions." They amount to introducing part-paid leave for child care up to 1 year, for a shorter working day for mothers of infants, for widening the network and improving the work of children's preschool establishments, schools with extended-day groups and all consumer services. It provides for an increase in children's allowances, especially in connection with the birth of a second and third child. Understandably, we cannot immediately implement everything we would like, but we will persistently search for ways of resolving all these problems. In this connection we must, of course, take into careful consideration the special features of the situation in various republics and regions.

Now about another group of the population, the pensioners. During the seven years their number increased from 40 to 49 million. The party and state are showing constant concern for the health and prosperity of the veterans of labor and war. More than R43 billion is now spent on the payment of pensions and allowances every year. Recently we have also raised the rate of pensions. However, these increments did not apply to persons who retired earlier. Commencing with the current five-year plan, this situation is to be gradually rectified.

But something else must be done as well: to attract our veterans more widely into labor activity, especially in the field of services, of course, depending on their

ability to do so and taking into account the demands of the national economy. Under the present conditions this is a very important task.

/Comrades! The fraternal friendship of all the peoples of our multinational homeland is steadily being strengthened./Our course consists of building up the material and spiritual potential of each republic, and at the same time making maximum use of that potential for the harmonious development of the whole country. Along this course we have truly historic achievements to our credit.

From the first years of Soviet power our economic and social policy was so formulated as to raise the former outlying national regions of Russia as rapidly as possible to the level of development of its center. This task was successfully carried out. A very important role here was played by the close cooperation of all the nations of the country, and above all the disinterested assistance of the Russian people (applause). Today, comrades, there are no backward outlying national regions (lengthy applause).

Take Kazakhstan, for instance. It is experiencing a period of a real flowering of its economy and culture. In the 10th Five-Year Plan alone, more than 250 modern industrial enterprises, large production shops and plants were commissioned here. The billion Kazakh poods of grain which, together with the corn of the RSFSR and the Ukraine, comprise the basis of the country's foodstuff stock, is becoming habitual.

Everyone knows the immense socioeconomic changes in the Central Asian republics. To take just one fact, where before the October Revolution land husbandry knew only exhausting manual labor, the ratio of available technical equipment per 100 hectares of arable land is today twice the average index for the Soviet Union as a whole.

The scale of the transformations which embraced enormous areas of the RSFSR in the seventies is impressive. A weighty contribution to the country's economy is made by the working people of the Ukraine and Belorussia. The national economy of the Transcaucasian republics is developing at a fast rate. Noticeable successes in raising the efficiency and quality of work have been achieved by the workers of the Baltic republics and Moldavia.

All in all, comrades, even a simple list of the decisions adopted during the period under review and the measures they provide for shows graphically how wide and varied was the range of questions dealt with by the CPSU Central Committee and the government in resolving the urgent problems of the development of all our country's republics and the consolidation of the USSR. This includes the new law on the autonomous okrugs in the RSFSR, the extension of irrigation systems in Central Asia, the development of reindeer breeding in the regions of the Extreme North and sheep breeding in Kirghizia, the protection of the resources of Lake Sevan, and many other serious matters. The decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the development of the economy and culture of Abkhazia, Tuva and Buryatiya, and the regions inhabited by the peoples of the north is being consistently implemented.

I would particularly like to discuss the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR. For a number of reasons this region has proved to have more difficulties than certain other areas. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government mapped out and are implementing broad measures to develop the Nonchernozem region. This task is so complex and urgent that it has to be tackled through the joint efforts of all republics and in as short a time as possible (applause). We have the experience to do so, and rich experience at that. Let us recall, for instance, the construction of the Turkestan and the Ural-Kasbas, the conquest of the virgin lands and the restoration of Tashkent. We must work just as harmoniously and energetically in the Nonchernozem Zone.

The unity of the Soviet nationalities is firmer today than ever (lengthy applause). This does not mean, of course, that all questions in the sphere of relations between nationalities have already been resolved. The dynamics of the development of such a large multinational state as ours gives rise to quite a few problems which require the party's sharp attention.

The population of the Soviet republics is multinational, and it is natural that all nationalities have the right to due representation in their party and state bodies, of course, taking strict account of the businesslike and moral-ideological qualities of each person.

In recent years the number of citizens of nonindigenous ethnic groups has considerably increased in a number of republics. They have their specific requirements in the spheres of language, culture and everyday life. The central committees of republic communist parties, kraykoms and oblkoms should penetrate deeper into such issues and propose ways of resolving them in good time.

The national feelings and national dignity of each person are respected in our country. The CPSU has fought and will always fight resolutely against such phenomena which are alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic links such as, let us say, anti-Semitism or Zionism. We are against tendencies aimed at artificial erosion of national characteristics. But to the same extent, we consider impermissible their artificial exaggeration. It is the sacred duty of the party to educate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, of a proud feeling of belonging to a single, great Soviet motherland.

Life convinces us that the intensive economic and social development of each of our republics accelerates the process of their all-round rapprochement. The flourishing and mutual enrichment of national cultures is taking place, as in the formation of a culture of the united Soviet people and of a new social and international community. This process is taking place among us, just as it should under socialism, on the basis of equality, fraternal cooperation and voluntariness. The party is keeping a strict watch on observance of these Leninist principles of nationalities policy; we will never depart from them (applause).

2. Strengthening the Material and Spiritual Bases of the Socialist Way of Life and the Molding of the New Man

Comrades! In the period of developed socialism the restructuring of all social relations on the collectivist principles which are internally inherent in the new

order is being completed. This restructuring embraces both the material and the spiritual sphere and the whole tenor of our life.

Soviet society is the society of working people. The party and the state have made and are making much effort to make the people's labor not only more productive, but also fuller, more interesting and creative. The elimination of manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor is meant to play a major role here. Millions of people still perform such work in the Soviet Union. This is not only an economic but also a serious social problem. To solve it means to eliminate substantial barriers on the way to transforming labor into the primary, vital requirement of every person (applause).

Socialism gives birth to a new attitude to labor. One of its clear manifestations has been and remains socialist competition. There is not a single plant, kolkhos or construction site which has not been affected by its life-giving breath. The extent of this patriotic movement is great, involving today over 100 million people. It molds models of the understanding of social obligations, heroism and selflessness in labor. Many of the winners in competition, frontrunners in production, who are well known throughout the country are to be found today in this hall (lengthy applause).

Socialist competition is the creativity of the masses. By its very nature it is founded on the lofty consciousness and initiative of the people. It is precisely this initiative which helps to uncover and bring into play reserves in production, to improve efficiency and the quality of labor. However, in practice, it must be confessed, socialist obligations are sometimes drawn up not from below but are passed on from above by higher authorities. This deals a blow to the very spirit of labor competition. Counterplans and other similar initiatives along the line from below upwards must form the cornerstone of this competition for the worker, the team, the enterprise, the sector. Such initiatives must then be coupled with the state plan. This corresponds both to the nature of socialist competition and the planned character of our economy.

It is understandable for all that people work better and more willingly when they feel a constant concern about improvements in their working and living conditions. The plant or farm is where a man spends at least one-third of his life. Everything there should be convenient and modern, from the workplaces to the various living and eating facilities.

Unfortunately, we still have leaders of the economy who regard such matters as something of secondary importance--side issues. That is a fundamentally incorrect and harmful position, and the Central Committee Politburo has on more than one occasion dealt strictly with such leaders, including ministers. It is necessary to make rigorous checks to see that funds allocated for the social development of enterprises, towns and villages are used solely for the designated purpose, fully and within the time limits laid down. Local reports about the commissioning of new industrial projects do not normally indicate what has been done for those who will work there, how much housing, how many kindergartens, libraries and clinics have been built. Let us agree to consider such reports valid only if the program for construction of housing and amenities at the project envisaged by the plan is also

being fulfilled. I think the congress will support such an arrangement (lengthy applause).

Comrades! The sphere of distribution continues to be the subject of special attention by the party. The following facts, for example, testify to the aim and depth of the changes taking place in the sphere: the number of families of workers, employees and collective farmers whose per capita income is over R100 a month almost tripled during the 1970's, while, on the other hand, the number of families whose per capita income is less than R50 a month fell by roughly the same amount. In other words, the standard of living of all groups of working people is not just growing but also becoming more alike. This trend will gather strength; and the faster it develops, the more effectively everyone will work.

Work alone--quantity and quality--can be the principal criterion for distribution under socialism. Unfortunately that is not always the case in practice. There are all kinds of wage-leveling techniques and cases of claiming wages basically for merely appearing at work, and not for real results at work. Undeserved bonuses have been paid. All this has an extremely harmful effect on both production indices and on the psychology of the people.

Our system of material and moral stimuli must always and everywhere insure a just and objective appraisal of the work contribution made by each person. Conscientious workers must be encouraged in every way, and idlers and shoddy workers must be left no loopholes for a good life doing work of no value. Whoever wants to live better must work more and better. This, I believe, is comprehensible to all (lengthy applause).

We do not have unemployment. The right to work is written into our Constitution and insured in reality. However, according to numerous proposals by working people, there is also something else written into the Constitution: evasion of socially useful labor is incompatible with the principles of socialism. This means that every opening for loafing, bribe-taking, speculation, for unearned income and any encroachment on socialist property must be firmly closed by all organizational, financial and juridical means (applause).

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a decision on improvement of the work of trade and public catering enterprises, strengthening their cadres and material base and introducing strict order into the rules of trading and distribution of goods and produce. At the same time specific steps for the decisive stopping of manipulation of goods in short supply, for stepping up the fight by corresponding state organs against all forms of abuse in this sphere and for strengthening workers' control were set forth. I am confident that the working people will give full approval to these measures (applause).

One of the most remarkable features of the Soviet way of life is the growing benefits which people are receiving from social consumption funds. In the five-year period they have increased by approximately one third, and in one year alone, this year, will amount to R121.5 billion--these are immense funds; they go toward improving the living conditions of working people, maintenance of health, education, bringing up of children, social maintenance and culture. They must be spent efficiently, with the greatest advantage to people.

A very important place in our social program is occupied, as is known, by housing. It has already been noted that in the last five-year period housing construction was carried out on a vast scale. Its volume will be maintained throughout the country in the future. At the same time we know that many families still live in municipal apartments and apartments lacking amenities, and that many young married couples have to wait years for housing. Insofar as this problem is still so difficult it means that in distributing housing, special attention, objectivity, "order," if you like, are needed. It should be conducted everywhere with the participation and strict supervision of public organizations. Cooperative construction should also be expanded and its forms should be improved. At the same time a much stricter attitude must be taken toward those who have an irresponsible attitude toward the use and state of preservation of housing. I believe that help in putting this in order will be given by the foundations of housing legislation whose draft is being widely discussed by the public.

In the review period the instructions given by the 25th party congress concerning the development of public education have on the whole been successfully fulfilled.

An important target has been reached. The changeover to universal compulsory secondary education has been completed. The main thing today is to raise the quality of instruction, labor and moral upbringing in school, to get rid of formalism in evaluating the results of the work of teachers and pupils, really to strengthen the link between education and life and to improve the training of school children for socially useful work. The decisive role here, of course, belongs to the teacher. We should not be sparing of attention to his labor, everyday life and skill improvements. But demands on his work are also rising.

The quality of school programs and textbooks is in need of improvement. It is correctly noted that they are made too complicated. This makes instruction difficult and leads to an unjustified overburdening of the children. The Ministry of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences must immediately rectify this situation.

The successes of the Soviet system of higher and secondary specialized education are well known. In the last 5 years alone it has given our national economy 10 million skilled specialists.

Much in this system can and should also be improved. I am referring to the quality of teaching above all, and the strengthening of ties with production. Fuller use must be made of the scientific potential of VUZes where almost half of our doctors and candidates of sciences are concentrated. The demand for cadres of a given profession changes with development of the national economy. Therefore, the system of planning the training of cadres in VUZes should also react with sensitivity to these changes.

The 25th congress said that caring for the health of the Soviet people was one of the most important social tasks. The CPSU Central Committee and government adopted an expanded decree in 1977 on measures for the further improvement of health care. Its implementation is yielding results. Today our polyclinics can receive half a million more citizens per shift than 5 years ago (applause). There has been a

significant development of specialized medical aid and the cardiological service and prevention of illness has become more effective.

But many shortcomings still remain. There must be substantial improvement of the work of polyclinics, dispensaries and outpatients departments, where 80 percent of all patients are treated. Unfortunately in a number of places they have fallen behind the possibilities in medicine. There are not enough cadres and particularly middle and junior personnel, equipment has become outmoded and the latest medicines are in short supply. Plans for constructing hospitals and health centers are carried out badly.

We value highly the conscientious and selfless labor of our doctors, nurses and other health workers, and so we are the more distressed when we sometimes receive letters from working people telling of cases where individual medical workers have breached their professional duty and neglected people. The Ministry of Health, party committees, the Komsomol and trade unions are obliged to wage an uncompromising struggle with such phenomena and achieve their complete elimination! Everything possible must be done to insure that the Soviet person can receive timely, qualified and responsive medical aid always and everywhere (applause).

Health care is inseparable from the development of/physical culture and sports./ The Moscow Olympics clearly demonstrated the remarkable achievements of Soviet athletes. However, we have always been interested not merely in the great sports achievements but, first and foremost, in the mass nature of physical culture and sports. Successes in this area are evident. However, as far as the majority of people are concerned, sports have to date remained a spectacle. This situation must be rectified. Physical culture must enter the daily life of broad strata of the population and, in particular, of children.

Comrades: That the spiritual life of Soviet society is becoming increasingly varied and rich is, no doubt, due to the merits of our people working in the sphere of culture, to our/literature and our arts./

It is up to literary critics and art experts to voice professional judgements; however, it would seem to me that all readers, viewers and listeners feel that a new upsurge is taking place in the Soviet arts. In recent years--and this holds true of all republics--quite a few gifted works have appeared. This applies to literature as well as the theater, the cinema and music, painting and sculpture.

Lofty revolutionary themes continue to resound in the creative work of our masters. The images of Marx, Engels, Lenin, of many fiery revolutionaries, the heroic history of our motherland inspire them to create new and interesting works in the most varied genres of the arts. The work of authors loyal to the military theme teaches us to love our motherland and steadfastness when put to the test.

The successes of creative workers in presenting the brightest images of our contemporaries are beyond doubt. They stir the people, evoke arguments, and force us to think about our present and future. The party welcomes the civic pathos and the intolerance toward shortcomings, inherent in the best works, as well as the active interference of art in the solution of problems facing our society.

Remember what Mayakovskiy wrote: "I wish that in the debates Gosplan should toil and sweat in giving me a task for the year." And we are pleased that in recent years literature, the cinema and the theater have raised such serious problems which it would not do Gosplan any harm to "sweat over," and not just Gosplan (applause).

The heroes of such works are varied: construction brigade leader and kolkhoz chairman, railroad worker and officer, airman and major scientist. But in each of them, the reader and viewer finds accord with his own thoughts and experiences, sees the embodiment of the best features of the Soviet character.

Soviet art can only echo the growing attention of our society to questions of morals. Human relations in production and in everyday life, the complicated inner life of the personality, its place in our unquiet planet--all of this is the inexhaustible field of the artistic quest. It is, of course, important here to seek to insure that the topicality of the theme should not hide things which are dull and squalid in the artistic sense, to insure that the heroes of the works should not be mired in petty deeds but should be alive to the concerns of their country, living a life full of intense labor and the persistent struggle for the triumph of justice and good.

On the other hand, manifestations of lack of ideological approach, lack of discernment in world outlook, departure from a clear class evaluation of individual historical events and figures are capable of causing damage to the work of even gifted people. Our critics, literary magazines, creative unions and in the first instance, their party organizations should know how to correct those who are deflected to one side or another. And, of course, they should be able to speak out actively and in a principled way when works appear which discredit our Soviet reality. Here we must be implacable. The party has not been and cannot be indifferent to the ideological direction of our art (lengthy applause).

And one more thing: It is not necessary to explain how important it is that everything surrounding us should bear the imprint of beauty and of good taste. The Olympic constructions and some housing areas of Moscow, the restored pearls of the past and the new architectural ensembles of Leningrad, the new buildings of Alma-Ata, Vil'nius, Navoi and other towns are our pride. City construction as a whole still requires more artistic expressiveness and variety, so that it does not happen as with the hero of the film, who having arrived by an ironic twist of fate in another city, could not distinguish any house or apartment there from his own (excitement in the hall, applause).

The Soviet people have an enormous craving for art. Everyone knows how difficult it is at times to get to a good performance, buy an interesting book or visit an exhibition. But this respect, this love for art also entails great responsibility from the artist to his people. To experience the interests of the people, share happiness and sorrow with them, confirm the truth of life, our humane ideals, to be an active participant in the building of communism--this is the genuine popular and party nature of art.

True to Lenin's cultural policy, our party treats the artistic intelligentsia with consideration and respect, guiding it into the solution of lofty creative tasks.

This assists the further consolidation of creative forces and the uplifting of the community's spiritual life. There is no doubt that Soviet masters of culture will gladden us with new artistic discoveries (applause).

Comrades! Soviet man is a conscientious worker, a man of high political culture, a patriot and internationalist. He has been educated by the party, by the country's heroic history, by our entire system. He lives the full-blooded life of a creator of a new world.

This does not mean, of course, that we have already resolved all matters connected with the molding of the new man./Quite a few tasks still remain ahead of us. And success in education is guaranteed only when it is based on the firm foundation of a socioeconomic policy.

We have great material and spiritual opportunities for the ever greater development of the individual and we shall continue to expand them in the future. But it is at the same time important that every person should make sensible use of them. This depends in the final analysis on what a person's interests and requirements are. That is why our party sees one of the important tasks of social policy in their active and purposeful formation.

For the most part, Soviet people work honestly and put their heart in it. They make correct and sensible use of the manifold good things given them by society and preserve and multiply our national property. But there are also people among us who try to give as little as possible while grabbing as much as possible from society. It is on the basis of such a mentality that egoism and Philistinism, hoarding and indifference to the concerns and affairs of the people appear. Drunkenness, which, speaking frankly, remains a serious problem, causes a great harm to society and the family. The efforts of all labor collectives, of all public organizations and all communists should be directed to the struggle against these ugly phenomena.

As we can see, comrades, we are faced with much work in improving the socialist way of life, in eradicating everything that hinders the formation of the new man. This is one of the integral component parts of the party's social policy, the aim of which is the well-being and happiness of the Soviet people!

3. The USSR Constitution and the Further Development of the Soviet Political System

Comrades! The most essential changes in the economic, social and spiritual life of Soviet society, and the profound democracy of the state of the whole people have found concentrated expression in the new USSR Constitution. We all remember the huge upsurge of the people's creative forces and their civic activeness, induced by the discussion of the draft Fundamental Law.

The adoption of the USSR Constitution and, subsequently, of the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics marked the beginning of a new stage in the work of the/Soviets of People's Deputies./

The activities of the supreme power organs--the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the republics--have become noticeably more energetic. Combining

legislation, administration and control, supreme soviets actively oversee the work of councils of ministers, ministries and departments. This facilitates a timely exposure and elimination of shortcomings and raises the general tone of state life.

The renewal of Soviet legislation, being carried out on the basis of the Constitution, is yielding a big positive effect. The new laws make it possible to regulate in a more refined and precise manner various aspects of social relations. The work aimed at improving the legislation will continue. Three directions here are of foremost importance: management of the national economy, implementation of constitutional rights of citizens and social organizations and completion of publication of the all-union code of laws.

Comrades, we have adopted quite a number of good laws. Now the point is, above all, to implement them with precision and unswervingly. After all, any law is only alive when it is being observed, when it is being observed by all and everywhere.

A great deal of interesting new aspects appeared in the activities of the local soviets. Without lowering attention to the questions of the local economy and services for the population, they contribute more and more to insuring the all-round character of economic and social development. The soviets are more and more actively coordinating and supervising the work of the enterprises and organizations situated within their territory. This, comrades, is very important, and the CPSU Central Committees gives all possible support to this particular tendency in the work of the local soviets.

We have nearly a million deputies who are communist. They must use their prestige and experience to insure that every soviet session and every permanent commission meeting becomes a real council of the people in a collective search for the most correct decisions.

Interest in the common cause and in the development of production; comparing opinions; frank and principled criticism and self-criticism and the raising of the social and political activeness of every citizen: this is the essence of Soviet democracy, a democracy that works and is effective.

A necessary integral part of Soviet democracy is all-embracing people's control/ checking the work of administrative organs and officials. Not one violation, not one case of abuse, extravagance or indiscipline must slip past the master's eye of the people's controller. To act more energetically, to act more assertively--that is the direction in which the CPSU Central Committee is guiding them.

In strengthening socialist legality and law and order great responsibility is borne by the /organs of justice, the courts and the procurator's office, and the Soviet militia./The professional knowledge of the workers of those organs must be combined with civil courage, incorruptibility and fairness. Only such people can worthily carry out the serious duties laid upon them. The Soviet people have a right to demand that their work should be maximally efficient, that every crime be investigated in the proper manner, and the guilty punished according to their deserts. In this task the organs protecting law and order will be assured of the party's and--I have no doubt on this--all our public's full support (applause).

The acuteness of the class struggle in the international arena makes high demands on the activities of the /state security organs,/ on our Chekists' party fiber, knowledge and style of work. The USSR Committee for State Security works efficiently, to a high professional standard, strictly adhering to the provisions of the Constitution and the norms of Soviet legislation. It is with keenness and vigilance that the Chekists watch out for the intrigues of imperialist intelligence services. They resolutely forestall the activities of those who embark on the path of antistate, hostile actions, who encroach on the rights of the Soviet people, on the interests of Soviet society. This work of theirs deserves the party's and all our people's deep gratitude (lengthy applause).

In the period under review the party and state have not lost sight even for a single day of the question of /strengthening the country's defensive might and its armed forces./ We are obliged to do this by the international situation.

A strong fusion of a high degree of equipment provision, soldiery skills and invincible moral spirit: such is the combat potential of Soviet Armed Forces. Already sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War are in the ranks of the defenders of the motherland. They have not gone through the severe trials that fell to the lot of their fathers and grandfathers, but they are faithful to the heroic traditions of our army and people. And whenever the interests of the country's security and the defense of peace require it, whenever it is necessary to help victims of aggression, the Soviet soldier stands before the world as a disinterested and courageous patriot, an internationalist, ready to overcome any difficulties (lengthy applause).

It so happens that our congress has opened on Soviet Army and Navy Day. Allow me, on behalf of all the delegates, to warmly congratulate the glorious defenders of the homeland. The party Central Committee is confident that they will continue to guard reliably the peaceful constructive toil of the Soviet people (stormy, lengthy applause).

Comrades! The USSR Constitution has considerably enhanced the role that belongs, in the development of our democracy, to the public organizations. The largest of them are the trade unions. The unions have accepted into their ranks millions of collective farmers and now include practically all the working people. The tasks and rights of the trade union organizers are extremely wide. They concern themselves with defending the interests of the working people and participate in solving economic, social and cultural problems. They do much to promote socialist competition, invention and rationalization.

And yet I think I shall not be wrong if I say that our trade unions still at times lack initiative in making use of their extensive rights. They are not always persistent in matters of fulfillment of collective agreements and labor safety measures. They still react inadequately to cases of infringement of labor legislation and to instances of bureaucratism and red tape.

This means that we must further intensify trade union supervision of labor collectives in solving all questions related to the labor, life and circumstances of the people. We must widen their participation in the planning and management of

production, the selection and deployment of cadres and the more efficient use of the resources of enterprises and organizations.

The party regards the trade unions as its reliable bulwark among the masses and a powerful means of developing democracy and involving the working people in the building of communism. Lenin taught that "contact with the masses, that is, with the vast majority of the working people (and later with all the working people) is the most important and most basic condition for the success of any trade union activity" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 348). He demanded of trade union officials that they should be in the very midst of working life, know it inside out, be able to determine infallibly and without a shadow of false idealization the mood of the masses and the degree of their awareness and real requirements, and know how to win the unbounded trust of the masses by their comradely attitude to them and by thoughtfully meeting their needs. May every trade union official always and in every area compare his deeds with this Leninist behest (applause)!

Over 40 million young men and women are united in the Leninist Komsomol. We often say the Komsomol are our successors and the party's helpers. These words are true, very true. Young people who are today 18-25 years old will tomorrow form the backbone of our society. Promotion of the formation of generations of people who are politically active, competent, who love and are good at their work and are ever ready to defend their homeland--this is the most important and main feature in Komsomol work.

On the whole the Komsomol is coping with this task. It has to its credit tens and hundreds of building projects in the most varied regions of the country. The Komsomol has also intensified its participation in running the state and in all public life. This is something to be kept up.

But it is not in our traditions to restrict oneself to praise. It is no secret that in some young people, education and knowledge at times coexist with political naivete, and professional training with an insufficiently responsible attitude to labor. To a large extent this is the result of insufficient work by the Komsomol.

Consequently it is necessary to intensify educational work. I have in mind labor education, moral education and ideological and political education. It is not a question of increasing the number of various "undertakings," but of insuring that in every Komsomol organization a lively and creative atmosphere is established. It has long been known that one comprehends a truth completely when it has been experienced and not simply taught. The Komsomol should structure the study of Marxist-Leninist theory in such a way that it should fuse organically with the practical deeds of the Komsomol members, with their own life.

Here very much depends on communists, on you and me, comrades. We have the experience, the conviction, tested by the decades, in the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. And all of this wealth must be passed on to the young people. This is the reliable guarantee that the Soviet young people will always carry high the banner of communism (applause).

IV. The Party Is the Vanguard of the Soviet People

Comrades! The conclusion was made at the 25th congress that in the period of developed socialism the party's role in the life of society becomes greater. The last five-year period has demonstrated that this conclusion was undoubtedly correct. It is precisely now in the light of the impressive achievements of the Soviet people that the well-known Leninist formulation that the party is the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch is perceived even more profoundly (applause).

Together with the development of our society and the transformation of its sociopolitical and cultural face, the party of communists is growing, becoming strong and mature.

On the whole in the period under review the CPSU increased by 1.8 million. At present there are 17,480,000 communists in the party. Of these 43.4 percent are workers, 12.8 percent are kolkhoz members and 43.8 percent are representatives of the technical, scientific and creative intelligentsia, workers in education, health and culture and administration and members of the armed forces.

In the last 5 years the CPSU ranks have been joined by more than 1.5 million of the best representatives of the working class, that is, 59 percent of the whole influx into the party. Among the newly accepted, kolkhoz members comprised more than 10 percent. The influx of representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia into the party continued. Almost three-fourths of those who joined the CPSU in these years were members of the Leninist Komsomol.

The number of those wishing to join the party is increasing. The method for accepting new party members has become more exacting. Better use is made of the period of candidate party membership to verify the political, practical and moral qualities of those trying to join. Not all withstand such an examination. In 5 years 91,000 candidates were not accepted as members of the CPSU. This is more or less a normal attrition figure.

As has already been noted, the best and foremost representatives of the Soviet people join the party. However, at times, unworthy people get into the CPSU ranks by accident. I will cite one figure: since the 25th congress almost 300,000 people have been expelled from the party for acts incompatible with the title of communist.

It must be stressed with the greatest emphasis that our attitude toward those who behave unworthily, who are in breach of the party statutes and the norms of party morality, has been, is and will be implacable. No favors will be done for anybody when it is a matter of the honor and the prestige of our party and the purity of its ranks (lengthy applause).

It is precisely this high exactingness which insures the monolithic unity of the CPSU and its ability to head the Soviet society and confidently to lead the Soviet people on the path to communism.

1. Improving the Methods of Party Leadership

Comrades, the party congresses which, as it were, set out the general route for the onward movement of the Soviet society, are the highest expression of the CPSU's guiding role. At the same time a large role belongs to the Central Committee plenums.

Eleven Central Committee plenums have taken place in the period under review. The plenums were convened regularly; discussions were held in a businesslike and self-critical manner. In a word, we followed the Leninist norms and traditions.

As I have already said, at the CPSU Central Committee plenums the basic trends of economic development have been annually analyzed. At the same time other problems of a long-term nature have also been discussed.

In connection with the draft USSR Constitution, questions of socialist statehood and our whole social system in conditions of mature socialism were thoroughly examined in 1977. The Central Committee plenum held in July 1978 was devoted to the further development of the party's agrarian policy. At the July 1980 Plenum the Soviet Union's positions on main foreign policy issues and the tasks in the struggle for detente in the worsening international situation were clarified.

In the period under review 236 Politburo sessions have been held. All its work has been concentrated on key points connected with the practical fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee plenums and with new happenings in domestic and foreign policy.

Questions submitted for the examination of the Politburo have been carefully studied in advance. The range of such questions is extraordinarily wide and varied. The degree of complexity of many of them is increasing all the time. In certain instances the Politburo set up special commissions to study comprehensively and to summarize events, as well as to take, as the situation demands, appropriate practical measures.

In the preparation for sessions and during discussions different opinions were expressed--something which is quite natural--and numerous remarks and proposals were submitted. However all decisions were adopted in a spirit of complete unanimity. The strength of collective leadership lies in this unity (applause).

The Politburo is truly the battle headquarters of our multimillion party. It is precisely there that the collective common sense of the party is accumulated, and there that party policy, which reflects the interests of all Soviet society and all communists and nonparty members, is formed.

The selection of cadres, the organization and checking of execution, and virtually all current questions of party life--such are basically the problems with which the Central Committee Secretariat has been occupied. It has held 250 sessions in the time that has passed.

On the whole, comrades, the work of the plenums of the Politburo and the Secretariat was of a purposeful nature and was marked by a high standard of organization. This work is built on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

The Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee concerned themselves constantly with/enhancing the role and responsibility of republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations./The state of affairs in local areas was thoroughly studied. The reports of many party committees were examined. Conclusions of significance for the whole party were drawn on the basis of all-round, painstaking discussions.

There is much that is valuable and instructive in the work of each party organization. I will mention only a few interesting facts.

The party organizations of Moscow and Leningrad achieved good results in the development of the creative activity of production collectives and in the communist education of the working people. It was precisely there that many patriotic initiatives were born, which were subsequently supported and which spread throughout the country.

The major achievements of grain growers in Kazakhstan and cotton plantation workers in Uzbekistan are connected with the intensification of the work of party organizations in applying a scientific system of land husbandry and leading practice in agricultural production. The work of the Azerbaijan Communist Party in mobilizing the working people to ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan merits a positive assessment.

The Georgian Communist Party has achieved a considerable increase in the pace of economic and social development in the republic.

In the Communist Parties of the Ukraine and Belorussia there appeared much which was interesting as regards the selection and education of cadres, and enhancing the responsibility of leaders for their specific sector of work. The party organizations of Armenia and Latvia were able to set the labor collectives and all the planning and management authorities at all levels on the path of raising the quality of industrial production. Work was stepped up in intensifying production by the communists of Estonia. The Novosibirsk and Sverdlovsk Obkoms did much in strengthening the ties between science and production.

The Central Committee supported the competition initiated by the working people of the Don region to master ahead-of-schedule planned capacities, the initiatives of the party organizations of the Kuban' and Dnepropetrovsk region to improve the quality of agricultural output and the experience of the work of labor collectives of the Urals and the Kuzbass in saving metal and fuel and energy resources.

The creative initiatives of many party organizations are deserving of a good word at our all-party forum. The richer and more varied local experience, the more fruitful is the work of the party as a whole.

In the period under review the CPSU Central Committee was compelled to subject to impartial criticism the work of certain party committees and to correct their leaders. When this did not help, conclusions regarding their organization were drawn.

Of course, the results of the work of the oblast or rayon party organization are the sum of many and very varied factors. But still an energetic and competent party leadership is of decisive importance. If every party organization uses in its sector all reserves and brings the required order to everything, then the matters of the whole country will continue to advance. That is why enhancing the role of obkoms and raykoms is a responsible, serious, and, I would say, permanent task.

In tackling the great and varied tasks of building communism, the/primary party organizations/play a leading role.

The CPSU now has 414,000 primary and 457,000 shop party organizations and more than 618,000 party groups. The Central Committee strove to activate these groups to the maximum, and it required constant attention toward them from local party organs.

Primary party organizations are endowed with the right of supervising the administration activities. It is important for them to use it more fully and better. Whether the subject under discussion has to do with cadres, the fulfillment of economic plans or the improvement of people's conditions of work and everyday life, the party organizations must display a sense of principle and must not be led along by the administration when it acts incorrectly. In a word, it must firmly pursue a party line.

Departmental or bureaucratic barriers still not infrequently prove to be an obstacle on the path to the fulfillment of economic tasks, and not just economic ones. Who should above all struggle to surmount these barriers if not the party committees of ministries and departments? They must more decisively and uncompromisingly stand on guard for the state interests.

More initiative, more principle-mindedness--that is what one would like to wish them from the congress rostrum!

Comrades! The essence of party leadership, as V.I. Lenin said on many occasions, is selecting people and checking how the job is done.

Considerable work was done during the period under review to/improve further the qualitative composition and the placing of management cadres/and the raising of their skills.

In line with the instructions of the 25th congress, specialists of the national economy were actively drawn into party work. At the present time, three-quarters of the secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics and kray and oblast committees and two-thirds of the secretaries of party, town and rayon committees have a technical engineering economic or agricultural education. This is fine. But one must not fail to take into account the fact that some of the specialists who have joined the party apparatus coming from production jobs lack sufficient political experience and at times introduce into party organs the methods of economic administration.

One must increase the political training of these comrades and help them to acquire the requisite practices of party work. At the same time, in order to become a true party manager, it does not suffice to attend a course at a party school. It is necessary for the comrades being put forward for party management work to immerse themselves, as they say, in the midst of the working people, so that they know from personal experience and not from documents what makes up the lives of our country's workers, peasants and members of the intelligentsia, so that they know their life, their needs and interests. One should seek to insure that it is precisely this school, the school of life, the school of practical work among the masses, that should be passed through as a rule by all communists whom we consider as the reserve for promotion.

An important task has been and remains the creation of a reliable reserve of cadres. Of great importance from this point of view was restructuring the work of the higher party schools and educational establishments preparing cadres for managing the national economy, in particular setting up the Academy of Social Sciences and the Academy of the National Economy. In the past years 32,000 people have completed training in party educational establishments. Over 240,000 party, soviet and ideological workers have attended training courses.

It seems worthwhile to speak separately about the participation of women in management work, party, soviet, economic, etc. It must be admitted that the possibilities of promoting women to responsible posts are still not being fully implemented. Such a situation should be put right.

In the review period the Central Committee increased the attention it paid to checking the implementation of decisions made. We began to listen more often to reports of managers of various ranks, personally responsible for certain aspects of work. The USSR Council of Ministers, ministries and departments and party and soviet organs of republics, kraies and oblasts were also directed to do this. The struggle against violations of party and state discipline was stepped up by the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee and by the party committees of local party organs. In general, much is being done. Nevertheless, checking implementation still remains a bottleneck in the work of a considerable number of party organizations.

As was shown, for example, by a Central Committee review of questions of the work of communists of a number of union ministries, many shortcomings in economic activity are the result of absence of a clear system of checking, or of using a style of management based on paperwork.

Unfortunately, not everyone has yet understood the simple truth that the art of management is not to engender and distribute directives on every occasion. Once a decision has been made, its strict implementation in the set period must be achieved. This must be helped by intensification of supervision. This control should be implemented systematically and efficiently, simultaneously from above and below.

The style and methods of leadership are an important question for the whole party and all the people. To remember this every day and be guided in everything by Leninist norms is the direct duty of any party leader!

2. Questions of Internal Party Life

Comrades! In beginning the preparations for the 26th party congress, the Central Committee addressed an appeal to all communists to hold an accountability and election campaign and discussion of the draft guidelines of the Central Committee for the congress, creatively and self-critically, getting as close as possible to life and to the specific questions that concern communists.

The work of the party organizations cannot really be effective if party members come to meetings only in order to sit out the prescribed hours and hear out previously scheduled speakers. The party meeting, just like any party committee plenum, is a place where all questions of vital importance must be discussed profoundly and seriously. It was, of course, especially important that the preparation for the congress passed in precisely such a manner.

The course of the accountability and election campaign demonstrated that our party members had heard the Central Committee's call and supported it. In most cases the accountability and election meetings took place in an atmosphere of high activity. In the primary and shop party organizations and party groups they were attended by 96 percent of communists and approximately 10 million spoke in debates.

The content of these addresses speaks of the communists' sense of responsibility for their work and for everything that is being done in the party and the country. The participants of the meetings, conference and congresses have exactly evaluated the activity of the elective party organs. They subjected to criticism omissions and shortcomings. Many valuable proposals were voiced.

It is this, comrades, that is the collective mind of the party (applause). It is also the single will of the party, an expression of the cohesion of communists around the Central Committee (lengthy applause).

/Democratic centralism/ is a strict norm of the life of the Communist Party. This means, in particular, a very close tie between the center and the localities, the leading organs of the party and the party masses. Moreover, this link is double-sided.

/Letters and suggestions from the working people/ are of enormous significance as a channel of the live link between the party and the masses. Infinitely trusting the party, they address it, laying bare their hearts, concerning the most urgent questions of social life, work and daily life, openly sharing their ideas and concerns and criticizing existing shortcomings. The Central Committee regards work with letters and a timely reaction to them as being very important. In the period under review this work has been considerably improved. This was facilitated to no small extent by the establishment of the Letters Department within the Central Committee apparatus.

Reflecting on letters—some 1,500 of which arrive at the CPSU Central Committee daily—I cannot fail to say the following: many of them show, unfortunately, serious local failings. Nearly always questions submitted by the working people can and should be resolved by managers of enterprises, by rayon and city

organizations. A sensitive and attentive attitude toward letters, requests and complaints from citizens must be seen by every party worker and manager as his duty toward the people and toward the party (applause).

I emphasize that I mean open and honest letters here. As for all sorts of anonymous slanders, the party's viewpoint is known here: there should be no room for them in our life (applause). Those who come out with truthful and businesslike criticism have no reason to hide their faces (lengthy applause).

Interparty information constitutes an inalienable element of the party's democratic life. The CPSU Central Committee has extensively and efficiently informed local party organs and communists on questions of domestic and foreign policy and organizational and ideological work. At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee and all party committees have begun to use more actively information from primary party organizations. It helps to take public opinion into account and to have a more concrete picture of the local state of affairs.

Informing all Soviet citizens about party life is a very important matter. Publicity in the work of party organizations is an effective means of strengthening the links between the party and the masses. Much is being done by us in this respect, but most likely there is room for improvement.

The directions of the 25th CPSU Congress stimulated the further development of criticism and self-criticism in the party. This positive trend must be further deepened in every way. The spirit of self-criticism and intolerance toward shortcomings must be affirmed in all party organizations.

Any attempts at persecution for criticism must be met with the most resolute rebuff. Our position on this question is clearly stated in the party statutes and has also been reflected in the USSR Constitution. No connivance with those clamping down on criticism—this is a requirement of the party as well as of the state law (applause).

3. The Ideological and Political Educational Work of the Party

Comrades! The circumstances in which we all live and work have recently undergone a considerable change. Soviet man has changed. His knowledge has been enriched, his erudition has grown and his spiritual demands have increased considerably.

At the same time the arsenal of means at the disposal of our ideological workers has also expanded. We have a reliable channel of everyday information: 380 million copies of newspapers and periodicals; and 75 million television screens light up daily in our country. This means that tens of millions of families have the opportunity of daily receiving the required explanations of party policy, and new knowledge, and to become enriched both in mind and in spirit.

On the other hand, the activity of the propaganda means of our class enemy have increased and his attempts have intensified to exert a corrupting influence upon the consciousness of Soviet people.

Are all these new phenomena and circumstances being properly taken into account? Are the enormous possibilities of our propaganda being fully used? There is but one reply to this question: no, not yet fully.

Proceeding from this, the party Central Committee has formulated /tasks for improving ideological and political education work./ They are outlined in the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree. This is a long-term document.

Essentially it deals with restructuring--yes, I have not made a slip. It is precisely restructuring many sectors and spheres of ideological work. We must strive to make its content more topical and make its forms correspond to the present-day demands and needs of the Soviet people.

It is very important that propaganda should not avoid prickly subjects and should not be afraid of touching on so-called difficult issues. Our party's policies are clear and we are ready to answer any questions arising in the minds of Soviet people. This must be done more boldly, bearing in mind that if we do not answer them, then our country's enemies will try to make use of this to slander socialism.

Something else: all ideological education work must be carried out in a lively and interesting manner without hackneyed expressions and a standard collection of ready-made formulas: Soviet man is an educated, cultured person, and when people start talking to him in a senseless formal language, using general expressions instead of those specifically connected with life and real facts, he merely turns off the television or radio or lays aside the newspaper.

Our party treats the many thousands of Soviet journalists with great trust and highly values their difficult work. Naturally, we are all interested in insuring that our mass information and propaganda media are always a genuine platform for party and nationwide public opinion. Each article in a newspaper or journal, each broadcast on television or radio should be viewed as a serious conversation with the people who expect not only a truthful and effective presentation of the facts but also a deep analysis of them and serious summarizations. We hope that Soviet journalists, together with the multimillion strong aktiv of our press, will always demonstrate a high social activity and responsibility, guided by Leninist principles and traditions of party journalism (applause).

Words of gratitude must be uttered to the vast army of people, both communists and nonmembers of the party, who carry to the masses the thoughts of the party and explain its policy. They are lecturers and propagandists, agitators and rapporteurs. Their work is, as a rule, carried out on a voluntary basis and in their free time. They are engaged upon a useful deed necessary to the people. To all such people, we say thank you very much (applause).

At the same time, however, there is some food for thought here as well. Have not our forms of large-scale political work become too rigid? After all, it was one thing to address our people when they were not yet sufficiently trained and had little education and it is something quite different to address the Soviet man of today. One should probably think about this theme and do so thoroughly. In whom else, if not in ideological workers, must a feeling for what is new be inherent to the greatest degree?

During the period under review much attention was paid to/party study./

Nearly 23 million people are studying within the system of party education; practically everywhere the system of a whole day devoted to political study has been introduced. The creative search in the sphere of educational all-union practical science conferences was devoted to the exchange of leadership experience. The conferences were held in recent years in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Tbilisi and Chelyabinsk. The further energizing of this whole activity was encouraged by the October 1979 All-Union Ideological Workers Conference.

We have examples of the creative organization of party studies in a number of production collectives, in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and the Donbass, for example. The experience of holding seminars on methodological problems of social and natural sciences in the Novosibirsk Scientific Center is worthy of acknowledgment.

Probably the main issue in party education is its effectiveness. What do we want to achieve? We want party policy to merge with the activity of the masses, party education to teach, quoting V. I. Lenin, "to act in a way which is really required by communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 302) (applause). In other words, it is a question of achieving in actual fact unity among the party's ideological-theoretical, politico-educational, organizational and economic work. This is our aim. However, it is not always and everywhere realized.

So far theoretical training in many schools and party education seminars has not been sufficiently well related to the resolution of urgent social and production problems which are concerning people. Cases of formalism and scholasticism which reduce the interest of those taking theoretical training have not yet been overcome.

Evidently it is necessary to make a decisive turn toward improving the quality of training, primarily of communists, and not to get carried away too much with expanding the numbers attending seminars. This task cannot be resolved without a more fundamental approach to the selection, training and timely informing of our propaganda cadres.

The propagandist is the main figure in the system of party education. What seminars, political schools and universities will be like depends to a large extent upon him—whether they are to be a place where boredom sometimes reigns, where the prescribed time is "served," or, on the contrary, whether they become everywhere true centers of lively party thought and speech. It is on the party's ideological and propaganda aktiv that people's attitudes to party education primarily depend. People should themselves be drawn toward it in order collectively to discuss topical problems of party theory and policy and to receive answers to questions which concern everybody, and to expand their ideological-theoretical erudition.

The ideological-propaganda party aktiv has the primary role in further developing the Marxist-Leninist instruction and education of the masses and their creative abilities to resolve the tasks of constructing communism.

Comrades! The Marxist-Leninist party cannot fulfill its role unless it devotes due attention to assessing all that is taking place, to making general conclusions about the new events of life and/to creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory./ We have always considered this task to be an extremely important one, and we have devoted great attention to tackling it in the period under review.

Since the 25th congress, the party's theoretical arsenal has been augmented by a number of important summations and conclusions. From that which has been accomplished in the field of theory, one should first and foremost name the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism. Guided by this concept, the party defined and specified ways and periods for realizing our policy objectives and determined the strategy and tactics for a lengthy, historic period.

Party documents and scientific research of recent years reveal various aspects of mature socialism. Works have been created which analyze the experience of world socialism and reveal the natural laws of the world revolutionary process. There are some sound studies of the history of the international workers' movement, the contemporary stage of the general crisis of capitalism and the development of state monopoly capitalism. Major steps have been taken in the study of contemporary international relations.

In a word, a great deal of work has been done, which merits recognition. But by no means everything in the field of social sciences gives rise to satisfaction. The liking for scholastic theorization, which was mentioned at the 25th congress, has still not been overcome. Philosophers quite often prefer to prove what has already been proved instead of interpreting new developments. Quite a few problems awaiting solution have mounted up in the political economy of socialism. The social consequences of the scientific-technical revolution require more attention. Phenomena in the political life of society should be analyzed more profoundly and boldly. Public opinion is still being poorly studied. This is only a part of the questions which should be examined.

Comrades! The Central Committee considers it necessary to present for discussion by the congress yet another major question of all-party significance.

In the period under review all the changes in the country and all our acts in the international arena have been carried out in accordance with the party's programmatic stipulations. The present program of the CPSU correctly reflects, on the whole, the laws of social development. But 20 years have elapsed since it was adopted.

During this time great experience has been accumulated in socialist and communist construction in the USSR. This experience undeniably testifies to the fact that our movement toward communism is taking place via a stage of advanced socialist society. This, as has already been noted, is a necessary, natural and lengthy period in the history of the establishment of the communist structure. This conclusion was made and worked out by the party in recent years, and it should undoubtedly be reflected in the appropriate form in the party program.

Obviously there must be clearer elucidation in the program of changes which have taken place in the structure of our economy, and long-term tasks must be stressed and more precisely defined.

It goes without saying that we must proceed in this from Lenin's directions that the program only establishes the basic principles. It is impossible and inappropriate to predict particulars in it.

In the international arena also, there have appeared many new and fundamentally important phenomena and processes.

In the socialist world this has included the steady coming together of the fraternal countries and the development of economic integration. Lessons must obviously be learned from the difficulties encountered on the path of development of the socialist countries.

The party program should also reflect such fundamentally important phenomena of international life as the abolition of the colonial system of imperialism and the growing political role in the world arena of dozens of young states, many of which set themselves the goal of development in the direction of socialism.

It goes without saying that certain new phenomena in the world of capitalism must be understood, and in particular, the peculiarities of the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism and the sharp rise in the role of the military-industrial complex and of the multinational corporations.

Our party has accumulated enormous experience in the struggle for peace and the relaxation of international tension. Both the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence have been enriched as a result.

Taking into account all that has been said, we should obviously introduce the necessary changes and additions into the existing program. If this proposal receives the support of delegates to the congress then it will be possible to entrust the Central Committee with the preparation of a new draft of the CPSU program (lengthy applause)./

Comrades! The passage of time is swift. At today's congress we are to discuss the party's plans and the country's plans for the 11th Five-Year Plan and through 1990. To a large extent the shape of our country at the end of the 20th century, on the threshold of the third millenium, will depend in practice on what we decide now.

The 20th century has brought more changes than any past century, and not one country has made a more important contribution to these changes than the USSR, motherland of the Great October, the first country of victorious socialism (stormy, lengthy applause). And now for the seventh decade it is under the unconquerable Leninist banner (lengthy applause).

There is no country or group of countries, there is no ideological or political trend that has not felt to some extent the influence of socialism. Such is the reality of the end of the 20th century.

A new life is not born easily; the path of social progress is difficult and sometimes painful. But the more majestic the feats of socialist society's builders and defenders, the more significant and outstanding are its achievements.

Our Communist Party, we Soviet communists have been allocated the enviable role of being situated at the source of the socialist transformation of life. It has been our fate to receive the honorable mission of defending and protecting peace (lengthy applause).

Our aim is splendid: communism. And each labor success, each year of heroic achievements, each five-year plan period, brings us closer to this destination. It is from this point of view that the party assesses the coming five-year period. There is much to do. There are great and complex tasks to resolve, but it is within our power to resolve them, and resolve them we will (stormy, lengthy applause)!

Yes, the Soviet people look to tomorrow with confidence. But their optimism is not the self-confidence of the spoiled darlings of destiny. Our people know that all that they have has been created by their own labor and defended with their own blood. We are optimists because we believe in the power of labor, because we believe in our country and in our people. We are optimists because we believe in our party, and we know the path which it indicates is the only true one (lengthy applause).

Honor and glory to the CPSU, party of the builders of communism (lengthy applause)!

May our great motherland, the USSR, continue to strengthen and prosper (lengthy applause)!

Long live peace (lengthy applause)!

Long live communism!/(Those present in the hall hailed Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's concluding words with a long, stormy standing ovation. Shouts were heard beneath the dome of the Palace of Congresses: "Glory to the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!" "Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!" "Glory to the great Soviet people!" "Long live the unbreakable unity between the CPSU and the Soviet people!")

CSG: 1802/11

RESOLUTION OF THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS ON COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV'S REPORT--REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND THE FORTHCOMING PARTY TASKS IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 4, Mar 81 p 66

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary--Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Forthcoming Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy, the 26th CPSU Congress decrees:

1. That the Leninist course and practical activities of the party's Central Committee are completely and in their entirety approved.
2. That the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report is approved, and it is suggested that all party organizations be guided in their work by the propositions and tasks in the area of domestic and foreign policy formulated in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report.

5003

CSO: 1802/11

ON A NEW DRAFT OF THE CPSU PROGRAM

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 4, Mar 81 p 66

[26th CPSU Congress Decree]

[Text] On the basis of the fact that 20 years have passed since the adoption of the CPSU Program, that abundant experience has been acquired in the building of socialism and communism and that new changes and processes have taken place in the international arena in that interval, the 26th CPSU Congress decrees:

That the CPSU Central Committee is instructed to introduce the necessary supplements and amendments to the current party program which, as a whole, accurately defines the laws of global social development and the objectives and main tasks in the struggle waged by the party and the Soviet people for communism, and to draft a new edition of the CPSU program for the next party congress.

The program must profoundly reflect the most important changes in the life of Soviet society and in worldwide social developments and the main tasks of the building of communism.

5003

CSO: 1802/11

DECREE OF THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU ON THE CC CPSU DRAFT GUIDELINES 'BASIC DIRECTIONS IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR IN 1981-1985 AND THE PERIOD THROUGH 1990'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 p 67

[Text] After hearing and discussing the report by Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman on the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," the 26th CPSU Congress decrees:

That the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" are ratified.

That in accordance with the "Basic Directions," the USSR shall formulate a draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985, with annual breakdowns by USSR and union republic ministries and departments and shall submit it to the USSR Supreme Soviet for its consideration in October 1981.

That the suggestions made at the 26th CPSU Congress, the congresses of communist parties of union republics, krays and oblast party conferences, aktiv meetings and party committee plenums in rayons, cities, okrugs and labor collectives and the press, and in the letters sent by workers, kolkhoz members, specialists and scientists shall be considered in the formulation of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

That it is the belief of the 26th CPSU Congress that the implementation of the broad program for the economic and social development of the country in the new five-year plan is the most important economic-political task of all party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations. The congress is confident that the working people in all national economic sectors will develop socialist competition even further and will apply their creative strength, knowledge and experience to the successful building of communism under the leadership of the communist party.

5003
CSO: 1802/11

INFORMATION REPORT ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 p 68

[Text] The CC CPSU, which was elected at the 26th CPSU Congress, held a plenum on 3 March 1981.

The plenum unanimously elected Comrade L. I. Brezhnev CPSU general secretary.

The plenum unanimously elected the following members of the CC CPSU Politburo:

Politburo members: Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Yu. V. Andropov, M. S. Gorbachev, V. V. Grishin, A. A. Gromyko, A. P. Kirilenko, D. A. Kunayev, A. Ya. Pel'she, G. V. Romanov, M. A. Suslov, N. A. Tikhonov, D. F. Ustinov, K. U. Chernenko and V. V. Shcherbitskiy.

Politburo candidate members: Comrades G. A. Aliyev, P. N. Demichev, T. Ya. Kiselev, V. V. Kuznetsov, B. N. Ponomarev, Sh. R. Rashidov, M. S. Solomentsev and E. A. Shevardnadze.

The following were elected CC CPSU secretaries: Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary, M. A. Suslov, A. P. Kirilenko, K. U. Chernenko, M. S. Gorbachev, B. N. Ponomarev, I. V. Kapitonov, V. I. Dolgikh, M. V. Zimiyamin and K. V. Rustakov.

The plenum confirmed Comrade A. Ya. Pel'she as chairman of the CC CPSU Party Control Committee.

5003

CSU: 1802/11

L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 pp 68-71

[Text] Comrades! The first plenum of the new Central Committee of our party, elected by the congress, has just ended. Allow me to report on its results. The leading organ of our party were unanimously elected at the first Central Committee plenum, which took place in an atmosphere of exceptional unity and cohesion. The plenum unanimously elected Comrade L. I. Brezhnev CC CPSU general secretary (tempestuous and lengthy applause. All rise).

Comrade delegates, allow me to express my sincere gratitude for the honor and high trust you have given me by reelecting me CC CPSU general secretary (lengthy applause).

At the plenum the following comrades were unanimously elected Central Committee Politburo members: L. I. Brezhnev (applause), Yu. V. Andropov (applause), M. S. Gorbachev (applause), V. V. Grishin (applause), A. A. Gromyko (applause), A. P. Kirilenko (applause), D. A. Kunayev (applause), A. Ya. Pel'she (applause), G. V. Romanov (applause), M. A. Suslov (applause), N. A. Tikhonov (applause), D. F. Ustinov (applause), K. U. Chernenko (applause) and V. V. Shcherbitskiy (applause).

The following comrades were elected Central Committee Politburo candidate members: G. A. Aliyev (applause), P. N. Demichev (applause), T. Ya. Kiselev (applause), V. V. Kuznetsov (applause), B. N. Ponomarev (applause), Sh. R. Rashidov (applause), M. S. Solomentsev (applause) and E. A. Shevardnadze (applause).

The following were elected Central Committee secretaries: L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary (applause), M. A. Suslov (applause), A. P. Kirilenko (applause), K. U. Chernenko (applause), M. S. Gorbachev (applause), B. N. Ponomarev (applause), I. V. Kapitonov (applause), V. I. Dolgikh (applause), M. V. Zimiyamin (applause) and K. V. Rusakov (applause).

Comrade A. Ya. Pel'she was confirmed CC CPSU Party Control Committee chairman (applause).

The CPSU Central Auditing Commission elected Comrade G. S. Sizov as its chairman (applause).

Comrades! I have been instructed by the newly elected CPSU Central Committee members and candidate members, and by the members of the Central Auditing

Commission to express to the congress delegates our heartfelt gratitude for the great trust shown to us (lengthy applause). We highly value this trust and properly realize the full extent of our responsibility and we assure you that we shall do everything possible so that the historical tasks set by the congress are resolved successfully. We consider this our duty to the party and the people (applause).

The entire work of our congress took place in the spirit of unity and cohesion, which make our party powerful and invincible (applause). Allow me to assure you that the new membership of the party's leading organs will carefully safeguard and strengthen the unity of our party ranks, which is the guarantee for all of our victories (lengthy applause)!

Intensive work was done here, in this hall, for the past 8 days. We summed up the results of the distance covered in recent years. We shared joys and sorrows, and jointly earmarked the plans for the future.

We were able to reassess to their fullest extent and complexity the tasks facing the party and the country.

We intend to focus all our strength along two interrelated directions. The first is the building of communism. The second is the consolidation of the peace (applause). Strictly speaking, such was precisely the instruction of the party members, of the entire people, to the party delegates. This instruction has now been translated into the language of party decisions.

Today we can see things better and more extensively than yesterday. We know where our successes and difficulties lie. The picture of the country's successful development and the intricacies of international politics were displayed in their entirety and comprehensiveness at the congress.

The congress approved the essential and specific stipulations for future activities. Today their implementation becomes the center of all of our efforts. On their return to their party organizations, the congress delegates must join in the tremendous efforts for the practical implementation of the congress' decisions. It is mainly a question of insuring the strict fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

What does this require? It requires, most of all, a high feeling of responsibility and a firm, a truly communist conscious discipline. Naturally, inspiration, a tireless search for the new and its support, are no less necessary. Constant initiative is needed everywhere and in everything. We are convinced that the creative charge provided by the congress will enrich the work of each collective, rayon, oblast and republic, of the entire country (applause).

These days, thousands of reports on labor victories achieved by the Soviet people in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress have echoed as a solemn salute in honor of Lenin's party's congress, and as a manifestation of powerful support of its proceedings. Workers in plants and electric power stations, workers in the fields, masters of animal husbandry, construction workers, transportation workers and men of science and culture honored the homeland with new achievements and new great

accomplishments (applause). Allow me, on behalf of all the delegates, to express to the participants in the pre-congress competition sincere gratitude for their lofty patriotism and for this outstanding manifestation of the unity of thoughts, objectives and accomplishments of the party and the entire people (lengthy applause)

This is expressively confirmed by hundreds of thousands of letters received from organizations, labor collectives and individual citizens who addressed to the Congress their good wishes for success in its work. I hope that all of you will support me in expressing our warm gratitude to the authors of these letters (lengthy applause)

The Soviet people know that the party's slogan is, all for the good of the Soviet man, everything for the sake of man. They know this, for which reason they warmly support the party's policy. However, we know something else as well: nothing comes free. Any improvement in living conditions can be achieved only through the strenuous efforts of the Soviet people themselves. Nature socialism provides the broadest possible opportunities for the development of the capabilities of every citizen. The point is to use these capabilities. Everyone is able to engage in free and conscientious work, work for himself and for his society (applause)

I believe that we can rest assured that the plans earmarked by the congress will be not only fulfilled but overfulfilled (applause)

The 16th congress proved, yet once again, that the CPSU is a powerful, healthy and mature collective. The party members are the truly inflexible pivot of our society, its soul. They are the truly revolutionary vanguard of the people (lengthy applause)

We know quite well from past and present experience that a leading role in society does not come by itself. It must be earned, it must be gained in the course of a tireless and continuing struggle for the interests of the working people. This role is strengthened by the fact that the party is steadily increasing its ties with the people's masses and is living with their needs and concerns.

The party's strength lies in its unity with the people (lengthy applause)

The strength of the people lies in its unity with the party and in the party's leadership (lengthy applause)

Consider! The entire proceedings of our congress and the documents it adopted proved yet once again that the preservation of the peace is our main concern in the world arena and the main foreign political objective of our state.

Our foreign political program is a program for the continuation and intensification of detente, a program for the struggle for putting an end to the arms race.

Our party proved yet once again that the Soviet people have not only the desire but the political will to do everything possible for the sake of the peace--for

the sake of a strong and inviolable peace (applause). We not only have the will to fight for peace but also a specific and efficient program for such a struggle (applause).

Comrades! Present at this congress is the largest number of delegations of communist, workers' and other revolutionary parties in the entire history of the CPSU. The speeches of our fellow fighters here, at the congress, and at meetings in Moscow and other cities have strengthened even further our faith in the inevitability of social progress and the irreversibility of the revolutionary reorganization of the world (applause).

We are deeply grateful for the good words about our party and country voiced here. Rest assured, dear comrades, that the Soviet communists, loyal to Lenin's behests, will continue to follow firmly the tried internationalist course of our party (lengthy applause).

The thought of the need for unity for the sake of the peace and the progress of mankind runs throughout the speeches by our foreign comrades. In our time these two concepts are inseparable from each other. Peace is the decisive prerequisite for progress in all areas of human activity. We are convinced that if communists, revolutionaries, and healthy and sensible forces become fully aware of their responsibility and act with in a single front the plans of the enemies of the people will fail unquestionably (applause).

Comrades! Ever since the great Lenin founded our party it has confidently followed his way in the building of socialism and communism (applause).

How frequently within that time our inevitable failure has been predicted. How many times have attempts been made to force us to abandon our objectives? How many times our enemies have tried to assure us that we are mistaken, that ours is the wrong way...

What happened? Most of those people are now long forgotten. Socialism, however, lives on (applause) it is developing. It is marching forward steadfastly. We not simply believe but know firmly that our final objective will be reached also, and that a communist society will be built (lengthy applause)?

We are convinced of this, for we have faith in the sacred truth of our ideals. We are convinced of this, for we are aware of the inexhaustible power of our people. We are convinced of this, for we know that the Marxist-Leninist course of our party is the true course (lengthy applause).

And so, let us march boldly forward, on the path to communism (stormy, lengthy applause).

May the unbreakable unity between the communist party and the Soviet people continue to strengthen (stormy applause)!

May the unity of the socialist society and of all revolutionary forces on our planet continue to strengthen (stormy applause)!

Glory to our Leninist party (stormy applause)!

Long live the great Soviet people (stormy applause)!

Long live the peace (stormy applause)!

Long live communism (long ovations in the hall. All rise. Shouts are heard: "Long live the CPSU!", "Glory to the Leninist Central Committee!", "Hooray for Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev!", "Long live the unbreakable unity between party and people!", "Glory! Glory! Glory! Hooray!").

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THE WORKING PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION WITH THE BIGGEST MASS MEMBERSHIP

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 pp 72-83

[Article by AUGCTU Chairman A. Rhibayev]

[Text] It was with enormous enthusiasm that the Soviet people welcomed the decisions of the 26th congress of Lenin's party. The supreme forum of our country's communists summed up the results of the 10th 5-Year Plan, and defined the general avenues of the party's economic and social strategy for the next 5-year period and for the long term through 1990. A vivid new page has been inscribed in the history of the struggle to build a communist society. The CPSU Central Committee report delivered by its General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and the other congress documents are an outstanding contribution by our party and its Leninist Central Committee to the creative development of revolutionary theory and to the practice of gigantic socioeconomic and political transformations according with the fundamental aspirations of the working people and the interests of peace and socialism.

The congress opened up new horizons for creative constructive work by the party and people and for the further development of socialist democracy and defined specific ways of intensifying the role of public organizations in economic and sociocultural development.

Among these organizations the trade unions have the biggest mass membership. Their task is to be concerned for the defense of the working people's interests, take part in the resolution of economic, social and cultural tasks and do everything possible to boost socialist competition and activity concerned with inventions and rationalization. The trade unions now see their vocation in actively promoting the fulfillment of the 11th 5-Year Plan targets and implementing the program advanced in the 26th CPSU Congress decisions for the further improvement of the Soviet people's living standards.

The breadth and magnitude of the communist building tasks set by the congress, the serious, truly Leninist analysis of urgent problems, the spirit of criticism and self-criticism with which the party assesses what has been achieved require even greater initiative from the Soviet trade unions in using their broad rights and fulfilling their lofty duties. It is important always to display persistence in questions of fulfilling collective contracts, organizing citizens' work, daily routine and leisure and defending their legitimate interests, to react to instances of the violation of labor legislation, bureaucratism and red tape and to

promote by every means the growth of labor productivity, discipline and organization in production.

1. The Soviet trade unions' activity and their rich history are inextricably linked with the consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the class struggle and revolution and on the building of socialism and communism. V. I. Lenin regarded the trade unions as a historically inevitable form of working class organization not only under the conditions of capitalism but also under socialism, right up to the complete building of a communist society. He regarded the granting of the broadest rights to them in administering state and public affairs, particularly in the production sphere, as one of the most important principles of socialist democracy. Stressing the importance of combining rights with duties, Lenin spoke of the need for the trade unions to also be always aware of their high responsibility for the state of the entire business of socialist building, for insuring the normal and efficient functioning of the national economy and the sociopolitical system as a whole. We see the implementation of these ideas of Lenin's in our living reality.

Under the conditions of developed socialist society the trade unions, as the public organizations with the biggest mass membership, have become an inalienable part of the Soviet political system. "The party," the CPSU Central Committee report on the 26th congress says, "views the trade unions as its reliable bulwark among the masses, as a powerful means of developing democracy and enlisting the working people in the building of communism.

Our trade unions operate precisely where the great concepts of politics and economics make the transition to the plane of daily organizational work, where people's ideological positions, their attitude toward labor and public property and their moral qualities are primarily shaped. The trade unions are invested with great rights in resolving questions of production management, wages, labor safety and health, social security and the organization of the leisure of workers and employees.

The Soviet trade unions see the CPSU's life-giving leadership as the source of their authority and a reliable guarantee of the constant improvement of the style, forms and methods of their work. This conviction, whose truth we can all feel particularly fully and powerfully after the historic 26th party congress, has been enshrined in the USSR trade unions charter.

The party's leadership of the trade unions stems from the party's very nature as the supreme form of working class sociopolitical organization and the leading and guiding force of our society. This leadership is of an ideological and political nature and has nothing in common with any diminution of the trade unions' role, restriction of their activity or interference in their internal affairs. The party makes high demands on the communists elected to trade union organs and teaches them to treasure the masses' trust and to justify it by their deeds.

The CPSU constantly promotes the growth of the trade unions' role in economic and cultural building. Our trade unions are tangibly aware of the daily concern of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev

personally. His speeches define the trade unions' most important tasks and clearly formulate the direction in which the trade union movement must develop under present conditions. L. I. Brezhnev's work "The Soviet Trade Unions Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism" has become a reference book for every trade union worker and activist.

The party and its Central Committee and party organizations at local level helps the trade unions in an attentive, comradely way to resolve many organizational and educational tasks. The CPSU Central Committee resolution on party leadership of the trade union organizations in Karagandinskaya Oblast has played an important part in developing this close collaboration. The resolution notes not only the achievements but also the shortcomings which must be resolutely combated. The party links the overcoming of these primarily with the further development of trade union organizations' initiative and persistence, the growth of their public prestige and the more skillful utilization of their broad rights and powers by trade union councils and committees.

Socialism's ideological opponents have frequently tried and are continuing to try to direct their thrust against the most important principle of trade union building under the conditions of socialist society--the trade union's recognition of the leading role of the communist party. These actions are similar to the attempt by the Mensheviks, socialist revolutionaries and other opportunists--an attempt opposed by Lenin--to "liberate" the trade unions from the party's influence and make them "independent" of the political parties and state. The authors of these concepts conceal the fundamental differences between the position of trade unions under the conditions of capitalism, where the working people are opposed by the monopolies and the full power of the bourgeois, exploiter state, and the position of trade unions under socialism.

Here the indisputable historical fact that socialism radically alters the working class' position in the system of social production and makes the working people the country's masters is ignored. And that means that whereas yesterday the trade unions' main task was to struggle against capital and its state, their role becomes completely different and qualitatively new under conditions when, as Lenin stressed, the trade unions "experience the biggest breakthrough in their entire history... and become the main creator of the new society because only the proletarianing masses can be the creators of this society" ("Voin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol. 17, p. 451).

The 26th CPSU Congress stressed most forcefully that the party's line with regard to the trade unions is to continue to improve the standard of their work. The congress documents contain a clear-cut program for its improvement under contemporary conditions. This program is of a profoundly scientific, comprehensively substantiated nature. It clearly defines the strategy of the Soviet trade union movement and indicates specific ways and means of attaining the goals facing the trade unions. Its creator is the CPSU and its Central Committee headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, that outstanding Marxist-Leninist.

Inspired by the decisions of the 26th party congress, the Soviet trade unions are making creative efforts to make even fuller and more effective use of the rights granted to them--rights guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. As is well known, the country's fundamental law not only enshrined its citizens' right to join together

in public organizations but also defined considerably more fully the conditions for the successful fulfillment of their statutory tasks by all public organizations. As for the trade unions, the Constitution enshrines in legislative form their right to take part in the management of state and public affairs and in the solution of political, economic and sociocultural questions.

Developing and functioning in the political system of society, within the framework of the USSR Constitution, Soviet trade unions are making a substantial contribution to the implementation of many of its provisions and legal norms. Suffice it to say that in recent years on the initiative and with the participation of the AUCCTU and republic trade union councils, dozens of important normative documents and resolutions have been adopted governing labor relations in the country and affecting the working people's social and everyday situation. In resolving these problems our trade unions do not and cannot have any basic differences with the Soviet state, which acts as the state of the working people and for the working people. Throughout its history it has not promulgated a single law in any way restricting the trade unions' activity.

Taking part in the creative process of building the new society, the trade union movement in the USSR is expanding its social base and strengthening the organizational foundations of its activity. It now numbers over 129 million people in its ranks and unites virtually all the country's working people. With the admission of socialist agricultural production workers and kolkhoz members to the ranks of the trade unions, an organizational basis has been created in the countryside for active trade union participation in the development of agriculture and the improvement of the Soviet people's work and everyday life.

The task of historic importance set by Lenin—the task of the universal unification of all working people in the ranks of the trade unions—has thus been resolved. This is a very important feature of our trade unions under present-day conditions conditioned by the entire economic and sociopolitical development of Soviet society. At the same time this is a convincing indicator of the advantages of socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy. It is well known that even in the economically highly developed capitalist countries the trade unions cover only 15-20 percent of workers and employees.

The mass nature of the Soviet trade unions, the breadth of their social base and the improvement of their organizational structure are important factors for increasing the role of trade union organizations in the life and development of society. There are now 21 large-scale production sector trade unions, 740,000 primary trade union organizations, 330,000 shop committees and trade union bureaus and almost 2 million trade union groups operating in the USSR. Their entire activity is based on the broad development of their voluntary public basis. Over 80 million people, that is almost every second trade union member, belong to the trade union actively and constantly carry out public duties.

The Soviet trade unions have trained, educated and politically matured cadres equal to present-day tasks and requirements. The standard of education of trade union workers and activists has improved and the number of CPSU members in trade union organs has increased.

As socialist democracy develops, the trade unions' ties with other public organizations and associations are becoming increasingly broad, firm and diverse. The trade unions cooperate constantly with the Komsomol. This activity is aimed in particular at improving the professional and general educational standard of the young, enlisting them in socialist competition and scientific, technical and artistic creativity and rendering aid to the collectives of young workers working on shock Komsomol construction sites. The trade unions work harmoniously with the people's control organs, using various forms for recruiting working people to the struggle against violations of state discipline and manifestations of red tape and bureaucratism. They are in close contact with the creative unions of the Soviet intelligentsia—the writers, composers, cinematographers, architects, artists and journalists unions.

2. The USSR trade unions have been and remain a Leninist school of management, a school of economic administration, a school of communism. Here it is fundamentally important to emphasize that they are a mass school in which tens of millions of people acquire a practical understanding of science and the art of managing production, the state and society.

The new conditions for our economy's development and the profound shift toward solutions of diverse tasks presupposing the fullest satisfaction of people's material and spiritual requirements--the implementation of the supreme goal of production in the society of developed socialism--have intensified as never before the need for more active trade unions participation in economic building. It is primarily a matter of direct participation in the compilation and implementation of state plans for economic and social development.

The preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress graphically demonstrated the trade unions' increased role and influence in elaborating the party's economic and social strategy. Tens of millions of workers, employees and kolхоз members took part in the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft for the congress. Their proposals, recommendations and wishes are considered in the current and long-term plans of enterprises and sectors. Trade union organizations have contributed to the elaboration of enterprises' plans for the 11th 5-Year Plan and workers' personal plans for labor productivity growth and the improvement of output quality, engineering and technical workers' creative plans, and counterplans and new socialist pledges. At enterprises and associations plans for organizational measures and comprehensive plans for raising labor productivity has been compiled and other long-term measures for the labor collectives conceived with trade union participation.

All this attests to a marked intensification of trade union cooperation with economic administration, planning and state organs. Representatives of trade union central committees take part when the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and other economic organs examine highly important questions of production, the work and everyday life of workers and employees and material and moral incentives in given sectors of the national economy and they also participate in summing up the results of the economic and financial activities of ministries and departments. Trade union central committee's participation, with ministries and departments, in the elaboration of proposals on

questions of wages, labor protection and the everyday life of workers and employees and the use of public consumption funds--proposals which are submitted to higher-ranking state organs--has been put into practice and has become more specific.

Important political significance attaches to the adoption of joint resolutions and other documents by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee. The practice of the adoption of resolutions by union republic councils of ministers and republic trade union councils and by ministries and trade union central committees is expanding.

The growth of the role of trade unions in the life of Soviet society is borne out by the fact that they have been given functions formerly carried out by the state such as the management of social security, supervision of the observance of labor legislation and labor safety rules and norms, provision of sanatorium and resort services for working people and tourism.

The transfer of individual types and sectors of activity performed by state organs to the trade unions is undoubtedly important and essential evidence of the development of democratic principles in the management of society's affairs. Soviet trade unions, however, do not link the growth of their role and their historic prospects merely with this process. The very essence of trade union activity under socialism is to be a school of communism. That means that the main avenue of their development both now and in the future consists primarily in the all-round improvement and enrichment of all avenues and types of work stemming from this role of theirs.

The prospects for our country's economic and social development in the 11th 5-Year Plan and the eighties as a whole set trade union organizations exceptionally crucial tasks in the material production sphere. It is essential to do everything to insure that the rich experience accumulated by the trade unions in developing the creative initiative and labor activeness of the working class, kolkhos peasantry and scientific and technical intelligentsia reliably serves the development of socialist competition, the growth of social labor productivity and the improvement of production efficiency and work quality.

Attaching enormous significance to the consistent implementation of Lenin's principles for organizing competition--publicity, comparability of results and imitation of leading experience--the AUCCTU draws special attention to the need to organically link competition with the main avenue of the party's economic policy and to create conditions promoting by every means the growth of its efficiency and the development of its mass nature.

Under the party's leadership the trade unions together with state and economic organs and the Komsomol act as the direct organizers of competition as the movement of the working people with the biggest mass support. Over 106 million working people are taking part in socialist competition, which became truly nationwide in scale during the period of preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress; the movement for a communist attitude to labor covers 65.8 million people. In the

10th 5-Year Plan substantial changes took place in the organization of competition, and new undertakings of tremendous economic and social significance were born and consolidated. They include undertakings like "Working Without Laggards!"; "The Workers' Baton"; "The Workers' Guarantee for a 5-Year Plan of Quality"; "From High Quality in Each Person's Work to High Efficiency in the Collective's Labor" and many others.

The 26th CPSU Congress stressed that a decisive role in improving social production efficiency and labor productivity belongs to the rapid and extensive introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Trade union organizations consider it their duty to constantly and effectively monitor the implementation of plans for new technology and to seek to insure that the fulfillment of measures and socialist pledges for the technical improvement of production becomes the most important criterion for assessing the activity of associations and enterprises, ministries and departments and all trade union organs.

Developing socialist competition for the above-plan production of metal, an increase in fuel extraction and the generation of electricity, the trade unions are joining increasingly extensively in work to introduce the most rigorous policy of thrift in all sectors of the national economy and to observe manufacturing and labor discipline.

The resolution of the tasks of scientific and technical progress in the 11th 5-Year Plan is inconceivable without the all-round development of working people's creative activeness, innovation and the movement of inventors and rationalizers, without the further improvement of scientific and technical societies' work. The Central Council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies and trade union councils and committees have elaborated specific measures to fulfill the party's instructions. They are seeking to insure that every Scientific and Technical Society and All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers member--and that means over 20 million people--has his own creative plan and pledges and fulfills them successfully.

Standing production conferences have become an important means of enlisting working people in production management. Like the team form of self-administration, they promote the all-round development of the creative initiative of workers and employees. Over 140,000 standing production conferences have now been created at enterprises and construction sites and in associations and organizations. They include almost six million people of whom two-thirds are workers. Every year over one million recommendations accepted by the standing production conferences are implemented. The saving from their introduction runs into hundreds of millions of rubles.

However, we believe that the real impact of the standing production conferences on the improvement of production efficiency can and must be even more tangible. Suffice it to say that, unfortunately, every year almost 20 percent of conferences' proposals fail to be introduced in the country. In improving the work of the standing production conferences much depends on the responsibility of trade

union organizations and economic workers for the implementation of technically developed and economically sound ideas.

The significance of collective contracts in the struggle to increase production efficiency is growing. In the course of contract campaigns almost 2.5 million proposals are made every year on various questions of improving the organization of production and the Soviet people's work and leisure. The AUCCTU draws trade union organizations' attention to the need to step up monitoring of the implementation of the measures envisaged by collective contracts.

In developed socialist society concern for the development of the national economy, working people's rights and interests and the conditions of their work and everyday life are the main avenue of trade union activity. This task combines virtually all aspects of the trade unions' economic, social organizational and educational activity. At the same time it reveals the special nature of the implementation of the trade unions' traditional protective function under the conditions of socialist building.

In a number of social spheres like the improvement of the standard of labor, the introduction of safety techniques, the organization of leisure and treatment for working people in sanatoriums and resorts, concern for the improvement of their housing and consumer service conditions, the development of tourism and a number of others, this function merges in our country with the socialist state's entire social activity. This fact re-emphasizes that trade unions developing under the conditions of socialism cannot be approached using the yardsticks of the old trade unionism for which the protective function meant a workers, economic class struggle against capitalist exploitation and lack of social and political rights.

V. I. Lenin revealed the essence of trade union activity associated with the protection of working people's rights and interests. He emphasized that under socialism the trade unions' protective function becomes an expression of the nonclass economic struggle "in the sense of the struggle against bureaucratic distortions of the Soviet apparatus" and "exaggerated departmental zeal" on the part of individual economic leaders, "in the sense of protecting the material and spiritual interests of the mass of working people by ways and means inaccessible to that apparatus..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 29; Vol 44, p 343). The founder of our party and the Soviet state not only pointed to the need to preserve the trade unions' protective function under socialism but also revealed in depth of the reasons why, under these new conditions, the trade unions cannot and must not act as some sort of force acting in isolation from socialist state power and confronting it. These Leninist tenets fully retain their fundamental significance for the modern stage of our society's development.

The trade unions' fulfillment of their protective function manifested itself particularly graphically in their direct participation in implementing the social program elaborated by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. The very important tasks envisaged by that program of improving the Soviet people's well-being, increasing housing and municipal construction and developing the material base of public health, education and culture are resolved here in conjunction with trade union organs. The USSR trade unions manage the business of state social insurance. This

is a great social achievement. It is a question of a broad system to provide for working people in old age, at the onset of temporary incapacity or disability and also in other cases provided for in Soviet legislation. Social insurance embraces a system of preventive measures aimed at safeguarding the health of the working people and members of their families. The state allocates vast funds annually for all these needs without any deductions from the wages of workers and employees. In 1980 the social insurance budget totaled more than R35 billion. A unified system of social insurance was also introduced for kolkhoz members in 1977. The management of this business has also been entrusted to the trade unions. For kolkhoz members who are trade union members the size of the temporary incapacity benefit has been set at the level established earlier for workers and employees.

The trade unions carry out diverse health-improvement measures with social insurance funds. They have at their disposal almost 4,200 sanatoriums, hostels, rest homes, preventive clinic-laboratories, tourist bases, camping sites and hotels. The trade unions determine the main directions and the extent of expenditure under social insurance, keep an eye on the timely and correct payment of insurance contributions by enterprises and establishments, designate various benefits and pay pensions to working pensioners, send workers and employees to rest homes, sanatoriums and resorts, provide warrants for medicinal food and organize children's vacations. In the 10th 5-Year Plan, 47 million people and 61 million Pioneers and schoolchildren received treatment or took vacations.

At the suggestion of the trade unions a number of laws and decisions have been drawn up with a view to improving the working people's provisions with benefits, pensions and sanatoriums and resort services. The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU, for example, recently adopted a resolution "On Further Developing and Improving Tourist and Excursion Affairs in the Country," whose realization will, we believe, raise this very important sector to a qualitatively new level.

Comrade L. J. Brezhnev pointed out at the 16th USSR Trade Union Congress that one of the paramount tasks of trade union organizations is constant concern for improving working conditions, reducing manual, unskilled, physically hard labor and creating a situation which rules out occupational diseases and industrial injuries. Under the conditions of scientific and technical progress labor safety problems are assuming still greater social significance, and the need arises to resolve them to a higher standard. This task is now formulated as follows: "From safety techniques to safe technology."

It must be said that the trade unions are doing much that is useful in this direction. They are helping to strengthen the role of science in resolving labor safety problems—today more than 20,000 specialists are tackling these problems—they take an active part in elaborating a system of labor safety standards, and they are improving supervision of the state of labor safety with the help of the technical inspectorate under their jurisdiction. The broad trade union activity is involved in the work.

All this is bearing fruit. In the 10th 5-Year Plan there was an appreciable drop in industrial injuries and the sick rate. In the system of labor safety measures

prominence is given to measures aimed at safeguarding the work of women and improving their status as participants in the labor process, mothers, educators of children and housewives.

An important indicator of the Soviet people's material and cultural living standards is the provision of housing. As is known, the high pace of housebuilding will be maintained in the coming decade. Trade union organizations seek to devote paramount attention to the correct distribution of housing space, to keeping a clear record of those in need of housing and to monitoring the improvement in living conditions in workers' and students' hostels.

I must dwell also on the problem of improving trade and consumer services and public catering. The trade unions see it as their chief task in this sphere to insure that working people are able to acquire with no special waste of time and with the greatest convenience the goods and products that they need in their everyday life and to obtain consumer services. The tasks advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress in the sphere of the comprehensive implementation of the food program increase many times over the responsibility of trade union organizations in this sphere. Trade union councils and committees are called upon to use all forms and means of trade union influence, above all the skillful organization of socialist competition, to try to achieve the efficient utilization of funds allocated for the further growth of production and purchases of agricultural products, for the unconditional fulfillment of plans for the production of cultural, domestic and household goods and for the improved quality of consumer goods.

It was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that the party considers concrete concern for the person the be-all and end-all of its economic strategy. The trade unions for their part consider it their primary duty to promote with all their strength the successful fulfillment of this noble task.

3. Addressing the 11th Soviet Trade Union Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "the Leninist concept of the role of the trade unions as a 'school of communism' embraces, above all, the fostering of communist consciousness in people in indissoluble conjunction with their production activity and with their labor for the good of society. The linchpin of the trade unions' educational work is the cultivation in the whole mass of workers of a truly socialist, communist attitude to work and public property!"

These instructions are of key significance for all the trade unions' educational and mass cultural work. In organizing this work, the trade unions proceed from the premise that it is precisely in labor--the fundamental sphere of human activity--that man's creative abilities are revealed most fully.

A particularly important role in the working people's education belongs to socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude to labor. In the competition process man's sense of personal responsibility for the affairs of the collective is developed, a zealous attitude to public property and intolerance toward manifestations of indiscipline and laxity are fostered, and an active life stance is shaped.

Lenin, as is known, attached tremendous significance to the initiatives of foremost production workers and to their educational influence. He pointed out that under the conditions of socialism "the force of example acquires the possibility of having its mass effect for the first time" ("Vuzn. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 191). The competition winners embody within themselves ideological conviction, constant striving for the heights of knowledge and skill and a profound sense of collectivism and comradesly mutual assistance. The trade unions seek to educate all working people in the labor and moral example of these remarkable people, in the best models of their labor and in the positive experience of the competition.

The role of the labor collective and of collective forms of labor organization is truly inestimable here. At the stage of developed socialism, according to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's definition, the restructuring of the sum total of social relations is completed on the collectivist principles inherent in socialism. In a friendly, purposeful collective the working person reveals his tremendous energy and inexhaustible creative strength. This is confirmed by life itself. There are many enterprises in the country which have accumulated valuable experience of work on introducing team organization and labor encouragement. This method has been embodied most fruitfully at the Kaluga turbine plant, for example. In enterprises where serious attention is devoted to increasing the role of the team form of labor organization the labor productivity growth rate in teams is approximately one-fourth higher than in those working individually. Apart from the saving, this is also of tremendous educational significance.

One of the trade unions' paramount tasks under modern conditions is to improve moral and material incentives in the development of competition. Last year alone 180 foremost workers in industry, construction and agriculture were awarded USSR State Prizes. More than five million workers, 265,000 teams, shifts, sections and shops and thousands of enterprises were awarded an honorable Lenin testimonial for successes in socialist competition, selfless labor and fulfilling the 5-year target by the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

The 26th party congress decisions and the measures outlined by the congress to improve the economic machinery open up broad scope for further improving the organization of the competition. Suffice it to say that contributions to association, enterprise and organization incentive funds for competition front-runners are being doubled. It is the task of trade union organizations to make skillful use of these incentives to extend the practice of drawing up counterplans and to activate the working people's involvement in the search for and realization of new production reserves.

Success increasingly depends on the standard of equipment and technology and on the ability to bring out and direct for society's benefit the potential of every worker, kolkhoz member, specialist and scientist. In this work trade unions try above all to instill in people a lofty sense of duty and personal responsibility for their work and to make fuller use of the force of public opinion in the struggle against negative phenomena such as indifference, negligence and indiscipline.

Trade unions widely propagandize economic and sociopolitical knowledge and the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the working class and disseminate information on questions of domestic and international life.

The growth of the working class' labor and political activeness is closely linked to the growth of its education and general culture. Three-fourths of the workers in the USSR now have higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education.

Guided by the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, trade union councils and committees have created a system of mass economic education for working people of unprecedented dimensions. Schools of communist labor are a most popular form of economic education, propaganda of leading experience and education of working people. We have nearly 500,000 of them. These schools equip students with the requisite knowledge, directly link training with the mastery of high-productivity labor skills and teach working people to think in economic terms and to analyze ably and creatively their enterprise's economic activity.

Trade unions want to broaden economic training and they want to organically combine it with practical application of the knowledge acquired, and wider involvement of all working people in the solution of questions relating to improving production efficiency.

The improvement of propaganda of scientific and technical knowledge is now acquiring special importance. Everywhere the conferences, seminars, symposiums and exhibitions held by scientific and technical societies and the all-union society of inventors and rationalizers widen working people's knowledge of science and technology and help them to find their way amid the rapid flow of scientific information. This work is being carried out in the context of Lenin's instructions on production propaganda and the proliferation of the latest achievements in the sphere of production and technology. Trade unions have set up around 4,000 people's universities of technical progress and economic and agricultural knowledge attended by over 900,000 students and have organized lecture courses on technical problems at many trade union clubs, centers and palaces of culture and technology. A great deal of work is to be done to improve scientific and technical propaganda taking into account the very important tasks of the new 5-year plan.

Trade union organizations have accumulated a great deal of experience propagandizing legal knowledge among working people. Questions of labor legislation are widely popularized by universities and law schools and are explained actually at work and in trade union councils and committees.

In their educational work trade unions have always placed great emphasis on training worthy labor replacements. In recent years they have paid much more attention to organizing young people's recreation, helping general educational schools in the labor education of children and in giving senior students vocational guidance. It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the mentor movement which has developed in collectives and is widely supported by the trade unions. For labor valor and great work in the communist education and vocational training of young people its founders, O. P. Vokhmyanina, S. S. Vitchenko, P. N. Pechenkin and A. L. Shatilov, were given the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

4. The Soviet trade unions, being a Leninist school of international proletarian solidarity, conduct multifaceted work aimed at implementing the CPSU's foreign policy course and fulfilling Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions on questions of the international workers and trade union movement.

The USSR trade unions, devoting great attention to the development and deepening of international ties, proceed on the basis that "here it is a question of an important form of direct participation by the Soviet people in the world workers movement, in strengthening the cohesion and businesslike cooperation of working people in the socialist countries and in the struggle for peace and social progress" (L. I. Brezhnev).

The forms and content of the working people's international solidarity have been qualitatively enriched in the course of the strengthening and development of the world system of socialism. The ties between USSR trade unions and trade unions in the fraternal socialist countries help us to successfully exchange experience in developing the masses' creative initiative, improving the working and living conditions of workers and employees and increasing their prosperity. Great significance is attached to contacts between trade union centers in the CEMA countries in implementing socialist economic integration and fulfilling the comprehensive program aimed at further strengthening economic collaboration among the socialist community countries. This businesslike and sincere trade union cooperation is developing on the basis of the commonality of the social system and vital interests and aims of the peoples of socialist countries and the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet trade unions attach great significance to the development of worker solidarity with the trade union movement in capitalist countries. We know that working people and fighters for the workers' cause on all our world's continents need this solidarity and need ardent moral support from the working class in the first country of victorious socialism. Life itself has discredited the bourgeois propagandists' assertions that capitalist society is allegedly becoming a society of "universal prosperity." The general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen, and its consequences are an increasingly grievous burden on the shoulders of the working people's masses. The struggle between labor and capital is taking on a particularly fierce character, as is evidenced by the unprecedented scale of strikes and other actions by the working class even in those countries of the capitalist West which only recently were regarded as "sanctuaries" of relative social calm.

Tremendous significance is attached to joint actions by trade unions in a number of countries and regions against the threat of a new war, for the strengthening of detente and for the reduction of military budgets and the elimination of the arms race. There is increasing alarm in the world's trade unions in connection with the whipping of militarist hysteria by imperialism, the interference of leading NATO circles in other people's affairs and the foisting on West European countries of the deployment of new American nuclear missiles on their territory.

We regard it as important that at present practical preparations are under way for a world trade union conference on socioeconomic aspects of disarmament. This conference, convened on the initiative of the Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions, could bring about a significant rapprochement in the positions of trade unions of various currents in the urgent cause of the struggle for peace and against the sinister nuclear arms race, which swallows up more than \$500 billion annually.

The international trade union movement has accumulated great experience in cooperation and in overcoming difficulties in approaching a whole range of major problems of the trade union struggle. One such problem is opposition to the antiworker policy of the multinational corporations, which are continuing to build up their might by means of the merciless exploitation of working people and the plundering of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, by virtue of which those countries advocate the establishment of a new, just international economic order which would restrict the diktat of international concerns and put an end to their tyranny.

The broad, rich ties between Soviet trade unions and trade unions in more than 130 other countries are developing on a class, antimonopoly basis, on the basis of joint struggle for the vital interests of the working masses. Our trade unions' rich experience of many years of businesslike contacts with working people's organizations in capitalist and developing countries convincingly shows the commonality of their vital interests and the deepening of mutual understanding and cooperation on a broad range of problems of the trade union struggle. This experience splendidly confirms the Leninist tenet that ideological differences in the trade union movement cannot be an insuperable barrier to joint actions by trade unions.

The international trade union movement is on the threshold of a major event—next year the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions will take place in Havana, the capital of socialist Cuba. This major international trade union forum, convened by the WFTU, is attracting the broadest attention among the international public. The 31st WFTU Central Council session, held in Moscow last October, stressed that the 10th congress must provide the answer to important new problems which the modern international trade union movement is coming up against. For the Soviet trade unions, as a member organization of WFTU, the congress will mark an important stage in strengthening unity of action with trade unions in various countries and in developing the noble cause of international workers' solidarity.

The Soviet people, under the tried and tested leadership of the communist party, have embarked on the implementation of the impressive tasks of the 11th 5-Year Plan. The decisions elaborated and adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress determine the prospects for a further mighty upsurge in the economy and summon the working people to new patriotic achievements.

Wholeheartedly approving the CPSU's wise Leninist policy and the historic decisions of its 26th congress, Soviet people look to the future calmly and confidently. They are filled with a burning desire to make a fitting contribution to the implementation of party plans. Under party leadership, the Soviet trade unions will do everything possible to insure that the coming decade is a period of further upsurge in the people's prosperity and new successes in communist building and in the struggle to insure lasting peace in the world.

THE COUNTRY'S POWER SUPPLY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 pp 84-90

[Article by A. Aleksandrov, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and three times Hero of Socialist Labor]

[Text] Our country has reached new boundaries of communist construction. The 26th CPSU Congress discussed and confirmed the program of our country's economic and social development for the 11th 5-Year Plan and the period through 1990.

Lenin's party's policy is to secure the further economic progress of society and profound qualitative changes in the material-technical base on the basis of the intensification of social production and its increased efficiency and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

"We must strive for the organic combination of the achievement of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system of management," the directive document of the party congress says. "We must enhance science's role in the creation of the material-technical base of communism and the solution of urgent social problems..."

I would like to dwell on one particularly important area where a great deal of work is expected of us scientists, in alliance with production and technical workers.

"An unconditional prerequisite of the accomplishment of all national economic tasks--both production and social--is the development of heavy industry;" Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, observed at the congress. "This applies particularly to its basic sectors, primarily the fuel-power sectors." He emphasized that "the task of an improvement in the structure of the fuel-power balance is becoming increasingly urgent."

The most complete task--power supplies for our enormous and rapidly developing economy, a constant increase in the power available per worker and an increase in power expenditure in the services sphere and everyday life--must be accomplished dependably and on a long-term basis. The traditional methods, based on an increase in the production of primary energy sources--oil, gas and coal--will no longer satisfy us in the foreseeable future. An essential change in the structure of their consumption and the extensive use of nontraditional power resources is needed.

The point is that in this century the growth of power engineering in all the industrially developed countries, including the USSR, has occurred at the same time as a sharp relative increase in the production and consumption of oil and, partially, of natural gas and a relative decline in the proportion of coal.

Currently oil constitutes over 45 percent and, together with natural gas, more than 70 percent of the country's production of natural types of fuel, while coal accounts for only 25 percent. At the same time forecast coal reserves exceed many times over forecast oil and natural gas reserves. Furthermore, although the forecast reserves of oil in our country are still sufficiently great and there is and will be no need to have recourse to imports thereof, a considerable amount of it lies in formations of considerably smaller proportions than those being developed currently, and consequently, the cost of production of the "black gold" produced at these places will obviously increase. All this prompts us, in examining the long-term prospects of the development of power engineering, to appreciably increase the relative proportion of coal in the fuel-power balance, maintaining the proportion of natural gas here, and to considerably reduce the proportion of oil in fuel and by the end of the 20th century to switch to the use of it mainly as raw material for chemical and microbiological industries.

"It is necessary to reduce the proportion of oil as fuel," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "and replace it with gas and coal and develop nuclear power, including fast breeder reactors, more rapidly. And, of course, life demands continuation of the search for fundamentally new energy sources, including the creation of the foundations of thermonuclear power."

The entire shortfall in the fuel-power balance must in the future be covered by a considerable expansion of the proportion of nuclear power with thermal and fast breeder reactors and, subsequently, by thermonuclear power also.

Naturally, it is also necessary to expand the use of other types of energy resource (solar, hydro- and geothermal and wind power); however, even in the long term all these will constitute probably no more than 5 percent of the country's fuel-power balance. And we will not examine them here, although locally, particularly in the Soviet Union's southern regions, they will obviously be quite significant.

Accomplishment of the general task of a change in the structure of power engineering in the process of the buildup of its dimensions will require, of course, great investments and considerably efforts by the Soviet people. This will reinforce even further the basis of the further growth of the economic might of developed socialism. The dimensions of its power resources together with its entire scientific-technical potential will make it possible to create in the country a system of power engineering which, given its rational operation, will meet society's requirements practically indefinitely without any crisis phenomena.

What problems confront science and technology here? In order to investigate them let us imagine a simplified outline of power consumption in our country.

The following are currently the principal expenditure items of the primary energy sources--coal, oil, gas and uranium:

I. Expenditure of the power sources to obtain heat of low potential for heating, hot water, certain industrial needs and so forth constitutes approximately 30 percent. Fuel oil, petroleum, coal and natural gas are expended in this sphere of consumption.

II. Expenditure on the operation of motor and air transport, tractors, small stationary internal combustion engines and diesel engines constitutes approximately 20 percent. Petroleum products—gasoline, kerosene and motor fuels and oils—are expended here.

III. Expenditure on industrial production constitutes approximately 30 percent—for obtaining high-potential heat in metallurgy and chemistry and for the use of energy sources in the form of a component of production engineering processes (for example, in the form of coke in blast-furnace production, in the form of hydrogen in the process of ammonia synthesis and so forth). Gas, oil and coal (coke) are expended on these needs.

IV. Expenditure on the generation of electric power constitutes approximately 20 percent of the primary energy sources. Coal, gas, petroleum products and uranium are expended in this sphere.

As we can see, it is precisely oil which is currently the most all-purpose energy source. It and the products of its refining are employed in all the main spheres of power consumption. Consequently, the first problem in the future is to supplant oil and petroleum products from all the main spheres of the consumption of power resources, replacing them with coal and nuclear power.

However, the direct use of coal or nuclear power quite often proves impossible or inexpedient, as in aviation, for example. In such cases it is essential to make use of them to obtain suitable secondary energy sources.

Let us see how this may be done in terms of individual items of the expenditure of the primary energy of sources.

It is easiest to solve the problem of obtaining heat of low potential for the cities' heat supply. In today's AES reactors the primary energy released in the nuclear fission chain reaction is converted into heat, heating up the fuel elements containing fissionable uranium. This heat is transferred by the water of the first circuit, which is pumped through the reactor and either directly gives off steam into the turbogenerator or heats up in a steam generator the water of the second circuit, and this gives off steam which is channeled into the turbogenerator.

Some of the steam, if its characteristics are suitable, may be extracted from the turbine and channeled into the heat-exchange apparatus of a heat supply system. Such is the principle of the nuclear heat and electric power plant (ATETs), which produces both heat and electric power.

It is possible to channel the hot water of the first circuit not into the turbogenerator at all but into the heat exchanger of an intermediate circuit. The

hot water of the intermediate circuit is pumped through the heat-exchange apparatus of the heat supply system. Such is the principle of the nuclear heat supply power plant (AST). It is fitting to mention that our specialists carried through this development at the initiative of A.N. Kosygin.

Both the first and second solutions are economical and technically practicable and will be realized in this 5-year plan.

Considering that approximately one half as much primary energy sources are expended on low-potential heat than on electric power, this sphere of the application of nuclear power will be of very great significance for the economy in the upcoming decade.

Thus the use of AST and ATETs completely solves the problem of supplanting oil products from the sphere of the production of low-potential heat.

It is considerably more difficult to find a satisfactory solution for the second item of expenditure of primary energy sources--replacing light petroleum products burned in engines.

However, back at the time of WW I German specialists had discovered a method of using gasoline-like products obtained upon flashing off the volatile products from brown coal. This process had long been known: At the end of the last century this was how "illuminating gas" for urban street lighting was obtained. Later the process was considerably refined and applied to obtain synthetic gasoline.

Currently in a number of countries, including ours, further developments are under way in this area: New catalysts and new technological methods are affording an opportunity for conducting the process of the treatment of coal (by way of interaction with water vapor or hydrogen) at appreciably lower temperatures and pressures and, moreover, with a higher yield of useful liquids. Obviously, the continuing increase in the price of petroleum products will even in the present 5-year period make synthetic gasoline and motor fuels competitive with natural light petroleum derivatives, and in subsequent 5-year plans in our country (and, simultaneously, overseas too) we should expect the organization of industrial synthetic motor fuel production in the areas of major coal deposits.

Thus petroleum products in this sphere of their consumption also may be gradually supplanted by way of the chemical-engineering treatment of coal. Various organic waste, shale, bituminous sandstone and so forth may similarly be processed into gaseous or liquid fuel.

Power for this process will be supplied by the combustion of part of the coal or by nuclear power.

Let us turn to the third sphere of the use of energy sources--high-temperature heat in metallurgy and chemistry.

An important singularity of nuclear power is the difficulty in and the unsuitability of the use of AES as maneuverable capacity. The greater capital outlays

thereon than on conventional power stations and the low fuel component of the cost of the electric power they generate make their use under the conditions of permanent, "base" load economically expedient. Variable conditions of these are altogether undesirable inasmuch as they inevitably reduce the period of their reliable operation.

This applies to an even greater extent to fast-breeder reactor AES since operation at reduced capacity, in addition to what has just been said, leads to the underproduction of secondary nuclear fuel, that is, to nonfulfillment of the reactor's main function--serving as the breeder of nuclear fuel.

These circumstances could limit the relative "weight" of nuclear power stations in power systems, which is extremely undesirable.

It is only possible to avoid such limitation in one way: the creation of a quick-response system of power accumulation--water storage of the production of some energy source or final product, for example--channeling the surplus power of the AES into, say, the production of hydrogen from water and then utilizing this hydrogen, in a gas turbine, to cover peak loads. It could also be utilized in metallurgy for heating and as a reducer of oxide ores. It may also be applied to obtain ammonia or for other chemical production facilities and also for the power-engineering processing of coal to obtain synthetic hydrocarbons, as mentioned above. Here the process of the heat supply and the excitation of the necessary energy levels of the reacting molecules may be ensured by the use of the heat and electric power from the AES reactor. Scientists are currently developing processes of this type, and it is already clear to us in principle that they could be very profitable since, in addition to us obtaining needed hydrocarbons, they remove an appreciable shortcoming of nuclear power--the unsuitability of its use under maneuverable conditions.

This equally applies to the use of nuclear power to replace petroleum products and natural gas in the third sphere of consumption of energy sources--metallurgy and the chemical industry. Applying electrochemical and plasma technology and also utilizing selective methods of the atomic and molecular excitation of the necessary energy levels, it is possible to combine certain chemical processes with the use of nuclear power. These possibilities will expand when high-temperature reactors, which are currently at the experimental completion stage and which may be expected in the 12th 5-Year Plan, go into operation. However, even now this field is becoming economically expedient.

Thus the use of coal and nuclear power, taking into account the possibilities of production of secondary energy sources, could cover all spheres of consumption of primary energy sources. Of course, an even greater scale of scientific research and the development of economically practicable technology (particularly in the third sphere of the consumption of the power media) will be required for this. One thing is certain: Assimilation of the above processes will be gradually expanded after the turn of the century. And no "energy impasse" threatens us.

The organization of the structure of energy production which we have presented will, obviously, take a long time--roughly 30 years. Does our country have

sufficient traditional power resources for this period while maintaining energy production growth rates? And, further, is it possible to create a nuclear power system enabling us from the viewpoint of the increasing limitations on the consumption of resources to enjoy it for a practically unlimited time?

These two questions require attentive study.

Let us dwell first of all on oil. Does our country possess adequate reserves to supply all our needs as well as an expedient volume of oil exports to the socialist community and certain other countries while the structure of energy consumption is changing (that is, for approximately 3 decades)? Will these resources cover the prolonged use of oil, for many decades, in the spheres of consumption where it proves irreplaceable after 30-40 years? The anticipated scale of these needs is not great--one-tenth of today's consumption--and, furthermore, the cost of the oil for satisfying them may considerably exceed a price which is economically acceptable for energy production.

The foreign press frequently publishes "forecasts" that in 10 years even the Soviet Union will be "forced" to purchase oil abroad. There is just one purpose behind these "reports"--to instill doubt in the minds of the peoples as to the stability of our economy. However, our country has sufficient oil and gas resources not only for its own power supply while the structure of energy consumption is changing but also to continue energy exports on a useful scale.

At the same time it has to be noted that we are not yet running our oil industry sufficiently economically--in a number of spheres of use we are expending considerably more fuel than is necessary and not extracting it from the ground completely enough. It is necessary to employ appreciably more extensively methods increasing the proportion of oil extracted from deposits. What is needed here is the creation of a system of the economical evaluation of oil production and the formation of prices for oil to ensure that its additional extraction with the use of methods of intensification of the production process be profitable. This is not yet the case and therefore only the cheapest methods of increasing oil recovery are employed.

A second major possibility for increasing production is an increase in the recovery of condensate in the working of gas deposits. Thus in Urengoy, on the Yamal Peninsula and in the Caspian Depression considerable quantities of condensate may be recovered from greater depths--and this should be done. Of major potential for oil economies is also the possibility of its further refining into light oil products--it is essential in this area to modernize the refineries in the 11th and 12th 5-Year Plans. Implementation of the above measures together with the substitution for the oil currently expended on stationary power supply of coal, gas and nuclear fuel--these are the immediate stages of the reorganization of the fuel-power complex.

It should be added to what has been said that there are further significant prospects which are promising with respect to oil and gas in our country--thus, for example, it is proposed to begin exploitation of the Astrakhan gas condensate region. The industrial development of the Timano-Pechorskiy oil and gas region, including the northern zone--the shore and shelf--lies ahead.

The scientific efforts of physicists, geologists and instrument makers have led in recent years to a considerable increase in the efficiency of geophysical prospecting methods--regions which are promising with respect to oil and gas are being appraised better and to far greater depths than hitherto, particularly in the subsalt structures. Both in the European part of the country and in Western and Eastern Siberia and also in a number of shelf zones a geophysical survey of regions which are promising from an oil and gas viewpoint is evidently advisable; this survey promises a great saving of resources in geological exploration. At the same time exploratory drilling should be stepped up. Judging by world statistical data characterizing geologically similar regions, it may be expected that the said measures will lead to a considerable increase in reserves.

Of course we must not disregard the need for the increased power (and power chemical) use of other types of fuel--oil shale, for example.

Its caloric value is low, it is true. But an Estonian collective of power engineers has developed methods for its stable and full combustion. It would be useful to disseminate this experience, which has only just recently had its start in life in the Baltic, to all the major shale regions--Kazakhstan, the Volga Region and the Ukraine.

The highly stable combustion of shale dust gives hopes for the possibility of the creation of power stations with increased maneuverability.

A considerable contribution to energy production may also be obtained by the use of water heat and also the organic waste of the cities, industry and agriculture. For example, urban organic waste could supply more than 10 percent of a city's heat consumption, and animal husbandry waste, given its microbiological processing into fuel gas--methane--could fully supply heat consumption in this sector.

The economical expenditure of oil and its more efficient use and also the enlistment of other resources could probably extend the period of reorganization of the fuel-power complex from 30 to 40-50 years, which would ease the strain on the transitional period considerably.

However, even this more prolonged period of change in the power engineering structure does not permit us to put off the start of work on the creation of a system of nuclear power suitable for the long term and methods of its use in all spheres of the consumption of traditional energy sources.

The energy sector has great inertia--its great capital--and materials-intensive-ness and also the long time needed to develop new, economically acceptable technology compel us right now to initiate a critical analysis of all aspects of the new energy production structure. The principal task is the creation of a nuclear power structure that may be provided with fuel for an unlimited time. The fast breeder reactors used at the present time can use approximately 1 percent of natural uranium. Only uranium-235, in the main, of which there is only 0.7 percent in natural uranium, while the extracted portion is approximately 0.5 percent, is expended in these reactors in the chain reaction of uranium fission. Part of the neutrons released at the time of the fission of the uranium-235 nucleus is

captured by nuclei of uranium-238, of which there is approximately 99.3 percent in natural uranium. As a result of this capture the uranium-238 atom is converted into an atom of plutonium-239--the new nuclear "fuel." True, this process is weak in thermal and slow reactors--more than one fissioned uranium-235 atom is required for the formation of one atom of plutonium.

The plutonium which is formed also begins to take part in the fission, and as a result approximately one-half of the plutonium which is formed "burns up," like the uranium-235, that is, is split, and ultimately approximately one-half of the energy of the fission is obtained thanks to the fission of the plutonium, which halves expenditure of uranium-235 (and, consequently, of natural uranium) per kilowatt-hour of electric power obtained.

In modifying the fuel composition and its density in terms of uranium we can change somewhat the breeding of plutonium and thus economize even more appreciably on natural uranium.

However, thermal reactors cannot of themselves provide nuclear power for the long term. Science has discovered a radical path here--it is possible to create fast breeder reactors in which the breeding plutonium is more than one, that is, more than one nucleus of new fissionable plutonium formed per fissioned uranium or plutonium nucleus. This means that as this reactor operates the quantity of fissionable material in it does not diminish but increases, and this surplus may be used instead of natural uranium to expand the scale of nuclear power and for the operation of existing thermal reactors.

Industrial reactors of this type have been created in our country. One of them, the BN-350, has long been in operation, and the BN-600 was launched in 1980. However, further difficult work has to be done to increase the speed of the production of plutonium and its return to the fuel cycle since only in this case will it be possible to approach nuclear power which will be indefinitely self-sufficient in fuel and which will develop at the pace and scale necessary for the country.

It cannot be ruled out that in the distant future it will be difficult to assure the necessary energy production growth indicators by means of the production of plutonium in fast breeder reactors and the mining of natural uranium. In this event science is also preparing a solution: the nuclear fusion of light elements--thermonuclear synthesis--also accompanied by the escape of neutrons, part of which can be captured by uranium-238 and provide plutonium.

The potential speed of the production of plutonium in these hybrid atomic-thermonuclear reactors is very great and will provide for any rate of nuclear power development necessary. They will most likely appear earlier than purely thermonuclear reactors. In a word, by the time society experiences a shortage of coal, nuclear power of all types will be able to provide for all spheres of power consumption indefinitely.

Therefore we may conceive of the structure of nuclear power, which is developing boundlessly in time and gradually being enriched, thus: Fast breeder reactors

will be added to thermal reactors, and hybrid reactors will, possibly, be added to the former; large-capacity thermonuclear reactors will be created in parallel.

The further development of energy production will not be restricted by a shortage of power resources if the corresponding reorganization of its structure is undertaken in good time, which is perfectly feasible in our country.

The 25th CPSU Congress set the task of raising the electric power generation in 1985 to 1.55-1.6 trillion kilowatt-hours, including up to 220-225 billion at AES and up to 230-235 billion kilowatt-hours at hydroelectric stations. The increase in electric power generation in the European part of the USSR will be supplied mainly at AES and hydroelectric stations. Some 24-25 million kilowatts of new capacity will be introduced at nuclear power stations. Work will continue on the assimilation of fast breeder reactors and the use of nuclear fuel for the production of thermal power.

In the sphere of the natural and technical sciences the party congress called on scientists to concentrate efforts on the solution of the most important problems, including "the development of nuclear power and the creation of the foundations of thermonuclear energy production and refinement of the methods of the conversion and transfer of energy."

The solution of energy problems over the long term is the key which will enable us to switch from dwindling rich deposits of metals, particularly nonferrous metals, to the development of leaner ores, the recovery of mineral raw material from great depths and the investment of great energy in land reclamation and treatment. Our science and technology and our economic might are capable of insuring this arterial path of the forward development of the socialist society.

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GLORIOUS 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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[Article by Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic People's Great Hural]

[Text] These days, together with their foreign brothers and friends, the party members and working people of the MNR [Mongolian People's Republic] are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

The celebration of this great anniversary coincides with the holding of the 26th congress of the Leninist party, which pointed to mankind, including the Mongolian people, the path to a socialist reorganization of life. As we celebrate the 60th anniversary of the MNRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party], and as we prepare for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution and the regular 18th MNRP Congress, we turn our eyes to the country of the October Revolution, to the Leninist party, to the great people of the land of the soviets. The richest experience of the Soviet friends and brothers in the building of a new society is a guiding star to the toiling people of Mongolia. The tireless study and creative application of it under our conditions is a reliable guarantee for the successful constructive activities of the Mongolian communists.

In feudal Mongolia, which was enslaved by the Manchurian-Chinese conquerors in the 17th century, the people's masses frequently spontaneously rose against the foreign yoke and the Mongolian feudal lords. However, the national liberation struggle of the peasant masses was cruelly suppressed by the oppressors and conquerors. In 1911, as a result of the fall of the Manchurian empire, Mongolia seceded from China and proclaimed its independence. In 1919, however, the Chinese militarists captured Mongolia and established a cruel regime of occupation.

In the autumn of 1920 Mongolia was invaded by the troops of the White Guard Baron Ungern who was trying to turn Mongolian territory into a bridgehead for armed raids on Soviet Russia with a view to the restoration of the power of the landowners and capitalists. The undescrivable cruelty and brutality of these dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries increased the protest and the revolutionary-liberation feelings of the popular masses.

Inspired by the ideas of the Great October Revolution, the Mongolian progressive people, represented by Sukhe-Bator, Choybalsan and other revolutionaries--mostly

the offspring of the poorest segment of the peasant masses--rose to the struggle against the foreign enslavers and domestic feudal lords.

The visit which the representatives of these masses paid to Soviet Russia, and their study of the experience and achievements of the young state of workers and peasants, played an invaluable role in the ideological army of the Mongolian revolutionaries, the clarification of international circumstances by them, and the concretizing of the problems of the national-liberation struggle waged by their people. V. I. Lenin, the great leader of the working people throughout the world, gave the delegation valuable explanations concerning the nature, objectives and tactics of the struggle in exceptionally backward countries, Mongolia in particular. Vladimir Il'ich listed among the urgent tasks that of the education of the political vanguard of the working people. He emphasized that "The creation of a party of the Mongolian peasantry is a prerequisite for the success of their struggle" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 44, p 232). Lenin considered among the most important features of the party being founded by the Mongolian revolutionaries the fact that it must become a mass party and not be contaminated by alien elements.

It was precisely thanks to the acceptance of the ideas of the October Revolution and of Lenin, its leader, by the peasant revolutionaries, that at the threshold of a decisive offensive for the overthrow of the colonial-feudal system, the Mongolian people already had acquired their political vanguard--the Mongolian People's Party, which was a peasant party in terms of its social structure.

The young Mongolian People's Party established close contacts with the world communist movement, represented by the Comintern and the Bolshevik Party. At its first congress, held in March 1921, it adopted a platform of struggle, which included the tasks of the national liberation of the country, the transfer of the state power to the toiling people and the reorganization of the country's social life on a democratic basis. The party, which relied on the toiling peasantry and the other progressive social strata, set up a provisional people's government, raised a people's army and headed the forces of national liberation in the struggle against domestic and foreign exploiters. The struggle mounted by the people's masses, under the party's leadership, developed into a victorious people's revolution, which led to the casting off of the heavy yoke imposed by the colonizers, the overthrow of feudal power and the establishment of a people's revolutionary system.

The initial revolutionary measures taken by the government set up by the victorious people were anti-imperialist and antifeudal. They included the abrogation of indebtedness to foreign capital, the levying of customs duties on goods imported by Chinese and other foreign merchants who dominated the Mongolian marketplace, the abolishment of serfdom and of the feudal tax system, the creation of democratic people's power organs throughout the country, and others.

The people's party, which maintained close relations with Soviet Russia, the homeland of the October Revolution, and which pursued an anti-imperialist policy and learned from the experience of the Russian proletariat, paid proper attention to securing a class approach to the replenishment of its ranks from the labor

segment of the peasantry--the poor and middle peasants who accounted for the majority of the country's population.

After the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution, the third party congress, held in 1924, was of outstanding importance to its further development. Despite the lack of proletarian elements in the party, the congress adopted a general noncapitalist line of development of the country. The decision of the third congress proved the readiness of the peasant party to combine the revolutionary-liberation movement of the Mongolian people with scientific socialism. All this proves the validity of Lenin's scientific prediction, who developed and enriched with new conclusions the Marxist theory of the noncapitalist development of backward countries and, on the basis of a profound scientific study of the colonial problem, elaborated an integral doctrine on the building of socialism in former colonies and semicolonies. Even prior to the victory of the October Revolution, on the basis of his comprehensive study of actual data, Lenin foresaw that precapitalist relations cannot be an obstacle to the conversion to socialism, and that backward countries could bypass the capitalist stage with the international help of the victorious proletariat. It was precisely the victory of the socialist revolution in neighboring Russia that gave the Mongolian people the opportunity to rely on the support of the first country of proletarian dictatorship and to take the noncapitalist path of development.

The experience gained in Mongolian-Soviet cooperation proved that the class alliance between the victorious proletariat and the peasantry which rises in the struggle for liberation could be achieved under certain conditions on an inter-governmental scale as well, and could insure a noncapitalist way of development of socialism for countries which have thrown off imperialist slavery.

Guided by the Leninist doctrine, the MNRP carried out extensive measures to democratize the governmental regime in the country after the abolishment of the constitutional monarchy in 1924. It was then that Mongolia was proclaimed a people's republic by the first Great People's Hural. At the same time, the first democratic constitution was adopted. It deprived the feudal lords of their political rights, gave the tilling people voting rights and approved a system of hurals of working people as the political foundation of the new system.

During the democratic stage of the revolution, which lasted for a considerable period of time, foreign capital in the country was initially restricted and, subsequently, totally expelled from the country's economy. This also included Chinese trade-usurious capitalism which was a major hindrance in the development of production forces.

Cooperative and state trade, a financial-credit system, the establishment and development of state and cooperative industries, mechanized transportation, and telephone-telegraph and radio communications, created essentially from scratch with the comprehensive aid of the Soviet Union played an outstanding role in the struggle for the elimination of foreign capital, which took many years after the revolution, and for gaining and strengthening the country's economic independence.

A large German company, the last bulwark of international capital, was closed down in 1939. It was at that time, during the battles waged by Soviet-Mongolian forces

in the area of the Khalkhin-Gol River, against the Japanese aggressors, that this nest of spies of German fascism galvanized its intelligence activities. The author of this article--at that time minister of finance and chairman of the board of the Mongolian Bank--settled the company's accounts as instructed by his government.

The people's regime used a great deal of patience and a flexible approach in the struggle against the domination by the Lamaist Church of the economic and spiritual life of society. Mongolian Lamaism was an absolutely unique phenomenon. The Buddhist monks--Lamas--accounted for about 50 percent of the male population of the country in prerevolutionary times and for about 20 years after the revolution. They did not participate at all in production work and lived at the expense of the remaining segment of the population in more than 700 monastery cities scattered throughout the country. The Mongolian capital alone had more than 13,000 monks who accounted for a considerable segment of the urban population for many years after the revolution.

The development of Lamaism in Mongolia had been the result of the special policy pursued by the Manchurian-Chinese empire whose clever objective was to eliminate the Mongolians without shedding blood, as the monks had no right to marry. Youngsters joined monasteries mainly between the ages of six and eight. This huge parasitical stratum of the population was supported by the profoundly religious and ignorant peasants. In postrevolutionary times the thick network of monasteries which covered the country were centers of active opposition to all political-economic and sociocultural measures taken by the new system, including the opening of schools and medical and cultural institutions, and so on.

During approximately the first decade of the people's revolution (in many cases later on as well), when the feudal lords and the reactionary lamas as a whole opposed all innovations introduced by the people's regime, while by virtue of their ignorance and backwardness the people's masses failed to understand the significance of the profound revolutionary changes, children of large families were subjected to compulsory schooling. The author of this article was among the children recruited to attend schools since he, like his contemporaries, considered that the only possible future was that of becoming a lama and living in a monastery. To this day our aktiv numbers many people who did not enter the new life voluntarily in an effort to eliminate darkness and religion, but were drafted through the people's schools or the military service. We must add that the monasteries were actual centers of counterrevolutionary conspiracies and armed operations against the people's revolutionary system, occasionally spreading in many parts of the country.

The power of the monasteries rested on the comprehensive and profound religious faith of the entire population. All this required patience, a skillful approach and caution on the part of the party and the state in the making of radical revolutionary changes.

The victory won over the counterrevolutionary and antinational leadership of the clergy and the mass conversion of the lamas to a like status toward the end of the 1930s and their involvement in productive toil were as significant as the 1921 revolutionary coup d'etat.

The class of laic and religious feudal lords was totally eliminated as a result of the extended application of the system of systematic and gradual measures which ended with the expropriation of feudal possessions. Let us emphasize that this profoundly revolutionary process did not take place without some rough edges and errors. The party had to wage an adamant struggle against manifestations of excessive revolutionism and extreme left-wing feelings and against cases of rudeness concerning the religious feeling of the believers, which harmed the normal course of socioeconomic changes.

During the very difficult and lengthy process of the creation and development of the new economy and culture, entirely new social forces were created and developed—a national working class and a people's intelligentsia. Their development was related to the elimination of age-old prejudices and of the deep religious faith of the population, as well as the organization of a skillful struggle against passive resistance in its various aspects.

On the basis of the complex and profound antifeudal, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist changes, the first stage of the people's revolution was completed in the Mongolian People's Republic in its essential features by 1940; the period of gradual development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution began.

However, the implementation of a broad program for economic and cultural development in the country, based on the decisions of the 10th party congress, was prevented by World War II which was unleashed by fascist Germany and its allies. During the war the MNRP, the Mongolian government and the entire Mongolian people focused their attention on the all-round strengthening of the country's defense capability and to organizing the struggle against the intrigues of the Japanese militarists who were lined up along our eastern and and southeastern borders in a line stretching for more than 1,500 kilometers.

At the same time, the Mongolian People's Republic focused its efforts on the noble cause of giving material assistance to the Soviet people and the Red Army in their incredibly difficult struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors. Supplying the front with hundreds of thousands of horses, meat, fat and beef cattle and considerable quantities of sheepskin coats, overcoats, padded jackets and pants, felt boots, jackboots, high inverted pelt boots, straps, mittens and other items was of prime significance.

At the concluding stage of the war the Mongolian Armed forces participated in the defeat of militaristic Japan side by side with the Soviet forces in the offensive operation conducted by the Red Army in Manchuria.

The victory of progressive mankind over German fascism and Japanese militarism, with the decisive participation of the Soviet Union, the fact that many countries took the path of democracy and socialism, and the subsequent establishment of the world socialist system and radical change in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of peace and progress offered favorable international conditions for the further development of the struggle for laying the foundations of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic.

The run of events proved that after the final victory had been won over the feudal class a certain complacency began to be noted among a certain segment of the party aktiv, and even a deviation by some individuals from the class party line. Some officials, who had been exposed to petit bourgeois ideology and habits, began to voice the opinion that after the victory over the feudal class it would no longer be a question of waging a class struggle, for, allegedly, there would be no conditions in our country favoring the growth of capitalist elements. Matters went so far as to replace the graduated income tax levied on private farms with a proportional tax under the pious pretext of supporting private ownership initiative in increasing the size of the herds. These officials failed to understand or rather, were unwilling to understand the fact that the roots of capitalism lie in petty commodity production and that under the conditions of the domination of private farms in the villages an inevitable objective process of the birth of capitalist elements takes place and that without the radical reorganization of small-scale production it would be impossible entirely to eliminate the socioeconomic base for the development of bourgeois relations. They did not understand Lenin's brilliant stipulation that small scale production gives birth to capitalism on a daily, hourly, spontaneous and mass scale.

Such opportunistic views and practical actions were the result of the pressure of the petit bourgeois elements on our revolutionary party, and the contamination of individual members of the party and state apparatus with petit bourgeois ideology. The party succeeded in opposing the pressure of the petit bourgeois element and to insure the socialist reorganization of agriculture, which was completed in 1959. As a result, socialist production relations assumed the upper hand in the country's entire economy and the total elimination of class antagonism in society was achieved. In the time following the victory of the cooperative system in the countryside we reached tremendous successes in the development of a socialist way of life and in insuring the upsurge of the economy and culture. Along with the accelerated growth rate of socialist industry major changes were made in the development of production forces and agriculture, and in raising the standards and well-being of the rural workers. The number of state farms increased and so did the amount of their technical equipment. Crop growing, which has now been a separate agricultural sector for some time, developed rapidly.

As they implement the tasks earmarked in the fourth party program (1966), the Mongolian working people are achieving successes in the development of the productive forces of the socialist society and in strengthening the material and technical base of the national economy.

Mongolia is intensifying the planned process leading to its conversion into an industrialagrarian country. Today industry, construction, transportation and communications together account for 46 percent of the national income and 64 percent of the public product of the country. The following data show the profound changes occurring in our economic structure: the share of socialist industry in the total industrial and agricultural output rose from 55.3 percent in 1960 to 75.6 percent in 1980; in terms of net output it rose, respectively, from 39 to 65.6 percent.

One of the noteworthy aspects of Mongolian social life, of tremendous socioeconomic significance, is the fact that the working class has not only become the most

numerous class but also the producer of most of the social product. In the course of the systematic implementation of the party's policy of industrialization of the country, the role and significance of the working class in society are rising steadily. Today workers and employees (with their families) account for more than 60 percent of the entire population in the country, 40 percent of whom are workers as compared, respectively, with 47 and 29 percent in 1963.

As a result of changes and further improvements in the economic structure and the steady growth of labor productivity and the improved utilization of rapidly increasing productive capital in the national economy, the effectiveness of public production has been rising steadily. This is confirmed, in particular, by the fact that higher labor productivity has accounted for more than two-thirds of the increased national income over the past decade. The tireless struggle waged for upgrading production effectiveness and work quality is one of the main sectors of the party's economic policy and overall activities.

The main indicator which sums up the successes of the country's socioeconomic development is, in the final account, the steady improvement of the material and cultural living standard of the people and the development of a socialist way of life. The party has always considered this the supreme principle and objective of all its activities. Under the people's regime the per capita national income has risen by a factor of 8 while the size of the country's population has more than doubled.

Along with the payment of higher wages, the free social consumption funds account for more than two-fifths of the population's earned income. The real income of our citizens is higher by a factor of 3.5 compared with 1960.

One of the most important gains of our people is the real revolution which was made in education, culture and health care. Today 80 percent of the entire population over 12 has some schooling, and 50 percent have completed their secondary or higher training. The number of workers with higher professional training is increasing year by year. We are successfully completing the assignment of insuring universal partial secondary school training of school-age children. Today we have 2,758 students per 10,000 population, compared with 350 in 1940; the respective figures for university students are 140 compared with 2. There are 22 physicians per 10,000 population (as against 1.5 in 1940) and 107 hospital beds (as against 14 in 1940).

Last five-year plan, measures were implemented to improve the pensions of members of agricultural associations to which the state pensions systems has been extended; their old age pensions were raised by one-half. Additional partial paid leave was introduced for working mothers who care for children under six months of age. The income tax levied on the wages of workers and employees has been reduced considerably. At the same time, retail prices of some consumer goods and medicines and textbooks have been lowered. State procurement and purchase prices of many livestock products were raised.

In the past 5 years foreign economic relations with the socialist countries, the USSR above all, have been developed further. Within that period the country's

foreign trade virtually doubled. More than 96 percent of it goes to the fraternal CEMA-member countries, and most of this to the Soviet Union.

We ascribe tremendous importance to economic integration which has become an objective reality in the socialist world. It helps us, above all, to save on labor and funds, to internationalize the experience in building a new society, and to develop international economic organizations and proven forms of production and labor specialization and cooperation. All this constitutes the material base for the further strengthening of the friendship and all-round cooperation among fraternal socialist countries.

Comprehensive cooperation between Mongolia and the USSR continued to develop successfully between 1976 and 1980. It is one of the decisive factors for the socioeconomic growth of our country.

In accordance with the extensive program of fraternal aid granted by the Soviet Union, Mongolia is building 250 large projects in a variety of economic and cultural sectors. The volume of construction work carried out by Soviet construction organizations over the past 5 years exceeded the size of such projects completed in the three previous five-year plans put together.

These examples are a vivid confirmation of the inviolability of traditional Mongolian-Soviet relations and of the sincere concern and attention shown by our Soviet brothers and sisters, most of all by the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the great friend of the Mongolian people, who pays profound attention to our difficult problems and who is the main initiator and organizer of the ever growing and comprehensive aid which the Soviet Union is giving our country. This comprehensive Leninist aid provided by the land of the Soviets reflects the noble spirit of the Mongolian-Soviet 15 January 1966 Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty, concluded in the course of the visit which a Soviet party and government delegation, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, paid to Mongolia.

The tremendous achievements of the Mongolian People's Republic over the past 60 years convincingly prove that it is precisely the noncapitalist, the socialist way of development and decisive reliance on the help of the first socialist country, that guarantee our rapid progress in all fields of social life and that, under the leadership of their tried vanguard, the MNRP, the Mongolian people are successfully resolving the main and complex problem of the people's revolution—that of construction.

As to the problems of the current stage in the building of socialism in Mongolia, let us emphasize that the MNRP ascribes essential importance to the application of frontranking experience in all work sectors. This problem was the specific topic of discussion at the fifth plenum of the MNRP Central Committee, held in April of 1979.

As we know, the Marxist-Leninist theory of labor productivity and of its steady growth in the building of a new society, is the most important and basic feature

of the entire economic theory of socialism. This stems from the fact that the growth of labor productivity is built on the saving of time, which is the result of improvements in labor tools and in the main productive force of society--the working person. In developing the theory of the founders of Marxism, Lenin drew the profound scientific conclusion that labor productivity is, in the final account, the most important, the main feature which determines the victory of the new social system. Labor productivity increases are directly related to progressive experience and new initiatives. Hence the need for constant searches and for the study and application of the model experience of frontrankers and the need to develop and use their capabilities, discover talents in the popular masses and support their useful initiatives. In his article "How to Organize the Competition?" Lenin wrote that "...Organizational work can be carried out by the rank and file worker and peasant who is literate, knowledgeable about people and has practical experience... Talent in the working class and the peasantry is still an untouched extremely rich source" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, pp 198-199).

The MNRP Central Committee demands of party, state and public organizations to provide the necessary conditions for the dissemination of leading experience and the steady broadening of the ranks of skillful workers among the people and the manifestation of the talent of frontrankers in all economic and cultural sectors. In this case we proceed from Lenin's stipulations calling for the thorough study of the offshoots of the new and for providing all possible assistance in their development, and the stipulation that model farms must act as the educators and teachers of the stragglers and urge them on. Our party is guided by Lenin's principled stipulation that "...We can and must see to it that the force of the example becomes first the moral and then the mandatory model of organization of labor..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 148).

The study and practical utilization of the model experience of shock workers and leading collectives is currently being raised by the MNRP to the rank of the first and most important duty of all party, state, economic, and cultural organs and trade unions, and Komsomol and other public organizations at all levels. The party is turning the mandate of "living and working in the example set by frontrankers" into the basic slogan of every working person in the country.

In the past as well, a great deal was said and written in our country on the study and dissemination of the best experience and the creative application of the progressive experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In actual practice, however, this essential and topical problem was not clearly singled out as a separate category. Most frequently it was considered as one of many. The party is setting the task of the study and practical utilization of frontranking experience and of scientific and technical achievements as the main feature in the steady enhancement of social labor productivity which is the most important, the main factor in insuring the victory of socialism and communism. Progressive experience is based on high skill, excellent organization and systematic improvement of skills. That is why without taking more time labor frontrankers can achieve a relatively higher output. It is precisely this that accelerates the development of public production, which is the foundation of human society and, consequently, of the steady growth of the people's prosperity.

Therefore, the task is to focus on the main target: the study and application of leading experience in the solution of the main problem—upgrading labor productivity. Our party considers as its main task to insure the successful solution of the basic problems governing the progress of our society by concentrating our efforts along this central direction and focusing on it the entire organizational and political-educational work of the party organizations. As the guiding and directing force of our society and as the inspirer and organizer of all working people, it is precisely this that the party considers the main area of our struggle on which the thoughts, willpower and purposeful efforts and creative energy of the people must be concentrated. Our revolutionary party, which relies in its activities on everything progressive, supports and develops everything that is progressive. It insures the combat capability of its ranks by recruiting the best representatives of the working class and the other toiling strata. It considers the organization and upbringing of the masses in the best examples and frontranking experience its primary duty.

Our slogan is that "The Working People Must Emulate and Master Everything That Is Best and Progressive." This means that the force of a model example and progressive experience and their extensive practical utilization are a social law in the struggle for the victory of the new system. The party's task is that of skillfully and effectively using this objective law in guiding the toiling masses in the building of socialism.

The MNRP Central Committee believes that the party's entire leading and guiding activity must be focused, above all, on comprehensively encouraging the development of the creative capabilities of the working people, the extensive and purposeful study of the model experience of frontrankers, and making it accessible to the broad masses so that the working people of town and country take as their model the shock workers and be guided by them in their behavior, discipline and labor. We believe that this extremely important matter must not be neglected. We cannot stand idly by and wait for frontrankers to appear, as frequently occurs in real life.

In this connection, let us point out the fact that we have resolved the complex socioeconomic and political problem of agricultural collectivization. In the conditions of the continuing class struggle in the 1950s, the party purposefully carried out extensive and painstaking work in this area. At that time most of the private animal husbandrymen still clearly remembered the excesses which had been committed in the 1930s in connection with the creation of communes. Alien class elements agitated against collectivization and fiercely opposed profound revolutionary changes. However, skillfully surmounting this opposition, the party did a tremendous amount of mass-political work among the rural population, particularly among the poor and the middle peasantry to whom it explained the significance of collectivization. In the course of their work with individuals, the party organizations singled out and comprehensively supported the promoters of collective farms. Carrying out the party's directives, the party members who were also private farmers promoted locally the organization of rural associations and led the rural workers. The socialist collective system in agriculture had become fully dominant in Mongolia by the end of the 1950s.

Socialist competition is the most important means for the detection, study and dissemination of progressive experience and a powerful tool for the identification

of the talents and capabilities of the working people and for the development of their creative initiative and energy. It is precisely through this crucible, in the course of labor competitiveness and with reciprocal support that the people develop their capabilities more extensively, along with their gifts and talents, and temper their characters in the struggle against difficulties, enrich their experience, learn progressive methods, formulate new ideas and develop advanced work methods.

We consider it as our most important task systematically to improve the practice of the formulation, adoption and implementation of socialist obligations. The party deems it its foremost duty decisively to struggle with formalism in the competition, to subordinate it to the solution of specific problems and train our aktiv in the specific application of the ways and means of its organization.

Steady party control over the course of the socialist competition is a mandatory prerequisite for its qualitative progress. It is above all the party members who must set the pace in the implementation of individual obligations. The MNRP Central Committee believes that the socialist obligations of collectives, production collectives above all, must indicate the new features and experience of the specific frontranking collectives or individuals, which will be mandatorily applied within a specific time period. Progressive experience is a booster of social progress.

The party sees to it that our organizations carry out systematically and on a planned basis specific measures for the study and application of the progressive experience of fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries, of the universal-historical experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people most of all. This also represents a specific contribution to the implementation of the idea of rapprochement with the fraternal countries. We must not forget that the rich experience of the CPSU and of the heroic Soviet people--the builders of communism--is of tremendous international significance. The Soviet experience is a powerful source of learning and growth and the most outstanding guideline leading us to the best examples in the struggle for the building of a new society. The practical mastering of specific experience and the actual results of its utilization are the yardsticks of this entire work.

When we study the experience of the fraternal countries we deem it our obligation to focus our attention on the nature of the encountered difficulties and on the ways and means of work needed to surmount them. We try to apply the experience we have gained by following a plan and noting the results of its implementation.

The party sets to all organizations the task of channeling the power of progressive experience and of the socialist competition in the irreconcilable struggle against negligence and for the implementation of a regimen of thrift in all economic and cultural areas. The party demands a principled assessment of cases of negligence. It takes the culprits sternly to task and insures the search for and utilization of hidden possibilities.

In connection with the increased role of progressive experience and the socialist competition, the MNRP pays particular attention to improving the organization of

control of execution decisively, to strengthening the discipline and to enhancing the individual responsibility of party members for assignments. The study of people and the revelation of their abilities and capabilities and the elimination of noted faults are the main directions in control work.

We focus the power of party control on strengthening organization, discipline and execution, and upgrading the activeness, efficiency and mobilization of the party members for the implementation of the stipulations of the party's program and bylaws, and of the directives of its central organs.

We are using progressive experience and the development of the socialist competition for the advancement and the strengthening of the socialist way of life, the assertion of true collectivism and comradeship, and for promoting the cohesion of labor collectives. The MNRP Central Committee has made it incumbent upon all party, state and public organizations to wage a tireless struggle for everything that is progressive, under the slogan of "Let Us Support and Multiply Everything That Is Best and Let Us Uproot and Eliminate Everything Unsuitable."

The progress of human society is based on the progress of its productive forces. K. Marx wrote that "The revolutionary class itself is the most powerful one among all tools of production" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 184), and that man himself is the main productive force (see Vol 46, Part 1, p 403).

The practice of the building of socialism has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist prediction that under socialism the working man will become the most valuable of all objects. Under socialism and communism the purpose of the production process is the advancement of man, his comprehensive development and the satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs. The tempestuous and ever faster development of production forces will lead to the fact that in each separate stage physical labor will be restricted further and further and will be replaced by machines and entire automated systems. This means more leisure time for the people, to be used for their comprehensive development and advancement. That is why Marx considered leisure time a measure of the wealth of a communist society.

Accordingly, the MNRP deems it its sacred task to insure the systematic upsurge of labor productivity and the steady shortening of the time needed for the production of a unit of output, the steadily increasing mastery of equipment and technology by the working people and the enhancement of their ability to manage the production process, along with their increased labor responsibility and organization.

Our party considers as its most important task the steady widening of the circle of labor frontrankers, inventors and rationalizers. It considers this as one of the progressive methods for involving a growing number of working people in production improvements and management. The task is to create the type of environment in which any sensible initiative coming from below will not be suppressed and useful suggestions will meet with comprehensive support.

The toiling man is the focal point of attention of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The MNRP deems it its prime duty to raise the working people in a spirit of high

moral standards, industriousness, thrift, strong discipline, organization, steady enhancement of labor productivity and all-round increase of progressive experience in all economic and cultural sectors. Therefore, the first requirement is to come to understand the people and to contribute to the development of their best quality and to the elimination of their negative features. In this area our party is guided by Lenin's requirement: "Come to know the people and find skillful workers. Today this is the essence..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 367). The MNRP Central Committee demands of our party, state, economic and public organizations to engage in more extensive and painstaking work with every working person.

The people on earth thirst for peace and tranquility. They are tirelessly struggling for detente. The hegemonistic great-power course held by the present Chinese leadership constitutes a real threat to the cause of peace, international understanding and cooperation. In pursuing the Maoist policy of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and of the efforts to dominate other peoples, and in doing everything possible to encourage the aggressive military intrigues of the most reactionary forces of international imperialism led by the United States and NATO, the Beijing leadership is doing everything possible to undermine peace and tranquility on earth and to hinder detente.

In recent decades, in the course of its power struggle, the Chinese leadership has repeatedly thrown its own country into the abyss of incredible disasters and suffering, shaking it up with all kinds of "big leaps," "a cultural revolution," and "modernizations." Despite such internal upheavals and changes in the leadership, however, Beijing's foreign policy has remained steady: open hostility toward the Soviet Union, Mongolia and the other members of the socialist comity and the national liberation movement, and ever closer rapprochement with the international imperialism.

Let us point out that the so-called Maoist policy of "differentiated approach" toward socialist countries, the purpose of which is to undermine the friendship among the members of the socialist comity and to help some of them to assume anti-Soviet positions, has been unsuccessful.

Beijing's subversive actions toward countries in Southeast Asia, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in particular, provides clear proof of its hostility to the cause of the peace, freedom, national independence and progress of the nations. The Chinese hegemonists are ceaselessly engaged in provocative actions against these countries, constantly threatening them with war and resorting to economic and other pressures.

Beijing supports the U. S. and Israeli aggressive policy in the Near and Middle East. This is manifested by its anti-Arab policy and support of the treacherous course charted by the Egyptian regime. Throughout the world the Chinese leadership is operating with the forces which are set against the peace, socialism and progress of the peoples.

The great-power and hegemonistic policy of the Chinese leadership is severely damaging the cause of the peace in Asia and in the rest of the world and the struggle waged by the peoples for national and social liberation.

The Mongolian People's Republic, which has a common border with the PRC some 5,000 kilometers long, has experienced the severe consequences of the expansionistic and antisocialist course pursued by the Beijing leadership for many decades. China has formulated impudent claims on the entire Mongolian People's Republic, including its human and economic potential, and is applying political and economic pressure against it in an effort to shift the "cultural revolution" over to Mongolian territory among the members of its Chinese community.

Constant attention, the need to use the young people for defense purposes despite manpower shortages and increased defense expenditures are factors which restrain the country's development. The limitations of an article prevent us from describing even the main ways and means of Beijing's subversive and provocative activities conducted against the Mongolian People's Republic. I deem it necessary to point out that the wedge of the Chinese leadership's anti-Mongolian policy is aimed at undermining the traditional Mongolian-Soviet friendship which is a reliable guarantee for Mongolia's independent socialist development and a firm foundation for the future successes of our people in building a new society.

Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the MNRP is waging a systematic struggle against the Chinese leadership's hegemonist policy and subversive actions. At the same time, however, Mongolia has always favored a development of good-neighborly relations with the PRC, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, as our official party and government documents have frequently proclaimed.

The world socialist system and its growing influence on international life, the statehood gained by former colonies and dependent countries, and the crisis in the capitalist world have brought about a situation in which imperialism has begun to lose its positions in the world. However, the nature of monopoly capital remains unchanged. In its unrestrained pursuit of profit, the imperialist bourgeoisie is resorting to the use of increasingly refined ways and means. Monopoly capital is trying to penetrate into the young developing countries as deeply as possible, make them indebted to it, and adapt their economies to the requirements of the highly developed capitalist countries.

The main objective of international imperialism in the case of countries recently liberated from colonial oppression is to continue their exploitation by preserving their economic dependence and erecting various obstacles and difficulties on the way to progressive social change. In its efforts to achieve its objectives, imperialism is resorting to capital exports which promote economic progress less in the capital receiving than the capital exporting countries, i.e., the developed capitalist countries. The imperialist arsenal includes also support and comprehensive aid to reactionary anti-people's regimes, war threats and open intervention in the domestic affairs of countries of particular interest to international monopolies.

The power of the world's socialist comity is a reliable guarantee for strengthening the peace and security of the peoples. The Soviet Union is making a decisive contribution to the development of the comity's economic potential and the strengthening of its defense capability. The land of the soviets and its allies

are the main bulwark of peace on earth. The 26th CPSU Congress proved with new emphasis the inflexible will of the communists to defend the peace, prevent a nuclear war and restrain the arms race. This was expressed in the new specific proposals and initiatives for achieving a radical improvement in the international situation. The foreign policy of the socialist countries, which was clearly embodied in the peace program adopted at the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, was organically extended and developed at the 26th congress. It has met with the approval and support of all peace-loving nations.

Together with the fraternal countries, firmly rebuffing the intrigues of the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism, Mongolia--an equal member of the great and united family of socialist states, which are pursuing the common objective of building socialism and communism--will pursue its confident march on the bright road of building a new society, as indicated by the great Lenin.

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EXPLOIT OF THE PARIS COMMUNARDS AND OUR TIMES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 pp 104-114

[Article by E. Arsen'yev]

[Text] Some events in the history of the international workers movement extend considerably beyond their own time period. The unfading example of the vanguard of the universal proletariat, whose efforts and courage led to the birth of the Paris Commune, 110 years ago, occupies among them a place of honor. The meaning of this legendary event is that it was the first attempt to establish the political power of the working class. The exploit of the Paris Communards made the proletariat in many countries aware of its historical mission and gave a new impetus to the development of the international workers movement and the further dissemination of Marxism. Most importantly, it proved the vital need for the creation of independent political parties of the working class or, in other words, the validity of what K. Marx and F. Engels tirelessly fought for in the First International. The experience and lessons of the Paris Commune, profoundly and creatively interpreted by V. I. Lenin, contributed to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which developed many of its features to their utmost. "In our actions today we stand entirely on the shoulders of the Commune." These words, expressed by Lenin in the 1905 revolution and repeated after the October Revolution, revealed the historical continuity of the global revolutionary process (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 9, p 330; Vol 36, p 50).

In the period of the Commune, irreconcilable social forces, whose confrontation is determining the course of historical events to this day, clashed in fierce battle. The watershed separating them remains the same: the Commune and Versailles, the working class and the bourgeoisie, the revolution and the counterrevolution, and socialism and imperialism. Tremendous changes have taken place in the world since that time and the nature of the development of all mankind has changed radically. However, the experience of the Paris Commune, considered in terms of its entire dialectical wealth and its strong and weak points, remains the living legacy of the international workers movement, for the considerate and creative attitude toward the experience of previous generations of fighters for the revolutionary cause is a natural and mandatory demand of Marxist-Leninist methodology; it is dictated by the need for adopting a historical approach to all phenomena of social life and stems from the objective need for international unity within the global revolutionary process.

The experience of the Paris Commune, which was a source for the creative conclusions and summations drawn by Marx and Engels and Lenin concerning many major problems of the theory of the socialist revolution, has lost nothing of its topical value. "We preserve as a great social gain the entire knowledge of society and the class struggle, the laws of historical development, the socialist revolution and the way leading to the building of socialism, given to us by Marx, Engels and Lenin," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said.

Lenin, who studied most closely and mastered the experience of the Communards, and who cautioned against the adoption of a simplistic approach to the commune and the making of superficial historical analogies, repeatedly turned to its example not only in the pre-October revolution period but even after 1917, particularly in connection with problems related to the state and socialist democracy.

The legacy of the Paris Commune is topical also because many of the problems it raised are still the subjects of sharp ideological confrontation in the international arena. Bourgeois ideologues, reformists and opportunists would like to consign to oblivion or to distort the experience of the Commune, particularly the conclusions which the founders of Marxism-Leninism reached on its basis. The opponents of the revolution are continuing to slander the Commune, to ignore its class content and to misrepresent its objectives. As was the case more than a century ago, current textbooks used in France and many historical studies published in Western countries treat the Paris Commune as a "criminal mutiny" or "anarchic outbreak," while Thiers, the monstrous dwarf, is depicted as the "savior" of the French nation.

The enemies of socialism frequently try to classify the Paris Commune as an "accidental event" of a strictly local nature and, consistent with this logic, to proclaim the October Revolution as well a "purely Russian phenomenon" of no importance to the workers movement in other countries. Through this method the falsifiers try to eliminate and separate the individual stages of the workers movement, to disturb its historical continuity, and to "void" the general principles and laws of the socialist revolution.

History proves that the Paris Commune is not a museum relic, dusted off before holidays. It is an indivisible part of the world's revolutionary experience, and as such it is a sharp nonrusting weapon which continues to be of service to the international working class in the struggle for social progress.

The 72 days of the Paris Commune moved history forward more than many decades of ordinary development. Those days, the working class acted not only as an independent political force but as a force which played a decisive, a leading role in the overthrow of the old exploiting system, the establishment of a new system and the implementation of its basic measures for the first time. A. I. Herzen, who had become disappointed by the bourgeois revolution of 1848, stated long before the Commune that only the worker could save France. The Commune clearly proved that only the "workers," the proletariat were able to wage a decisive struggle for the social liberation of the working people. The fact that the Commune, as Marx assessed it, "was essentially a government by the working class," and the first revolution which "wanted to expropriate the expropriators" (K. Marx and F. Engels,

"Soch." [Works], Vol 17, p 346) was not changed by the variety which existed in its sociopolitical structure or the relatively small size of the working class compared with the total population of the country. "...The movement of the Commune," Lenin noted, "was inevitably fated to assume a socialist coloring, i.e., to initiate the effort to overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, and the destruction of the very foundations of the contemporary social system" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 20, p 218).

The workers were the main moving and guiding force of the Paris Commune. By giving its measures a proletarian character they became its most powerful constructive force. In the period of the suppression of the Commune, when some of its allies, the petite bourgeoisie in particular, withdrew from it, frightened by the fierce class battles, the working class remained most inflexible, selflessly fighting and dying at the barricades. "Only the workers remained loyal to the Commune to the very end... Only the French proletariat supported their own government fearlessly and tirelessly..." Lenin wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 20, pp 218-219).

The fact that after the Paris Commune the question of the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary movement acquired not only a theoretical but a most topical political nature is the result of this exploit of the international workers movement. The gravity of this matter has not declined. It is precisely here that, essentially, the key problems related to the struggle for a transition from capitalism to socialism and the development of a socialist society, are focused. The imperialist ideologues and politicians and the reformists and revisionists are concentrating their main efforts on questioning the leading role of the working class and its combat political vanguard in the struggle against capitalist power and for democracy and socialism, on eliminating the class content of the policy of the workers parties, and on leading the working people toward class appeasement and reformism. These efforts, however, go against the current of historical time and against its most profound and powerful trend.

The steadily increasing political weight and influence of the working class and of its leading role in the struggle for the interests of the toiling masses and against imperialism and for social progress are embodied in the practical experience of the building of socialism and communism. This influence is rising in the capitalist countries as well. This is caused not merely by the fact that the percentage of workers, who are now the overwhelming majority of the active population of these countries, is rising. The growing political activeness, class awareness and organization of the working class and a growing understanding of the vital importance of class unity within workers' ranks are the main features here. This is another durable lesson of the Commune. As Jacques Duclos, who headed the "Society of the Friends of the Commune" to the very end of his life, wrote, the experience of the Communards teaches us that the struggle for the unity of the working class and against all divisive actions to which the enemies of the labor movement resort must be waged ceaselessly (see Jacques Duclos, "Na Shturm Neba" [Storming the Skies], Moscow, 1962, p 303).

The Paris Commune proved that the working class had become mature enough to play the role of a hegemon of social progress for the first time in history. It was able to accomplish a great deal in gaining the trust of the people's masses within

an extremely short time. Operating under the exceptionally difficult conditions of a civil war and intervention, and despite major discord in its ranks, the Commune carried out historically unparalleled socioeconomic measures in its efforts to improve the situation of the toiling strata and to democratize all economic and political life. "The transformation of the Paris of parasites and fast-living people into a Paris of workers" was the manifestation of the importance of these measures, as assessed by Lenin ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 8 p 487).

No single subsequent French bourgeois government has been able to resolve the problems whose solution was daringly undertaken by the Commune. That is why these problems remain on the agenda in the struggle waged today by the French working people and by the people of other capitalist countries against unemployment, inflation and the high cost of living and for their vital interests and democratic changes. Naturally, in the course of this struggle they formulate new objectives and requirements. Here, for example, is one such historical analogy: as we know, because of its conflicting mass political and social base the Commune did not dare to take over the French National Bank. Yet one of the basic demands of the working people in capitalist countries is the nationalization of banking and finances and transferring their control to the working people, together with the socialization of key industrial sectors.

The implementation of socioeconomic measures, the creation of new democratic institutions and the national-patriotic nature of the Commune won over to its side many different population strata. As Marx noted, it was "a true representative of all healthy elements in French society and, therefore, a truly national government" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 17, p 350).

The Commune created many outstanding figures who embodied the best features of the fighters for the French revolutionary-liberation movement. They included the convinced socialist and worker Eugene Varlin, the revolutionary Jacobin Charles Delescluze the democrat publicist and National Guard General Gustave Flourens and many others. Many noted members of the democratic intelligentsia took the side of the Commune, such as the poets Eugene Pottier and Jean-Baptiste Clement, the writer Prosper Olivier Lissagaray, who wrote the "History of the Paris Commune," which was valued highly by Marx and Lenin, the painter Gustave Courbet, the physician and engineer Edouard Vaillant, and the teacher and writer Louise Michel. The Commune clearly proved that the leading representatives of intellectual labor could find a suitable place among the fighters for the revolutionary renovation of the world.

Both the successes and failures of the Paris Commune provided truly priceless experience in the matter of rallying all popular and democratic forces around the working class, i.e., in resolving one of the most topical problems of the international workers movement today. Having gained tremendous experience in the struggle in this area and relying on the Marxist-Leninist concept of class and political alliances, the communists in many capitalist countries have reached the conclusion that, under contemporary historical conditions, the working class can rally around itself on an antimonopoly basis the overwhelming majority of the people and acquire through such a broad antimonopoly movement an effective means of struggle against state monopoly coercion and for the interests of the working

people, democracy and socialism. As Lenin emphasized, in matters of political alliances and agreements "the entire matter is to be able to apply such tactics with a view to raising rather than lowering the general level of proletarian consciousness, revolutionism and ability to fight and to win" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 59).

The French Communist Party has acquired interesting experience in this matter. This includes the experience of the Popular Front in its struggle for peace and against fascism in the 1930s; the experience of the Resistance movement in the course of the struggle for the liberation of France from the fascist yoke. In our days, in the 1970s, the FCP has acted as the initiator and main motive force of the alliance of leftist forces, on the basis of a joint governmental antimonopolistic program. Despite all the efforts of the communist party the alliance did not become an effective means in the struggle for democratic objectives. The policy of the socialist party, which used its participation in the alliance not in order to fight for radical democratic changes but for the sake of gaining advantages at the expense of the positions of the communist party and of strengthening its own positions with a view to pursuing a line of appeasement, is one of the main reasons for this failure. As was mentioned at the 23d FCP Congress (May 1979), the experience gained in the alliance among leftist forces proves that the firmness and durability of political alliances depend to a decisive extent on the reliance on the masses, on the extent to which the working people support such agreements, and on the scope and activeness of their own participation in the formulation of the political line. The delegates to the congress also noted the need to preserve their class positions and ideological clarity in the struggle for the unification of workers and democratic forces and for the comprehensive strengthening of the communist party and of its influence among and ties with the working people, as well as its vanguard role in the struggle for their interests and for peace, democracy and social progress.

The experience of the Paris Commune is a priceless possession of the revolutionary workers movement, precisely because it was a true proletarian revolution whose basic features could be seen clearly behind its national-historical specifics. Literally every bit of this experience is interesting and instructive, regardless of the passage of time. Furthermore, many aspects of this experience, which could be considered accidental and transient, frequently reveal their topical meaning, precisely because of the passage of time, in the light of international experience acquired subsequently. The October Revolution clearly proved that these and many other features inherent in the Commune, both the essential and the seemingly secondary, were not accidental. The fact that the enemies or the half-knowledgeable students of the revolution are still unable to see in it anything legitimate beyond "national specifics" is not astounding.

Even within the limits of the historical accomplishments of the Commune we mentioned, such as the resolution of the problem of the hegemony of the working class in the contemporary revolution, and the unification of the democratic forces of society around it, the rapid development of its events has taught us lessons which are valid to this day. For example, a feature "atypical" of proletarian revolutions, such as the relatively small size of the working class, enables us to see in historical retrospect not only and merely the entirely understandable

weakness of this position but the actual social role played by the proletariat and its ability to perform it regardless of specific national difficulties or failures and retreats, which are inevitable in a class struggle, and to pass on to subsequent generations and detachments of fighters the tradition of its universal-historical mission. On the other hand, the entire chain of events related to the behavior of nonproletarian movements and parties and of the bourgeois democratic camp as a whole proved to be quite typical rather than accidental, be it the tragic fate of revolutionary actions in Lyons or Marseilles, where "left-wing" and "right-wing" forces in terms of the proletariat, to use a modern terminology, bear the responsibility for the defeat, or the basic differences within the ranks of the Commune itself; or else again the question raised by the Commune of a possible but inadmissible isolation of the revolutionary center from the "periphery" and the rest of the country, or else the danger of a joint pressure exerted by national and international reaction, which is always hanging over the revolution.

A tremendous number of such examples could be cited. Nevertheless, the legacy of the Paris Commune enriched the international workers movement with particularly valuable and topical lessons. Unquestionably, they include Lenin's conclusions drawn on the basis of his summation of the Commune's experience regarding problems of the state and democracy. Lenin considered the Commune the prototype of the Soviet system, a new type of state whose essence is the political domination of the working class and its allies. Lenin repeatedly turned to the practical experience of the Commune in developing problems of the nature of the state in the transition from capitalism to socialism or on socialist democracy. Many of the principles and methods of political activity, which were applied for the first time by the Commune, were developed, enriched and actually implemented in the activities of the soviets which, in Lenin's view, were a new higher type of state, as was the Paris Commune at its birth, under the new historical circumstances (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 95). Total electiveness and replaceability at all times of all officials, their accountability to the people, the conduct of their affairs in public, the lowering of their salaries to the level of the average wage of a skilled worker and others, Lenin wrote, are simple and "self-evident" measures constituting "a bridge leading from capitalism to socialism," as well as a reliable barrier to careerism and bureaucracy. Lenin mocked people who, like Bernstein, considered such requirements "a naive and primitive democracy" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, pp 43-44). In appealing for the establishment of a socialist order more boldly and with greater initiative, and for the involvement of the broadest possible toiling strata in the administration of the state, Lenin cited the Commune as "the great example of combining initiative, independence, freedom of movement, and broad energy from below, to which voluntary centralism, free from routine, could be added. This is the way," he wrote, "followed by our soviets" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 33, p 203).

Lenin's ideas of democracy and the socialist state became the foundation of all CPSU activities aimed at insuring the participation of the working people in the administration of all governmental affairs and the development of socialist democracy. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted, "Today as well, at the mature socialist stage, the ever wider and more active participation of the working people in the administration of the country's life has become firmly established as the main direction followed by Soviet society in its political development"

The question of the nature of the political system in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism is particularly topical for the international workers movement. The agenda of the class struggle includes the question of basic democratic changes and the participation of the working class and its vanguard, together with other democratic forces, in the administration of the country. Under these circumstances the communists pay greater attention to the elaboration of problems related to the transition to socialism. They are offering a realistic democratic alternative to exploiting regimes and are looking for the most effective ways and means of struggle which could lead to the substitution of the political power of the working class and its allies for bourgeois dictatorship. As Lenin wrote, "There can be only the rule of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. There can be nothing in between in the case of any somewhat serious problem or over a somewhat longer period of time" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 440).

No sophistry on the part of present-day Kautskis can suppress the fact that, as was the case in the time of the Commune, the modern bourgeois state is a tool of the dictatorship of the capitalist class, a tool for the exploitation and oppression of the working people. Furthermore, some of its inherent features are the increased concentration of the actual power in the hands of a handful of financial oligarchs, who are setting themselves against the people ever more cynically, a most rigid bureaucratization of the system, the transformation of the "servants of society" into the "rulers of society," and their ever greater alienation from the masses, i.e., a process diametrically opposite to the one which the Commune encouraged. This widening gap, fraught with the danger of a social explosion, has lead even the ruling rich to discuss it with a feeling of concern. No one other than Georges Pompidou, who was the president of France between 1969 and 1974, wrote that "The natural reaction of the French when it comes to the state and its representatives is one of mistrust and hostility, to which a feeling of inferiority may be added. The Frenchman looks at the government as a merciless and absurd mechanism which is alien to him and out of which nothing good could come."

The Paris Commune deserves historical credit for having been the first attempt on the part of the working people to put an end to the exploiting system and to answer the question of how to replace the old state with new revolutionary organs of the political rule of the working class. The founders of Marxism-Leninism ascribed exceptional significance to this lesson given to us by the Commune. Marx and Engels considered it "of such tremendous importance that they introduced it as a major amendment to the Communist Manifesto," Lenin pointed out ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 37). This was a major step in the development of the theory of the socialist revolution, representing nothing other than a summation of the practical experience of the Communards.

To state that the entire subsequent experience in revolutionary developments--both the victories and failures of revolutions--confirmed the determining importance of this practical problem raised by the Commune would be no exaggeration. The communists hardly formulate or resolve it "in the fashion of the "Luddites" and, naturally, have nothing in common with the demagogic speculations with the lessons of the Commune in the spirit of the Maoist "cultural revolution." The experience

of the Commune on the matter of the state is an experience in destruction for a constructive purpose. Even the spontaneous revolutionary creativity of the Paris workers in wrecking the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie and their break with the "evil reality" of the empire did not lead them to the absurdity of the attempt of the anarchists in Lyons, who attempted to eliminate the state in its entirety. The demolition effort of the workers represented and still represents not institutional combinations but a radical change in the class content of the entire system and of the individual authorities, and respectively, the reality of the participation of the toiling masses in the power. As Lenin emphasized, "The shifting of the state power from the hands of one to another class is the first, main and essential characteristic of a revolution in the strictly scientific and practical-political meaning of the term" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 133).

In terms of its liberation, the working class cannot make use of the unchanged governmental apparatus which was created for its oppression. This is loudly being proclaimed by the Chilean and Portuguese communists today. Here the attempts of the counterrevolution to take its revenge were possible because "the fascist apparatus was not overcome entirely and no new state apparatus serving democracy was created" ("VIII S"yez'd Portugalskoy Kommunisticheskoy Partii (Lissabon, 11-14 Noyabrya 1976 Goda" [Eighth Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Lisbon, 11-14 November 1976)]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, p 119). Rodney Arismendi writes that one could go back from "a parliamentary bourgeois republic, 'whereas the Commune and the soviets....break down... this machinery' (in this case the author cites Lenin). Furthermore, they expand the direct involvement of the people in the exercise of power" (R. Arismendi, "Lenin, Revolyutsia i Latinskaya Amerika" [Lenin, the Revolution and Latin America], Progress, Moscow, 1975, p 256).

This principled position in no way conceals the fact that, as it abolishes the bourgeois suppression apparatus, the working class, nevertheless, makes use of some of the previous state forms to which it gives a new class meaning. Lenin specifically considered that withdrawal from bourgeois parliamentarianism led not to the destruction of electiveness and of representative institutions but to their conversion into "operative" and truly people's power organs, as was the Commune and as the soviets became. The production management and control mechanism as well is used, but on a new, a democratic basis, in the interest of socialism which is, as Lenin wrote, a highly technically equipped mechanism, free from "interference," and which could be operated by the united workers themselves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 50). It is worth pointing out in particular that in this respect the very first proletarian revolution, the Paris Commune, gave us an example of a truly creative approach. To begin with, it alone was able to resolve completely the problem raised by the French revolution, that of irreversibly overthrowing the monarchy and raising the banner of republicanism over France, once and for all.

The Commune brought with it a revolutionary order and gave the working people actual democratic rights and freedoms. After taking the power, within a short time the people were able to improve the political and moral climate in Paris. Even the enemies of the Commune acknowledged that the crime rate had declined sharply, street murders and assaults had come to an end, and thieves and prostitutes had disappeared. There were no robberies or cases of cruelty or revenge-seeking.

The Paris Commune brought to life the people's unparalleled creative energy and initiative. Political clubs and social organizations appeared. A new popular press developed and immediately gained wide recognition. Some 40 revolutionary newspapers actively supported the commune and its policy. OUVRIER DU FUTUR, TRIBUN DU PEUPLE, PARIS LIBRE, PROLETAIRE, REVOLUTION, CRIS DU PEUPLE, published by Jules Valles, an outstanding pamphletist, and PERE DUCHESNE, which was the most popular newspaper of the Commune and bore the same title as a newspaper dating back to the French Revolution, which was just about the most popular among the people, were some of them. The new press widely opened its pages to the working people, to those to whom the bourgeois "free" press denied freedom of speech. The newspapers carried letters by working people who demanded the waging of a more energetic struggle against Versailles, exposed deserters, submitted lyrics for a "Marseillaise of the peace," and so on. One of the letters read: "Always keep urging the members of the Commune not to doze off and let their decrees go unimplemented. Let them always avoid personal quarrels, so that agreement may prevail among them and they may save their efforts for the protection of the Commune rather than of their own persons."

The Communards appealed to the Parisians to promote in the Commune people loyal to the revolution, people who shared their lives with the people. "Choose individuals with sincere convictions, individuals from the people, firm, active, frank and honest," the appeal stated. "Do not trust the ambitious or the upstarts; both are concerned with nothing but their own private interests and usually end up by proclaiming themselves irreplaceable. Do not trust also the phrase-mongers who are unable to switch from words to actions; they would be ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of a speech, for an oratorical device or a witty turn of phrase."

Something else is no less important in understanding the depth of democratic changes brought about by the Commune: many of them prove that the revolutionary creativity of the Communards was based on socially meaningful objectives and, as one of the Commune leaders wrote to Marx, on "achieving a radical transformation of social relations" and thereby make the 18 March revolution "the most fruitful of any coup d'etat ever made." This was the first time in history that the question of the social meaning of freedom, the social content of democracy was raised, "pursued as fully and consistently as was conceivable," Lenin wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 42). It was thus that proletarian democracy was born.

The bourgeoisie answered this challenge with incredibly vicious violence. It surpassed the horrors of the medieval Saint Bartholemew night in one single bloody "week in May." Here are official statistical data: The Paris municipality paid the cost of burying 17,000 people executed by firing squad. The records show that 40,000 Communards were detained... Of these, about 10,000 were sentenced by military tribunals to forced labor, locked in fortresses, or exiled to New Caledonia.... The Parisian working population population declined by 100,000 "working units" in a single year (see "Mezhdunarodnoye Rabocheye Dvizheniye. Voprosy Istorii i Teorii" [The International Workers Movement. Problems of History and Theory]. Vol 2, Nysl', Moscow, 1976, p 150). Hidden behind these dry statistical data is the blood-curdling reality of life. As Robert Reed, the

English journalist who witnessed the events writes, the people of Versailles "killed the old and the children whose entire crime was that they sympathized with the Commune..." (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 17, p 390).

One of the lessons of the Commune, vital to the revolutionaries, always recalled by Lenin, was the need decisively to defend the gains of the working class and to fight the counterrevolution. "The lesson," Lenin wrote, "is that the bourgeoisie would do anything. Today's liberals, radicals and republicans are tomorrow's traitors and executioners" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 330).

One century of experience leaves no doubt that there is no crime which the bourgeoisie would not commit for the sake of preserving its class rule. The contemporary counterrevolution has many faces, but most naked violence and most treacherous and savage methods for the export of counterrevolution, including armed intervention and genocide, have kept their old position in its arsenal of ever more varied and refined weapons.

The clarity with which this feature inherent in the bourgeoisie was manifested in the case of the first proletarian revolution in history is quite obvious. The gravest of all quarrels among empires, which boiled over into the Franco-Prussian war, one of the biggest wars of the 19th century, were immediately pushed into the background in the face of the class enemy of the bourgeoisie. Here is a single fact: instead of the 40,000 troops which could be deployed in the Paris area in accordance with the armistice agreement, Prussia allowed another 130,000 troops to be used in the struggle against the Commune; they were followed by yet another 170,000 French prisoners of war which were released precisely for the suppression of the Communard resistance. As a result, as Lenin wrote, "Germany defeated France and Bismarck with Thiers defeated the workers!!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 287).

This was not an isolated case. Through the Commune the proletarian revolution faced from the very beginning, one of the most complex problems closely linked to the course of the class struggle throughout the entire imperialist period—the problem of war.

The Commune provided the first example of the practical attitude of the proletariat toward war, an example to which Lenin referred repeatedly in formulating the positions of the Bolshevik Party on the problems of war, peace and socialist revolution. He pointed out that the Communards assumed two—national and class—tasks: the liberation of France from German invasion and the socialist liberation of the workers from capitalist oppression. The Communards answered the policy of national betrayal of the French bourgeoisie, which made a deal with Bismarck for the sake of suppressing the proletarian movement, with the "conversion of a war between nations into a civil war" (Ibid., p 40).

In the course of elaborating the military program of the proletarian revolution in World War I, Lenin substantiated its slogan of converting the imperialist war into a civil war "as the only accurate proletarian slogan indicated by the experience of the commune" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 22).

The Commune dispersed the illusion of "national unity" and showed the conflicting nature of the two class approaches most clearly and for the first time: the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie with the common enemy of the nation and the decisive struggle waged by the working class for national and social liberation. In France itself, this conflict of interests has appeared frequently in its most revealing form in critical periods of its most recent history. It was precisely the working class and its vanguard, the communists, who played a decisive role in organizing the resistance movement, the unification of all national-patriotic forces and the struggle for a national renaissance in World War II, while the Versailles tradition was expressed by the Munich conspiracy, the treacherous view that "better Hitler than Popular Front," the repressions of the communists by the bourgeoisie, the surrender to fascist Germany and the collaboration with the enemy.

Lenin's call for exposing the lies, sophistries and "patriotic" phrases disseminated by the bourgeoisie in its justification and defense of the war have an exceptionally topical sound to this day.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks pursued and defended a consistent line on the problems of war and peace in the course of their adamant struggle against social chauvinism, petit bourgeois revolutionary phrase mongering, and adventuristic attempts to urge on revolutions through wars. In calling for vigilance and unity among all peace-loving forces in opposing imperialist and hegemonistic intrigues, the communists reject the Maoist thesis of the "fatality" of a world war and, while maintaining their position as the firmest and most consistent opponents of war, they are implementing step by step the Leninist, the proletarian attitude toward problems of war and peace.

The vivid and impressive plan for the further struggle for peace, contained in the CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 26th party congress, and in the specific and purposeful initiatives formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, initiatives which immediately earned broad international recognition, above all from the worldwide communist army, offer new convincing proof of this fact.

The opponents of socialism are trying to misrepresent this Leninist position to this day. They claim that, allegedly, revolutions are inevitably tied to wars and can develop only as their consequence. References to the Paris Commune, in particular, play an important role in the "substantiation" of this thesis. In reality the commune, as the October Revolution subsequently, was mainly the result of the aggravation of internal class antagonisms and of the effect of the effective laws of global developments.

The fact that the Commune became an important milestone in the development of the international solidarity between the workers and the liberation movements and proletarian internationalism is directly related to its class-international nature. The Commune was internationalist because of its nature, the significance of its experience, lessons and composition, and the unparalleled solidarity campaign it triggered throughout the world, inspired and organized by the General Council of the First International, headed by Marx and Engels. Its internationalism consisted mainly of the fact that, as Lenin wrote, "It was fighting not for any kind of local or strictly national objective but for the liberation of all toiling mankind, of all the downtrodden and the outraged" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 20, p 221).

Nor was it accidental that revolutionaries from many countries fought under the flag of the Paris Commune: the Hungarian Leo Frankel, the Poles Jaroslaw Dombrowski and Valeri Wrublewski, the Russians Yelisaveta Dmitriyeva and Petr Lavrov, Italians, Belgians, and others. Whereas the international reaction answered the Commune with its bitter hatred, unabated to this day, among the working people of different countries the "spiritual offspring of the international," as Engels described it, triggered a warm response and support.

The combination of national with international tasks and of revolutionary patriotism with internationalism, embodied in the activities of the Paris Commune, has become an ineradicable feature of international workers and liberation movements today. The history of these movements is crowded with outstanding examples of internationalism and of this superior fraternity among toiling mankind which rises above all obstacles and obstructions. The Commune raised this banner over the barricades of the first proletarian revolution in history. E. Pottier's International "disseminated its ideas throughout the world and it is more alive than ever before today" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 22, p 274). These words by Lenin remind us that the Paris Commune is not only a rarely meaningful and instructive page of revolutionary history but also that it was and remains a source of revolutionary inspiration.

The first issue of Lenin's ISKRA, which laid the path to the October Revolution, came out 80 years ago. The refrain of the International was the slogan of this issue. Five years later, on 9 December 1905, the day the Moscow uprising, the apogee of the first people's revolution in the epoch of imperialism, broke out, for the first time in Russia the newspaper ISVESTIYA published the text of the International which later became our party anthem. We are confident in saying that the fate of the International is marked by equally memorable events in the history of the revolutionary struggle in Russia and in other countries, for the anthem of the world proletariat expresses the ideas which are the content of the contemporary age in human history.

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CSO: 1802/11

RUSSIAN HEROINE OF THE COMMUNE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 pp 115-122

[Article by V. Sedykh]

[Text] Anything more or less related to Yelisaveta Dmitriyeva, a participant in the events of the Paris Commune, is carefully collected in a modest apartment on the Boulevard d'Auteuil, in Paris. Here we can see books and newspaper articles about her, photographs and even an old samovar from the farmstead of Luka Ivanovich Kushelev, a big Russian landowner and father of the revolutionary.

The apartment is owned by Russian language teacher Nina Vladimirovna Kusheleva, the niece of Yelisaveta Lukinichna Dmitriyeva. Nina Vladimirovna, who married the Frenchman Duchemin, has spent virtually her entire life in France and her Russian accent is marked by a strong rolling of her r's. She has frequently entertained me with stories about her "Aunt Lisa."

The teacher displays a photograph of Volok Village, in the former Kholmkiy Uyezd, Pskovskaya Guberniya. It was here that Aunt Lisa was born in May of 1851. Unfortunately, the old farmstead was totally destroyed by the Hitlerite invasion. However, the local population remembers its famous compatriot. I witnessed this myself when I visited Aunt Lisa's birthplace.

According to Nina Vladimirovna, as a dashing hussar, Luka Ivanovich Kushelev fought in the campaigns against Napoleon Bonaparte and went to France with his regiment. After he retired with the rank of major, he settled in the estate left by his first wife. Both Lisa and her brother Vladimir were the offspring of Luka Ivanovich and his second wife Natalia Yegorovna Troskevich.

Luka Ivanovich himself was a fairly well educated person. He spoke four European languages and his daughter Lisa received an excellent education with private teachers at the estate and in Petersburg, where the Kushelevs had their own house.

Ye. Dmitriyeva's youth has been quite thoroughly researched, particularly in the book "Russkiye Deyatel'nitsy Pervogo Internatsionala i Parizhskoy Kommuny" [Russian Women Activists in the First International and the Paris Commune], by I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov. We know that as a young girl Yelisaveta Lukinichna gave social problems a great deal of thought. She read the works of Chernyshevskiy, Dobrolyubov and Pisavev. She spoke French and other languages well and was greatly attracted to social work. In order to become totally independent she decided on a daring step, which was the only possible one under the circumstances. She

contracted a fictitious marriage with Col Mikhail Nikolayevich Tomanovskiy and went to Geneva, which was then the center of the Russian revolutionary expatriates. Tomanovskaya (she used the name Dmitriyeva as her pseudonym) began to attend workers meetings and had her initial exposure to the works of K. Marks. In the spring of 1870, together with N. I. Utin and other compatriots, she took part in the creation of the Russian section of the International. The decision was made to ask Karl Marx to represent the section in the General Council.

The program of the Russian section stipulated that the organization will try to disseminate the ideas and principles of the International Association in Russia, "to assist in the establishment of international sections among the Russian working masses...., to assist in the organization of firm ties of solidarity between the toiling classes of Russia and Western Europe, and to assist in the more successful achievement of their common goal of liberation through mutual aid."

The program, bylaws and appeal to Marx were sent to London. The Russian section was approved at the 22 March 1870 meeting of the General Section. In his answer to the members of the Russian section committee, Marx wrote: "I accept with pleasure the honorable duty you are asking me to assume as your representative to the General Council" (K. Marx and F. Engels. "Soch." [Works], Vol 16, p 427).

Marx expressed the wish to meet with a representative of the Russian section, and Ye. L. Dmitriyeva was sent to London. One of the problems she was to discuss was that of the divisive activities of the "Social Democratic Alliance," headed by Bakunin.

Yelisaveta Lukinichna arrived in the English capital one gloomy December day of 1870. She was carrying a letter from the Russian Section Committee which warmly recommended its "best friend, Mrs Elisa Tomanovskaya, who is sincerely and warmly dedicated to the revolutionary cause in Russia." The letter expressed the hope that through Tomanovskaya her comrades would get closer to Marx and would also inform him in greater detail of the condition of the Russian section.

The welcome which Marx and his family offered the Russian revolutionary was warm and friendly. She also met with F. Engels, who was also living in London at that time. Yelisaveta Lukinichna became particularly friendly with Jenny Marx' eldest daughter (who later married Charles Long, member of the Paris Commune). In one of her letters to Marx, Ye. Dmitriyeva asked that Miss Jenny not give her advance notice should she wish to spend an evening with her for, as she kindly emphasized, "I am always at her disposal." "Naturally, I do not wish to take up your time," Yelisaveta Lukinichna concluded. "However, should you have some free time on a Sunday evening, I am sure that your daughters would be as happy to see you as I would be to welcome you. Please give my regards to Mrs Marx and accept my profound regards.... Greetings to Jenny and Tussy (Eleonore, Marx' younger daughter--the author). Please forgive the length of this letter."

The Russian revolutionary remained in London for over three exceptionally active months. She met with the members of the General Council, attended workers meetings and studied closely the socialist movement in Western Europe. This gave her excellent irreplaceable training. However, the peals of the thunder of the proletarian revolution in Paris reached the banks of the Thames. Karl Marx, who

followed the development of events in France with tremendous attention, needed a permanent contact with the rebelled workers. That is why Auguste Serrailier, who subsequently became member of Commune, was sent to the French capital as the representative of the General Council. He was followed by Yelisaveta Dmitriyeva. Marx assigned her the duties of correspondent of the General Council and asked of her to provide him with detailed information on the events and to remain in constant touch.

Marx' envoy reached the French capital at the end of March, after the Paris Commune had been proclaimed. Marx was informed of the event by Herman Jung, the secretary-correspondent of the General Council for Switzerland on 29 March. "Dear Marx," he wrote. "I have just received a letter from Mrs Tomanovskaya who was able to reach Paris without incident. Serrailier arrived in Paris yesterday morning. Mrs Tomanovskaya's letter is very short. Apparently she fears that her letter may fall into enemy hands... According to her, things are going well in Paris. However, I am waiting for more detailed information."

In Paris, Ye. Dmitriyeva set to work immediately. She began by meeting the revolutionaries she knew, including members of the commune, who gave her initial information on the events. Eyewitnesses recall very warmly the first days of Dmitriyeva's revolutionary activities. They note that, under the influence of the great revolutionary traditions of Paris and because of her passionate dedication to the cause of the people, she wanted to organize the women workers of Paris in an active league which could give valuable aid to the Commune and establish a base for the women's liberation.

At first Dmitriyeva actively helped a few women in their unification efforts. They included Natalie Lemelle, a worker and member of the International. Dmitriyeva helped to create the first women's clubs and in the organization of the Central Committee of the Women's Union. Soon afterwards 20 committees were set up in all arrondissements of the capital, rallied around the Central Committee.

What tasks did their activists have? In the words of a contemporary, they called for loyalty to the cause of the revolution and insisted that the Commune give them weapons and dangerous assignments. They disseminated the social ideas of the International. They set up primary cells of the society of women workers, raised women's detachments which wanted to fight in front line positions, and assigned groups of medics to the battlefields.

The energetic, young and attractive Yelisaveta Dmitriyevna found herself in the center of these feverish activities. Here is what her police record read, as quoted by Jean Metronome in his "Biographic Dictionary of the French Labor Movement:" "Height, 1.66 meters; hair and eyebrows brown, hair tossed back; gray-blue eyes; straight nose; round chin; full face, somewhat pale; fast gait; usually dressed in black and always elegantly.

Yelisaveta Lukinichna began by organizing a women's committee. It operated out of the premises of the section of the International in the Fifth Arrondissement in Paris.

In the footsteps of our compatriot, I visited the house at No 3 Arras Street, where the committee had been located. It is an old narrow street, with low old buildings. Today the building houses a furrier and a small movie theater.

In the days of the Commune members of the Women's Union for the Defense of Paris and for Aid to the Wounded were always on duty at No 8 Rue des Ecoles. Later on, the darkish gray building of the polytechnical institute was built opposite the house. The Mutualite Hall, where meetings are frequently held today, is nearby. Once, after a communist youth meeting, I had the opportunity to see here the wonderful show "Storming the Skies," on the subject of the Paris Commune. Whereas the bourgeoisie is trying to consign to oblivion or to slander the 1871 revolution, the French working people, the communists, sacredly preserve the memory of their heroic predecessors.

Yeliseveta Dmitriyeva was extremely busy. Evenings, she spoke in workers' clubs, appealing to the working people to join in the struggle against the Versailles forces, for many Parisians were still complacent and nurtured illusions about Thier's intentions at first. According to eyewitnesses this "charming Slavic woman" was also a gifted speaker and provoked a lively response even among the sophisticated Parisians who had heard many outstanding orators in their time.

Tiring, painstaking work for drawing more and more Parisian women into the active struggle and for the organization of branches of the Women's Union for the Defense of Paris and Aid to the Wounded in all of Paris' 12 arrondissements absorbed her time from dawn to late at night. Yeliseveta Lukinichna's efforts were not wasted; within a short time 160 committees had been organized in all Paris arrondissements, each one of them consisting of 11 women.

Here is, for example, the social composition of the Women's Union Central Committee: its 20 members representing all arrondissements numbered 15 workers, 4 housewives and 1 intellectual. The seven members of the executive commission consisted of four workers, two women without a profession, and one intellectual--Ye. Dmitriyeva.

Yeliseveta Lukinichna drafted the bylaws of the Women's Union with the help of the most knowledgeable women workers. She took the bylaws of the First International as a model. According to its bylaws, the Women's Union was an organization whose purpose was: "to support and defend the cause of the people, the revolution and the Commune." The objectives of the union were to help the governmental commissions in their activities, work in hospitals, medical centers and field kitchens and build barricades.

Someone was on duty around the clock in each of the arrondissement women's committees which held plenary sessions no less than once daily. The chairwoman, two secretaries and the treasurer were rotated. The committee members were asked to pay a 10 centimes membership fee and acknowledge the leadership of the union's central committee.

The members of the executive commission were issued special certificates bearing the seal and the signatures of the central committee members and had the right to wear a red ribbon on their lapel as an identifying honor badge.

Yelisaвета Lukinichna worked hard to mobilize the Parisian women to help the fighters for the Commune: 3,000 women produced cartridges in workshops; others sewed uniforms... In her report to Leo Frankel, member of the Commune and noted leader of the Hungarian and the international workers movement, Ye. Dmitriyeva emphasized the new type of organization of working people. "The creation of such societies," she pointed out, "will free labor from the yoke of exploiting capital and, once and for all, will allow the working people to manage their own affairs." On behalf of the union's central committee, Ye. Dmitriyeva asked that "federal production societies" be given loans for the manufacturing of military equipment and that the workshops abandoned by their owners be put at the disposal of these societies.

At the same time, alone or with other members of the union, Yelisaвета Lukinichna drafted appeals which were published in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL of the Paris Commune and pasted up on walls throughout the city like posters. The first such proclamation, "To the Women of Paris," was dated 7 April and was carried out by the JOURNAL OFFICIEL 4 days later.

After reminding them of the difficult situation in Paris, which was surrounded and was being shelled, she addressed the following appeal to the women of the capital: "Citizens, the decisive hour has struck! We must put an end to the old world! We want to be free! It is not France alone that is rising today. The eyes of all civilized nations are turned to Paris. They are waiting for our victory so that they too may gain their freedom... Even in Russia, when the defenders of freedom die they are replaced by a new generation which, in turn, is ready to fight and die for the republic and for social change... Citizens, let us resolve to unite and to come to the aid of our cause!"

The proclamation was signed simply "A group of citizens."

Yelisaвета Dmitriyeva and her fellow workers convened the sessions of the Women's Union Central Committee and held public meetings attended by as many as 4,000 Parisian women. These meetings became more popular with every passing day.

At its first session the Women's Union Central Committee decided to turn to the Executive Commission of the Council of the Commune. Its document stipulated, in particular, that "everyone must and has the right to fight for the great cause of the people--for the revolution," and that many women citizens "had decided, should the enemy reach the gates of Paris, to fight and win or die in the battle for our common rights." In this connection, the central committee was submitting to the Executive Commission of the Council of the Commune a number of requests for helping the union in its activities.

Apparently, in the first weeks after her arrival in Paris Yelisaвета Dmitriyeva had been unable to establish steady contacts with either London or Geneva. This becomes clear from the concerned letter which N. I. Utin sent to Karl Marx from Geneva, dated 17 April.

"Dear Citizen Marx! I take the liberty to address myself to you directly to find out if you have any information concerning our young and dear friend Mrs Elisa

Tomanovskaya. Ever since she sent me those few lines, 3 weeks ago, on her intention to join Jung for 2 weeks in Paris I have had no news of her.... Since you were so kind and good to her I do not feel it necessary to conceal that we are very much afraid that Tomanovskaya's daring and enthusiasm may have cost her her life. This would be an exceptionally severe loss.... There are too few of us as it is to serve the common cause in Russia when the time comes!"

Soon afterwards, however, Yelisaaveta Lukinichna sent a long letter to H. Jung, who was in London, dated 24 April. He reported this fact at the 2 May 1871 meeting of the General Council of the International. Answering Engels' remark that the appeal of the International on the events in France had been delayed, Jung explained that the delay was justified, for the previous evening Serrailier's wife had received a letter from Paris which may have contained important information. Jung also mentioned the letter from Ye. Dmitriyeva in which she reported that she was engaged "in active propaganda among women, organising large meetings every evening and raising a women's detachment."

In her long message Yelisaaveta Lukinichna was pointing out that it was impossible to use the mails, for all contacts had been broken and "everything falls into the hands of the Versailles forces." She wrote to Jung that "at all costs one must engage in agitation in the provinces, if they are to help us. The Paris population (some of it) is fighting heroically. However, we never thought that we would find ourselves so isolated. Nevertheless, we have held our positions so far."

Ye. Dmitriyeva reported also that although she was unwell (suffering from bronchitis and fever) she was doing much work, holding public meetings, speaking every evening, and writing a great deal. She reported on the work to organise a women's union and expressed the hope that, in the case of a Commune victory, this organization will convert from political to social and that sections of the International will be established. Yelisaaveta Lukinichna emphasized also that the propaganda in favor of the International she was conducting "was being accepted by the women with great approval."

The Russian revolutionary wrote that even though the affairs of the Commune were developing satisfactorily, many errors had been made at the beginning: that a manifesto to the peasants was not issued on time, that all sorts of incidents which weakened the parties had taken place, and that G. P. Cluseres had been appointed military delegate (incidentally, soon afterwards Cluseres was removed from his position).

She concluded her letter as follows: "I always think of you in my spare time, of which I have very little. Greetings to you, your family and Marx' family. What is doing? Had the situation in Paris not been so critical, I would have wanted very much to see Jonny here, as so much is happening. Lisa."

Today, as we read this amazing historical document, one century later, we can only be amazed at the political outlook of this young revolutionary who, already then, unlike many others, had been able to see not only the strong but some (true, not all) errors and weaknesses of the Paris Commune. This was the result of Marx' training and of the brief but exceptionally fruitful experience acquired in the political struggle under the banner of the International.

Unfortunately, most of the leaders of the 1871 revolution were unaware of all the errors and omissions of the Paris Commune. In the final account, this could not fail to influence the tragic outcome of the first proletarian system in history. However, displaying amazing courage, they fought for the cause of the working people, without concern for their own lives.

The situation in besieged Paris was becoming ever more difficult and alarming with every new day in May: the outcome was near. At the beginning of May a poster was pasted on the walls of Paris in which an anonymous "group of women" called for an armistice with Versailles. The Communard women were totally indignant at this capitulationist sally. Yelisaveta Dmitriyeva and many other members of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Women's Union published a manifesto in May in which they angrily objected to the "unworthy appeal" issued by an "anonymous group of reactionaries." In their belief that an armistice with the Versailles forces would be the equivalent of treason and a rejection of all the expectations of the workers, Ye. Dmitriyeva and her fellow workers stated that "...Paris will not retreat, for it holds in its hands the banner of the future... United and full of resolve, matured and clear-sighted, thanks to the suffering which social crises always bring, and deeply convinced that the Commune, which is the representative of the International and of the revolutionary principles of the peoples, carries within it the embryos of the social revolution, the women of Paris will prove to France and to the entire world that in the hour of extreme danger they too will give their blood and their lives, like their brothers, for the defense and the victory of the Commune, i.e., of the people, at the barricades and fortifications of Paris, should the reaction break into the city!"

The daughters of the Commune proved that they were able to fight as well as the men did. On 21 May the Versailles forces broke into Paris through the Saint cloud gate, helped by a traitor. Yelisaveta Lukinichna and her friends had to postpone their organizing work and efforts to improve the life of working women and rush to the barricades.

I visited the places where the Russian revolutionary fought. I started with Boulevard Saint-Ouen. It was here that, according to eyewitnesses, Yelisaveta Lukinichna lived in the period of the Commune. The women's detachment, which included Louise Michel and Yelisaveta Dmitriyeva, fought courageously nearby, in Batignolles. Later, under the pressure of the Versailles troops the detachment was forced to retreat to Montmartre.

P. O. Lissagaray, the editor of ACTION and TRIBUN DU PEUPLE, who was one of the witnesses of the events and who participated in the battles at the barricades, subsequently described "Mrs X," meaning Ye. Dmitriyeva, as follows: "She was tall and stately.... and amazingly beautiful. She smiled as she held up Frankel, whose blood was pouring on her elegant gown." Other eyewitnesses claimed that it was precisely the Russian heroine who had saved the life of Leo Frankel, who had been wounded twice at the barricades in the suburbs of Saint Antoine.

Then, there were more barricades on the Rue Lepic and Place Blanche. Everywhere Yelisaveta Lukinichna displayed miracles of courage and set the example for her women-fellow fighters.

Louis Barron, a member of the staff of the Commune, published the book entitled "Under the Red Flag" in 1889. In his description of Ye. Dmitriyeva, the leader of the "women-fighters" he wrote: "Her long hair was blowing in the wind. She was wearing a red scarf. With her tender yet loud voice she proclaimed: 'While our brothers are fighting at the barricades we demand the honor to guard the people's municipality: we shall defend it to our last drop of blood'."

Here is one more interesting testimony. Obreskov, one of the secretaries of the Russian Embassy in Paris, reported to Count Shuvalov, head of the third department, about a "dangerous" Russian citizeness who had "thrown herself into the socialist movement for some time." The report went on to say that "She organized a central women's committee in the municipal building of the 10th Arrondissement, whose purpose was to assist in the defense of Paris. It was possible to anticipate that she would play a noticeable role in the final period of the uprising. Indeed, when the army attacked the district on 23 May, Yelisaveta Dmitriyeva was seen at the barricades where she encouraged the federal forces to resist, passed ammunition to them and fired herself, at the head of about 50 shrews" (this is how the tsarist official characterized the courageous Communard women! The author).

The conclusion of the report read as follows: "What fate befell this crazy woman? Was she executed among the others, anonymously? Was she taken to Versailles and, from there, to a seaport under a false name she could have given them? No information has been made available on this account so far."

Actually, the time was such that many of Yelisaveta Lukinichna's friends no longer hoped to see her alive. For example, Jenny Marx wrote to her father from Bordeaux: "Poor Mrs Tomanovskaya, I fear that we have lost her forever."

Meanwhile, disguised as a lady of the nobility, the Russian revolutionary was able to avoid the Versailles authorities and, together with Leo Frankel, reach Switzerland. In his 12 June letter to I. F. Becker, Frankel provided the following details: "The fact that I was nevertheless able to escape, together with a few individuals one of whom was the exceptionally talented lady who headed the women's central committee (meaning Ye. Dmitriyeva--the author) who, like myself, had been wounded in the battles at the barricades in which she personally took part, is a thing I owe only to the good will of a Paris worker who let us come into his house from which we were able to cross the lines safely."

One week before the letter was written, on 4 June, A. Perret hastened to pass on the good news to H. Jung: "Good news: our dear sister Elisa is safe. She left Paris, going through all types of hurdles, under a hail of shell fire and bullets. Miraculously, she remained safe. She is with us in Geneva and we are taking very good care of her. Together with a few friends and fellow workers, she was able to save herself from the horrible slaughter. She will be writing you."

In turn, Jung notified Marx of the "successful arrival" of Mrs Elisa Tomanovskaya in Geneva, as early as the beginning of June.

Finally, in his letter to H. Jung, dated 14 August, Marx mentions that he is adding a few lines addressed to Mrs Tomanovskaya.

Unfortunately, these "few lines" have not been found. However, even from this correspondence and Marx' subsequent letters we can judge of the attention and concern with which the founder and leader of the First International followed the destinies of the Russian revolutionary and tried through his fellow workers to give her all possible aid. In his 9 January 1877 letter Marx noted that Ye. Dmitriyeva had rendered "great services to the party" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 34, p 185).

Yelisaveta Lukinichna left Switzerland and returned to her homeland in the autumn of 1871. She confused the tsarist secret police (which was looking for the "revolutionary Ye. Dmitriyeva" everywhere) by carrying a legal passport issued in the name of the wife of retired Colonel Tomanovskiy. The first person she went to see was her mother who, as usual, was spending the autumn and winter in Petersburg together with her sons Aleksandr and Vladimir.

According to Nina Vladimirovna-Kusheleva-Duchemin, Aunt Lisa shared her impressions on the Paris Commune with virtually no one, and most of the people around her assumed that, like many other Russian aristocrats, Mrs Tomanovskaya had simply gone "to have fun" in Europe. Soon afterwards the entire Kushelev family, together with the "Parisian" left for Volok, in the Pskov area. Subsequently (after M. N. Tomanovskiy's death) she remarried, unfortunately badly, and followed her husband, who was sentenced on a criminal case, to exile in Siberia. Yelisaveta Lukinichna spent the last years of her life with her daughters in Moscow. Fragmentary and conflicting information on this period in the hard to follow biography of the revolutionary has been lost in the fog of the unknown which surrounded her last quiet years.

The period of active revolutionary struggle waged by the Russian heroine of the Commune, one of those who daringly raised the proud flag of proletarian internationalism on the barricades of 1871, was short, like the high water season in spring. The Paris Commune itself did not last long. However, the memory of this revolution and of its great fighters--the French proletariat and the representatives of many countries who had come to their aid, including the sons and daughters of Russia, will never fade. Anna Vasil'yevna Korvin-Krukovskaya, Petr Lavrov and others fought under the flag of the Commune. Yelisaveta Dmitriyeva-Tomanovskaya, a splendid woman who came from the depths of Russia, the way a crystally pure spring wells from the ground, will occupy forever a worthy place among them.

5003

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NEW REINFORCEMENT OF PARTY RANKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 pp 123-125

[Review by G. Krivosheina of the book "Partiya v Tvoey Zhizni. Molodomu Kommunistu" (The Party in Your Life. To the Young Communist). Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 302 pp]

[Text] The heroic past and great present of the Leninist party and its deserved prestige among the broad masses intensify the desire of workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals to link their destinies with those of the party. Naturally, the party cannot accept all candidates. It does not speed up the numerical growth of its ranks. Nevertheless, party statistics show that CPSU membership is rising steadily. Between the 23rd and 24th congresses the party gained three million new members; almost 2.6 million people joined the party between the 24th and 25th congresses.

As was pointed out in the CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 26th party congress, in the period between the 25th and the 26th congresses party membership rose by 1.8 million. From this we may conclude that the party organizations have a large number of young party members at all times. The levels of their theoretical and moral-political training, naturally, vary. However, all of these people who have just crossed the line between nonparty and party status are united by their heightened interest in the way the CPSU lives and works, the structure of intraparty relations and the meaning of statutory and programmatic rules governing party membership in the practical, the daily life of party collectives. The main purpose of the recently published book "Partiya v Tvoey Zhizni" is to answer these questions. It is addressed to the young party members.

The work discusses the norms of party life and principles of party leadership, CPSU organizational structure, party democracy and discipline and other equally important matters which constitute the essence of the Marxist-Leninist theory of a revolutionary proletarian party of a new type. The authors present these matters in an easy to understand form of articles-talks. The titles themselves of the 17 talks in the book give an idea of their nature and purpose: "Union of Like Thinking Leninists," "The Party Card," "What Does it Mean to Be a Communist?," "Obligations and Rights of the Party Member," "Foundations for Ideological and Organizational Unity," and so on. Almost all the talks conclude with answers to specific questions asked by new party members.

As the content and method of presentation clearly show, the purpose of the book is to help the young party and candidate party members to realize more profoundly

their new status and their role in the life and activities of the party organization and of their labor collective, and to acquire the lofty feeling of party comradeship. In discussing the basic principles governing the structure of our party, the authors of the articles-talks draw on the very rich experience acquired by the party organizations over many decades. They make extensive use of examples and facts borrowed from contemporary social life, familiar to every party member.

Ever since its creation the Leninist party has been concerned with accepting only suitable people and with making every party member a true political fighter. The party's membership requirements are particularly high today. The authors justifiably state that millions of people have adopted the ideas of communism as their own. Naturally, in the Soviet society the number of such people is by far larger than is CPSU membership. This is a manifestation of the inflexible truth that mankind considers communism as its future. A growing number of people are becoming aware of this objective historical law. However, support of communist views is one thing, while establishing firm organizational ties between the individual and the party, which is waging a daily struggle for the implementation of the ideals it professes and which is guiding the building of communism, is something far more difficult and complex. Considered from this viewpoint, the externally invisible line which separates party from nonparty members becomes entirely clear. The party member is a particle of a single entity known as the party. He correlates each one of his steps or actions with the requirements of the CPSU program and bylaws and voluntarily submits to the permanent control of the party collective. Discipline within the party and the subordination of the will of each of its members to that of the majority is a most important factor which makes the party an association not only of like-thinking people but of like-acting people, a combat political organization. In politics, at work and at home, wherever he happens to be, the party member must coordinate and combine all his different actions. The party cannot exist without the elaboration of a single approach to the assessment of social phenomena or the unification of all party members for the sake of reaching its programmatic objectives.

The sections of the book in which the responsibilities of every party member for the affairs of the party are discussed illustrate V. I. Lenin's familiar words that "The party is where most workers have rallied around the party's decisions which provide purposeful, systematic and accurate answers to the most important questions. The party is wherever there is unity of such decisions and a single will to implement them conscientiously by the united majority of conscientious workers" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 24, pp 79-80).

In the first talk the young comrades are reminded of the following historical facts: between the end of the 19th century and 1920 some 90 different parties have existed in Russia. But the verdict of reality was such that parties which lacked strong support among the people appeared and disappeared quickly from the political arena leaving no noticeable traces. The few remaining traces were only negative, for they expressed reactionary and counterrevolutionary trends. Lenin's party alone, having surmounted all difficulties along its way, has been living, acting and leading the working class and all working people for 8 decades.

This example is related to subsequent parts of the book in which the attention of the young party members is drawn to the need to develop a class approach to reality. Without a class approach, one of the talks stipulates, no one can be a party member. In politics, economics, science and art, wherever they are, the party members must follow the class line. This stems from the nature of our party, which is the highest form of class organization of the working class. Such was our party from the very first day of its birth and such it remains. At the mature socialist stage, having become the party of the whole people, the CPSU does not lose its class nature but continues to express the basic interests of the working class.

The book offers an answer to a question frequently asked of lecturers and propagandists: what does the class approach mean in today's conditions, when the overwhelming majority of the party members have been raised in a socialist system, when the entire Soviet society has long been freed from capitalist exploitation?

The class viewpoint of the party member today is expressed in the fact that it assesses all phenomena and facts of current life from the position of the extent to which all this brings us closer to the final objective--the building of communism. One of the important features of the class approach is the continuing retention of active ties with the working class, with the toiling masses. The CPSU bylaws offer not only to the worker but to every person who has adopted firmly the positions of the working class the opportunity to join the party ranks. Those who become party members must promote the class line in everything they do--the line leading to the victory of the communist principles in our lives and of giving comprehensive aid to our class comrades. It is specifically the precise class position of the party member that enables him to distinguish between friends and enemies and to make a proper choice between the good and useful, on the one hand, and the bad and obsolete, on the other, and to resolve production and sociopolitical problems successfully.

The authors' assertion that the class viewpoint of the world around us and of society is an old and frightening weapon in the struggle against the enemies of communism and the still occasionally remaining petit bourgeois prejudices and illusions, is entirely accurate.

The party member becomes an active fighter for the party's cause mainly through practical action, by participating in the daily life and activities of his organization. The party structures its internal life in such a way as to provide maximum opportunity for the manifestation of the creative initiative and activity of party members. At the same time, it firmly opposes a passive attitude, idleness, or withdrawal from the need to resolve complex and difficult problems. "The party will not accept a passive and indifferent attitude," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "If you are a communist it is your duty not to remain idle in the face of difficulties, not to become prey to backward moods but to be a conscious and active party fighter. The communist must remain a communist and bear with dignity the high title of member of our Leninist party at work, in public life, in school and in society--always and everywhere."

The book describes the method used by primary and shop party organizations and party groups in their work with the party's reinforcements, in the course of which

new members and candidate members are assigned subsequently controlled assignments, based on their forces and capabilities. Experience has proved that work with individual members, particularly sponsorship or the hearing of reports at bureau and party committee sessions and party meetings on the fulfillment of statutory obligations by individual comrades, is of great importance in upgrading the political and labor activeness of the party members.

The idea that high idea-mindedness is the most important feature of the communist is the theme which runs throughout the book. It is impossible to help the new party reinforcements to reach the full depth of Leninist party-mindedness without developing in the new party members the steady aspiration to upgrade their ideological-political standards. In his time Lenin wrote that "We know that party-mindedness is both a prerequisite for and indicator of political development. The more politically developed, educated and conscientious a given population or class becomes, the general rule is that the higher its party-mindedness will rise" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 32, p 190).

The authors discuss in detail the need for the party members systematically to engage in self-education and the obligation of the party organizations to assist them in their ideological growth. This material is presented without didactic obtrusiveness or boring edifications which are frequent errors found in some works on the same topic. Using extensive historical and contemporary data, the authors tune the readers to the proper "wavelength," awakening in them the desire to seek and find answers to topical problems which modern life presents to every person. The article-talks provide answers to many such questions. The conclusion of the authors that the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, which is steadily developed and enriched by the party's entire theoretical and practical activity, is the key to raising the activeness of party members and to the implementation of the vanguard role by them at work and in society, is logical and convincing.

Those who march in the ranks of communist fighters must do a great deal of thinking and take a great deal of things into consideration if they are to serve the party through their actions and words conscientiously and with a firm belief in the justice of its cause. This book will unquestionably be of help in this matter. It will be a good adviser to the party member in the assertion of his life stance. Nor can this work be ignored by comrades who are working with young party members, such as party organization secretaries, party group organizers or propagandists. They too will find in this book many useful recommendations and advice on how to organize their work with new party members.

Since the book was published before the 26th party congress, obviously it will need further work and a new edition, which will take into consideration the ideas and conclusions of our high party forum.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 p 125

[Review by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Stepakov of the book "S Nami Budut Milliony. Dokumental'noye Povestvovaniye" [Millions of People Will Be With Us. Documentary Narrative] by Ye. Ya. Zazerskiy and A. V. Lyubarskiy. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 319 pp]

[Text] This book describes the invaluable contribution made by V. I. Lenin to the molding, development and unification of the revolutionary forces of the international social democratic movement. The authors describe Lenin's ties with the workers and social-democratic movements of Western European countries and his struggle against opportunism, social chauvinism and centrism of the leaders of the Second International and for the principles of proletarian internationalism and the development of the class self-awareness of the international proletariat in the pre-October period (1894-1917).

Other books on the same topic have been published in the past. Despite their merits, however, and although they acquaint the readers with the places where Lenin lived in various countries, his premises, and the libraries where he worked, they failed to provide a complete view of an almost 15-year long span of Vladimir Il'ich's life as an exile. They were unable to refute to the fullest extent the concepts formulated by Western "specialists" and of a variety of falsifiers, which conflicted with historical truth and which tried to distort and belittle Lenin's role in the international workers and social democratic movements.

The significance of this work lies in its documentary proof. The authors studied and extensively used the published reminiscences of those who worked alongside the leader of the international proletariat and the clandestine social democratic publications printed in Russia and abroad. Their main sources, however, are Lenin's works themselves. This extensive documentary base has been translated into a book which is both a scientific study and an outstanding work of publicism.

The authors expose the false version presented by Lenin's Western "biographers" concerning his "loneliness" in foreign exile and his "alienation" from Russia. They prove convincingly that wherever Lenin might have lived abroad as an expatriate he always maintained extremely close relations with the homeland and his fellow comrades in the revolutionary struggle, and headed the local RSDWP organizations and the Bolshevik underground. The reader is given proof that the difficult circumstances of foreign exile did not break Vladimir Il'ich's will.

As the authors show, Lenin highly valued the positive features of the activities of the Second International and of some Western workers parties. Thus, undertaking the creation of a Marxist workers party in Russia, he traveled to Berlin to study on the spot the rich experience of the largest social democratic party of Europe, a party which, in its time, had experienced the strong influence of K. Marx and F. Engels. Subsequently, in formulating the plan for the creation of a Russian-wide clandestine newspaper, he turned to the experience of the German comrades once again. Meanwhile, Lenin waged an uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of opportunism and revisionism in the social democratic movement. He condemned the "half-way opportunistic amendments" which Bernstein had made fashionable light-handedly.

The new book expands literary Leniniana with this detailed story of the life and revolutionary activities of the leader in foreign exile. It will be received by the readers with unquestionable interest.

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BOOKSHELF

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 4, Mar 81 pp 126-127

[Text] Brezhnev, L. I. "Ochetnyy Doklad Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS XXVI S'yezdu Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuz a Ocherednyye Zadachi Partii v Oblasti Vnutrenney i Vneshney Politiki 23 Fevralya 1981 Goda" [Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress on the Forthcoming Party Tasks in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy, 23 February 1981] Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 111 pp.

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"Osnovnyye Napravleniya Ekonomicheskogo i Sotsial'nogo Razvitiya SSSR na 1981-1985 Gody i na Period do 1990 Goda" [Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 95 pp.

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REGULAR ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS IN REPUBLIC AND INTEROBLAST HIGHER PARTY SCHOOLS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 81 p 128

[Text] The regular enrollment of students in republic and interoblast higher party schools is hereby announced. Students may enroll on the basis of recommendation by the central committees of communist parties of union republics and party kraykoms and obkoms.

The higher party schools will accept party, soviet, Komsomol and ideological workers who are CPSU members, as follows: two-year course and three-year correspondence course students must have completed their higher education and be no more than 40 years old; candidates for the four-year course and five-year correspondence course must have completed their secondary education and be no more than 35 years of age.

By no later than 1 May, the central committees of communist parties of union republics and party kraykoms and gorkoms must submit the excerpts from the bureaus' decrees, references and other corresponding documents for the comrades recommended to the higher party schools.

In the period between 20 May and 10 June, those recommended for the two-year courses and three-year correspondence course will be invited to the schools for interviews; candidates for the four-year and five-year correspondence courses will be summoned for entrance examinations on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism (on the secondary party education level), Russian language (composition) and USSR history on the secondary school level. Recommended applicants will be granted two weeks' paid leave to prepare for and take the entrance examinations.

Classes in higher party schools will begin on 1 September 1981.

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