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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 5, 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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INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

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[Article by B. Ponomarev, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress was an event of world-historical significance and the embodiment and development of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The 26th CPSU Congress is a most important event in the life of the party, the Soviet people, the socialist community countries and all progressive mankind. The proceedings and results of the congress, which outlined a program of the further development of the country of soviets and a program of strengthening peace in the world, are the center of the attention of the party and people and the entire world community.

The attention of the peoples of the whole world was riveted to the congress. And this is natural. The 26th CPSU Congress showed that the Soviet Union has a firm hold on the historical initiative. The congress was the embodiment of the progressive economic and social role of world socialism in the modern world, a demonstration of the inseparability of socialism and peace and convincing new confirmation of the vitality of and need for internationalism and the solidarity of the revolutionary forces.

The work of the 26th CPSU Congress and the profound and lucid report delivered by L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which was packed with new ideas and conclusions; the report of N.A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the scientifically substantiated document "Main Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," which was adopted by the congress; the participation in the congress of an unprecedented number (123) of representative foreign delegations—all this again emphasized our party's outstanding role in man's movement along the path of social progress.

The main ideological-political result of the 26th CPSU Congress, which will determine its place in history, is that at a crucial boundary of world development and the development of real socialism and all revolutionary forces and in a complex and dangerous international situation the Leninist party again demonstrated its collective wisdom, multifaceted experience and capacity for organizing its work in terms of the distant future, highlighting what is most important at each historical stage and concentrating the main efforts thereon. The party

provided a profoundly creative and concrete answer to the urgent questions of domestic and international development, confirming with new force the vanguard role of real socialism in the arterial directions of the development of human society.

The congress will go down in peoples' minds as a peace forum which counterposed to the inflammatory line of imperialism a decisive, balanced and constructive position of a strengthening of peace and struggle to extend detente, curb the arms race and avert a new world war.

The working people of all countries enthusiastically welcomed the long-term program of Soviet society's further advance toward communism which was proclaimed by the congress. They see the realization of this program as a guarantee of the further consolidation of the positions of world socialism--the dependable support of the cause of the working class and the broad people's masses. The decisions of the congress, which are imbued with the humane idea of "all for man, all in the name of man," multiply the magnetic force of socialism. This motto remains an invariable program directive of the party.

Progressive people in all countries note the exceptional significance of the report of L.I. Brezhnev and evaluate it as a "charter of communist construction and peace." The report and the entire work of the congress represent a model of a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to present-day problems. The large-scale and realistic formulation of the questions of developed socialism, full of faith in the forces of the party and the people, is a major new contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism. A discussion of the most urgent international problems with the participation of the most varied political and social forces has developed based on the congress' in-depth and all-around analysis of the world situation. This expresses the high degree of the CPSU's influence on the international situation and the entire course of world development--in the interests of peace and social progress.

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The whole world noted the spirit of calm assurance and justified optimism of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report and evaluated highly our party's understanding of its responsibility for the fate of peace expressed therein. This outstanding party document embraced the totality of the diverse issues with which the party is occupied. Urgent tasks of the development of the socialist society and communist building are examined in inseparable connection and unity with the struggle for peace and detente and the consolidation of the positions and the advancement of all world forces fighting for a better tomorrow for mankind.

On the threshold of the congress bourgeois propaganda initiated at the prompting of imperialist special services the latest "big lie" campaign, endeavoring to blacken the USSR and induce doubts as to its economic and social successes and its capacity for constant advance for the good of the people and peace. To what lengths they went: they made a noise about the "failure" of the 10th Five-Year Plan, about the "crisis" of the Soviet economy and about the "serious complications" in relations among nations of the Soviet Union and among the socialist

countries and predicted for socialism all the disasters which only a sound knowledge of the defects of capitalism could have suggested. Bourgeois propagandists literally competed in attempts to distort the ideas of real socialism, which calls for a struggle for the happiness of the working people.

As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observed, the marked exacerbation of the ideological struggle is a fact. "For the West it does not amount to a confrontation of ideas. It activates an entire system of resources aimed at the subversion of the socialist world and at loosening it.... The most important thing for them is to turn people off socialism."

The 26th CPSU Congress demonstrated once again the general human significance of the party's work on the economic and sociopolitical development of Soviet society. Collated in the CPSU Central Committee report and the material and decisions of the congress, the theoretical and practical contribution of the CPSU as a pioneer to the creation and development of a fundamentally new formation will influence the processes of revolutionary transformation throughout the rest of the world and impart new impetus to the world-historical movement toward socialism and communism.

The congress approached in Leninist manner the problems arising in the process of the tremendous work of construction. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said candidly in the Central Committee report: "While giving the Soviet people's truly historic accomplishments their due the CPSU Central Committee also clearly sees the difficulties, shortcomings and unsolved problems. We did not manage to reach all the scheduled boundaries. Not all ministries and enterprises fulfilled their plans. There are still bottlenecks and disproportions in the economy."

To attempt to briefly summarize the international significance of the congress in terms of socioeconomic questions, it amounts to the following:

First, the congress showed convincingly the greatness of the advantage of socialism and its capacity for constant progress in the sphere of the quantitative and qualitative development of the economy. The Soviet economy is continuing its constant crisis-free upsurge. Our economy knows neither "zero growth" nor production slumps. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the average annual national income level increased 24 percent. The USSR has advanced appreciably in all directions of the creation of communism's material-technical base. Soviet society's production forces have reached a qualitatively new level. The scientific-technical revolution is developing in breadth and in depth, changing the appearance of many works and entire sectors of the economy. A major new step forward has been taken in the creation of the economic foundation of communism and in the strengthening of the USSR's defense capability.

The forward movement of real socialism appears even more impressive against the background of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Capitalism experienced crisis slumps in production three times in the last decade. In 1980 there was an absolute decline in the national product in the United States and Britain; in the majority of developed capitalist states there was a sharp rise in unemployment, which has risen to 19 million. There is no capitalist country which has not experienced the ruinous impact of the periodic crises.

Second, the 26th congress again showed to all mankind the profoundly peaceful, creative nature of the activity of our party, which has made the basis of its economic strategy all-around concern for man and for a constant rise in the people's well-being. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the average annual national consumption level grew 26 percent and that of the social consumption funds 34 percent. The average monthly wage has increased by a factor of almost 1.4 compared with 1970. Apartment houses were built in the last 10 years whose area is greater than all urban housing at the start of the 1960's. The policy of stable retail prices being consistently pursued by the party enabled us to protect our people against the scourge of inflation. Soviet people have not known the ulcer of unemployment for half a century now.

In the 11th Five-Year Plan there will be even greater stress on the growth of the people's well-being, which is the main area of the party's economic strategy. This is expressed in the elaboration of a food program based on a further upsurge of agriculture and the development of all sectors of the agrarian-industrial complex. And in the fact that the rate of development of group "B" will exceed somewhat the group "A" growth rate and in the fact that the traditional sectors of heavy industry in our country are even now producing more than one-half of nonfood consumer goods.

The whole world sees that Soviet communists consider securing an unswerving growth of the people's well-being their primary duty and that they are the initiators of measures to improve the working people's work and living conditions. This also serves the cause of the indestructible unity of the ruling party and the people, which is one of socialism's greatest advantages.

A sharp contrast to the activity of the CPSU is the economic policy of the bourgeois parties and governments of the capitalist countries. An antipopular program was recently presented in the United States of considerable cuts in social spending: on education, housing and public health and retirement and unemployment benefits. In Britain the Conservative government is waging an offensive against the working people's living standard, endeavoring to deprive them of the social gains made earlier and attempting to restrict the rights of the unions in every way. There is a simultaneous increase here in appropriations and orders for the military-industrial complex. Inflation in the capitalist countries has assumed unprecedented proportions. In the last decade prices rose by a factor of 2.3 on average. This is how things stand in all the developed capitalist countries. The position of the working people is becoming increasingly difficult. An acute class struggle is developing, threatening the upheaval of the very foundations of the capitalist system.

Third, as the 26th CPSU Congress showed, the Soviet people are setting an example of the genuine solution of the very complex global problems which have confronted mankind: energy, nature conservation, environmental protection. Capitalism has been accustomed to squandering the planet's mineral wealth and its resources of drinking water and clean air and destroying flora and fauna without regard for the finite nature of many of these resources. Socialism, on the other hand, has put

forward and is implementing a highly humane program of energy, fuel and raw material savings and a solicitous attitude toward everything that nature provides for man.

The paths of a solution of the energy problem are a striking example. The party has put forward a program providing for a substantial improvement in the structure of the fuel-power balance by way of a reduction in the proportion of oil as a fuel and its replacement with gas and coal, the accelerated development of nuclear power engineering, including fast-neutron reactors, and a quest for fundamentally new energy sources.

Far-reaching tasks! But the Soviet people are confident of their practicability since they see that the party is determining on the basis of scientific-technical achievements the optimum, most correct paths of the use of the tremendous resources and possibilities of the socialist system.

Fourth, the Soviet people's constructive activity is strengthening the economic might of the whole socialist world. Possessing a strong and diverse and practically universal industrial potential, the Soviet Union is rendering the other socialist countries effective assistance based on varied and equal cooperation. As the CPSU Central Committee report observed, in recent years the socialist countries have had to accomplish constructive tasks under complicated conditions. The deterioration in world economic conditions, sharp price increases, the inhibition of the detente process and the arms race imposed by imperialism have played their part. The capitalist states frequently attempt to use economic relations as a means of political pressure. Socialist economic integration, mutual assistance and cooperation acquire an even greater role for this reason.

The socialist countries' achievements in production and scientific-technical cooperation are indisputable. At the same time life itself poses the task of supplementing the coordination of plans with the coordination of economic policy as a whole. It was emphasized at the congress that the transition to the intensive development of the economy and the implementation of major social programs are exceptionally complex problems whose solution will take a long time and constant creative quest. Attention was drawn here to the fact that each fraternal country is making its contribution to the diverse positive experience of the solution of concrete problems of the building of socialism.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report emphasized the growing importance of the socialist countries' use of each other's experience. Soviet communists have been set the task of attentively studying and applying more extensively the achievements of the fraternal countries and everything valuable and instructive that they have in the organization of production and the solution of national economic problems.

Fifth, an appreciable new contribution was made at the 26th CPSU Congress to the theory of developed socialism, which has been built in the world for the first time, and to the revelation of its characteristics and singularities. "The developed socialist society," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out, "is the natural stage of the socioeconomic maturity of the new system within the framework of the first phase of the communist formation." This, in V.I. Lenin's words, is that

utterly consolidated socialism from which the gradual transition to communism begins. Precisely such a degree of development of socialism has been achieved in our country.

The 26th congress substantiated profoundly and comprehensively the need for the intensification of social production and the completion of the transition to the intensive type of economic growth, which is the most suitable for developed socialism. This means that the increase in output is to be effected overwhelmingly thanks to increased labor productivity and increased production efficiency. The main accent is put on an improvement in quality indicators, economies in all production resources--labor, fixed capital, fuel and raw materials and the product of the fields and farmsteads--an acceleration of scientific-technical progress and a further improvement in the mechanism of management of the Soviet economy.

It is a question of tens of millions of workers' mastery of the new approach to the solution of economic problems and a restructuring of the business mentality of managers and party leaders and scientific-technical personnel who have grown up under the conditions of predominantly extensive development. The congress established that in all its historical significance the transition of the USSR's national economy to the tracks of intensive development is on a par with such a most profound transformation as socialist industrialization, which changed the appearance of our country fundamentally. The increased efficiency of social production will reveal new prospects in communist building and the strengthening of the international positions and authority of world socialism.

What an increase in efficiency means in practice is indicated by the following example. The considerable increase in national income in the 11th Five-Year Plan will have to be achieved with a comparatively slow increase in capital investments. Great creative quest and businesslike enterprise on the part of the entire working people's masses and the great and skillful organizing and ideological-educational work of all party organizations are required.

The intensification of production is an objective requirement of highly developed socialism and is in this respect of general significance at a certain stage of the development of this socioeconomic formation. There is no other path to communist abundance.

And again, what a profound gulf there is here and what a contrast with the capitalist world, where an increase in labor productivity and intensiveness has always been subordinated to the aspiration to secure greater profits for the owners of capital, is achieved thanks to the increased exploitation of the people of labor and entails the threat of a deterioration in the position of millions of working people. After all, it is a fact that the monopolies' use of the fruits of scientific-technical progress is accompanied by a new rise in unemployment, higher inflation, price increases and other severe consequences for the working people.

Sixth, the essential features and characteristics of the social development of Soviet society at the present stage of its development were revealed at the congress. The mature socialist society is developing not by way of the confrontation of the forces of opposed classes, which characterizes the situation in the

capitalist world, or via class antagonisms but via the gradual erasure of essential differences between all classes and social groups.

This conclusion of our party congress, which summarizes real experience, is of a general fundamental significance which goes beyond the framework of just one socialist country. It is known that concepts exist in some places which are aimed at removing the ruling party in a socialist country from a position of determining influence on the development and implementation of social policy and making this policy the subject of the so-called free play of "pluralistic" forces. Adopting such concepts would mean condemning the development of the new society to zigzags and vacillations dangerous for its very existence. This would lead in a direction away from the socialist path and from realization of the ideals of socialism.

It is important to note here that class differences are not erased by way of the melting of the working class in the bulk of the population but by way of the transition of all working people to its ideological-political positions. The revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class, its collectivist mentality and its interests and ideals are now becoming the property of all strata of Soviet society.

The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the importance of the tasks connected with the formation of the new man. The CPSU does not see as its task here the "punching out" of uniform personalities, to which all bourgeois "mass culture" is geared, stupefying man and making his tastes and requirements dependent on the advertising efforts of the capitalist monopolies. On the contrary, developed socialism creates the material and spiritual possibilities for the unimpeded development of all the creative elements contained in each individual. The socioeconomic and cultural policy of the CPSU and an upbringing based on Marxism-Leninism are securing increasingly broad and firm objective and subjective prerequisites for the achievement of this goal.

The erasure of interclass differences presupposes, as the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, the pursuit of a social policy providing for the formation of conscious workers of a classless society and for this reason requires the most attentive consideration of the singularities and interests of each social group. And our party is doing everything to ensure that this task be performed in the most efficient way.

Seventh, the 26th CPSU Congress made an evaluation of the new stage of development of the political system of mature socialism and socialist democracy. Adoption of the new USSR Constitution was of outstanding significance in this respect. The profound democratism of our state of all the people found concentrated expression therein. The constitution not only reflected the most essential changes in the economic, social and spiritual life of Soviet society but also determined the main directions of the further development of Soviet democracy: the increasingly extensive participation of the citizens in controlling the affairs of the state and society; the increased activeness of the public organizations; the intensification of people's control; the extension of publicity and constant consideration of public opinion; and others.

The preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress themselves and the course of its work graphically demonstrated this distinctive feature of true socialist democracy. The main directions of the USSR's economic and social development, which were confirmed by the party congress, were the result not only of extensive discussion in the party organizations but also the outcome of a nationwide democratic process in which many tens of millions of Soviet people, both CPSU members and nonparty people, participated.

The practical expansion of real possibilities for all groups of society and for each person to participate in the settlement of state and public affairs--this is a fundamental difference between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy. Capitalist society, if it even proclaims extensive rights in law, in actual reality keeps the majority of the people and entire classes, not to mention individual members of society, from the possibility of determining the country's policy.

Eighth, the 26th CPSU Congress demonstrated once again the growing role of the communist party as the guiding and directing force of the socialist society. As Lenin pointed out, it is not enough for the party to proclaim itself the vanguard--it is also necessary to act as the vanguard. And what does this mean in practice? It means always marching ahead of the masses, signposting to all the working people the paths of the solution of urgent, vitally important problems, accurately sketching development prospects and putting forward correct, effective means of achieving them and responsively attending the voice of the masses and being able to carry them with it. The party's consistent activity at the head and in the interests of the people's masses, relying on the invigorating teaching of Marxism-Leninism, is insuring for our country constant advance along the path of communist building. Where, however, Marxism-Leninism is distorted and its internationalist essence emasculated, there arises the direct danger of the liquidation of the gains of the socialist revolution. Mistakes and miscalculations in important political questions, a weakening of the connection with the masses and underestimation of the struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism and voluntarism also harm the cause of socialism and could even give rise to crisis situations threatening the foundations of the socialist state.

The political superstructure should be refined in line with the development of the technical-economic base of socialism. Ideological education acquires an increasingly big role in the party's activity at the stage of developed socialism. Our country's development along the path of the gradual transition to communism demands of all citizens even higher moral fiber, political consciousness and devotion to the motherland and the cause of socialism. The figures for those being screened out from the CPSU which L.I. Brezhnev cited at the congress emphasize the importance and urgency of measures to intensify ideological-political training.

The Marxist-Leninist party can perform its role if it pays due attention to an interpretation of all that is going on, a collation of the new phenomena of practice and the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. This is precisely how our party has always operated, including the period under review. "Of that which has been done in the field of theory," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report says, "mention should be made primarily of the development of the concept of developed

socialism.... Works have been produced analysing the experience of world socialism and revealing the natural regularities of the world revolutionary process. There are pretty good studies of the history of the international workers movement, the current stage of the general crisis of capitalism and the development of state-monopoly capitalism. Appreciable steps have been taken in a study of contemporary international relations. In a word, a great deal of work has been done and it deserves recognition."

One further major issue of partywide and international significance was raised at the 26th congress. It is a question of making essential changes to and supplementing the current party program. As a whole, it correctly reflects the natural regularities of social development. But a great deal of experience of socialist and communist construction has been accumulated in the USSR and major changes in world development as a whole have occurred in the 20 years since it was adopted. All this needs to be taken into consideration. Work on a new version of the CPSU Program will be a powerful incentive for the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, which will correspond to the interests of both the Soviet people and the peoples of the whole world.

Thus whatever aspect of the 26th congress' work on the comprehensive strengthening, refinement and development of the socialist system we take, they are all also of tremendous international significance and all constitute a new contribution by the CPSU to the world revolutionary process and world progress.

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It is difficult to cite a document of recent time which from the moment of its appearance had such a direct impact on international political life as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress. The program of measures formulated therein and unanimously approved by the congress to strengthen peace, extend detente and curb the arms race elicited a huge international response. The USSR's new foreign policy initiatives create the prerequisite for a turn for the better in the development of the entire international situation.

Noting the broad range of the Soviet proposals and their innovative and concrete character, the peace-loving public has assessed highly the USSR's endeavor to reduce tension in international life and return it to the channel of the consolidation of detente and an easing of the danger of war.

On the threshold of the 26th congress the world's peace-loving forces experienced growing alarm in connection with the attempts of American imperialism and aggressive U.S. and NATO circles to bury detente and provoke an even more dangerous round of the arms race. Under the flag of groundless statements about the "Soviet military threat," the "USSR's involvement" in international terrorism and so forth, the United States and its military-industrial complex again put forward claims to a dominating role in the world. Mean-spirited hacks in the service of the monopolies cheerfully anticipated that a "dagger-to-dagger" policy would be proclaimed in response to the provocative statements of the United States' new political leaders. This would have enabled them to lay the responsibility for the

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exacerbation of tension on the USSR. These calculations collapsed, collapsed like a house of cards under the strong wind of the Soviet peace initiatives.

As a counterweight to the destructive negative concepts and actions of the forces pursuing a "second cold war" policy the 26th congress put forward a concrete platform of the defense of peace corresponding to the interests and cherished hopes of all mankind. "There is currently no more important task in the international plane for our party, our people and for all peoples of the world than the defense of peace."

It may be said without exaggeration: no influential political party and no politician can now speak and act without having defined his position in respect of the initiatives put forward by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

"You Soviet people and the CPSU," Comrade Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, said in a speech at the congress, "can always be proud of your peace mission and your historic contribution to the struggle for peace and detente. You bring mankind an inestimable gift--salvation from war and nuclear catastrophe. Without your uncompromising, unswerving and heroic devotion to the cause of peace our world might now be a lifeless heap of nuclear ashes. Yes, socialism is truly the savior of all mankind."

What are the special features of the 26th congress' foreign policy initiatives which have made them the center of present-day international life?

First, their timeliness and suitability to the requirements ensuing from the evolved situation and complete conformity with the demands of the moment. The objective need for the creation of a powerful barrier in the way of the turbid stream of militarist hysteria has become increasingly acute in line with the escalation of the aggressive speeches and actions of those who oppose detente. Whether or not an effective counterweight to the campaign increasing the danger of a world thermonuclear conflict would be created depended on the decisions of the 26th congress. The congress' foreign policy program, the package of proposals which were put forward and the entire tone and constructive nature of this program have created such a counterweight.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report has rightly been called "a strong ray of light in the gathering dusk of war hysteria." The malicious fabrications to the effect that the Soviet Union's policy is the source of the present tension were demolished. The calm, assured, balanced nature of the CPSU Central Committee report made a particularly striking and positive impression against the background of the saber-rattling in Washington and in NATO. And if the USSR's peace-loving program caused confusion, as eyewitnesses report, in the camp of the aggressive forces, all peace-loving circles and realistic figures experienced, in their own words, a feeling of relief apropos the fate of peace.

"Twenty-sixth Congress Has Given Hope to an Anxious World," "Optimism Takes the Offensive," "Open Policy and Realism"--such were typical headlines of world press reports on the congress. It was noted that the Soviet Union had once again presented mankind with proposals which may be termed the basic ideals of humanism at the end of the 20th century.

Second, the world community is noting the unshakable, consistent resolve of the CPSU to do everything possible to lead the peoples away from the threat of nuclear war and to preserve peace in the world. "There is a desire to impress upon people that a nuclear war can be limited and to reconcile them to the idea of the permissibility of such a war," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report says. "But this is out-and-out deception of the peoples! For a 'limited' nuclear war, according to American concepts, in, say, Europe would mean at the very outset the sure destruction of European civilization. And the United States itself, of course, would not be able to remain untouched by the flames of war."

The CPSU combines emphatic condemnation of the plans to unleash a nuclear war with the categorical condemnation of attempts to achieve military superiority. "Attempting to outdo each other in an arms race and counting on victory in a nuclear war is dangerous madness," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said. Such an assessment is shared by all honest people who aspire to peace in the world, including those who are far from a communist philosophy of life.

The foreign policy initiatives of the 26th congress imparted a powerful stimulus to the upsurge of the activity of peace-loving forces worldwide. The struggle over foreign policy questions between different political parties in the West and within these parties has been stepped up. The impressive arguments expressed at the congress are buttressing the positions of those who, guided by the interests of national security and the preservation of peace, oppose the deployment of new American missiles and neutron weapons in West European countries.

The communist and workers parties and the mass working people's organizations evaluate the foreign policy program of the 26th CPSU Congress as great assistance to them in developing the broad popular movement for the extension of detente and disarmament. "All the USSR's new initiatives in favor of a halt to the arms race and, primarily, the initiatives put forward at your congress by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev," Gaston Plissonier, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, said from the congress rostrum, "correspond to the interests of the working people, the peoples and peace."

A number of personalities of social democratic parties observed that the peace initiatives put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress are contributing to the struggle against the conservative militarist forces inspired by the new U.S. administration. Members of the British Labor Party adopted a special resolution in support of the new peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. A considerable proportion of social democrats and certain SPD personalities in the FRG expressed a positive view of the Soviet proposals. SPD Chairman W. Brandt observed that the reaction to L.I. Brezhnev's report refutes the viewpoint of those who in past months have constantly claimed that a new stage in the arms race between East and West is absolutely inevitable.

"Modern social democracy," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report said, "has considerable political weight. It could do more to defend the peoples' vital interests and, primarily to strengthen peace, improve the international situation and repulse fascism and racism and reaction's offensive against the working people's political

rights." The propositions expressed from the high tribune of the congress concerning the role of social democracy are undoubtedly a subject for serious contemplation by both the leading personalities and ordinary members of the social democratic parties. Both the great possibilities of social democracy and its great historical responsibility for the cause of peace and the peoples' security were again emphasized. Once again this century communists extend their hand to social democrats for a joint struggle to save mankind from new wars of destruction and to save peace.

Third, it is important to note that the Soviet Union is displaying maximum flexibility in the search for ways and means of solving the problem of preventing nuclear war.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's proposals concerning additional new efforts aimed at removing the threat of war and strengthening international security elicited a tremendous response. Governments and the broad international community were presented with eight profoundly substantiated, realistic proposals which embrace all the most urgent aspects of international relations and which are aimed at imparting a new, second wind to detente.

The readiness for a dialog with the United States expressed in the CPSU Central Committee report and the proposition that meetings at the highest level are the decisive element here drew a very broad response. The USSR's peace-loving proposals and the world public movement in support of them pose a dilemma for America's ruling circles: either to approach these proposals positively or show to the whole world their disregard for the peoples' cherished hopes and to appear as warmongers.

The Soviet peace initiatives confirmed that countries concerned to strengthen peace and develop international cooperation have in the Soviet Union a consistent partner whose policy is distinguished by stability and reliability. They are assessed as an expression of good will on all counts.

The multitiered and comprehensive nature of the new Soviet peace initiatives is very important. They affect practically all regions of the world and all "hot spots," as they say, and signpost the right path for the solution and prevention of the most dangerous international conflicts. And, moreover, it is a question not only of ways of overcoming existing conflicts but also of a kind of international preventive treatment. This applies to the Near and Middle East, the Persian Gulf, the Far East and southern Africa.

The Soviet Union's proposals on extending zones of confidence represent, many observers believe, a good basis for "unblocking" the Madrid meeting and, in particular, for overcoming the obstructionist policy of the United States and the countries supporting it aimed against the convening of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

Antiwar sentiment in the West European countries has increased. Circles advocating a policy of detente which had just about been held down by a wave of chauvinism have come to life in the United States itself. Many prominent figures have

vigorously supported the idea of a Soviet-American dialog. They stress the positive spirit of the platform of the 26th congress.

An article in the 17 March issue of such a bourgeois newspaper as THE NEW YORK TIMES is typical in this respect: "A colossal military budget has been submitted to Congress.. All this at a time when cardinal foreign policy questions on an answer to which much will depend in the years to come remain open. This is putting the military cart before the national security horse. It is extremely risky to believe that we can regain our past might by attempting to overtake Moscow."

The entire package of the USSR's peace-loving proposals serves as convincing refutation of the false fable of the "Soviet military threat." In fact a country which has such a far-reaching program of peaceful construction, economic growth and the increased well-being of the people, a country which is putting forward important proposals to consolidate peace and halt the arms race and actively struggling for these proposals, such a country cannot fail to want peace. It needs neither an arms race nor international tension and it is interested in mutually profitable and broad cooperation with other states and not in expansion and armed confrontations.

The Soviet peace initiatives have also drawn a broad response in the liberated countries. The significance of the Soviet Union's precise and clear position in respect of conflict situations, a new international economic order, the nonaligned movement and so forth is emphasized. Representatives of the young liberated countries point out that the peoples of these countries want peace and a chance to build a new society under stable conditions. They welcome the Soviet proposals as steps in precisely this direction.

But the opponents of peace have not given up and are attempting with might and main to distort the essence of the Soviet proposals, weaken their magnetic force for the broad people's masses and pursue the policy of confrontation further. The pathetic idea that the Soviet Union should make some "payment" for detente is being stepped up. It is demanded of the USSR that it renounce solidarity with the peoples' liberation struggle. Virtually a list of preliminary conditions without which the United States will allegedly not sit at the negotiating table is being compiled and an arms buildup to reinforce the "position of strength" is continuing.

Not being in a position to counterpose anything positive to the Soviet proposals, but also not rejecting them out of hand, since this might evoke the strong protest of the masses, the imperialist circles can find nothing better than to repeat hackneyed slanderous assertions over and over and to put forward claims which testify that they are stuck in cold war postulates long since worn out by practice. There is no need to describe in detail how hopelessly far removed from the reality of the modern world such representatives are and how fruitless a policy aimed at a return to the methods of nuclear blackmail in respect of the USSR is.

The danger of the maneuvers and propaganda tricks of the imperialist centers cannot, of course, be underestimated. But to whatever schemes the cold war supporters may resort, they are incapable of altering the course of history. In

the modern world there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence and the cooperation of states with different social systems.

Immediately following the 26th CPSU Congress the party and the Soviet state initiated active work in the international arena on implementation of the congress' peace-loving initiatives. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev sent the leaders of many states messages which draw attention to the Soviet Union's most important proposals, the purpose of which is to put a stop to the slide toward confrontation and increased international tension and to open the way to a cessation of the arms race and the consolidation of detente.

The strength of the Soviet peace initiatives resides in the fact that they are based on objective processes of the development of modern society and the real correlation of forces in the world. Circles of the world's democratic public emphasize that since Lenin's time congresses of Soviet communists have made an in-depth scientific analysis of international life and drawn impressive, precise conclusions which are subsequently corroborated by the entire course of history. The international strategy and tactics of the CPSU are a true compass under the conditions of an international situation which is becoming increasingly complicated.

The deep-lying processes of modern society, the evolved correlation of economic, political and military potentials and the development trends of the ideological struggle are such that, given proper mobilization of the will and energy of the peace-loving forces and their cohesion, it is possible to defend and consolidate peace and preserve and multiply the fruits of detente. It is precisely this to which the foreign policy program of the 26th congress is geared and precisely such is the very great significance, vital for all mankind, of the CPSU's international policy.

3

The whole world recently heard with deep alarm the irresponsible statement from Washington that "there are things more important than peace." The 26th CPSU Congress proceeded from the fact that, particularly given the existence of thermonuclear weapons, peace is a priceless commodity. Defending peace in our era means defending the most sacred and elementary right not only of each individual but also of all mankind—the right to life. Peace, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said in his closing remarks at the congress, is also a decisive prerequisite of progress in any sphere of human activity. Peace is needed by the peoples of the socialist countries for the realization of their creative plans, by the liberated countries for strengthening their national independence and overcoming the economic and social legacy of colonialism, by the working people of the capitalist countries for the successful repulse of the encroachments of militarist reaction on their vital interests and rights and by all peoples for the struggle for a better future and for the salvation of human civilization.

At the same time the growth of the forces of social progress and their increasingly close interaction and cohesion is a most important factor of counteracting the danger of war. Mutual understanding between the peoples, a clear awareness of

whence the danger of war emanates and isolation of the defenders of the arms race are essential for establishing lasting peace in the world. Peace is won as a result of the efforts of all peoples, efforts closely linked with their struggle for freedom and independence and with the struggle of all strata of the working people defending human dignity and their vital interests.

The constant broadening of the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress is a characteristic feature of our time. The paths and forms of this struggle vary. But behind the entire diversity of its specific manifestations there is one common objective cause--the inexorable will of the peoples to prevent a new world war and the will of people to a better life and an endeavor to do away with all dependence, oppression and exploitation and to defend freedom of choice of social development path.

The most powerful and most influential force of the present-day revolutionary process is world socialism, primarily the socialist community. It acts as the main bulwark of peace in the world.

The socialist community is:

economically the most dynamically developing group of countries;

politically an alliance based on an unprecedented type of relations between states--relations of complete equality and all-around fraternal interaction;

socially the place where truly epoch-making tasks for surmounting class differences and all forms of social inequality, solving the nationality question, raising people's living standard and creating conditions for the harmonious development of the personality are being tackled; and

internationally the principal peace-loving force of the era and the bulwark of all defenders of peace and the peoples' security.

The recent period has shown convincingly, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report said, what influential and beneficent a role is being performed in European affairs and in international affairs as a whole by the activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization and its Political Consultative Committee.

The 26th CPSU Congress was an outstanding demonstration of the cohesion of the socialist community and convincing testimony to its strength and vitality. The congress advocated the further deepening of mutual understanding and cooperation with the socialist countries which are not a part of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact--in the name of the strengthening of the common positions of world socialism and to the benefit of peace worldwide.

The successful development of the states of a socialist orientation and countries which have opted for the path of socialist development continues in the channel of the world revolutionary process. The 26th CPSU Congress not only evaluated highly their role in world politics but also made an important theoretical generalization

concerning the sociopolitical essence of the processes characterizing the community and distinctiveness of these states' development. A major new political force--revolutionary-democratic parties--has been born in this zone of the world in the last 10-15 years. They have become the governing parties in many countries. Revolutionary-democratic and national-democratic parties and movements are increasingly declaring themselves friends and brothers in arms of the CPSU and the communist movement. The following fact is indicative: whereas representatives of 19 such parties attended the 25th CPSU Congress, 36 attended the 26th congress. The gravitation toward scientific socialism and the aspiration to equip itself with Marxist-Leninist teaching and the organizational and political principles of the building of vanguard parties of the working people are strengthening in the ranks of revolutionary democracy.

All this is arousing the ferocious counteraction of the imperialists. They do not see or do not wish to see the objective nature of the ongoing processes and attempt to portray them as the result of some outside interference and a product of "international terrorism" allegedly inspired by Moscow. The 26th CPSU Congress emphatically rebuffed this new campaign of slander. The representatives of many foreign delegations expressed angry indignation at the U.S. ruling circles' attempts to equate the liberation struggle with "terrorism." In the light of the results of the congress it is even more apparent that the latest anti-Soviet campaign of the United States is aimed against all the progressive and revolutionary forces.

The CPSU Central Committee report, other congress material and the speeches of the foreign delegations provide a broad and clear objective picture of the world revolutionary process and make a precise, scientific evaluation of its nature and specific features at the current stage and its inseparable connection with the struggle for peace. The interconnection of peace and social progress is brought about by the entire contemporary situation and the dangerous actions of imperialism, which in whipping up tension and intensifying the arms race is attempting to impede the cause of social and national liberation. Defending their selfish interests, the monopolies and their proteges essentially want to revive "brinkmanship," which would make it easier for them to pursue a policy of the destabilization of progressive regimes, blackmail and the "rapid deployment" of armed force.

Historical experience shows and the present situation confirms that the forces of reaction are the forces of militarism and war. On the other hand, the forces of progress and socialism are the forces of peace. "In a situation where the danger of war again arises and where the shadow of aggression and the threat of intervention hangs over the peoples," Comrade Fidel Castro said, addressing the congress delegates, "the Soviet Union and its glorious communist party, which you represent, again appear as hope for peace and as a guarantee that the imperialists will not succeed in realizing their claims to domination and forcing others to submit to their insolent arrogance."

The communist movement's increased awareness of its responsibility for the preservation of peace, an understanding and recognition of the international role of the Soviet Union as the main force of peace and an increased gravitation toward cohesion in the name of the struggle for peace were manifested in the speeches of

the representatives of the communist parties in connection with the CPSU congress. It can be stated that there has been a considerable deepening of the understanding both in the communist movement and the milieu of revolutionary democracy of the inseparable connection between the preservation of peace and radical social transformations and between the peaceful coexistence of states and the struggle of the masses for democratic and socialist ideals.

The more than 100 speeches in Moscow by representatives of communist parties from all corners of the world testify to the high degree of concurrence of views on the current situation as a whole and the profound understanding of the movement's urgent tasks. They reflect the increased aspiration of the vast majority of communist parties to Marxist-Leninist, internationalist cohesion and unity of action.

The candid, high-minded and balanced approach to the problems which exist in the communist movement which was set forth in the CPSU Central Committee report will also undoubtedly contribute to the cause of the further cohesion of the world's communists. The fraternal parties operate under dissimilar conditions and encounter complex and varied tasks, and this sometimes gives rise to varying evaluations and different approaches to the solution of specific questions of the class struggle. However, experience shows that even given such divergences it is possible and necessary to develop political cooperation in the struggle against the common class enemy and for peace and progress. Furthermore, it is precisely joint participation in the common struggle which is the best method of gradually overcoming disagreements. The congress expressed the firm belief that differences of opinion among communists are surmountable "if, of course, these are not fundamental differences between revolutionaries and reformists and between creative Marxism and dogmatic sectarianism and leftist adventurism." But if, of course, it is a question of a revision of Marxism-Leninism and attacks on real socialism, this must be repulsed.

The 26th CPSU Congress confirmed our party's invariable adherence to the cause of the peoples' social and national liberation and its solidarity with the liberation movement.

In turn, Soviet communists and all Soviet people value the demonstrations of international solidarity on the part of foreign cofighters in the struggle and derive new strength therefrom. At the time of the congress Soviet people and the working people of all countries witnessed a truly impressive picture of the extensive communication of the representatives of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties with Soviet communists and with the people of our country. The dozens of gatherings and meetings of working people in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk and Riga, which were addressed by the congress' foreign guests, were a demonstration of genuine internationalism. The hundreds of interviews which they gave Soviet radio and television and Soviet and foreign press agencies and newspapers and journals, expressing their fraternal feelings toward the Soviet people, testify to the support for our cause and our party's policy.

This solidarity of friends is helping Soviet people tackle the tasks of communist building and the peace-loving foreign policy. The representatives of the communist and other progressive parties emphatically repudiated anti-Sovietism, which is

particularly important under the present conditions of the exacerbation of the confrontation of the two systems. Their speeches pursued an entirely correct idea, namely, that repudiation of anti-Sovietism is the fundamental criterion of a class, internationalist position. On the basis of specific examples many speakers showed the dangerous nature of Beijing's intrigues aimed at subverting the communist and the entire revolutionary-liberation movement.

The 26th CPSU Congress showed once again how baseless is the talk to the effect that proletarian internationalism is "outdated" and of the need to replace it with some "new" internationalism. The entire work of the congress and the speeches of the representatives of the fraternal parties and the delegations of revolutionary-democratic and other progressive parties and movements are striking testimony to the vitality of proletarian internationalism, its constant enrichment and development and its capacity for "absorbing" and embracing increasingly new social forces actively involved in the revolutionary transformation of the world.

The 26th CPSU Congress raised even higher the international prestige of our party and the international communist movement and its impact on the processes occurring in the world and contributed to the strengthening of the communist movement's relations with other present-day revolutionary forces.

The strength of the fighters for peace and progress lies in the unity and cohesion of the communists and all streams of the revolutionary movement.

The ideas of the 26th CPSU Congress are inseparable in the minds of millions of people from the name of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. His tremendous party and state experience, his unshakable devotion to the cause of socialism and peace, his creative contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism and high skill of determining the correct ways and means of tackling the urgent tasks of communist building and international politics and the whole style of his work, which is imbued with a Leninist approach to the party's political and ideological tasks, collectivism and businesslike efficiency and a sensitive attention to the requirements and opinion of the masses—all these qualities of the Lenin-type figure were reflected in full in the work and decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Thus, to sum up:

From the angle of immediate political impact the significance of the 26th congress is primarily connected with the fact that in the present complex, tense international situation it clearly and unambiguously expressed the CPSU's will to do everything in the name of peace. The foreign policy program put forward by the congress, which continues and develops the peace program of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, opens new prospects for tackling the most burning issue of the present day—saving mankind from thermonuclear war. In putting forward this program the congress expressed the peoples' hope for the possibility of preserving and consolidating peace.

From the long-term historical angle the significance of the 26th congress is that it determined the paths of the further strengthening and development of socialism as a new social system and as the decisive factor of peace and progress in the

world. The congress convincingly demonstrated the historic gains of real socialism and its political and moral superiority to the capitalist system. The decisions of the congress are geared toward the future and are paving the way forward, toward the great goal of the people of labor--communism.

From the ideological-theoretical angle the significance of the congress is that it has enriched Marxist-Leninist teaching with new evaluations and conclusions connected with the present stage of communist building and the world revolutionary process. The work of the congress was a striking manifestation of the internationalism and combat solidarity of all the forces struggling for peace and social progress. The congress contributed to the strengthening of the cohesion of the communist movement and its alliance with other revolutionary and progressive forces and the shaping of the conviction of the need for unity in the name of the peace and progress of mankind.

The ideas of the 26th CPSU Congress are inspiring tens and hundreds of millions of people to continue their just struggle for a new life. The congress infused the peoples with a powerful charge of optimism and strengthened their confidence in the feasibility of the great ideas--peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

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ALWAYS WITH US

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 19-30

[Article by Nikolay Proshunin]

[Text] Lenin is always part of our life. Now after the 26th CPSU congress adopted an all-embracing program for the further enhancement of the people's prosperity, all of us feel great pride when we see how closely Lenin and the party—the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch—blend within each other. We think of Lenin, whose ideas illuminated the entire work of the congress. We want to learn more and more about the great mind and heart of this person and to learn from him.

The more closely we study Lenin's works, the better we understand his character and the more profoundly we penetrate into his inner world. Lenin's character comes alive in his works. Vladimir Il'ich's personality and his passionate fighting nature are reflected in thousands of remarks and even in individual expressions and turns of phrase scattered throughout his works.

However exhaustingly complete and impressive these documents may be, Lenin's living image becomes particularly vivid and reveals its entire charm through the testimony of his contemporaries.

Noteworthy in the five-volume work of reminiscences about Lenin is V. V. Adoratskiy's remark that "some writers give in their works everything they are capable of giving. Personal contacts with such people add nothing new. Vladimir Il'ich was bigger than his writings regardless of how rich and profound they were" ("Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine" [Reminiscences About Vladimir Il'ich Lenin], in five volumes, second edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, Vol 2, p 173. Subsequent references to this edition give volume and page only.

Many valuable ideas and profoundly instructive statements and advice, which were not included in Leninist documents, have been carefully preserved for our use by those who were close to Lenin for many years or had personal contacts with him, those who were familiar with Vladimir Il'ich's theory, views and moral convictions not only from his works but from intimate talks with him, from his actions, and from his life. Anyone who had the good luck to see and converse with Vladimir Il'ich has felt the insurmountable desire to share his recollections with us. This has been considered a duty to Lenin and to the new generations. Such people realize that even the most minute recollection which could contribute to a description of Lenin's character in one of its facets or another would be of

tremendous interest to history and will help our descendants to gain a complete idea about one of those people who are born perhaps once every thousand years.

Anyone who was close to him even briefly, has remembered Lenin forever as a person of rare spiritual beauty. Recalling, toward the end of his life, how difficult he found a high school assignment to write a composition on the abstract topic of "Who Do We Consider To Be a Truly Good Person?," Academician M. I. Averbakh, who took part in the medical treatment of Lenin, says: "If I were to be asked today to write such a composition I would find it quite easy and simple. I would merely describe Vladimir Il'ich's life and provide a brief outline of his intellectual and moral features" (Vol 4, p 391).

Lenin's contemporaries have recorded his universally striking characteristic: an amazing natural combination of greatness and wisdom with simplicity and modesty. Those whose few minutes of contact with Vladimir Il'ich were like drops in the sea, compared with his tremendous lifetime work, found it difficult to grasp immediately the nature of this courageous simplicity. Lenin's power of the mind and will, the force and passion, which saturate, like electricity, each line he wrote, and his merciless struggle against the enemies of Marxism assume a fiery and powerful appearance so naturally that it led to the belief that Lenin was stern and inaccessible. The people who had become accustomed to hear the magic name of the genius of the revolution from afar, who was showing the tremendous country the path it was to take and who made the entire world listen to his voice had created in their imaginations the image of a fabulous hero. Yet when they met with Vladimir Il'ich, initially they looked at him with a sense of inner confusion and abasement: the imaginary image did not resemble the living Lenin, the affable and accessible person, whose appearance or manner of speech revealed nothing bombastic. This would throw some casual observers into another extreme: it would seem to them even that nothing distinguished him from an "ordinary Russian person," whose passport should read "no distinguishing marks," and that he himself seemed unaware of his inordinate spiritual strength. In fact, naturally, Lenin was perfectly aware of his historical vocation and the tremendous responsibility he had assumed. Lenin's modesty and simplicity were not an indication that he underestimated his own role but "a manifestation of a truly high-level brilliant culture" (M. I. Ul'yanova, Vol 1, p 200). Any deliberate self-enhancement was entirely alien and unnecessary to him, for he had a truly outstanding personality, for which reason he had no fear of being himself. "His superficially, yes, precisely, superficially simple appearance," noted G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy, "followed by an extraordinarily attractive spiritual beauty, the simplicity of his speech which, however, immediately revealed the concentrated and inordinate power of his mind were, naturally, merely a few of the individual features of Vladimir Il'ich's brilliant personality" (Vol 2, pp 9-10).

It was the Russian working class that created, nurtured, and enhanced Lenin and helped him to reveal his genius to its fullest extent. It was the revolutionary October epoch, to which he gave its brilliance, that elevated him to his tremendous heights. According to N.K. Krupskaya, Lenin could not have developed as he did had he lived in a different age rather than in the epoch of proletarian revolutions and of the building of socialism.

There is nothing mystical in the claim that it was precisely the working class that molded Lenin's moral features, which were alien to posing and putting on airs. The very nature of the proletarian movement, which he embodied, excludes any external fairy-tale quality and assumed dramatism. The main character of the revolution--the people's mass--sensitively detects the difference between truth and lie and between modest greatness and vain gloriousness or pursuit of popularity. This excludes from the ranks of the true leaders of the proletariat anything which affects and insults the moral feeling of the people.

Unquestionably, the proletarian environment influenced the development of Lenin as an orator. The particular simplicity of his speeches, lacking even the slightest appearance of rhetorical embellishments, stems from the fact that, in preparing to deliver a speech, he thought of the workers and peasants as his public. He wished them to understand him. He thought of the masses who "can never get carried away by empty speeches..." ("Poin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 36).

Lenin embodied the entire depth of the humanism of the revolution and the nobility of party objectives. Political morality and personal ethics blended within him to the highest degree. The easiest way to understand Lenin's character is in the context of the political struggle, i.e., of the main event in which he revealed himself most completely. No set of abstract nonclass virtues can serve as a key to the solution of this problem.

A great deal of this is revealed in the expressive cameo by A. M. Kollontay, entitled "Stars."

...Vladimir Il'ich is standing motionless by the window and looking at the sky. "Stars," he says. "How striking the stars are!" He said that in his early youth he was quite familiar with all constellations but that now he was beginning to forget them. Once... at this point the commissar for the navy interrupts with the news that seamen have organized a kangaroo court and are trying two former members of the State Duma. "Never before had I seen Vladimir Il'ich so excited and angry. His face, which was always pale, turned pink and unusual threatening intonations appeared in his voice. All of a sudden, the tall and broad-shouldered seaman Izmailov, the commissar of the Baltic Fleet, appeared small, confused and frightened." Lenin immediately sent Kollontay to tell the Baltic seamen that the Soviet system will tolerate no anarchy and that people charged with a crime will be tried by a legitimate people's court. "When I returned to Smol'nyy, Vladimir Il'ich had entirely calmed down and was his usual restrained self. His face was pale and his eyes were even smiling when, turning to me, he said:

"Look at the stars!" (Vol 3, pp 170, 171).

No one has ever heard Lenin say beautiful words about love for the people. However, this love of his was known and felt by all. He was imbued with sincere and warm sympathy for the needs and suffering of the masses. This was not a passive compassion but the effective involvement of a proletarian revolutionary who saw in the masses the makers of their own destiny and who led them into the struggle. In his eyes the masses were not something amorphous and faceless,

concealing the individuals. It was not only the hard lot of the masses but each individual case of misfortune about which he found out that made him sad. According to his contemporaries, he had done a great deal for very many people, but did this through others while he himself stood aside, remaining in the shadow. His work was so delicate, refined and tactful that only years later people would discover accidentally how much they owed to Lenin.

Lenin was the high embodiment of the new type of leader, closely linked with the collective, with which he was joined in pursuit of the common project. He was a party comrade in the best meaning of the term and, in this sense, he was unsurpassed.

Occasionally, in order to emphasize Lenin's moral superiority, he is compared against the vivid personality of G. V. Plekhanov. The difference in their characters becomes immediately apparent.

Lenin valued Plekhanov as an outstanding Marxist philosopher, as a person with a great and original mind. He was passionately devoted to Plekhanov, whom he had revered for a long time, and always returned to the idea that Plekhanov had to be preserved for the party. However, Plekhanov's character had many features which could make people cold or alienate people. He frequently behaved like an important general and lord and thus separated himself from the other party members. Plekhanov was respected but not always liked. Occasionally, he complained of being overwhelmed by smart alecks who came to him and boringly and lengthily presented their theories which reeked of musty provincialism. This was true but Plekhanov alone was to blame. Comrades were attracted to him but sometimes his reception of them was so cold that even intelligent people became confused and began to mouth absurdities in order to prove their familiarity with "theory." Plekhanov could never resist the temptation of making someone shy wish he weren't there.

Nothing even remotely similar could be found in Lenin's character. An atmosphere of informality and party equality always prevailed around him. Clearly, he found no one uninteresting. He found something worthwhile in everyone. He addressed everyone as an equal, without a hint of superiority or even the least trace of condescension or effort to impress. In Lenin's presence no one insisted on discussing lofty or stilted subjects. Those who approached Lenin were quite excited. However, the moment they crossed the threshold they experienced a feeling of ease and freedom. Their confusion and constraint disappeared instantly and prerehearsed speeches proved to be unnecessary in the face of Il'ich's wise simplicity. He did not test people. He did not ask them what they had read and how they had understood it. He simply talked with them and immediately became aware of their gaps and weak spots and the comrades, in turn, became aware of the gaps in their knowledge.

Those who met Lenin unfailingly expressed his admiration of his special skill--the skill of listening to others. Everybody was amazed by the fact that Lenin, who was the leader of a huge country with such complex problems, would hear out his visitors patiently, calmly, as though he had no other concerns. He never displayed the impatience of a very busy person through words or tone of voice, of someone

waiting impatiently for the visit to end. He never claimed to be too busy to meet comrades who needed his moral support. As a true master of conversation he possessed the unsurpassable gift of being able to converse with anyone. He did not allow the conversation to drift. Imperceptibly, with the help of careful questions, he directed the conversation and was able to get to the heart of the matter with a simple hint. Was this not why, despite his tremendous concerns, he was able to meet with hundreds and thousands of people?

Vladimir Il'ich knew what to ask and how to ask it. He was able to obtain from anyone specific information and facts, or anything of any importance. On one occasion he was visited by Lunacharskiy, who had returned from the front. It was a known fact that Anatoliy Vasil'yevich was not a great specialist in military affairs. However, the questions that Lenin put to him were such as to combine a number of items. Lenin directed the conversation in such a manner that Lunacharskiy's report turned out to be exceptionally interesting.

The concentrated attention with which Vladimir Il'ich could listen was not merely a manifestation of the tactfulness of a great man. He wanted to listen. He felt the need to do so. He was sincerely interested in the essence of the conversation and became noticeably animated when he heard sensible talk. He predisposed his interlocutor to take the initiative and to express his thoughts freely. Then, able as he was to impart a great deal himself within a short time, he was equally able to draw out of such contacts far more than anyone else. In a number of cases, a casual sentence or an apt or, conversely, erroneous judgment expressed in the course of a conversation would be subsequently expanded in one of his articles or speeches, in vivid and sparkling passages.

Lenin considered conversation one of the means for the study of human life. His ability to listen stemmed from his organic habit of observing the norms of collective work. He would not make a decision unless he was convinced that this was not merely his personal opinion but an expression of the views of his fellow workers also. Those around him frequently did not even suspect how many of their collective experiences or emotions became part of Vladimir Il'ich's thinking or decisions. He focused their knowledge in himself, as through a lens, and reworked it in the laboratory of his mind into general ideas and slogans. This was aptly described by the peasant O. I. Chernov who frequently visited Vladimir Il'ich. "What makes Lenin great?" he asked. "Here is what. Naturally, he did not listen to me as one would listen to an unusual person. Through me, however, he could hear the entire peasantry speak, and through me he was able to realize the entire complexity of the circumstances in which the bottom strata lived" (Vol 4, p 310).

Despite his great simplicity and accessibility, Vladimir Il'ich never allowed even a hint of familiarity. The comradely way in which he addressed himself to the people around him was exceptionally impressive and predisposed to informality. Nevertheless, anyone who talked with Vladimir Il'ich realized that however simple Lenin was in his contacts, he had to be told only the truth and given facts which were both personally known and checked, and that it was impossible to conceal from him ignorance or get away with meaningless statements or, in general, to distract him. All this made people subconsciously pull themselves together and act guardedly under his piercing eye.

People who tried to adopt a condescending attitude because of Lenin's modesty were soon led to regret their presumptuousness.

In answer to one of Lenin's questions, one of the leaders of the British Labor Party undertook to explain to him the situation in England in a charitable and complacent manner. He expatiated at length his philistine wisdom. Gradually, however, it became obvious that Lenin's look was disturbing him. He lowered his voice, began to speak more slowly and to stammer. Finally, he assumed a submissive attitude and stopped talking. It was then that Lenin began to speak. He amazed his interlocutor with his profound knowledge of British affairs and openly expressed his unflattering view of the leaders of the British Labor Party.

In April 1920, V. V. Vorovskiy wrote on the occasion of Lenin's 50th birthday that "No one among the favorites of dame fortune to whom history has given such tremendous power not only over people but, something which is one thousand times more important, over the hearts of people, has been so highly placed in the machinery of the state" (Vol 3, pp 6-7).

Lenin, who had done an infinite deal to ennoble labor, showed tremendous respect for the labor of the people around him, whatever its form and nature, whether that of a typesetter, a secretary or a people's commissar. This respect was manifested at every step he took, in big and small matters. For example, he found it simply inconceivable to scratch out in a manuscript a word or line, or make a correction which would take his associates hours to understand. In this respect, as in everything else, Lenin always remained to his fellow party members the same old considerate Il'ich who had remained entirely unchanged by his power or the triumph of his ideas and of the long years of dreams and struggle. His new status did not change anything in his invariably considerate attitude toward the talent and experience of his fellow workers. He treated each one of them as an equal.

We tend to view our own capabilities through a magnifying glass and those of others through a pair of inverted binoculars. With the weakness of a truly great man, Lenin frequently overestimated people, ascribing to them almost the same kind of tremendous strength he possessed himself. It was no easy matter to meet his excessive expectations. However, his trust in and high assessment of the creative possibilities of his associates, to whom he frequently gave very important assignments, generated in them a particular enthusiasm for the work and increased their energy tenfold.

As their leader, naturally, he frequently had to assess and ask others to assess individual officials and could become fairly easily angry at the loose characterization of someone as a "good" person. Instead of such a description, which meant nothing, he asked for a description of the organizational capabilities of the people and of their political line of behavior. However, in the course of daily official relations all value judgments had to yield to practical considerations. "I have never seen Vladimir Il'ich more irritated," writes G. V. Chicherin, "than when personal squabbles would spill over to the work, and when practical arguments would be replaced by personal attacks and quarrels, and when instead of discussing the subject on hand one would argue about the personal insults or the individual qualities of one participant in the project or another" (Vol 4, p 415). Outside

work, Lenin did not like to discuss fellow workers at all, to characterize them, or to listen to talk about people behind their backs. There is extensive testimony that he despised nothing more than gossip or philistine attempts to tear someone else apart.

To those in his immediate surroundings Lenin was a teacher of life in the full sense of the term and the very exposure to him was educational. In Vladimir Il'ich's presence, without any visible effort on his part or any moralizing, a particular atmosphere of beauty and uplift developed. It was a natural fact that wherever he was there were no meaningless conversations nor trite discussions. Unwittingly, the people fell under his irresistible charm and wanted to become better than they were. It was as though they reflected the fire which burned within him. His proximity made the people pull themselves up spiritually. Their thought became sharper and they felt the desire to know more, to think, to read, to learn and, most of all, to work harder and harder. Flattery, subservience, servility or intrigues were inconceivable in Lenin's presence. Everyone became affected by a feeling of particular cohesion, efficiency and selflessness. Those who worked with him were aware of how shameful, how impossible it was to think of any egotistical considerations. Lenin's personal example and his moral influence protected the cadres from complacency, arrogance and conceit--from anything which could affect their dignity and honor as party members. Lenin's cautioning voice kept the political conscience of the party members in the vigilant state of constant critical self-examination.

"The political leader," Lenin pointed out, "is responsible not only for the way he manages but for the actions of those whom he manages" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 218). Indeed, it is not easy to accept as one's leader a highly cultured person if, for example, we see that his fellow workers, who are fussily subservient toward the "boss," are arrogant and rude with visitors. The work style and behavior of subordinates are a perfect testimony of the kind of superior they have, in the same way that a bad-mannered child exposes the nature of his parents.

We know how strictly Vladimir Il'ich condemned any enthusiasm for giving orders, the aplomb of the chief, or the desire to appear "superior" to his comrades and to boast of his social position. According to P. N. Lepeshinski, Lenin emphasized this problem particularly in addressing a meeting. "The essence of what Il'ich said could be reduced to the fact in Soviet Russia there should be no conceited bureaucracy. It is perfectly possible not to be a high official yet, nevertheless, energetically to prove one's creative initiative and energy in social matters, and to earn the sympathy and respect of others who may be more willing to accept everything instructive they could learn from an intelligent and honest soviet or party worker the less he tries to impress them at all cost with his 'high' position" (Vol 3, pp 281-282).

To many people encounters and talks with Lenin became object lessons in party approach to anything, and a life-long moral behest. Lenin was able to assess each individual fact in a new way, from party positions, and to give it the broadest political interpretation possible. He taught others how to act like politicians, in big or small matters, instead of tying themselves up with dogmatic concepts, to

think about everything taking place around them, and to anticipate the consequences of their actions. To accomplish this "one does not have to be a theoretician. To be a party member suffices" (V. I. Lenin, "Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 52, p 233).

The workers at a uyezd mill suggested that the grain delivered by the peasants be milled on the spot and that the flour be sent to Moscow. The procurement official declined the suggestion, explaining that the grain should be sent to Moscow quickly, for the city's numerous steam-powered mills were idling.

Lenin immediately noted the error in the official's report. He made it clear that the procurement official had failed to see in the suggestion of the workers an action of political activism and had clipped their wings. The uyezd workers wanted to show their concern for the people of Moscow and Petersburg. Vladimir Il'ich demanded that they be given an explanation and an apology for having been insulted and for belittling their initiative. At that point, Lenin said, they will realize that you are a true party member. "He then emphasized that we are political leaders and that we should never forget this. Unquestionably, it is grain that decides the fate of the revolution today. Nevertheless, an agent in charge of grain procurements, whatever else he may be doing, must try to encourage the political activeness of the people and to expose them to political knowledge and to the administration of governmental affairs. Nothing is too petty when a new socialist state is under construction" (V. L. Panyushkin, Vol 3, p 257).

Lenin, who had such control over those around him, had an even greater amount of self-control. He never lost his self-restraint or the respectful way in which he talked to people. He valued and encouraged the feeling of dignity in others, while possessing a highly developed one himself. Attentive attitude toward others, benevolence and politeness were things he demanded at all times. "He considered particularly disgusting and unworthy of a Soviet person, not to mention a party member, to be rude and impolite with subordinates who did not dare to talk back" (L. A. Fotiyeva, Vol 4, p 130). If he occasionally lashed at someone for his errors, his words were not insulting or depressing. He was able to present unpleasant matters so tactfully that a fellow worker, who was able to realize his own error, left Lenin with a feeling of gratitude. Naturally, a lazy horse must be whipped. However, even when seriously angered, Lenin never humiliated or tore a person apart. He always left him believing in himself and in the possibility to mend his ways. After properly berating someone he praised that part of the work which had been done well.

Lenin combined within himself the greatest sense of delicacy, correctness and tactfulness with the ability to take one to task strictly and, frequently, to punish people who had allowed major errors in their work severely. If necessary, Vladimir Il'ich knew how to exercise his power, sternly prevent even the most minor violations of the proper order, or boastfulness. He could not stand parasites, careerists or phrase-mongers who tended to talk instead of act. He could put anyone in his proper place. He could be demanding of others, for he was infinitely demanding of himself.

Lenin was tireless in his condemnation and persecution of bureaucracy, careless work, or displays of negligence, illegality or callousness toward people. In such cases his criticism was very biting and his condemnation of shortcomings was most sharp. In demanding of managers increased responsibility for the activities of the institutions they headed, Lenin taught them how to be firm whenever, as he said, it is better "not to waste any words and, should the use of power become necessary, to use it."

Sometimes he considered a simple reprimand or remark a perfectly suitable punishment. What mattered was that no single infraction of the rules would remain unnoticed so that the idea of impunity and irresponsibility may not gain a foothold. In some cases, noting that one or another governmental decree remained unfulfilled, Vladimir Il'ich instructed that the culprit be detained for two or three days, adding that he should go to jail during days of rest but be released during working days so that the work would not suffer.

Lenin invariably called for independence in the work of institutions or individuals. He condemned sharply helplessness and clumsiness and the desire to avoid responsibility for assignments. He firmly opposed attempts by some officials or departments to submit for resolution by superior agencies problems which they themselves could resolve. While insisting on the mandatory and strict implementation of governmental decrees, he not only did not object to a creative approach to their implementation but became profoundly indignant when something which was clearly necessary was not done because of formal considerations. He believed that the performer must know and apply above all the directives of superior organs. He opposed the erroneous and narrow departmental view according to which only the order of an immediate superior was mandatory.

While taking people to task strictly for omissions, if necessary, however, he showed tolerance for the errors of his comrades, if these errors happened to be caused not by ill will or carelessness but by insufficient understanding of the problem or the result of special unfortunate development of circumstances. However, Lenin was merciless toward those who violated party decisions or betrayed the party's trust. It is said that he became literally enraged if he found out that party directives had been violated. The insurmountable power of his anger could sweep off anything which hindered the reaching of an objective.

Such was the case, for example, when M. Tomskiy, member of a commission set up by the Central Committee Politburo to manage the Bolshevik faction of the Fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, failed to carry out his party assignment. An antiparty resolution in the sense of trade union independence from the party was passed at a meeting of the faction where the AUCCTU report was discussed and Tomskiy failed to object to it and did not bring to the knowledge of the faction a different resolution which had been drafted by the commission of the party's Central Committee. Instead of promoting the principled party viewpoint he remained silent.

Apprised of this fact, Lenin called an extraordinary Central Committee plenum at which he raised the question of Tomskiy's antiparty behavior. Vladimir Il'ich's face was "somber like a stormy cloud; his eyes were literally flashing.... Lenin

sharply accused Tomskiy of antiparty behavior. He stated that Tomskiy deserved the most severe punishment for having deceived the party" (S. B. Brichkina, Vol 3, p 399). Vladimir Il'ich called for expelling Tomskiy from the Central Committee and from the party. At the meeting which Lenin addressed, the communist faction rejected the antiparty resolution and adopted instead the Central Committee's one.

In speaking out against the leaders of the "workers' opposition," who demagogically called for the independence and freedom of the trade unions, Lenin asked with irrefutable persuasiveness and directness: "Trade union independence from whom? From our party? From the Soviet system? What interests other than those of the workers, organized in the trade unions, do the party and the Soviet system have?" (P. S. Zaslavskiy, Vol 3, p 185). He proved that talk of trade union "independence" reflects not proletarian interest in a successful workers' cause but petit bourgeois anarchism.

To learn from Lenin and to master his style of relations with people means to learn how to assess every step we take from the lofty stand of party ethics.

Recently, the author of a letter addressed to PRAVDA hurtfully described the way he, together with several other party members, summoned by the party's oblast committee, were kept waiting "in the waiting room" the entire day and, in the final account, failed to see the secretary. "I understand," the author of the letter wrote, "that the secretaries of the Rovenskaya Oblast Party Committee are always very busy. However, taking a broad view, let us recall how busy V. I. Lenin was. Yet despite his heavy commitments he valued someone else's time and never allowed people to waste away in the waiting room."

Although this is a basic rule of party relations, it may be broken occasionally, as we shall see. If a talk or a report was on the agenda, Lenin asked that the official be warned that even though he, Lenin, was in his office, he may be summoned to the Kremlin at any moment. This was described as keeping a person "as far as the telephone." The skillful way in which Lenin handled meetings is another example of organization and high working standards and of the ability to save time. When he chaired a meeting he directed the speakers to keep to the essentials.

The following happened once at a Sovnarkom meeting: the representative of the People's Commissariat of Health stood up. Vladimir Il'ich asked him: "How much time will you need?" "One and a half hours, Vladimir Il'ich." "Settle for 15 minutes and we shall hear you out." "Fifteen minutes!... It is a matter of creating a medical institute, Vladimir Il'ich!" "It makes no difference. Not one minute more. Start." One minute before the deadline, Vladimir Il'ich tapped on the watch with his finger. After the speaker finished and sat down, in a few sentences Vladimir Il'ich summed up the essence of his report and asked: "Did I understand you properly?" The reply was positive. Those present at the meeting laughed. This proved that a report which was to take one and a half hours could be summed up in a few words.

Vladimir Il'ich applied the same standards to himself and observed the rules strictly. Despite the strictness and order which prevailed at meetings he chaired, no constraint could be felt. The people spoke their minds without fear of being

snubbed. One could argue with Lenin quite freely, for he did not consider that his views should be taken as the final word even though, naturally, he was aware of their importance. If different views arose the matter was put to a vote.

It is justifiably believed that it is very difficult to show the good side of one's nature in the course of an argument or in criticising others. However, it is precisely in this area that "the ideally beautiful heart of Lenin the comrade" draws the attention to itself, more than anywhere else (P. G. Dauge, Vol 2, p 138).

Lenin fought the ideological struggle with absolute intransigence. He was a frightening polemicist who could use every single error made by his political opponent. Even in comradely arguments, when no restraint was called for for one reason or another, he raised questions sharply regardless of personalities, believing that the cause stood above the individual sensitivity. The very complexity of the topics frequently gave arguments a sharp tone and Lenin deliberately emphasized the problem so that its essence could become clearer and so that individual viewpoints could be defined most clearly. Many were the comrades whose errors he was able to straighten out on time, errors which could have become irreparable. The drastic means which Lenin was occasionally forced to use may be compared to the actions of a surgeon: sometimes he must cut his patient's body open in order to heal him.

However sharp Lenin might have been toward his opponents, there was nothing petty in his principled struggle of opinions. He did not allow a single personal reference to be made in the course of an argument. He mercilessly defeated arguments but in such a way that even a very touchy person would not feel demeaned. If Vladimir Il'ich argued sharply at congresses or conferences, outside the hall he was friendly with everyone and no one felt in Lenin any kind of malice or uptightness. Rancor or vengefulness were totally alien to him. He could approach yesterday's opponent simply, like a comrade, even though he had addressed him without equivocation. He did not gloss over differences. He did not resort to tricks or petty diplomacy. The people could see his obvious sincerity, directness and moral strength.

The following example is indicative of Lenin's party ethics: at the Third Comintern Congress, Klara Zetkin fiercely attacked the German party supporters of the leftist "theory of offensive." They in turn, Fritz Heckert in particular, attacked Klara particularly sharply. K. Zetkin's birthday fell precisely on the following day. The congress was to offer its good wishes to this oldest revolutionary. She was to be given a big bouquet of roses. However, the following question arose: who was to present the greetings? Heckert was elected. "Naturally, I was trying to avoid this and cited all kinds of reasons. At that point, Lenin took my arm and said:

"Comrade Heckert, the policy you followed in Germany was wrong and that could make someone angry. What Klara told you was that your policy was wrong. Perhaps not everything she said was proper. However, yesterday you spoke out against Klara quite sharply and unfairly. So, try to smooth things over today with the roses."

"I did everything I could. Klara thanked me as she accepted the bouquet but looked at me as if she wanted to eat me alive. After I left the rostrum Lenin said jokingly: 'Well, everything turned out all right.'" (Vol 5, p 351).

The great virtue of Lenin's great heart was his ability to separate his personal feelings, likes, dislikes, and anything which was superficial, from his political views and actions. This is political honesty in the real and deep sense of the word. Vladimir Il'ich based his attitude toward people and his closeness to them on the interests of the cause of the revolution. His personal attachments did not influence his political position. However highly Lenin might have valued the mind and talent of a person, however sympathetic he might have felt toward him, he would break relations with him politically and personally if he sensed the existence of a profound, a principled ideological difference. However, Lenin reacted incredibly strongly to such breaks and divisions which pained and hurt him. "If Lenin had not been so passionate in his attachments he would not have overstrained himself so soon," N. K. Krupskaya believed.

The reminiscences of Lenin's contemporaries broaden our knowledge on how Lenin resolved problems and acted. "However, only those who had seen Lenin at home knew him as he truly was" (M. M. Essen, Vol 2, p 112).

Doubts have been repeatedly expressed in various publications on the advisability of describing the daily life of historical personalities, poets or philosophers, of the way people behave when they go home, loosen up their ties, take off their shoes and join the family circle or are by themselves. What business is it of ours, it is asked, to know about the faults or virtues of a great writer, painter or composer, when we are faced with artistic masterpieces of eternal beauty? For centuries on end biographers lacking psychological sensitivity and sometimes even basic tactfulness have tickled the philistine public with their exposure of unnecessary details of the daily life of famous personalities. The philistines cannot forgive an outstanding personality his ordinary human weaknesses. They are even secretly pleased to exaggerate anything which could bring an unusual person down to the level of their narrow views. Naturally, it is equally true that in many cases the private lives of even outstanding people turn out to be quite uninteresting or entirely different from their public contributions. History is familiar with the cases of many moralists who wrote and spoke one way but lived and acted entirely differently.

The secret of the unusual personal charm and infinite prestige enjoyed by Vladimir Il'ich resides in the fact that always and everywhere--on the public rostrum or at home, among people or in the family circle--he remained Lenin. His social and personal life was a single entity, a single firm and crystalline pure alloy. In showing his character in even the smallest matters he exerted a powerful attraction on people with the strength of his inner integrity, amazing spiritual orderliness and perfect harmony of heart and mind. That is why, in their recollections of Lenin, his contemporaries could boldly describe his private life, a life without duplicity, internal conflicts or compromises.

We see Vladimir Il'ich as a man with a pure heart, unusually simple and open in his personal relations, a loyal comrade, a naturally joyful man among friends, and

a truly happy person to whom nothing human was alien. He loved life in all its complexity and variety passionately. He lived it eagerly. He was able to gather from it joys, the greatest of which was the struggle and the striving for victory.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than the idea that Lenin was a dry hardened scribe who was aware of people only in terms of "historical categories," or a person with a cold, calculating and ascetic character. He believed that communism must bring with it not asceticism but cheerfulness and good spirits, and the richness of life. A source of bright vitality bubbled within him, throwing off a rainbow of colors. His ability to make good use of a free hour and to find occasions for celebration and pleasure was inexhaustible. "Such vitality," attests K. Steinhardt, one of the founders of the Austrian Communist Party, "I have been able to note only in Friedrich Engels" (Vol 5, p 190). Even after a very short break he could return refreshed and ready for a new battle.

In the close circle of his friends Vladimir Il'ich was contagiously and inimitably witty. He would come alive and immediately become the life of the party. It was precisely in his circle that the most impassionate speeches and the happiest laughter could be heard. He reacted well to a good joke and would joke himself. Once D. Z. Manuil'skiy, who had a talent for imitating the voices and gestures of many party comrades, began to describe Vladimir Il'ich in the style of Kalinin, Lunacharskiy and others. Lenin laughed heartily at these friendly sallies and then, narrowing his eyes, said: "I have also heard that you imitate me too. Well, let us see how you do this."

As A. A. Andreyev emphasizes, Lenin did not tolerate ostentation. He avoided public dinners and soirees, although they were quite infrequent and modest and were related to congresses and conferences, or other such occasions. This is not to say that he was a strict loner. Vladimir Il'ich loved forests and mountain paths and the din of a big city. He loved the working crowds, his comrades, and was passionately involved with people. His fiery nature expressed itself in the particular sharpness with which he perceived the entire variety of the world. He was able to observe human life in all its manifestations and to find in it notes consistent with his own feelings.

Everyone knows about the modest domestic life of Vladimir Il'ich's family. The modesty of the external trappings of his life never gave the impression of something artificial, deliberately concocted for the sake of setting the example to others. It was the result of the natural absence of things without which one could do. Visitors of the head of the government in his home immediately felt that it was the home of an unpretentious yet truly cultured person. Everything was simple, there were no luxury items, no strange objects. Yet everything that was needed by a hardworking family, entirely absorbed in intellectual interests, was available. Any guest of this family could note its unity based on spiritual comity and mutual trust and respect. Everything here was tuned to the exceptionally fine sound of truth, sincerity, understanding and warmth.

Lenin represents an entire world of ideas, feelings and human relations. Our age is as much a part of Lenin as he is a part of it. "There is no corner on earth," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "where Lenin's name has not sounded like an

impassioned appeal for struggle against oppression, lack of rights or exploitation, as a symbol of combat unity, as a guarantee of victory in the historical battle for the triumph of the communist ideals." Leninism is the most important science and most humane theory of the working people, and Lenin's life is the best example of his doctrine. The genius and the noble person organically blend within Vladimir Il'ich. That is why it is equally necessary to master the infinite wealth he has left to the people in his works and through the example of his life. To study Lenin's life means to learn through a single personality about a powerful collective, which was the party he created, to understand its heroic history and ideals better, and to realize the heights to which it aspires in the moral upbringing of the party members and leading cadres, and in molding the person of the communist future.

5003

CSO: 1802/12

WE ARE BUILDING HOMES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 31-33

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor V. Zatvornitskiy, head of a construction brigade]

[Text] There is a great deal of construction in the country, and the contracting brigades deserve great credit for the fact that in the 10th Five-Year Plan more than 50 million Soviet citizens were able to improve their housing conditions and that 1,200 particularly big industrial projects were completed on schedule or ahead of schedule.

Under the five-year plan, the contracting brigades of the Mosstroy-1 Trust, where I work, gained a great deal of experience and learned how to work efficiently and qualitatively, and developed a good organization. The planned projects were delivered ahead of schedule and additional profits from reduced cost estimates exceeded half a million rubles, 82,000 of which were distributed among the workers as bonuses.

The trust decided to apply the brigade contracting method in the construction of all standardized house buildings. This made it possible to organize the work flow better, and improved earnings by approximately 25 percent. Many cost effectiveness brigades fulfilled their five-year plan ahead of schedule. Our collective completed its five-year plan 18 months ahead of schedule.

Brigade competition within the trust and among assembly teams plays an important role. The basic indicators here are completion deadlines and work quality.

Nevertheless, many of the possibilities offered by the brigade contracting system remain unused. This is quite accurately stipulated in the "Basic Directions:"

"To improve contracting and thrifty work methods. To develop comprehensively progressive forms of construction organization, such as by block-sets, shifts, assemblies and others. To create conditions for the comprehensive dissemination of the continuous related brigade contracting method based on improved standards of engineering training and of industrial-technological prefabrication."

It is true that the extensive and effective application of the brigade system is impossible without adequate engineering-technical support and the efficient organization of the entire continuous construction system. Particularly extensive possibilities exist in the area of dealings with related enterprises. For example, we

signed a contract for the construction of a building in Strogino. We completed our work 40 days ahead of schedule but the commission was 3 months late in accepting the building. The trouble was that the related enterprises were not part of the same system and delayed the work.

In frequent cases people cannot move into completed house buildings because of unfinished engineering facilities, electric wiring or access roads. Many projects remain unfinished because of poor coordination in planning the work of general and subcontracting organizations over long periods of time. Such was the case, for example, with the store building in the fourth microrayon of Tepliy Stan, the construction of which was undertaken in 1978. The work was interrupted for a whole year after the preparatory operations were completed. Then, last year, our brigade was assigned to put up the building, which we did. However, the workers who were to follow us were not assigned to the project....as a result of which an empty shell has been left standing for yet another year.

Let me point out that some construction managers of varying ranks have acquired the habit of making promises and giving assurances without keeping their word. Yet the word of a practical worker is worth a great deal when it is followed by actions, when it is trusted. Unfortunately, there are many cases of reciprocal forgiveness of sins among our construction workers instead of reciprocal exigency and principle-mindedness. This affects the quality of our output as well--the quality of the buildings and installations we deliver. Some procurement plants ship to the projects faulty and frequently incomplete items. Penalties do not help in this matter.

The 26th party congress called upon us to put an end to this situation. Today there is no place for disorder, choice of options or ignorance of assignments. We must upgrade labor productivity and quality at each work place steadily, from rank and file construction worker to trust manager.

In my view, the system of contractual relations in the area of procurements of goods and materials for construction projects must be improved radically. The economic prosperity of the construction industry plants and of the automotive transport enterprises which haul their output must be directly tied to the extent to which the orders of construction projects are fulfilled promptly and on time.

I also believe that the role and prestige of brigade leaders must be upgraded. In order to work on a contractual basis they must have greater knowledge in the areas of planning, financing and economic law. Primary level managers must undergo specialized training. The cost effectiveness brigade, not to mention the consolidated brigade, must be headed by highly skilled and prestigious educated workers who can organize the work properly and act not only as managers but as educators as well.

The mass application of the brigade contracting method should not be restricted to construction output. The clients must become actively involved in this work also. In many cases, however, contracts for the buildings of projects are signed without the necessary financial support, technical documentation, or equipment. Delegates to the all-union conference-seminar of brigade leaders of frontranking cost

effectiveness brigades, held on 29 January, pointed out that 30 to 50 percent of the planning documents were missing at the time of the conclusion of contracts in 40 of the trusts investigated. Frequently, deadlines for equipment and deliveries had not been set. On-site investigations revealed that the brigades at 40 percent of the projects had no draft production schedules or technological and labor charts.

Many brigades have no work plans. At best, piece-rate assignments for specific operations have been issued and, frequently, standard monthly assignments. All of this must be corrected.

In my view, the appeal of the participants in the conference I mentioned is quite accurate: "To work according to the brigade contracting method means to be able to value and save each working minute and to struggle against idling, absenteeism, laxity and indiscipline uncompromisingly. This work method helps to create a favorable social climate in the collective and to develop a truly communist attitude toward labor. That is why the brigade contracting method enjoys warm support among the workers. It has become the organizational base for competition among workers with related skills, based on the principle of the "workers' relay race," whose slogan is "From reciprocal claims to reciprocal aid and support!" All of us have seen from personal experience the value of support and labor solidarity. The desire to help one's fellow worker promptly is a built-in quality in anyone working in a cost effectiveness brigade. This applies equally to relations outside work and in the family. It is manifested in the concern shown for the growth of the spiritual and cultural standards of individual brigade members. All this helps us to organize stable collectives."

The number of cost effectiveness brigades is rising. There were 80,000 of them last year, accounting for more than 38 percent of the overall volume of construction and installation work in the country. Unquestionably, their number will grow further and their accomplishments will become incomparably greater.

We are building for the people, for many years into the future, and we would like the results of our work to be pleasing to these people. Today we are building improved housing, with spacious and efficient layouts. Our dream is for every apartment we deliver to please the new occupants, to raise their spirits and even to encourage them to work better and more productively.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report to the congress pointed out that "The new five-year plan will be a major test for the construction workers." Unquestionably, they will do everything possible to pass this test successfully. This is a matter of their honor and of their professional and civic duty to the homeland.

5003
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BOUNTIFUL HARVEST FOR THE HOMELAND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, pp 33-35

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor A. Kotivets, head of a Komsomol-youth rice-growing team, Krasnoarmeyskiy Sovkhoz, Krasnodarskiy Kray]

[Text] The historical prospects for the development of our society and the tremendous constructive tasks facing the party and the entire Soviet people in the 11th Five-Year Plan were presented in the vivid, profound and exciting report delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. Again and again they make us think of our individual place in the struggle to reach the great objectives, study past experience closely, seek means for upgrading labor productivity and quality and find unused reserves in order to meet the assignments formulated at the congress.

Last year was a year of struggle for the successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan and for meeting the next congress of the communist party worthily. The rice growers of the Kuban' had their specific objective: to keep the word which our delegates had given at the 25th CPSU Congress of harvesting one million tons of rice in 1980. I hope that I will be correctly understood and will not be accused of immodesty by saying that I shall remember this year with the pride of the working person who has fulfilled his labor duty. We worked actively, tensely, purposefully and unitedly. There was no working person in my sovkhoz, in the rayon, in the entire kray, who stood aside from the struggle for growing one million tons of rice in the Kuban'. Weather conditions were difficult. During the vegetation period of the rice the water temperature in the flooded areas frequently rose above the critical level. Water levels had to be changed frequently in order to provide more favorable conditions for the development of the plants and for preventing the rice from losing its fertility and sprouting grainless panicles. Such was the case not only in the sector assigned to my team but in the struggle for one million tons in the entire rice-growing area of the kray.

Unfortunately, rain started falling during the harvesting period, when the soil had to be dry so that harvesters and combines could operate without sinking in the mud. The machines left 50 cm deep tracks behind them, which were immediately filled with rainwater. Nevertheless, the socialist competition for the fulfillment of our obligations and the desire to meet our Leninist party congress worthily helped us to harvest the crop. Our team averaged 59.1 quintals of rice and the sovkhoz averaged 55.6 quintals on 378 hectares in rice; Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon averaged 50 quintals. The kray's rice fields yielded more than one million tons of grain, 630,000 of which were delivered to the state.

We know that our success is the result of the systematic practical implementation of the party's agrarian policy and of the extensive land reclamation program formulated at the May 1966 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It is also the result of the tremendous material and technical aid given to the kray's land reclamation and rice-growing workers by the state.

The CPSU Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, its general secretary, rated highly the contribution of the people of the Kuban' to the food resources of the country and congratulated us for our labor victory. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's congratulations created a holiday spirit in towns and villages. They gave us confidence in our own strength and raised the spirit of the competition in honor of the 26th party congress.

Our team numbers 15 broadly specialized mechanizers. Every one of us is a tractor, grader, harvester and combine operator and irrigation worker. We work jointly and we share work, earnings, sorrows and joys. The team held a meeting at which we discussed Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's congratulations, analyzed our work, established what had helped us to achieve our success and identified our errors and omissions. The team defined what we had to achieve in the new farm season and concluded that we can give the homeland more rice in the 11th Five-Year Plan compared with the 10th, and that since this was possible we should do it starting with the very first year. The decision was made to average 70 quintals of grain per hectare over the entire land assigned to the team. Considering the soil, weather and other objective conditions in which we work, this socialist obligation dedicated to the 26th CPSU Congress will not be easy to fulfill. For this reason, losing no time, we started in November 1980.

By the time of the congress we had completed all autumn and winter operations in the paddies on a high-quality level. We removed the stubble, cultivated the land and raised the quality of high-yielding zoned strains to their maximum. The entire equipment was made ready for spring cultivation and harvesting. The team members are participating actively in studies related to the mastering of progressive experience and of agrotechnical methods which had to be used because of the unusually warm autumn and winter and the early advent of spring in 1981.

Several days before the congress the delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress received welcome news. Krasnodarskiy Kray and many of its rayons, including Krasnoarmeyskiy and the sovkhoz in which my team works, were awarded the Red Challenge Banners of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for winning the championship in the all-union socialist competition for the implementation of the 1980 state plan and of the five-year plan. This high reward inspires us and makes us work even more productively. We are well aware of this and we intend to do everything possible not to surrender the leading positions we have gained in the socialist competition.

Allow me to use this opportunity to raise in *KOMMUNIST* a problem whose solution is extremely necessary if we want to improve the effectiveness of rice growing.

In the Kuban', as in other rice-growing areas, a rice cultivation technology based on mechanization has been developed. Today we know quite definitely what specifically is needed for raising rice-growing productivity. Allow me to mention just a

single but most important factor: specialized machines for rice cultivation and harvesting must be developed in the next few years. So far no such machinery is available. The entire equipment, from the plow and harrow to the combine, has been borrowed from dry-land rice growers. Naturally, we are trying to adapt the equipment to work in paddies. This is being done in sovkhos and kolkhos workshops through primitive methods and, therefore, not always successfully. We need special plows and combines particularly. The Kolos model is a good harvester but cannot be operated without causing losses averaging 40 to 45 quintals per hectare. The richer the crop, the more substantial the losses become. We believe that for this reason, despite the double threshing of the rice and other suitable measures, last year no less than one and a half tons of grain were left unharvested per hectare. Such losses should not be tolerated. The rice growers need the type of machine which could process 12 to 14 kilograms of substance per second today. Such a combine would enable us to harvest the entire crop. Its unavailability greatly hinders efforts to improve rice growing effectiveness and quality indicators.

On behalf of the rice growers I address myself to the designers of agricultural equipment with the following request: give us the necessary machinery, such as plows, harrows, rollers and productive combines. Help us to make the rice output even higher. In turn we, the farmers, will apply all our efforts and knowledge to raise and harvest good crops and to implement the decisions of the historical 26th Leninist party congress.

5003

CSO: 1802/12

ON AN INDUSTRIAL BASIS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 35-40

[Article by G. Amrakhova, milking machine operator at the Kostromskoy Sovkhoz, Kostromskaya Oblast]

[Text] The decisions of the 26th party congress demand our selfless toil. My comrades and I are pleased by the fact that, as in the past, based on the results of the production activities in the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, our sovkhos was among the winners in the socialist competition. This time it was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU. In the last five-year plan the weather caused us serious trouble. However, the sovkhos was able to fulfill practically all the assignments of the five-year plan for the growing and sale of agricultural products. It sold the state more than 14,000 tons of milk, 2,849 tons of meat and 95 million eggs in the five-year period. Our only failure, caused precisely by bad weather conditions, was the nonfulfillment of the five-year plan for the production of potatoes, even though the plan for sales of this crop to the state was fulfilled.

Our sovkhos produces meat and dairy products. As Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said at the congress, animal husbandry "is the shock front in the village today." The levels reached in the production of animal husbandry goods, a reliable feed base, increased technical labor facilities and the farm's strong economic position have enabled our collective to make a worthy contribution to the fulfillment of the special food program. The purpose of the program is to resolve the problem of insuring the uninterrupted supply of the population with products within the shortest possible time. Yet as the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress emphasized, it is particularly the tangible interruptions in supplies that create shortages of meat and of other livestock products.

The production of such goods can be increased considerably only by raising cattle productivity and the application of industrial technology in the production of animal husbandry goods. The modern farms of today need purebred livestock raised for the production of meat and milk on an industrial basis.

The sovkhos herd numbers more than 2,300 cows of the highly productive Kostroma breed. The purebred herd enables our sovkhos to engage in extensive selection work and to supply purebred cattle to other farms. An experimental animal husbandry complex for the raising of 6,000 pregnant heifers under the same roof, built in cooperation with the GDR, will be commissioned this year. The very carefully selected animals will come from 20 different farms, for which reason the task of

the complex is to improve the Kostroma breed even further, and to raise the young cattle in such a way as to meet all the demands of industrial technology. In machine milking speed and milking method are important. For example, a cow with a cup-shaped udder can yield between 800 and 1,000 kilograms of milk more than a cow with a so-called goat-shaped udder.

The personnel for the future complex have already been trained. All of them are under 30. About 50 of them were trained in similar complexes in the GDR, Moldavia, Khmel'nitskaya Oblast and the Moscow area. The necessary fodder base is being developed. Therefore, all the necessary conditions are present for the operation of such a complex and heavily automated system, with high economic returns.

The sovkhos applied and mastered the use of industrial technology in dairy animal husbandry 6 years ago. This was preceded by improvements in the feed base, the raising of cattle in pastures, and feed production. Cadres were selected and trained. The organization of intensive milk production in the farm is based on the principle of intrasectorial specialization and on the two-cycle animal care system.

The dairy complex includes a dry cow pen, a control pen, a maternity ward with preventive care for the newborn offspring, two calf-houses and three pens for the milking herd. The complex, which contains about 800 milk cows and 500 calves, is cared for by 70 people.

Each milkmaid cares for 60 cows. The milkmaid closely cooperates with the feed worker who feeds 100 cows. He cleans the troughs and distributes the hay, haylage, silage, root crops, concentrates and mineral additives. The feed operator must also take care of adding yeast, steaming the fodder and making slop. The feed workers are headed by a brigade leader with higher zootechnical training. A great deal depends on the feeders, for the cows are placed according to milk yields. Each cow has its customized ration. If the cow yields more milk her rations are increased. The feed workers' salaries and bonuses depend on increased milk production. If the cow is fed improperly neither the feed worker nor I can earn anything. I have been lucky with my feed worker. I work together with the experienced Valentina Petrovna Samylova, a former milkmaid.

It is an old truth that milk is the result of proper feeding. The higher milk production in our sovkhos is owed largely to the efforts of the feed workers. I believe that they too should compete for the title of best in one's profession, as is the case with the milkmaids. We must enhance the reputation of the workers in all animal husbandry skills without exception. This would be fair, for animal husbandry production organized on an industrial basis means collective production. The end result here is the higher the more coordinated and selfless the efforts of its participants become.

Machine technology creates an obligatory labor rhythm. It improves organization and upgrades productivity. In the past, because of the unorganized labor system, the milkmaids wasted about 30 percent of their working time and became overtired. Now there is no need to run around purposelessly. Specialists are with us at all times. They can resolve any problem facing a milkmaid or a feed worker.

Selective breeding is necessary in addition to the proper feeding and care for the animals, if we are to exceed the 4,000 kilogram level. Here again, the sovkhos chief specialists and the specialists in our complex, including selective breeding zootechnician Al'bina Aleksandrovna Korshunova, are doing a great deal of work.

The industrial intensification of animal husbandry has raised the requirements facing the milkmaids. Previously, the milkmaids were required to have stamina, to be physically strong above all. Today, they need high level specialized zootechnical knowledge and willingness to back everything that is new. Practical experience alone is no longer sufficient. Furthermore, experience always means habit, which frequently creates a prejudice against progressive innovations. Yet we cannot do without such innovations today. I am greatly helped by the fact that I attended the Galichskiy Sovkhos-Technical School and am now pursuing my studies at the Karavayevo Agricultural Institute.

Machine technology demands of us knowledge and offers us the opportunity to study. This opportunity arose with the change from triple to double milking in 1976. This change had major social consequences. It helped to retain young graduates of secondary schools in the livestock farms. Everyone is well familiar with what triple daily milking means. It means that the milkmaid had to be at the farm at 4 am and could go home at 7 pm. Meanwhile, all she could do was take an hour off for lunch. Under such a work system she could neither go home nor take care of her children. Now, the milkmaid goes to the livestock farm at 4 am; at 8 am she is already home until 4 pm. Then she returns for the second half of her shift and is free again. We have also two free days a week, which we take turns using. There is time to rest, to go shopping in the nearby city, to check the children's homework and, if the milkmaid is a student, to go to school. In the past, mothers were virtually unable to see their children. What kind of parental upbringing, or maternal concern and warmth could we talk about? Yet we live for our children! It is the parents, first of all, and then the school and the public organizations who are responsible for their upbringing and, therefore, for their future.

This is my ninth year as a milkmaid. I like this work, not least because, after my workday has ended I can see the specific results of my work. In the past five-year plan I undertook to care for 100 cows and pledged to produce from them 1,000 ton of milk. I produced precisely 2,002 tons and fulfilled two five-year plans. However, I am not entirely satisfied with these results. The gross output was high but the amounts I milked were lower than those of many of my fellow workers, not exceeding 3,658 kilograms. By caring for a group of 100 head I was unable to milk all the cows properly and to reach maximum yields. My labor intensiveness turned out to be quite high as well.

Now, like the other milkmaids, I take care of 60 cows, 50 of which are milked. Under such circumstances the real possibility exists to raise production in the five-year plan to 4,400-4,600 kilograms per cow and to obtain 90 calves per 100 cows. Together with the feed worker, I have pledged to reduce feed outlays by five percent.

Under the five-year plan, sovkhos milk production rose by almost 600 liters. Last year we averaged 4,343 kilograms per cow. Production costs per ton of milk in the

complex averaged 23 rubles, while the milk is sold to the state at 30.3 ruble per ton. Currently we expend 1.08 feed units per liter of milk. Our net annual milk profits total 137,000 rubles. These are good indicators.

However, the party demands of all husbandrymen shock work today. If this is the case, we have the right to count on the interested help of industry, of other economic sectors, and of all organizations and departments related to agriculture one way or another.

In our sovkhos we cannot complain of feed shortages. Our cattle are fed and watered on time. However, this does not mean that the farm has resolved its forage problems entirely and once and for all. Thus, it is obvious to us that the percentage of feed beets in cow rations must be increased. Currently they receive 7 instead of 15-20 kilograms. Milk production increases immediately after feeding beets to the cows. Although the low level of mechanized cultivation and harvesting facilities for fodder beets are still poor, the sovkhos could accomplish a great deal in this respect through its own efforts. The farm needs both bone meal and soybean cake to balance the feed, but we receive very few of those. Let me also mention the poor quality of the concentrated fodder which we get from industry, based on the principle of "grab what they give you." It is difficult to achieve intensification on this basis. We receive from the mixed feed industry concentrates which are either too coarse or have almost no additives or else are oversalted. We get poultry feed, hog feed or even husks. Yields from such forage are extremely low. Yet it is well known that a properly balanced feed raises milk output sharply.

We do not feed straw to the cattle, for this does not produce high yields. Other farms would be equally happy to forsake its use but need forces them to resort to it. It is understandable why, under circumstances of acute feed shortages, the equipment of a conventional feed-mixing shop is based on the use of straw. But what happens to farms such as ours which refuse to use straw as cattle feed? The sovkhos built a shop for the improvement of rough forage, but subsequently our specialists were forced to reorganize it with their own primitive facilities. However, since today we are faced precisely with the task of drastically increasing the production of livestock goods, the farms should be supplied with everything they need faster.

The livestock breeders are particularly short of facilities for the mechanization of heavy manual work. So far, industry is not manufacturing lightweight, convenient and reliable feed-hauling carts. Our feed workers must push the available clumsy wheelbarrows weighing 300 kilograms and whose wheels, furthermore, break down. In this case again the sovkhos mechanizers have been forced to install rubber wheels themselves. The belt and scraper manure haulers keep breaking down. Our experts heard that a screw conveyer had been used in Siberia for the same purpose. They managed to make one. For the past 7 years it has been doing reliable work. However, is it proper for each farm to undertake to mechanize manual labor through primitive methods, at the cost of extensive labor and material outlays?

It is important also to improve the reliability of milking machines. Here is the way they operate now: either the milk goes to the wrong place or the counters

break down. The Kostroma Sel'khostekhnika Association provides us with a good supply of spare parts. The trouble is that the parts themselves are poor. For example, the milkmaids are quite displeased with the quality of rubber parts. The material is coarse and rigid or else it is so weak that the pipe becomes blocked the moment we put it on, and the milk cannot pass through. But we are dealing with animals! The poor quality rubber hurts the udder and the animals develop mastitis. The result is that an excellent milk cow must be taken off the dairy herd and slaughtered.

Let us forget about counters and rubber hose! We lack even the most primitive equipment! In the case of cattle raised in stalls, to deprive the workers in the livestock complex of brooms is the equivalent of leaving vehicles without gasoline. Occasionally, however, even in our forested areas brooms are exceptionally hard to come by. Capron brushes are not always available. It is shameful to mention that despite a highly developed industry, today the farms are still short of curry combs for the cows, baskets for hauling the forage, gauze and other items.

Pretty, spotless, warm and comfortable special clothing for livestock workers can be seen only in journal pictures. People go to work wearing whatever they have. Sometimes it is even embarrassing to look at a milkmaid. Yet it is mostly young people who work here and they do care about wearing nice-looking work clothes. Actually, this is a general concern. The sovkhos management has been able to order some special clothing. However, is it all that difficult to organize its mass production in amounts which will make it possible to meet the needs of all farms without exception? In the movies, milkmaids are usually shown dressed in white overalls. A white overall, however, would last through only one milking. By the time all the cows have been milked the overalls would be so dirty that no amount of washing or dry cleaning would do. We are also having trouble with ordinary black rubber boots, which have been in production for many years and without which a livestock farm cannot do. They are in short supply! Colored rubber boots are good only for walking on asphalt. Once we were issued such boots which lasted no more than 2 weeks. I believe that many such problems, which should not even be considered problems, could be resolved without any particular difficulty by our industry including the local industry. It is important to pay attention to petty matters as well, for it is they that set the working mood of the people.

As everyone knows, the work of the milkmaid is not easy. It is just as hard as that of the rural mechanizers whose paid leave is based on length of service. Mechanizers are busy no more than twice a year, whereas we are busy the year-round. Is it fair, therefore, that the paid leave of milkmaids is half that of the mechanizers?

The accountability report to the congress states that "Our system of material and moral incentives must be such as to insure always and comprehensively the equitable and objective assessment of the labor contribution of every individual." In my view, this means that the more you work the more you should earn. Today, however, milkmaid wages are so structured that the more we milk the less we are paid per liter of output. I think that this is wrong. There must be a direct correlation between the end results of our work and our wages.

I must also mention the wages of middle-level specialists--zootechnicians and engineers --who work alongside us. Without them today it would be simply impossible to achieve any considerable increase in the production of animal husbandry goods. The countryside is short of specialists with higher training. Meanwhile, many of them, after several years of work following their graduation, leave the farms and go to the cities. One of the main reasons for this is their low wages. For example, secondary level specialists working at the complex earn, as a rule, between 110 and 120 rubles. This is half of what a milkmaid earns. Speaking of improving material incentive, it seems to me that many problems could be resolved by the farms themselves, at least by the profitable farms. However, in order to achieve this the total cost accounting on the basis of which the sovkhoses operate in theory should be applied in practice. Whatever the case, one thing is clear: the shock labor of animal husbandrymen, demanded by the party, must be encouraged both morally and materially more effectively.

In joining the socialist competition for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress, the Kostromskoy Sovkhoz assumed greater obligations to increase the production of agricultural products and to improve effectiveness in the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. This calls for selling to the state 615 tons of meat, 3,165 tons of milk and 20 million eggs and earning 1,110,000 rubles in 1981. We shall do everything possible to keep our word.

5003

CSO: 1802/12

HIGHER THAN THE CLOUDS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 40-42

[Article by O. Mozambekova, chairman of the executive committee of the Virskiy Kishlak Soviet of People's Deputies, Gorno-Badakhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast]

[Text] It is said in Tajikistan that if you want to see far you must climb a tall mountain. To us, the population of Gorno-Badakhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast, whose entire life is spent among the highest peaks, such vast captivating views are well familiar.

It was a great happiness for me to be a delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress. Metaphorically speaking, to the Soviet people it represented a new peak from which the people could have a tremendous view of their accomplishments. The participants in the congress and all the citizens of our country are grateful to their party and its Central Committee and to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally for the constant concern for the happiness and prosperity of the Soviet people they have shown.

Soviet Badakhshan has been developing and prospering with every five-year period. The constant concern shown by the party and the government helped us, the people of Pamir, to transform our area unrecognizably, to build industrial enterprises, and to erect large hydroelectric power plants on the fast rivers.

Despite the difficulties of living in the high mountains and the extremely limited amount of arable land, we are successfully developing agriculture as well. Extensive irrigation facilities have been built in the Pamir, as a result of which areas in crops have more than tripled compared with 1925 (when the autonomous oblast was founded).

Despite its great remoteness, our oblast is far from being a forgotten area. The highest mountain railroad--the East Pamir Osh-Khorog section--which links the Pamir with the railroad network of the rest of the country, was built under the Soviet system. The famous Pamir Track imeni V. I. Lenin linked our area with the capital of Tajikistan. Airlines link Khorog and the rayon centers with Dushanbe; the Orbita and Ekran satellites enable us to receive television programs from Moscow.

The cultural standard of this mountain area has risen highly. Almost one out of every three of our people are students. In terms of the number of specialists with higher training per 10,000 people our oblast holds one of the leading positions in

the country. It has scientific institutions, dozens of public libraries, music schools, clubs, movie theaters and hospitals. It has its music-drama theater and kray museum.

We were particularly successful in the 10th Five-Year Plan. The industrial workers fulfilled their assignments for the production and marketing of industrial goods, whose volume rose by almost 60 percent, ahead of schedule. A meat and dairy combine, the Orbita television station, the highest airport in the USSR, in Murgabskiy Rayon, and other projects were completed. The rural workers coped successfully with the assignments of the five-year plan on selling grain, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, silkworm cocoons, milk, eggs and other farm goods to the state.

Beneficial changes have taken place in the settlements of the Virskiy Kishlak Soviet whose chairman I am. The Vatan Sovkhoz, located within its territory, overfulfilled its five-year assignment for meat, milk and wool procurements. The workers' income rose considerably. A club with 180 seats was completed in the Vir Kishlak. A bridge was built across the Gunt River. The construction of an eighth grade school was undertaken in the remote Charsen Kishlak.

The local soviets play an exceptionally great role in the economic and social development of the high mountain farms. At our sessions we discuss vital problems of economic and cultural construction.

We pay particular attention to the instructions of the voters, for they express the thoughts of the toiling masses. Based on the voters' instructions, a medical center and a bridge for pedestrians were built, the automobile road was repaired, the work of trade and public services enterprises was improved and the urbanization of the kishlaks was underway in 1980 alone. In our entire practical work we rely on a broad aktiv and try to enlist in it managers of sovkhozes and establishments, principals of general education schools, and the entire rural intelligentsia.

The work of the 26th CPSU Congress triggered a new influx of labor energy in the Badakhshan working people. Virtually all labor collectives in the oblast participated in the socialist competition in honor of the congress. Farms, brigades, livestock farms and more than 2,500 foremost production workers fulfilled their quarterly plans ahead of schedule. Currently the efforts of the working people are focused on the successful implementation of the decisions of the party congress and on making a greater contribution to the further blossoming of our great multinational homeland.

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YOUTH ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND THOUGHTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 42-43

[Article by Sh. Ageyev, first secretary of the Tatarskaya Oblast Komsomol Committee]

[Text] In discussing problems of the further development of the Soviet political system from the rostrum of the 26th party congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev described the work of the Komsomol today and the problems to be resolved in the forthcoming period quite accurately and comprehensively.

The part of the speech which deals with the Komsomol notes that presently its participation in the administration of the state and in all social life has been intensified. Today the Soviet youth accounts for a considerable segment of the state, economic and party organs. Together with the members of the older generations they are engaged in resolving the most vital problems of the development of the socialist society. Characteristically, 80 Komsomol workers and members of elective Komsomol organs were among the delegates to the highest communist forum of our country—the 26th congress.

The thought expressed in the report is illustrated most clearly in the practical work of the Tatar Komsomol organization, which numbers more than half a million young people. Approximately one-third of deputies of local soviets are under 30 years of age. The supreme soviet of our autonomous republic numbers 34 Komsomol members. Elective trade union organs number more than 51,000 young men and women, while more than 10,000 Komsomol members are developing economic management skills as members of the people's control organs. Young people are participating in administrative activities also through various public commission, quality staffs, the Komsomol Beacon, and young specialists and brigade councils.

The forms of joint activities conducted by Komsomol committees and party organs have increased noticeably in recent years. Hundreds of Komsomol workers are members of the bureaus of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms, party committees and primary party organization bureaus. The Komsomol committees in Naberezhnyye Chelny, the new city, who are working hand in hand with the party organs and are actively assisting them in the implementation of numerous projects, are setting the example of energetic and initiative-minded work. The fact that most party managers in that city are former Komsomol members who came to the construction site of this automotive giant with the first detachments of young volunteers is equally significant.

The entire great history of the KamAZ and of Naberezhnyye Chelny, with its population of 350,000, clearly proves the tremendous role of the Komsomol in resolving very important national economic problems. Thirty thousand young volunteers have come to the banks of the Kama on Komsomol assignments since the beginning of the construction of the plant. On the eve of the 26th party congress the construction workers celebrated an exciting labor victory: on 12 February a state commission signed the document accepting the second section of the automotive manufacturing giant. A column of powerful all-terrain vehicles came off the second section of the main conveyor belt and started on their trip to Moscow. This was the labor gift of the KamAZ workers to the congress. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's congratulations to the construction workers stated the following: "Let us particularly note the considerable contribution which our outstanding young people have made to this truly shock Komsomol construction project."

The Komsomol members of Tatarsiya and the entire multimillion-strong detachment of the Leninist Komsomol are proud of this high assessment, for members of all union republics and representatives of 70 nationalities within our country worked selflessly, shoulder to shoulder with the young men and women of the republic.

By sponsoring the all-union construction projects of the Nizhnekamsk Territorial-Industrial Complex, which in addition to the automotive plant includes the petrochemical, machine building and light industry enterprises, the oblast Komsomol organization is participating actively in the implementation of programs for the development of a variety of economic sectors. The ranks of petroleum, natural gas and repair workers engaged in the exploitation of gas and petroleum deposits included 23,000 young men and women. A large group of young people are working in the republic's fields and livestock farms and resolving important problems of the further development of agriculture and implementing a broad program for the reorganization of the countryside.

Like all Soviet people, the Tatar Komsomol members and young men and women prepared to welcome the congress of their communist party with tremendous enthusiasm and political and labor upsurge. At the final stage of the all-union Komsomol relay race 2,700 Komsomol-youth collectives and 155,000 young foremost production workers reported the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of their five-year plans.

Now, when the congress has defined the directions for the forthcoming period, we must reach the heights of the new five-year plan in which, as always, the Komsomol has been assigned a noteworthy role. Every Komsomol member of our oblast organization and all young men and women of Tatarsiya are aspiring to make their utmost contribution to the nationwide project.

We heard from the rostrum of the congress not only acknowledgments of the unquestionable merits of the Komsomol but substantiated criticism of its shortcomings. In discussing the need for increasing educational work, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "It is a question of developing within each Komsomol organization a live and creative atmosphere. It has long been known that truth is accepted firmly when it is experienced rather than simply taught."

The party would like to see our young contemporaries as being not only well educated but politically mature, and not only professionally trained but showing a responsible attitude toward labor. We, Komsomol workers, will dedicate our entire efforts to improving educational work in all areas--labor, moral and ideological-political. Unquestionably, the Komsomol will carry out honorably the assignments set by the congress.

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CSO: 1802/12

POWERFUL ACCELERATION

Moscow KOMBUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 44-45

[Article by V. Koptyug, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department]

[Text] The party congress, which has just ended, has left an indelible impression.

During these unforgettable days, like all delegates, my participation in an event of the greatest historical significance filled me with happiness and pride. We heard with tremendous attention the outstanding and deeply meaningful accountability report of the party's Central Committee, delivered by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, the scope of which was striking. This most important basic document, which was unanimously approved by the congress, provided a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary stage in world history. It described the internal and external situation of the country, the achievements of the Soviet people and the prospects for the further development of our society.

The congress approved the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990."

The unchanging programmatic requirement that everything must be done for the sake of man and for the good of man, was the starting point of the party and the political approach to this development.

The further growth of the prosperity of the Soviet people--the main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan--will be based on the stable progress of the national economy, accelerated scientific and technical progress, conversion of the economy to intensive development, more efficient utilization of the country's production potential, comprehensive conservation of all resources and improved work quality.

We, scientists, must become involved in the solution of this problem most directly. "The communist party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "proceeds from the fact that the building of a new society would be simply inconceivable without science."

The USSR Academy of Sciences assumes a greater role and responsibility in the development of basic research and in the further strengthening of the alliance between theory and practice. The communist party and the Soviet government are

concerned with improving the organization of the entire scientific research system. Reality demands of this system to become increasingly more flexible and adaptable, and intolerant of sterile laboratories and institutions. The 26th party congress documents emphasize that in the 11th Five-Year Plan the development of science and technology will be subordinated to the solution of the most important problems of the further progress of Soviet society and to the accelerated conversion of the economy to intensive development to an increasing extent.

Those of us who work and live in Siberia can only be pleased by the increased pace of development of production forces of this amazingly rich and very insufficiently studied part of the country. We cannot fail to be inspired by the attention which the party and the government pay to the intensification of its scientific and technical and educational potential and to improving its living conditions further.

The development of Siberian resources is one of the conditions for our country's stable development. The major projects which are planned here in accordance with the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress on the development of natural resources and of fuel-energy and raw material bases and the accelerated growth of the fuel, electric power, nonferrous metallurgical, chemical, petrochemical and many other industries urgently require extensive scientific research and experimentation along with planning-design, technical-economic and other work. This is largely the responsibility of the subdivisions of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, both from the viewpoint of the development of science and of expanding its applications and on the level of the coordination of all scientific forces in Siberia.

In implementing the decisions of the party and the government, the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, in close cooperation with the Siberian departments of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the organizations of ministries and departments and the Siberian VUZs drafted the "Sibir" long-term large-scale program in 1977-1978. The program calls for the solution of main scientific and technical and regional problems of the development of production forces in the eastern parts of the country. It includes 30 scientific target programs which call for the study and utilization of fuel-energy and mineral and raw material resources, environmental protection measures, and the elaboration of complex technological problems. Currently more than 230 scientific research and design collectives of different departments (including 46 institutes and organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department) have joined forces within the "Sibir" program.

The common task which the party has set to all of us is to raise all sectors of the socialist economy to the leading positions of science and technology. The conditions in which the national economy will be developing in the 1980s make the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress particularly urgent. In order to achieve this, together with the engineers, technicians, workers and all working people in material production, the scientists must reduce substantially the time needed for the creation and mastering of new equipment. They must strengthen relations between science and production and the experimental-production base of scientific research institutes and design bureaus. They must promptly define and change the direction of research and development and the organizational

structure of scientific institutions in accordance with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and improve the effectiveness with which the scientific potential of universities is used for the solution of national economic problems. They must improve the training and the skills and certification requirements of scientific and scientific-pedagogical cadres and provide comprehensive assistance to the development of mass scientific and technical creativity.

Soviet science will achieve new successes on the path of knowledge and practical experience for the sake of the communist future of mankind, under the tried leadership of the Leninist party.

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INTERVIEW WITH KOMMUNIST REPRESENTATIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 46-48

[Interview given by Mengistu Haile-Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administration Council of Socialist Ethiopia and chairman of the Commission for the Organization of the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia]

[Text] [Question] What are your impressions of the 26th CPSU Congress?

[Answer] The communist and workers movements, whose reliable bulwark is the invincible socialist system, are acting with growing confidence as a decisive force of our time. The liberated countries are making a significant contribution to this process. The triumph of the ideas of socialism in various parts of the globe has been a legitimate consequence of this development. The successful implementation of the revolutions in the 1970s and the victorious march of national liberation movements provide the most obvious proof of the historical accuracy of socialism as a doctrine. On the other hand, we are witnessing the headlong breakdown of structural parts of imperialism such as colonialism, neocolonialism and the most extreme forms of racism.

Alarmed by this course of events, the imperialists are resorting to ever more dangerous machinations and intrigues, which they believe could help them turn back the course of history. In pursuing their selfish aims the imperialists have mounted a false propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union—the reliable bulwark of all forces which favor peace and social progress. The imperialists stop at nothing in their attempts to exploit and oppress countries which are taking their very first steps on their chosen path of socialist development. They want to undermine the stable situation in these countries. Furthermore, global reaction has not abandoned its intent of starting a world war which would threaten the destruction of mankind.

The 26th CPSU Congress was held in an atmosphere of aggravated class battles in the world arena, for which reason all progressive forces in the world have ascribed a most important significance to the highest Soviet communist forum or, in any case, in my view, they should do so. Today, when in its unsuccessful attempts to distort the content of the global historical process, imperialism has openly aggravated its confrontation with the forces of peace and progress and exposed even more fully its disgusting nature, the CPSU proved at its 26th congress how high it carries the flag of the struggle for peace and social

progress. Armed with the eternally living doctrine of V. I. Lenin, the great revolutionary and teacher and leader of the proletariat, the CPSU formulated a firm political line and made decisions which were welcomed by the revolutionaries of the entire world with tremendous enthusiasm.

To the revolutionaries the world over the 26th CPSU Congress offered incomparable training, for they clearly realize the firm ideological, organizational and material foundations on which the vanguard forces of the peoples of the Soviet Union are building their unity. The CPSU congress provided a further impetus to the implementation of the Marxist call, "Workers of the world, unite!"

[Question] Which among the problems discussed at the 26th CPSU Congress drew your particular attention?

[Answer] Naturally, many speeches and addresses were heard at the CPSU congress. The principal one was the CPSU Central Committee accountability report presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, which covered many truly most important problems. The speech offered a scientific analysis of the contemporary international situation. It clearly earmarked the path which must be followed by the forces fighting for peace and social progress.

In discussing the problem of developing countries, which are experiencing the pressure of imperialist forces, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Comrades, no one should doubt that the CPSU will continue to follow a systematic course of development of cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries, and of strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement." With these words the CC CPSU general secretary reasserted the fact that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of all revolutionary forces on earth. Once again, facing the world's public opinion, the USSR most clearly proved its support of the cause of strengthening the peace, stepping up the detente process and restraining the arms race. This means that all the fabrications which imperialism has used to conceal its shameful actions, have absolutely no foundation and are doomed to failure.

The peoples of the world are proud of the achievements of the Soviet Union, the developed socialist country, in the fields of economics, politics and social life, of the cultural progress achieved by the peoples of the USSR, and of the resolve and readiness of its citizens to dedicate all their strength to the building of communism. Unquestionably, such tremendous successes on the road to progress achieved by the working people of the Soviet Union were possible only under the guidance of their vanguard, the communist party, its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The great and victorious path of the CPSU is an inexhaustible treasury of experience for the revolutionaries the world over.

[Question] What are the most topical problems currently facing the COPWPE?

[Answer] As its very name "Commission for the Organization of a Party of the Working People of Ethiopia" indicates, its task includes the creation of a party which will guide the revolution in Ethiopia, something it did not have in the

past. Our main and very important task, if we are to achieve this objective, is to disseminate Marxist-Leninist theory among the broad people's masses. We believe that in the year which has passed since the creation of the COPWPE the commission has been able to accomplish a great deal.

Seven years ago, i.e., before the Ethiopian revolution, the country lacked suitable conditions for the founding of political organizations. After the victory of the revolution the scattered groups of revolutionaries were unable to join efforts to the fullest extent in order to carry out their historical mission. It is only following the establishment of the COPWPE, which is a center for the coordination of the efforts of all revolutionary elements in the country, that we achieved the confidence that a party could be organized in Ethiopia. It is our firm belief that our plans for the founding of such a party will be implemented soon.

The COPWPE faces other important tasks in addition to the building of a party. We must bear in mind that today Ethiopia has become a target of imperialist hegemonistic aspirations. The country remains threatened by a military invasion. For this reason, on the one hand, we are strengthening the defense capability of our homeland, while on the other, we are focusing our efforts on the restoration and development of the economy, whose backwardness is inherited from the feudal-monarchic system and neocolonialist exploitation and which was also undermined as a result of the aggression unleashed by our enemies.

We consider the triumph of the ideas of proletarian internationalism to be closely linked with the process of strengthening our revolutionary gains. Allow me to use this occasion to point out that the comprehensive support which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have given us in the course of our revolution and at a time of fierce class struggle, is an outstanding page in our history. Our combat solidarity and cooperation are strengthening steadily. In turn, revolutionary Ethiopia has done and will do everything it can to strengthen this unity for the good of the peoples of our countries. Therefore, one of the tasks currently facing the COPWPE is the all-round strengthening of proletarian internationalism. We are confident that the presence of a COPWPE delegation at the historical 26th CPSU Congress will enable us to strengthen relations with our allies in the common struggle even further.

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JUSTIFIED OPTIMISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 48-50

[Article by Gaston Plissonier, Politburo member and secretary of the French Communist Party Central Committee]

[Text] A CPSU congress has always been a significant event. In this sense the 26th congress is no exception. The French communists deem it important to see how the representatives of the Soviet people and their communist party assess the situation in their country and abroad and how they see the future. We were stricken by the realism, by the justified optimism which resounded in all speeches of the delegates, in L. I. Brezhnev's report in particular.

We felt in the Central Committee report and the delegates' speeches the profound aspiration to approach the reality of life as closely as possible, to note with satisfaction that which is consistent with the needs of the population and the plans for the further development of the country and, at the same time, make corrections and improvements wherever errors were made. For entirely understandable reasons, we are interested, most of all, in the Soviet point of view on foreign political problems and on proposals favoring peace and disarmament.

The French communists have firm and long traditions in the struggle for peace. The suggestions in this area, formulated by L. I. Brezhnev, apply to us even more, for we live in a Western European country where the problem of defending the peace has acquired exceptional severity. We opposed the NATO plans, approved by the French government, on the deployment of new American missiles with nuclear warheads, from the very beginning. We believe that such a step would be a major threat to security in Europe and throughout the world; essentially, it converts the Western part of our continent into a real powder keg. It disturbs the existing balance of forces in Europe and inevitably entails the continuation of the arms race. For this reason the Soviet suggestion on concluding a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe by NATO countries and the USSR is, in our view, of prime significance.

It seems to us that the suggestion of expanding the area of trust in military affairs to the entire European territory of the USSR, providing that the same size area is expanded in the West, which follows the same train of thought, would increase reciprocal trust and eliminate one of the main obstacles which is obstructing the Madrid talks. This suggestion is entirely consistent with what has become known as the spirit of Helsinki.

We also consider the continuation of all talks on strategic armaments and the refusal to surrender the positions reached in this area necessary. We believe that France also should join such talks at the proper time. In precisely the same way we ascribe great importance to a number of other suggestions, such as convening a European disarmament conference and the creation of a prestigious international committee with the participation of noted scientists, in order to indicate the vital need for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, the holding of a special session of the Security Council and other initiatives.

What makes the problems of European security even more important to us is that should a nuclear conflict break out, a country such as France would be in the midst of things. Unfortunately, instead of really seeking a solution to such problems, together with other NATO countries the French government is assuming positions which cannot but further the arms race. It is precisely because the problem of the arms race is a basic one, affecting the interests of the entire French people, that the French Communist Party is against a policy which conflicts with the interests of the peace. For this reason, we believe also that comprehensive economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation must develop between our countries.

Along with the persistent and purposeful efforts made by the USSR for the sake of preserving the peace, we also admire the tasks which the Soviet people have set for themselves in terms of the further development of the socialist society. The 26th congress clearly formulated the task of insuring production effectiveness and economic management and indicated the specific measures aimed at upgrading the living standard of the Soviet people.

All of these stipulations are in striking contrast with what is happening in the capitalist world, particularly in France. The main problems which remain in our country are unemployment, unchecked inflation and a rigid economic policy pursued at the expense of the working people. The number of victims of the crisis among the poorest population strata is rising. Industry is either stagnating or declining. Entire economic sectors have been sacrificed to the so-called "reorganization" plan, which, in fact, benefits only a handful of monopolies whose profits, as it were, are among the highest. You are speaking of the balanced development of the entire national economic complex of your country. Unlike the French, you are not afraid of the words "economic growth." In today's France the monopolies are trying to belittle the significance of science and to make people afraid of technical progress. In your country, science and technology are justifiably considered the decisive factors of overall social progress.

We realize perfectly that to surmount difficulties is no simple matter. However, all that we saw and heard at the 26th congress strengthens our faith in the ability of the CPSU and of the entire Soviet people to reach their targets, the more so since the tremendous successes you have already achieved are an excellent starting point for a thrust into the future.

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PATRICK CLANCY INTERVIEWED

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 50-56

[Interview given by Patrick Clancy, chairman of the Australian Socialist Party]

[Text] [Question] What could you tell the readers of our journal about your impressions of the congress?

Which of the ideas expressed at the congress did you consider most important and interesting from the viewpoint of your party and the future of the world's revolutionary development, and what problems is your party resolving currently?

[Answer] The CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress, delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, is an extremely important and interesting document. It illuminates precisely problems which are of vital importance to the workers movement and to the entire global revolutionary development today. In considering the report and the proceedings of the congress as a whole, I can single out four aspects. First, the analysis of events in the world, of international problems and problems of the peace and of the formulation of new Soviet peace suggestions. Second, problems of USSR economic development and of the new five-year plan for the further progress of the Soviet society. Third, a self-critical analysis, the positive and constructive self-criticism found in the accountability report and in the delegates' speeches. Fourth, the total and unreserved solidarity displayed by the representatives of the parties of the socialist world. In my view, these four types of problems cover all most important matters.

Let us begin with the analysis of international events and the suggestions on strengthening the peace and security. First of all, I fully agree with the analysis of international events formulated by the 26th CPSU Congress. The Central Committee report leaves no doubts as to the strong positions which the Soviet Union holds in the world arena, preserving its confidence and firmness in the face of imperialist pressure, and giving its loyal and comprehensive support to nations fighting for national independence. Characteristically, however, this firm and strong position was presented in the accountability report in such a way as to offer the other countries, including the Western capitalist countries, a most favorable opportunity to respond to its constructive suggestions. I believe that this exceptionally valuable report submitted to the congress contains a lesson which all revolutionaries need—a lesson in firmness and decisiveness in the pursuit of a positive course aimed at the constructive solution of global problems and insuring favorable conditions for global revolutionary developments. The formulated suggestions pertain to the most difficult of the urgent problems facing

mankind today. They emphasize the danger of a nuclear war and proceed from the clear understanding of the entire extent of this danger. However, they do not retreat an iota from the absolutely correct position, which is the need to ban nuclear weapons. Under present-day circumstances this is an exceptionally important problem.

The section in the accountability report dealing with international affairs considers the problem of relations with the People's Republic of China as well. Here again we do not find even the slightest retreat from the principled positions of drastic disagreement with the general line adopted by the Chinese leadership. However, the report most clearly expresses the idea of friendship with the Chinese people and readiness to establish good-neighborly relations with China. Relations between the Soviet Union and China are among the important problems to the revolutionary forces of all countries. The tragic course of events in China, starting with the 1960s, the notorious "cultural revolution," the abandonment of the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory in the area of economic development and the actions of the Chinese leadership aimed at rapprochement with imperialism and adaptation to its plans have caused tremendous harm to the world's revolutionary development. Unquestionably, the resumption by China of more positive positions and the pursuit by it of an independent socialist course and its involvement with all socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism, alongside those who are struggling for the peace, independence and sovereignty of all nations, would be consistent with the interests of the working people throughout the world.

The abandonment of Marxism-Leninism by the Chinese leadership and the tremendous harm it caused to the world's revolutionary progress could have rigidified the positions toward China to an even greater extent, and created a feeling of irritation and a subjectivistic reaction. However, the CPSU avoided this path. Using calm expressions and displaying true statesmanlike wisdom, the Central Committee accountability report presented a positive line, which offers the Chinese leadership the opportunity to reciprocate and to establish good-neighborly relations. The fact that these problems hold an important position in the international affairs section of the accountability report, the profoundly considered approach to them and the interest shown in the development of the global revolutionary movement have impressed me most strongly.

The part of the accountability report which deals with international affairs ascribes also an important role to problems related to Poland. Naturally, the course of events in Poland has been a matter of concern on the part of the socialist forces the world over. They expected of the 26th CPSU Congress to assess this situation and to provide a key to understanding it. The Central Committee accountability report expressed firm support for people's Poland and readiness to take the side of the Polish people in the difficult period they are currently experiencing. Together with the statement by Comrade S. Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the accountability report leaves no doubt that socialism in Poland will be preserved and that the attempts of antisocialist forces to benefit from some miscalculations and errors allowed in the activities of a number of PZPR units will be unsuccessful. Such is the answer which makes fully confident anyone who is sincerely concerned with the future of socialist

Poland. The CC CPSU accountability report and the statement by the PZPR Central Committee first secretary indicate that time will be needed in order to surmount the existing difficulties and that, obviously, the antisocialist forces will try to intensify them. However, the 26th congress provided a key to a perfectly clear and unequivocal understanding of this most complex problem, and I am confident that this will strengthen the positions of revolutionary forces throughout the world.

The suggestions formulated at the 26th congress in favor of strengthening the peace are supported not only by the world's revolutionary movement but by all nations interested in peace and security or, in other words, by the overwhelming majority of mankind. These suggestions have already met with a favorable response on the part of the political leaders of many countries. Even Reagan, the bellicose U. S. President, was forced to agree that these suggestions are of a constructive nature and that a dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States could contribute to the solution of ripe problems of relations between the two countries. President Reagan met with the British prime minister after making this statement and both of them concluded that such talks should be held. The reaction of the FRG, France, Italy and many other countries to the Soviet proposals confirms the timeliness of the peaceful suggestions of the Soviet Union and their constructive nature, and I hope that these suggestions will be considered with the kind of seriousness they unquestionably deserve and will strengthen the cause of international peace.

To sum it up, I believe that the section of the Central Committee accountability report which deals with international affairs is a contribution to the strengthening of all revolutionary forces in the world. It is a profound study of the current situation in the world, expressed in a clear and simple manner, understandable by anyone willing to understand it.

The second group of problems deals with the economic plans of the Soviet Union. These plans are truly captivating by their scope and prospects for the further development of Soviet industry and agriculture. Lenin said that, in the final account, socialism will prove its superiority over capitalism in the sphere of economics. The 11th Five-Year Plan proves convincingly that Lenin's analysis is profoundly and unquestionably correct.

The program for dynamic economic progress, formulated by the congress, stands out in sharp contrast with what is taking place in the capitalist world, which is being shaken up with more and more crises. In fact, unemployment and inflation remain in industrially developed capitalist countries, while the liberated countries are experiencing growing difficulties as a result of imperialist exploitation and the economic dislocation of the industrial, monetary and other economic systems of capitalism.

The 11th Five-Year Plan outlines the possibility of insuring comprehensive economic growth without unemployment or inflation, the type of economic growth which guarantees an increase in the real income of the Soviet people and an improvement in their economic and social situation. The Soviet Union is already a developed,

one could boldly say a highly developed, socialist state. The great program for economic and social progress contained in the 11th Five-Year Plan unquestionably proves the superiority of socialism in terms of the truly amazing rates of economic development as stipulated by the plan.

The third group of problems I would like to discuss is the use of criticism and self-criticism as instruments for the elimination of shortcomings and for insuring the successful implementation of economic plans. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev mentioned in his report shortcomings existing in the various fields of life of Soviet society. It is quite interesting to focus on how the art of criticism and self-criticism is applied in practice. Shortcomings are not considered from a narrow or negativistic viewpoint, but as an element of a sober overall assessment of the entire activities of the party and the people over the past 5 years. Equally obvious here are the very reasons for the criticism and self-criticism, such as concern for the good of the people. Characteristically, the sharpest criticism is addressed at work sectors which have ignored the people's well-being or have paid inadequate attention to it. No less noteworthy is the fact that the Central Committee's approach to such problems was fully shared by all speakers. They did not fear openly to criticize a great variety of omissions and shortcomings or to assume entire responsibility. These were not empty speeches about self-criticism but thorough studies of shortcomings and of the specific ways for their elimination in the future. I believe that the art of criticism and self-criticism as displayed by the congress to be of exceptional importance. It would have been quite easy to rest on the unquestionable achievements of which the Soviet Union could be justifiably proud. It would have been quite easy to emphasize the outstanding successes achieved in technology and in the solution of major production problems, which were formulated and resolved. However, no complacency was shown here. On the contrary, there was a thoroughly reviewed assessment, a critical assessment of accomplishments and a program for the further development of society. All this confirms the party's strength. It confirms the faith it has in its leadership and the faith which the Soviet people have in the party. It confirms the ideological firmness of party ranks and the party's ability to manage all the activities of the people as well as the fact that this leadership is unquestioningly acknowledged.

It is entirely clear that the pre-congress discussion laid the way to this congress, which was outstanding in many respects. There is no other society on earth in which such a nationwide, comprehensive and critical consideration of a program for action can be considered with the assistance of millions of people who assess accomplishments and submit their own suggestions. In my view, this part of the report and the speeches by many of the delegates proved the extent to which the ideological positions of the CPSU had been strengthened and the area of the practical implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory to the problems Soviet society and global developments had expanded.

Finally, the fourth aspect is related to the expression of the international cohesion among the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. The 26th CPSU Congress became a true rostrum, a most vivid demonstration of the unity, cohesion and proletarian internationalism of the parties of the socialist countries. Let us mention here, first of all, the inspired speech by Comrade Fidel Castro, who expressed the unbreakable ties linking the Cuban people and the Cuban Communist

Party with the peoples of the other socialist countries. Frankly speaking, the enemies of socialism have frequently tried in the past to detect in one or another speech by foreign guests of the congress some weaknesses or flaws in their positions on international solidarity. It seems to me that not one word mentioned at the 26th congress could be used to encourage such fabrications. The congress showed its firm support of the peace proposals made by L. I. Brezhnev in the Central Committee accountability report and of the party's entire general line. This is of exceptional importance today, when imperialist reaction is trying to find any kind of weakness in the socialist camp and to divide it with the help of antisocialist forces controlled and organized by the CIA and to create various splits and divisions within the socialist world. I expressed my firm conviction that the 26th congress will reject such imperialist attempts to divide the socialist world in their entirety and totality, and that this impressive demonstration of unity and cohesion will contribute to the further strengthening of all revolutionary forces in the world.

As I sum up my impressions of the congress, let me say that it represented a qualitatively new level reached in the economic, social and political development of the Soviet Union. It has instilled tremendous confidence in the successful implementation of its plans not only among those who participated in it directly, but also among the millions of people who followed its work.

The 26th congress assumed also an important position in the ideological struggle in the world arena. I believe that after the 25th CPSU Congress the positions of the Soviet Union in the ideological struggle against imperialism were strengthened substantially. Let us not forget that the mass information media at the service of imperialism have become a very strong weapon which it uses with a view to disorienting and misleading millions and millions of people in the capitalist world and in order to lie and to distort and belittle the achievements of socialism. Nevertheless, in recent years the Soviet Union has achieved quite tangible successes in the ideological struggle against imperialism.

Allow me to cite as proof of this statement the foreign broadcasts of Radio Moscow which, throughout the duration of the congress and even before it began systematically supplied its audience data which were of tremendous help to the revolutionary forces all over the world. Another unquestionable success is that the day the congress opened the listeners of Radio Moscow were able to participate in the work of the congress literally at the same time that I was sitting in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, and that the coverage of the congress by Radio Moscow brilliantly recreated the picture of the congress and the discussions and deliberations of ideological, practical and political problems.

In conclusion, therefore, I would like to express my conviction that the 26th CPSU Congress was a truly outstanding success. It was a real triumph of the entire Soviet people and a source of powerful inspiration to the revolutionary forces fighting in all continents.

This fully applies to my country as well, to Australia, a country with highly developed industry and agriculture, a country with a vast territory, rich natural resources and a very small population. It is precisely for these reasons and

because of its good climate that Australia is usually considered a happy country. Indeed, it should have been a country whose people could have enjoyed a high living standard and considered their future with confidence.

But what happened? With all of these advantages, Australia is a country squeezed in the vice of the economic crisis, a country with an 8 percent unemployment and a 13 percent inflation rate; a country where health care is declining, medical services becoming ever more expensive, and where the entire educational system is worsening. The Australian people have no control over the extremely rich resources of their own country. They are exploited by the huge multinational monopolies. A considerable percentage of Australian industry and agriculture as well is owned by the multinational monopolies, mainly American, while several industrial sectors such as automobile manufacturing, for example, are entirely foreign owned. A most arduous competitive struggle is being waged among monopolies, including American and Japanese. The result of the economic domination of the multinational monopolies, encouraged by the policy of the Australian government, is that the government itself is beginning to pursue an even more rigid policy which is worsening the economic condition of the working people, a policy of reducing expenditures for social needs while raising military outlays. Indeed, our latest budget calls for a substantial increase in military appropriations.

The reactionary Australian government, which was elected by a minority, due to the undemocratic nature of the electoral system, is behaving like the obedient puppet of the U. S. government. Jointly with the United States it has adapted the country to its use by the U.S. as a military base. Communications centers, which are part of the global American system of military communications network, have been set up in various parts of Australia, and many ports, particularly in Western Australia, have become American navy bases. The Australian government has now allowed B-52 nuclear bombers on Australian territory, and intends to spend \$65 million to modernize the airfields in the northern part of the country for this purpose.

These are circumstances under which the Australian labor movement is struggling against the government's reactionary policy and is engaged in numerous class battles on the economic front in order to raise the living standards of the working people and is demanding--the current mass unemployment notwithstanding--the right to full employment. The main organizations of the Australian trade union movement, which accounts for a substantial share of the manpower and which, as a whole, has reached a high level of development in Australia, are playing an active role in this economic struggle.

The movement of peace-loving forces, which oppose the American bases and demand their closing down, is becoming widespread. The movement supports the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and of the Pacific into a nuclear-free zone, whereas currently the Pacific Ocean is used by France as an area for nuclear tests, while Japan intends to use it as a nuclear waste dump.

The party's basic views in this area are focused on strengthening the positions of peace-loving forces and on broadening this movement even further. The party is trying to play its proper role in the numerous class battles waged by the Australian labor movement to the fullest extent and to achieve the resolution of

economic and social problems in the interest of the people. The general line followed by the party in its activities is one of strengthening the unity between the working class and the people, and of uniting them within an anti-imperialist and antimonopoly movement, whose immediate objective is to defeat the policy of the international monopolies and to promote Australian economic independence. Currently, the party is getting ready for its fourth congress and our main slogan for the congress will be the organization of an anti-imperialist and antimonopoly front. Based on the unity among the working class, all working people and all democratic forces in the country, this movement is developing under the banner of the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence, the banner of proletarian internationalism. It is this great idea that has always defined our attitude toward the vanguard of mankind struggling for its bright future--the world communist movement and the USSR and the other socialist countries, which are confidently laying a path to this future.

To us the 26th CPSU Congress will be a source of inspiration and strength in the forthcoming struggle.

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INSPIRING IMPRESSIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 56-58

[Article by Radjeshvara Rao, secretary general of the Indian Communist Party National Council]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress was a truly historical congress. The eyes of friends and enemies were turned to Moscow, for the future course of world events is determined largely by the decisions of this high forum of Soviet communists.

The CPSU congress was also an international encounter among representatives of communist, worker and revolutionary-democratic parties. It was pleasing to see in the hall famous leaders of fraternal parties and of the international communist movement, such as Le Duan, Fidel Castro, Erich Honecker, Todor Zhivkov and Janos Kadar. They rated highly the role which the country of the great October Socialist Revolution plays in the world arena and expressed their solidarity with the Soviet Union in their speeches. In their statements to the effect that the world has been saved so far from a new fatal war and that the national liberation forces were able to achieve convincing victories and put to shame the imperialists largely because of the aid of the Soviet Union and its extensive support, they expressed the feelings of all progressive people on earth.

The participants in the congress were inspired by the speeches of revolutionary democratic leaders such as Babrak Karmal and the leaders of Ethiopia and Angola. They described the progress of some developing countries on the road to socialism, in the course of which they are broadening the global socialist comity on four continents. They emphasized in their speeches the important fact that Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev enjoys great respect and is the outstanding leader of the world communist movement and of all progressive mankind.

My impression from the congress is that the entire communist movement has become far more united and cohesive, compared with the time of the 25th CPSU Congress.

I was tremendously impressed by the brilliant analysis of the international situation contained in the CC CPSU accountability report submitted by Comrade Brezhnev. It expresses inflexible confidence and earmarks the further road of development of the forces of world socialism, peace, democracy and national liberation.

Comrade Brezhnev painted a vivid picture of the steady blossoming of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity in the fields of economics and material well-being of the people and in their sociopolitical life. He summed up the experience of the various countries which had already reached socialism brilliantly. This was in sharp contrast to the capitalist countries, which are in the throes of a crisis with their growing unemployment, inflation, poverty, corruption and moral degradation.

In noting the growth of the communist and workers parties in the capitalist countries, Comrade Brezhnev emphasized the need to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement so that it could play a historical role at this critical point in the development of the international situation. In answering those who rely mainly on the "national specifics of the ways and means of struggle for socialism and the building of socialism," he cited the great Lenin's familiar statement to the effect that all nations will come to socialism, but that not all of them will reach it in the same way, although the means will be the same, i.e., through the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is entirely natural, Comrade Brezhnev pointed out, that "different assessments and differences in approaches to the solution of specific problems of the class struggle" may exist within the communist parties. Such differences, however, can be resolved in the course of the joint struggle against the class enemy—imperialists, monopolists and local reactionaries. Comrade Brezhnev called upon the communist parties to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement, whose great rallying principle is the "systematic struggle waged by the communists for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race, which threatens the people with a nuclear catastrophe."

Comrade Brezhnev then described the variety of situations existing in the developing countries which have rejected the yoke of imperialism. The section which discusses the liberated countries which are trying to take the path of socialism, inspired by the example of the powerful Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is quite instructive. In analyzing their rich experience, the CC CPSU general secretary clarified the basic premises of socialist development. He also spoke on the economic and other aid which the Soviet Union gives these countries in their progress toward socialism. He issued a clear warning to the imperialist countries concerning their attempts to overthrow the governments of such countries, stating that "We are against the export of revolutions but equally disagree with the export of counterrevolutions."

As regards the liberated countries where capitalist relations have been established, Comrade Brezhnev noted the development of fruitful cooperation with many such countries, India for example, in the areas of foreign political, economic and cultural affairs.

In this connection, his words on the peaceful role which our country plays in international politics, on Indian-Soviet friendship as an "established national tradition" and on the interaction with our country as "one of the important lines of Soviet foreign policy," give us Indians a feeling of pride and inspire us to foster the further strengthening of relations between our two great countries.

Naturally, a substantial part of Comrade Brezhnev's report dealt with the problem of eliminating the threat of a new world war. His statement to the effect that the defense of the peace and the salvation of mankind from nuclear catastrophe are a major task is quite timely. The unparalleled efforts which the Soviet Union is making to preserve the peace deserve all-round praise. The specific suggestions contained in the accountability report on ending a senseless nuclear arms race, reducing tension in various parts of the world, taking measures to strengthen trust with a view to strengthening detente in Europe, creating a committee of noted scientists to explain to the peoples throughout the world the fatal consequences of the use of nuclear weapons and convening a special session of the United Nations Security Council to consider effective measures for the preservation of the peace are worthy of approval. These suggestions are in sharp contrast to the bellicose statements by U. S. President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig.

I am convinced that the practical suggestions formulated at the 26th congress will be warmly supported by all peace-loving forces and by the realistically-thinking Western ruling circles. Comrade Brezhnev's report makes us firmly confident that the warmongers could be restrained and the world could be saved from a nuclear conflagration through the unification of all peace-loving forces.

Another important aspect of the congress which I would like to emphasize is the inspiring report on the achievements of the Soviet people in various areas and the growing power of the Soviet Union. This is particularly important to all peoples of the world, for the power of the Soviet Union is a bulwark of international peace and social progress.

Let us note in particular that the report did not ignore some difficulties of Soviet economic development. They were truthfully and frankly noted and the means for their elimination pointed out, so that the Soviet Union may advance toward further tremendous successes. This is a worthy rebuff to all professional slanderers of Soviet reality.

The speeches by heads of union republics and oblast party committees, scientists and rank and file party members enriched and enlivened the debates. They indicated that the party and the people are united and monolithic like a rock under the wise Marxist-Leninist leadership of the CPSU, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding public personality.

The discussion of the reports and decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress will help greatly our party in its activities, mainly in resolving our common international problem: waging a tireless struggle for the preservation of the peace throughout the world. Ever since it gained its independence, our huge country has behaved systematically as a firm supporter of peace and anti-imperialism. The forces of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union are very strong. They include the ruling party, headed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

We face a more complex situation because our country is capitalist, with all of the faults inherent in capitalism, such as acute unemployment, extreme poverty, rising inflation, corruption and misfortunes. Our party must combine the inter-

national task of uniting the broadest possible forces of peace and anti-imperialism with the domestic task of struggling for the defense of the interests of the working people.

We trust our ability to carry out these tasks.

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WORKING CLASS AND MENTAL WORK

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[Article by S. Popov, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] The key problems of improving social relations and educating the new man under mature socialist conditions were supplied their theoretical and political substantiation in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress. Serious attention was paid to socialist labor--the principal realm of activity of the Soviet people. The congress reemphasized our party's loyalty to the ideals of the communist transformation of labor and its conversion into a prime vital need.

In his article "The Great Initiative," in which he discussed the premises for the total elimination of classes, V. I. Lenin singled out the elimination of disparities between people engaged in physical and mental work as the most important prerequisite (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 15). The establishment of the social uniformity of labor was a thing of the distant future in 1919, when the article was written. Today it is being systematically and practically applied and analyzed ever more profoundly in scientific works. The 26th congress directed the Soviet social scientists to study the most topical problems of social development. It deemed necessary the study of the evolution of the social structure of developed socialism, whose improvement must bring about the establishment of a classless society. In this connection, the scientific interpretation of the role of the working class in the assertion of the social unity of labor and in the elimination of the major disparities between mental and physical labor assumes prime significance.

This topic remains a subject of sharp ideological struggle. Contrary to the Marxist-Leninist positions, the bourgeois sociologists are still trying to prove the permanent and insurmountable nature of the social division of labor. As they update long compromised arguments and generate new "theories," they defend the "legitimacy" of the division of people into so-called spiritual leaders of society and obedient slaves.

The fashionable biosocial theory of stratification is one such Western "discovery." According to its defenders, the sociostructural and labor inequality, the barrier between physical and mental labor in particular, is as natural and inviolable as differences in the ground strata or the atmosphere. This, it is claimed, has been true of all times and social systems, including our country,

which is building communism. "Fifty years after the Bolshevik revolution," the American scientist J. Heims claims, "a new and truly rigid stratification has developed and stabilized."

The bourgeois ideologues are trying to defame and to question the wealth of spiritual life of the Soviet people and the successes of the real progress which the developed socialist society is making toward social homogeneity and complete social labor equality. The preachers of anticommunism insist that the scientific and cultural achievements of the USSR and the other socialist countries are the result of the efforts of a special group of thinking people who, allegedly, have monopolized education and science and, by this token, perpetuated the contrast between physical and mental work.

Such "theories" and slanderous fabrications invariably become ideological garbage. The stupidity of their nature is confirmed by the entire history of mankind and the practice of real socialism. The division of people into mental and physical workers legitimately appeared at a specific stage in the development of society and will disappear with the total victory of communism.

The founders of scientific communism proved irrefutably that in the early stages of the development of human society, in terms of its functions and expenditures of mental and physical energy, there was only a single type of social labor. "The individual cannot influence nature without using his own muscles controlled by his own brain," K. Marx wrote in "Das Kapital." "In the way that in nature the head and the hand are part of the same body, in the labor process mental and physical labor come together" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 516). The mind controls the physical actions of the person, because he "not only changes the form of what nature gives us, but in terms of with what has been given to us by nature, he pursues his own conscious purpose which determines, like a law, the method and nature of his actions and which he must subordinate to his will" (Ibid., p 189).

According to Marx and Engels, the social inequality of people in the labor process becomes reality only when material and spiritual labor become divided. This takes place in a "spontaneously developed society," which was the term they used in describing antagonistic socioeconomic systems. The appearance of private property is the companion and the consolidating factor of this division.

The tempestuous development of capitalist machine manufacturing represents the increasing economic enslavement of the working class and the spiritual plunder of it. The "hostile clash" between mental and physical labor under capitalism cannot be reconciled, smoothed over, or eliminated. Marx and Engels convincingly described the way the capitalist system stupefies the worker, making him an appendage to the machine and turning his work into a painful process. They considered as one of the objectives of the victorious proletariat "the reaching of full and unlimited autonomy which consists of ownership of all production forces and the consequent development of overall capabilities" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 68).

Therefore, the creators of scientific communism saw in the working class the leading force which could not only break the chain of exploitation but destroy the

monopoly of mental labor of the ruling class. The historical mission of the proletariat--the overthrow of the power of the exploiters, the liberation of the working people and the building of a communist society--was defined clearly. If this was to be accomplished, the proletariat had to become not only united as a class, acquire labor training and an inordinate amount of willpower but reach a sufficiently high intellectual level as well. The proletariat is able to acquire reserves of mental energy and experience even under conditions of oppression, deprivation and uncertainty, when the bourgeoisie, in an effort to perpetuate its rule, is doing everything possible to exhaust spiritually and to enslave the proletariat and to bring the worker to the role of an appendix of the machine, with no ability to think for himself. The capitalists have always feared the educated and politically mature worker.

Today the spiritual plundering and suppression of the proletariat in the capitalist countries is not limited to the fact that on their way to proper education the children of the workers occasionally encounter insurmountable obstacles: the cost of education is rising and allocations for social needs are being curtailed. Such a policy pursued by the ruling classes is combined with the influence which the tremendous propaganda machine, the information media and the low level stupefying so-called mass culture has on the minds of the working people.

However, nothing can stop the irreversible process of accumulation of intellectual energy by the working class and the growth of its social and political activeness and revolutionism.

To begin with, even under the conditions of a cruel exploitation, the bulk of the working people do not lose the ability to think creatively and to invent. This was expressively pointed out by J. D. Bernal: "History is written by trained and educated people; for this reason the role which workers and peasants play in progress has always been undervalued. However, the first strikes against ignorance have been dealt, most frequently, by craftsmen and only afterwards perpetuated by the scientists in their books." The noted British scientist goes on to illustrate his postulate with a number of examples: 15 years before the royal physician Gilbert, who became part of history for his discovery of earth magnetism, Robert Norman had made a compass and had described the phenomenon; the telescope which Galileo used in his astronomical observations was put together and tuned by Lippershey, the craftsman-optician. More recently, many workers in capitalist enterprises have taken part in outstanding inventions. The names of most of them, however, have remained unknown.

Secondly, in the contemporary scientific and technical revolution the development of production process generates increasing demands toward the worker--the producer of the latest equipment and its "master." This forces the ruling class to raise the educational standard of at least some of the workers; in this case, their mental work and spiritual potential are subjected to merciless exploitation.

The third and most important fact is that the working class, which acts as an organized force and which even in the past refused to tolerate a policy of spiritual enslavement, today intends to surrender to this policy even less. The entire history of the class struggle waged by the proletariat proves that in the

crucible of the trials the fighters not only develop their courage, strength and unity, but a desire for education, culture and science as well.

Progress ideals and Marxist-Leninist and communist ideology are nothing but ideals and ideology which the proletariat experienced and developed but was unable to substantiate theoretically by itself. That is precisely why it is so receptive to a scientific revolutionary outlook, and that is precisely why the Marxist-Leninist parties are successfully resolving the problem of promoting a socialist awareness among the workers' masses. Furthermore, the very extensive social practical experience acquired by the working class and its revolutionary struggle for socialism and communism are the only reliable foundation for the further development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Thus, although in tsarist Russia access to education by the proletariat was virtually blocked, it would have been an error to consider the proletariat ignorant. The Russian workers were ceaselessly drawn to knowledge. It was no accident that their best members successfully studied Marx' "Das Kapital" and other works of the founders of scientific communism in their clandestine circles. Subsequently, in the period of the first Russian revolution, it was the collective mind of the working class that discovered and created the first soviets--the future form of the new governmental and truly people's system.

The beneficial influence of Marxism was manifested in the fact that the working class raised philosophers and organizers of the revolutionary movement. This galaxy of fighters includes Joseph Dietzgen, a tanner who discovered dialectical materialism by himself. Dietzgen's materialism and atheism initially developed under the influence of L. Feuerbach and, after 1867, under the influence of Marx and Engels. This outstanding German social democratic writer and philosopher, in Lenin's view, was the organizer of one of the sections of the First International. Another German worker, the turner August Bebel (1840-1913), was one of the founders and noted leaders of the German social democrats, an internationalist who daringly stood up in defense of the Paris Commune.

The Russian working class raised A. M. Gor'kiy, the great proletarian writer. Metallurgical workers I. V. Babushkin, M. I. Kalinin and G. I. Petrovskiy, dyer V. P. Nogin, and many others became major leaders of the revolutionary movement and Lenin's fellow workers.

The socialist revolution not only legitimately removes but actually destroys the obstacles which block the access to education and to the achievements of science and culture of the masses. The monopoly on mental work enjoyed by the overthrown exploiting classes is removed. Socialism eliminates social inequality in labor step by step, including one of its manifestations, the basic disparity between people engaged in physical and mental work.

The most important laws passed by the proletarian state laid a path to these social gains: Lenin's decrees on the elimination of illiteracy, the elimination of the class system of education and on the creation of a unified labor school, the nationalization of cultural and educational institutions, granting the working

people broad access to theaters, libraries and museums, and the radical reorganization of publishing. These decrees and subsequent party and government decisions served and continue to serve the cause of the steady improvement of the general educational and cultural standards of the people's masses on their way to the establishment of the communist ideal of labor as a prime vital need.

As early as the period of the armed uprising and struggle for the implementation of the initial decrees of the Soviet system, the Russian working class proved to be an intellectually powerful hegemon of the revolution and organizer of economic and sociocultural changes. In the October Revolution and the civil war it defended the treasuries and centers of culture selflessly. Workers participated in the activities of cultural and educational institutions and became their commissars. In Moscow workers accounted for 80 percent of those recruited to promote the elimination of illiteracy. The political maturity, social activeness and cultural and technical standards of the working class rose year after year and its participation in the administration of production and social affairs became more substantial and visible. The age-old prejudice which Lenin described as stupid, wild, disgusting and base, that the state could be administered only by the so-called "upper classes," was totally disproved.

An increasing number of frontranking workers deliberately aspired to combine physical efforts with creative thinking in their labor. A. M. Gor'kiy noted this fact perspicaciously in 1933. In his address to workers-inventors of the Red Banner Tula Arms Plant he wrote: "Your role, comrades, the role of revolutionaries in technology, proves that the worker is the main and most victorious productive force among the forces of nature and, without abandoning the machine tool or physical labor, is fully able to combine this labor with intellectual work." Let us recall also that the organizers of the most important socialist changes in the countryside after the revolution—mass collectivization and major changes in the organization of rural life and culture—were the twenty-five thousanders, people such as Sholokhov's Semen Davidov. The pioneers of the Stakhanovite movement in industry and transportation who, incidentally, were also the characters in many works by Soviet writers and publicists, frequently amazed not only their fellow workers but scientists and engineers with their creative inventions.

The social base for the conflict between mental and physical labor was eliminated after the foundations for socialism were laid; the gap, the basic disparity between the cultural and technical standard of workers engaged in physical labor and people professionally employed in mental work—the intellectuals—was closed. However, major disparities remained in society between mental and physical labor. They were related, first of all, to differences in the technical standards of the various production facilities and industrial sectors and within the national economy in general and the fact that a considerable percentage of unskilled and even heavy physical labor remains (particularly in construction, transportation, agriculture and public services).

Whereas the state of proletarian dictatorship put an end to the monopolizing of mental labor by the ruling classes, the state of the whole people is eliminating any and all social privileges of mental work.

We are aware of the great attention which the party has always paid to improving labor conditions and to labor mechanization and automation. These tasks become even more urgent and their implementation becomes the most important aspect of all CPSU economic and social policy today, at the stage of mature socialism. The scientific and technical revolution, which is developing in depth and in width, the powerful scientific potential created in the country and the irrefutable fact noted by the 26th party congress that our social production forces have not only increased but have reached a qualitatively new level are assisting their more active and effective implementation. The combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism is contributing to the progressive changes taking place in the content and nature of the work of the Soviet person. The creation of large and modern enterprises, the reconstruction and retooling of old production facilities and the application of progressive technologies and methods of labor organization, which not only upgrade labor productivity and effectiveness but contribute to the further assertion of the collectivistic and creative principles in the work of millions of people, confirm that a process of enriching the content of labor and of its intellectualization is underway in the entire social production system. Hundreds of new skills and professions and new types of labor activity are created. The result is not only a simple rapprochement but a combination, a merger between mental and physical actions and between creative and performing functions. The labor collectives are developing the type of moral climate in which relations of cooperation and comradely mutual aid among people engaged in mental and physical labor--workers, engineers and production leaders--are strengthening.

"...Physical and mental labor is becoming ever more closely interwoven in the production activities of millions of workers and kolkhoz members," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th congress. "Many of them are rationalizers and inventors, authors of articles and books, and governmental and social figures. They are highly cultured and intelligent people in the full meaning of the term."

Together with the ever more effective enhancement of the cultural and technical standard of the working class, the intellectualization of labor greatly enhances its leading role in all areas of the building of communism.

Let us try to single out the main ways used to insure the process of the further elimination of disparities between physical and mental work.

This includes a systematic improvement in the content of all kinds of work, increasing its intellectual content on the basis of new successes achieved in laying the material and technical foundations for communism and increasing the industrial, scientific and economic potential of the country.

It includes the steadfast raising of the general educational and vocational training of all members of the socialist society in such a way as to outstrip current national economic requirements.

Finally, it includes the involvement of all working people, in accordance with their knowledge and inclinations, in the management of industrial, social and

governmental affairs and the creation of better conditions for combining professional work with technical creativity in industrial and nonindustrial circumstances.

The steadily increasing complexity of the production process and its intensification entail favorable changes in the content of labor. In the final account, the depth and effectiveness of such changes are determined by the pace and the qualitative aspect of development of productive capital and of the overall social production forces, and the conditions and the progress of socialist production and of all other social relations. Such changes are not spontaneous, for the state undertakes the systematic technical retooling of national economic sectors and implements measures to enhance the cultural and technical standard of workers, kolkhoz members and employees.

As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, labor productivity in the national economy rose by almost one-half in the past decade alone. Modern sectors such as atomic machine building, space technology, electronic, microelectronic and microbiological industries, laser technology and the production of artificial diamonds and other new synthetic materials were developed further or were created on the basis of scientific achievements. The delegates to the congress pointed out that the creation and utilization of miniaturized electronic control machines and industrial robots offer truly revolutionary opportunities. "The conditions under which the national economy will be developing in the 1980s," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "make the acceleration of scientific and technical progress even more urgent."

It is a question of a quantitative and qualitative change in the decisive elements of the production forces, a conversion to a qualitatively new system of machines which insure a leap in the growth of labor productivity, and of a radical change in the content and nature of labor. All this demands of the worker not merely to broaden his professional and economic knowledge but to intensify it on a scientific basis.

"The closer we come to communism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "the more organic will the link between physical and mental labor become. Already now the worker frequently controls the type of major and complex equipment systems with which not even every engineer could cope in the past."

This applies, for example, to the work of the tuner of automated assembly lines, the operator of a rolled products system or the operator of a coal extracting combine. According to the All-Union Central Scientific Research Labor Safety Institute of the AUCCTU, a tuner spends 58.4 to 61.8 percent of his working time in supervising the technical process; 22.9-26.1 percent in tuning, controlling and replacing tools; 0.9-1.3 percent in selective quality control; and 6.7-9.1 percent in repair operations. Here is another example: operators servicing continuous steel casting systems spend between 53 and 88 percent of their working time in performing essentially mental operations. Clearly, this demands of the worker excellent knowledge of the equipment and a polytechnical knowledge of the fundamentals of the production process, as well as the ability and skill to assess various situations quickly and to resolve complex problems.

Comprehensive mechanization, combined with the elements of automation, is giving an intellectual content to the work in agriculture as well to an ever rising extent. Thus, a machine milker spends 50.2 percent of his overall working time in actively watching and controlling the work of the system from the control panel.

Reality and practical experience prove that today a substantial percentage of industrial workers and a certain percentage of skilled agricultural mechanizers are combining in their working functions physical with mental work in which the latter predominates frequently. This means that the concept that workers and peasants are people performing primarily physical work is becoming gradually obsolete under contemporary conditions.

Another concept, to the effect that workers and peasants create only material values, while the intelligentsia specializes in the production of spiritual goods, which predominated until recently, is no longer consistent with the facts. As was pointed out at the 26th congress, on the one hand, the role of the technical intelligentsia in the material production process is growing. On the other, an increasing number of workers are being employed in sectors such as science, health care and culture. Workers and engineering and technical personnel are engaged in fruitful joint activities in collectives and groups of developers and testers of new equipment and technologies. All members of such collectives participate on an equal footing in the reaching of engineering solutions and in the performance of daily and sometimes repetitive and monotonous operations.

Physical work is being combined with increasing frequency with participation in the organization of the production process and the supervision and control of the latter in both town and country. The intellectual potential of the frontranking contemporary worker and the rural mechanizer is based on his high general training and steadily increasing knowledge, technical erudition, extensive professionalism, ability to engage in creative labor and high general culture. By participating in the practical utilization of scientific recommendations and of the best production experience, the contemporary worker literally rises to the level of scientific knowledge.

Therefore, the most important social gain of the developed socialist society is the training of a worker with a high intellectual standard. In assessing this achievement, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "A production worker of a new type is growing. He combines within himself physical with mental work ever more harmoniously. This is a person with a broad professional outlook and skill and profound knowledge of the polytechnical fundamentals of the contemporary production process, a person who can master the use of the latest machines and technological processes rapidly."

N. S. Aleksandrov, honored inventor of the RSFSR, cites living examples in his book as proof of these facts. In particular, he describes M. D. Morayev, a close friend of his. Morayev is an experienced fitter and instrument worker at the Moscow Plant for Electric Vacuum Instruments and knows his work to perfection. Jokingly, his friends call him "doctor of fitting sciences." In the course of manufacturing most complex one-of-a-kind instruments, occasionally he resolves technical problems which trigger sincere amazement and admiration. Moreyev is invariably guided by the work of Academician I. I. Artabolevskiy "Mashiny i

Mekhanizmy" [Machines and Mechanisms]. It is worth noting that this talented worker has a critical approach to this work as well. During a personal talk with the academician, he advised the scientist to update some obsolete sections and to add new practically tried methods. This meeting was filmed and looking at it we realize that these people were talking a language they both understood fluently.

Many researchers have noted the appearance and subsequent considerable growth of the stratum of workers-intellectuals in the 1960s. This group includes highly skilled workers engaged in most complex types of labor saturated with intellectual elements, people who control complex equipment which require knowledge on the level of a technical school or even a VUZ, people who are implementing plans for the reconstruction of the production process and for the creative and knowledgeable updating of equipment.

This new working class stratum, which appeared under developed socialist conditions, consists mainly of young people. Thus, a survey at the Moscow Plant for Low-Powered Automotive Vehicles imeni Leninskiy Komsomol showed that more than 50 percent of the workers-intellectuals were people under 30 years of age; 34 percent of them were party members.

In the unanimous opinion of Soviet researchers workers-intellectuals are the prototype of the working class of the future.

The fast growth of the stratum of workers-intellectuals within the Soviet working class is interpreted differently by Western "Sovietologists." Some of them unconditionally classify this detachment as part of the technical intelligentsia. Others go farther, by rating this phenomenon as a feature of the general "breakdown" of the working class and the "loss" by it of its role in society. They classify a part of this stratum as a "new middle class," with its alleged social inertia and selfish material interests, while the stratum of unskilled workers becomes the lowest class of society. The idle thoughts of such "theoreticians" are easily refuted. The appearance of a marginal stratum between the working class and the intelligentsia is a characteristic of an ever increasing rapprochement between them, rather than of a class differentiation.

The use of comprehensive mechanization and the ever more advanced automation of the production process eliminate heavy physical labor and unskilled work and jobs. The share of auxiliary workers is reduced (haulers, loaders, assemblymen, packing workers, and so on). However, millions of people are still employed in manual underproductive jobs. Our policy in this direction is clear. It proceeds from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. After stipulating that all economic sectors must be raised to the highest standards of science and technology and after emphasizing that social differences must be equalized from the territorial viewpoint, the congress clearly called for the solution of a most important social problem: the elimination of manual unskilled labor.

The process of elimination of differences between mental and physical labor is not manifested exclusively in the intellectualization of the latter. Mental work as well is experiencing ever more actively the elements of material, physical actions. This is confirmed not only by the increased physical load of engineers,

who are part of comprehensive brigades, but of groups of developers of new equipment or of enterprise groups for reconstruction of the production process. The examples of the increased complexity of the cosmonauts--specialists and scientists who engage in lengthy flights aboard the "Salyut-6" space stations--are both recent and convincing. The combination of mental work demanding the highest possible skills and physical work under conditions of weightlessness, which requires a great deal of thinking and inventiveness, is the prototype of the combination of mental with physical labor in the activities of the people of the future, in the way that the experiments they conduct in developing new alloys and growing crystals may be used as prototypes of a future technology. Characteristically, judging by their statements, the heroes of outer space experience tremendous satisfaction by performing such a variety of labor functions.

Naturally, even under the most favorable of circumstances the process of rapprochement between physical and mental labor should not be conceived as one which is gathering strength freely. For example, the assembly line organization of labor, which has become widespread, yields certain economic benefits. At the same time, however, it frequently preserves and even creates new types of monotonous operations and the breakdown of the technological process into minor operations which can be conducted automatically and do not require any creative thinking. The extensive use of robots which could reduce the monotonous work along a conveyor belt remains a task for the future. As of today, however, many enterprises are already using a variety of methods which reduce the adverse effect of the assembly line process, such as the combination of skills and periodical changes of the operations performed and of work places.

It is no easy matter to eliminate monotonous physical work. However, the elimination of routine work in mental labor is even more difficult to achieve. For example, it is virtually impossible to enrich data gathering and processing with creative elements. The solution of this problem is found mainly in the development of systems of electronic control and data machines.

Physical labor, which consists essentially of learned motions, contains a lesser number of creative elements compared with mental work. However, this should not be a reason for declaring unconditionally that physical labor is merely a duplicating, a noncreative process. Any kind of physical work could include elements of creativity. Every working person holds within himself reserves of planned rational actions and possibilities for the inexhaustible improvement of the production process and the kernels of large or small discoveries.

In bringing out the rich spiritual world of the contemporary worker and in comparing him with the creative intelligentsia, S. A. Antonov, a fitter-instrument maker at the Moscow Electrical Machines Plant (Imeni Vladimir Il'ich), states in his book that "any material on earth can be used for creative purposes. This may be the clay of the sculptor or the feelings and emotion with which the actor recreates one or another character on the stage... To me, a fitter, metal has become such a material... Possibly, my creative work may not be so apparent as, for example, the art of a sculptor or an actor... The difference here lies merely in the fact that the sculptor and the actor create for the public; the creativity of the working person is hidden within the objects he makes and it is not so obvious..."

Mars, Engels and Lenin directly linked the overcoming of social inequality in work in the future communist society with the progress of education and the molding of comprehensively developed people, familiar with the entire production system.

One of the greatest achievements of mature socialism has been the fact that the most educated generation of the working class in the history of our country has now entered its labor career. It was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that 10 years ago only a little more than one half of the workers had a secondary (8 or 10 year) or higher education, and that today three-quarters have such an education. This has become possible thanks to the conversion to universal compulsory secondary education, which was completed in the 1970s. Our present task is to improve the quality of all types of instruction, along with labor training and ideological and moral upbringing.

The development of the vocational-technical education system, which has experienced a tempestuous growth in recent decades, is a major prerequisite for raising the skills and broadening the general outlook and standards of the workers. The most promising secondary vocational schools are planning to increase the number of young graduates by a 1.6 factor in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The improvements in the Soviet way of life and in social relations, and the party's purposeful activities in molding the new person are yielding tangible results. In his report to the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev drew the basic conclusion that, thanks to the changed circumstances, the Soviet person has changed as well: he has acquired greater knowledge and erudition, and his spiritual requirements have increased considerably.

It would be wrong to hinder or to restrict the educational level artificially on the basis of the remaining unskilled jobs which require no extensive knowledge. Most Soviet social scientists have reached the conclusion today that the training of well-educated and skilled workers must outstrip the immediate needs of industry for such cadres. We must have a certain "intellectual reserve" represented by workers who are ready to make possible the growing use of the instruments and technology of the future.

In this case we must also bear in mind that without the faster increase in general and vocational training the development of human capabilities and talents would be inconceivable.

Let us also note the following important sociomoral interdependence: the higher cultural and technical standard of the working class today greatly depends on the daily assistance of the technical intelligentsia. On the other hand, the process of intellectual contacts with workers with modern training and culture forces the specialists to pull themselves up and, whether by themselves or through courses and seminar studies, to master the new developments which are rapidly appearing in our time in science and technology, and the modern methods of organization of labor, production, planning and management.

The increasingly active and fruitful participation of the working class in the administration of production, social affairs and the state opens broad possibilities of a life saturated with interesting and responsible mental work. In pursuing

this kind of academic training and social experience the Soviet people become not only spiritually enriched but master management skills as well. This is manifested in the steady enrichment of their political, scientific and technical levels of knowledge and the skill they develop in assessing various situations and in making decisions on a broad range of problems.

All forms of organization and development impulses of the socialist production process presume the mandatory participation of workers and employees in its management. This offers opportunities for the full manifestation of economic interests, initiative and responsibility for the common cause. The contribution of the working people to the formulation and implementation of plans for economic and social development of enterprises and associations, based on considered suggestions and the consideration of public opinion, is becoming increasingly more substantial with every passing year.

The working people participate in the formulation and the making of administrative decisions and in their implementation through their membership in various voluntary organizations, standing production conferences (PDPS), workers meetings, and people's control committees and groups.

The dialectical unity between knowledge acquired in the past and the present is manifested in the involvement of the broadest possible masses in production management. Practical experience confirms that workers who have become actively involved in their collective's management activities substantially improve their labor indicators, raise the quality of their work even higher and set the example to others in the areas of discipline and organization and the thrifty and economical use of material values.

The entire course of the building of socialism and communism in our country clearly indicates the way the Soviet person is gradually rising from common and ordinary affairs and immediate objectives to the level of awareness of his duty to society and the people, and how he learns to think broadly, like a statesman. The range of his interests is expanding and so are the extent and nature of the responsibility he feels for everything which is occurring in the country and for its future development. We see in the mature socialist society the triumph not only of the principles but of the rich practice of socialist democracy.

Our society has come considerably closer to the goal set by Lenin, who wrote that "Under socialism...for the first time in the history of civilized society the mass of the population will rise to the level of independent participation not only in voting and elections but in daily management" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 116).

At the congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated with profound satisfaction that today a growing number of workers are becoming members of party, trade union and Komsomol committees and of higher and local state power organs. Characteristically, the congress delegates included 1,370 workers in socialist industry, more than in previous communist forums.

Members of the working class accounted for almost one-third of the deputies who were elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1970. Workers account for 38.4 percent

and kollektives members for 16.3 percent of all deputies who were elected as members of the USSR Supreme Soviet in March 1979. The share of workers in local soviets of people's deputies has also increased tangibly. They accounted for 18.8 percent of the total in 1959, 28.8 percent in 1965 and 36.5 percent in 1971. The share of workers elected as deputies of local soviets has reached 43.3 percent and workers elected to city soviets accounted for 62 percent in 1980.

The discussion of the CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" indicated the very high level of activity, maturity and communist awareness of the working class and of all Soviet people. As we know, more than 121 million people participated in the discussions.

In his time, F. Engels expressed a profound thought on the inviolable principle which will govern a future society: everyone will have to participate in productive toil and make comprehensive use of his capabilities, both physical and spiritual. In "Anti-Duhring" he wrote that the old production method "will be replaced by the type of organization of the production process in which, on the one hand, no one will be able to shift to others his share of participation in productive work, which is a necessary condition for human existence, and which, on the other, instead of being a means for the enslavement of the people, will turn productive labor into an instrument for their liberation and will give everyone the opportunity to develop in all directions and effectively to show all his physical and spiritual abilities and consequently, in which productive labor will become a pleasure rather than a heavy burden" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 305).

The process of reaching total social homogeneity of labor has two aspects: sociostructural, which calls for the elimination of the division between workers engaged in physical and mental labor, and sociobiological, which will establish a harmonious unity between the intellectual and physical principles of all realms and types of labor without exception. These two aspects and their respective historical purposes will be different in terms of complexity and duration. The second may take place after the full triumph of the communist ideals of well-being and harmonious human development has been reached. The elimination of social disparities in labor and the creation of actual conditions for the free transition of people from one activity to another may be achieved earlier, under the conditions of developed socialism within the historical framework of which, as was noted at the 26th congress, obviously, the establishment of a classless social structure will be accomplished in the main. "The contemporary working class," Comrade L. J. Brezhnev emphasized, "is the leading power in this process, its 'social mind and social heart,' as Marx said. Its revolutionary ideology and morality, collectivistic mentality, and interests and ideals are now becoming extended to all Soviet social strata."

It will be possible to eliminate essentially heavy and unskilled physical labor through the utilization of new equipment and robots which will perform assembling, loading and unloading and other operations in the foreseeable future. Production automation, combined with the extensive use of computer banks, will eliminate unskilled mental work in the not so distant future. It will relieve the workers of monotonous and routine data gathering and processing operations.

A great deal is already being done in this respect today and even more will be accomplished in the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans. This is a major field of activity for party, trade union and other public organizations, managers, specialists, frontrankers and production rationalizers. Progressive forms of organization of production, labor and management must be applied more boldly and substantively. Conditions must be provided which will enable the people to master related skills, acquire extensive specialization and assist in enriching the content and intellectualization of labor. It would be expedient to continue research with the participation of skilled specialists and, in particular, to study the influence which the use of new types of equipment and organizational and other innovations has on changing the nature of labor and the efficient and creative feelings of the people. Comprehensive and intensive practical work must be done on the basis of scientifically substantiated prospects and of the depth and significance of the party's socioeconomic policy and the historical decisions of its 26th congress.

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NEW FRONTIERS--NEW TASKS AND PROBLEMS

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[Article by Prof V. Mazur, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] In summing up the practice of the building of socialism and communism in the USSR and abroad, the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that the principal among the many national economic problems of the 1980s will be "to complete the transition to essentially intensive development."

The course of social production intensification is the common strategic proposition of the communist and workers parties in the socialist comity. Only thus can they achieve the supreme objective of their economic policy--the continuing upsurge of the material and cultural standard of the people, the all-round development of the individual, the achievement of high rates of economic growth and victory in the competition against capitalism. It is a question of increasing production results faster than production outlays. The growth rates of labor productivity must not fall below the growth rates of output but become clearly higher in the future.

The USSR undertook to formulate new economic goals and to develop the national economy essentially through intensive growth factors after the building of socialism and its full and final victory. This meant the establishment of a mature socialist economy. The reaching of this qualitatively new stage required a corresponding political and economic strategy which was formulated after the October 1964 CC CPSU Plenum and was codified and developed in the decisions of the 23d to the 26th party congresses. At the same time, the task of developing an economic management mechanism consistent with contemporary requirements rose to its full significance.

In our view, the following Leninist thoughts on economic changes under socialism provide the methodological key to the understanding and analysis of the process of the conversion of the national economy to intensive development and reorganization of the economic mechanism and to the unavoidable length of this process: "It is inevitable that in economic work construction will be more difficult, slower and more gradual; this stems from the nature of this work, compared with military, administrative or general political projects. It stems from its particular difficulty and the deeper grounds on which it is set, if one may say so. That is why we shall try to define our tasks in this new and higher stage of struggle with utmost

caution" ("Poln. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 44, p 108). Lenin also said that "...This change must be implemented...in order to reach a different economic standard. That is the entire trick... The gain may have been acquired, but it has not yet become part of the flesh and blood of the economics of daily life or the living conditions of the masses. This will require decades of work and tremendous efforts" (ibid., pp 326-327).

Let us emphasize, first of all, that in the conversion from one historical stage of the socialist society to another, the economic management mechanism, which is determined by the production method, is not eliminated or replaced by a different mechanism but, like the production method, is improved, transformed and adapted to the new material conditions and needs created by the latter. Therefore, essentially, there is no vacuum period in which one mechanism is no longer operative while the other has not become operational as yet.

The mandatory characteristics of the socialist economic mechanism include, first of all, planning and control of public production not through the elements of the marketplace but as a result of the conscious efforts of the entire society. Here social production management begins on the national economic level and all its links are a system pointing toward a single center. Democratic centralism is the determining principle of economic management, while concern for the well-being and all-round development of all members of society is the main target function of the management process. The latter includes the use of commodity-monetary and value levers. A clearly political system alone can be the subject of the socialist management of society and of all its subsystems and, most of all, the decisive one among them--the national economic complex of the country. In the transitional period from capitalism to socialism it is the organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat; under the conditions of developed socialism it is the organization of the whole people, headed by the working class and its party.

At the present stage the party-political nature of socialist economic management not only does not wither away but, conversely, becomes stronger. "National economic management," the accountability report of the CC CPSU to the 26th party congress stresses, "is the core of all party and state activities." As the actual socialization of the production process increases, as nationwide labor cooperation and international socialist economic integration mature and as the international obligations of the Soviet working class increase, the role of socioeconomic and party management rises.

The communist party alone can provide management on the national scale and in the interest of the whole nation, a type of management which is conscientious, scientific, political and governmental. The communist party is the political leader of the people in economic construction. It is the political educator of the working people and the inspirer of their production activity and initiative. In this light it becomes understandable that if the economic management mechanism is viewed outside the mechanism of social party management it can neither be understood nor improved, for its reorganization is not a strictly professional matter but an organic aspect of the party's political, organizational and ideological work. The extent to which the economic mechanism influences production effectiveness depends directly on the party organizations and on the activities of

soviet and economic organs, trade union and other organizations they direct. The socialist economic mechanism neither operates nor could operate automatically, not to mention spontaneously. The reverse is equally true: a perfect economic mechanism is a prerequisite for upgrading the effectiveness of the party's management of the economy, the initiative of economic cadres and the labor activity of the masses.

The Marxists-Leninists resolved a long time ago the problem of whether the party should or should not manage the economy and how it should manage it. However, the petit bourgeois ideologues--reformists and revisionists--who penetrate the labor movement attempt, over and over again, to make this a topic of theoretical discussions and ideological struggle. Suffice it to refer to the alternate "models of socialism" popular in the West, a basic feature of which, as a rule, is "political pluralism" in socioeconomic management. The idea of independent and autonomous trade unions which, allegedly, must be pitted against the socialist state and the communist parties and use strikes as a means of struggle for raising the living standard of their members, is being intensively stirred up. This idea is extremely vulnerable from the viewpoint of socialist political economy. As we know, in a capitalist society, where income consists of wages or dividends, the independent trade unions struggle for higher wage at a pace matching the growth of dividends, all other conditions being equal. In the socialist society, where there is no unearned income such as dividends, the struggle of an autonomous trade union for higher wages means, again all other conditions being equal, damaging the material interests of the other detachments of the working class and division within its ranks.

On the other hand, the exclusive defense of the material interests of workers within trade unions, regardless of their participation in the national organization of production and management, not to mention the existence of a political opposition and a political struggle, are incompatible with the planned preservation of the basic national economic proportions, particularly those between the first and second social production subdivisions, between the accumulation and consumption funds, between the growth of labor productivity and wage raises and between increasing the production of consumer goods and services, on the one hand, and the income of the working people, on the other. This makes it impossible to implement on a nationwide scale and on the basis of the steady expansion of the reproduction process and of full employment the principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." The single economic organism and national economic complex of the socialist society presume the functioning of single trade unions as an integral part of the single socialist political system. While entirely consistent with social democratic concepts, "political pluralism" and "independence and free trade unions" could only undermine the socialist organization of production and labor and lead to a breakdown of the socialist economy. The class enemy, imperialism, would like to see precisely such a Menshevik step taken by the labor movement.

The conversion to a new and higher stage of economic construction and the problems this raised required the energizing of scientific research on the basic problems of the dialectical-materialistic understanding of history, socialist political economy, scientific communism, party construction, theory of management, applied

sociology and enhancement of the role of the communist party in the further development of revolutionary theory and the formulation and implementation of political decisions on this basis. The documents of the 26th CPSU Congress are an outstanding model of party-mindedness and creative approach to ripe problems and new major contributions to the theory and practice of scientific communism.

The party has a systematic class approach to the study of reality. The prevention of recurrences of bourgeois and petit bourgeois exclusiveness, particularly when thousands upon thousands of people are participating in scientific work, is a problem which can not be resolved by itself. It can be resolved only by the political vanguard of the working class. Theory develops in the course of the conflict of opinion and in discussions which must take place within the limits of party-mindedness. Disparate and conflicting viewpoints and positions (on improving the economic mechanism, for instance) must be summed up and lead to accurate conclusions and nonconflicting positions which alone may be used as a guide in practical work. This task can be performed only by a collective theoretical center. This applies precisely to the party and its Central Committee. Understandably, lack of discussions or discussions which exceed the framework of a Marxist-Leninist outlook are equally damaging. Finally, we must not turn science into a fetish and pit it against practical experience. Management, like politics, is both a science and an art. Scientific conclusions alone do not suffice for the purpose of managing. Theory must be made specific and applied to a specific situation. This requires political, economic and organizational experience and practical intuition. It is the party, including its local and primary organizations, which is the bearer of this experience available to all.

Impeccable and fruitful revolutionary-transforming activities depend mainly on the comprehensive assessment of the objective and subjective features of social development at each specific historical stage. The socialist society, headed by the communist party, can purposefully reorganize all socioeconomic relations other than the primary ones, i.e., the most essential and stable interdependencies and causal relations in economic processes and phenomena or, in other words, the economic laws.

The purpose of any economic change or reform is to coordinate primary, objective relations with all other economic and other relations and forms, ways, means and levers of economic management. It is precisely economic changes, which are consistent with the requirements of such subjective relations, that are scientifically substantiated. Let us note in this respect that a more cautious attitude should be adopted in the use of the very popular formula of deliberate improvements of socialist production relations. Production, distribution, exchange and consumption relations which are also laws cannot be directly improved unlike others which could and should be improved (we may improve price setting but not the law of value; we may improve planning but not the planned nature of things; we may improve wages but not the law of distribution according to labor, and so on).

We know that the organization of the production process, cost effectiveness, price setting, planning and other components of the economic mechanism have their specific characteristics in the individual socialist countries. However, each one of them mandatorily reproduces identical basic production relations. The economic

laws remain the same, although operating in different combinations and so do, consequently, the basic principles of economic management. That is precisely why the course of gradual rapprochement among the economic mechanisms of sovereign socialist countries and the joint formulation of the machinery of socialist economic integration are a proven course of action.

Therefore, in our study of economic relations we must single out the basic relations which always remain the same for a given production method. These are economic laws and relations which, their entire objective substantiation notwithstanding, are the result of the conscious and purposeful actions of people and which act as variants, as economic-organizational and economic-political forms which are consistent in varying degrees with the system of basic relations. This distinction between economic relations becomes particularly topical, from the methodological view point, in the process of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, when essentially uncontrolled social development yields to the development of a scientifically created and scientifically managed society.

It is usually said that as it develops its production forces systematically, i.e., as it changes its material conditions and requirements, the socialist society insures the conscious reorganization of its primary production relations and their conscious management. In principle this is possible from the gnosiological and all other viewpoints. However, what is possible and desirable should not be mistaken for the reality. We know that the Marxist prediction concerning the basic features and laws of the establishment of communism was formulated under conditions in which capitalism had already developed its production forces and had socialized production and labor to the level at which an urgent need arose for a conversion to public ownership. Furthermore, the socialist economic management mechanism has had many years of improvement with the discovery of new conditions and needs governing public production. This is a very uneven process. Modeling of basic relations and of the economic mechanism for the future level of development of production forces and for scientifically substantiating and consciously implementing all the necessary changes, given today's cognitive and other possibilities is even less so.

Such a supertask could and should be formulated and resolved by social science and practice. However, the assumption that the problem has already been resolved means the demobilization of our theoretical and philosophical-economic front and, in practical terms, a slide in the direction of condemned subjectivism and voluntarism. On the other hand, we must not lose control over the economic process. We must daringly reorganize the economic-organizational and economic-political forms should they prove to be ineffective. It is this approach alone that enables the communist parties to sail the ship of the socialist economy between the Scylla of subjectivism, voluntarism, sectarianism and utopianism and the Charybdis of opportunism and passive adaptation to relations which are neither progressive nor serve the interests of the working class in the least.

The history of many countries has proved that unstable and nonproletarian elements which encounter difficulties in the socialist organization of the production process lose faith in the advantages of socialism and hurl themselves from one extreme to another: they either try to resolve the problem through dictatorial

power or political-moral and militaristic-bureaucratic coercion to work, excessive red tape and by "tightening the screws" exclusively (left-wing deviations such as Trotskyism, Maoism or "barracks communism"), or else they abandon the course of nationwide cooperation and of planning a single national economic complex, and slide back to marketplace control and marketplace stimulation of labor by autonomous collectives of commodity producers. This involves competition, struggle for maximum income and actions aimed at suppressing unemployment (right-wing deviation of the "market socialism" variety).

The need to intensify social production under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, and the social nature of developed socialism are incompatible with the temptation to resolve today's problems through state-monopoly capitalism or the methods used at earlier stages, by resorting to some kind of neo-NEP or through discipline enforced by bureaucratic criminal law.

Naturally, discipline must be tightened up. However, we must also take into consideration past experience considered from the standpoint of contemporary knowledge and conditions. It is only on this basis that practical recommendations can be formulated. As has been clearly shown by our party's efforts to improve planning, administration and economic management throughout the entire contemporary stage, the strength of our party lies in the fact that it is always looking forward. By studying previous experience, with its positive and negative aspects, and exposing shortcomings and errors, the party has pursued its search for new solutions adamantly.

"Distribution was and remains a subject of special party attention," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 26th CPSU Congress. Stricter control over labor and consumption is the most important, not to say the basic lever for an economic upsurge and for raising socialist economic management to a qualitatively new level.

Socialism puts an end to exploitation and to the domination of the marketplace element. Among others, this represents a change in the incentives for economic activities and labor and in the very mechanism of their action. Participation in socially useful labor becomes the only legitimate source of goods. He who works more and better receives more. The effectiveness of this incentive is supported not by the alternative of unemployment or the threat of bankruptcy caused by the competitive struggle, but by the total elimination of unearned income and of its sources, i.e., by social control over the production and distribution of products and services and over the quantities of labor and consumption, with the use of all economic and sociopolitical means available at any given stage. It is precisely such a nationwide, general and all embracing control that insures socioeconomic quality and planned development, which are inherent in socialism and in the final account, higher material and moral incentives for work and for the adoption of an active life stance by the builder of communism.

In the initial post-October 1917 months, Lenin included the following among the most topical development problems: "Accounting and control as the essence of socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 188). He wrote: "...Accounting and control must be comprehensive, general, universal: accounting and control over the quantity of labor and distribution of products is the essence of socialist

reorganization once the political rule of the proletariat has been established and secured" (Ibid., pp 199-200).

V. I. Lenin particularly emphasized that it is a question not merely of control exercised by special state authorities but mainly of the direct control exercised by the broad toiling masses, organized and led by the political vanguard of the working class. In his article "How to Organize the Competition?," in which he addressed himself to the struggle against the rich, the swindlers, the thieves of the people's property, the speculators and money grabbers, the violators of public order and the slovenly and parasitical individuals, he wrote: "In order to safeguard socialist society from these parasites millions upon millions of workers and peasants must organize voluntary and energetic accountability and control over the quantity of labor and the production and distribution of products, thus showing their revolutionary enthusiasm" (Ibid., p 201). Each soviet and enterprise collective or consumer society "must act, competing against each other, as practical organizers of accountability and control over labor and the distribution of products" (Ibid., p 203).

Social accountability and control are the most important components and function of all socialist forms of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. They are the basic principles of socialist economic management. Although changes occur in the socioeconomic nature, tasks, directions and ways and means of control over labor and consumption in the socialist process of socialization, the requirement of maintaining such a control on a high level and, furthermore, its intensification and consolidation, remains inflexible. This is related to several circumstances.

To begin with, in the first phase of communism and of its material and technical base, the vestiges of small-scale manual production, including production at state industrial and trade enterprises, the existence of commodity-monetary and market relations, the preservation of capitalism in most places on earth and the weakening of control create opportunities for private ownership, money grubbing, speculations and other similar happenstances alien to socialism, and attempts to live other than from one's own labor or earned rubles. According to Lenin, these are exceptionally dangerous secret enemies (what is terrible, he said, is not the closed "Sukharevka" but the one which is in the hearts of millions of people). There have been times in history when a difficult economic situation and difficulties in the organization of proper control have adversely affected the way of life even of the working class. Thus, in the initial months following the introduction of the NEP, Lenin said: "Because of the sad conditions of our reality the proletariat has been forced to resort to nonproletarian earning methods, to methods unrelated to large-scale industry, but to petit bourgeois speculative methods, and to procure goods for itself through theft or private production in publicly owned factories, goods which it exchanges for farm produce. This is our main economic danger, the main threat to the entire existence of the Soviet system" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 310).

Secondly, the stricter the requirements become regarding discipline, responsibility, and activeness of the participants in the production process, which is becoming continually socialized, the more intensive, skilled and strict should

our control become over the amount of labor, so that those who work more effectively and qualitatively may be rewarded properly. The growth of labor productivity, organized on a socialist basis, and economic initiative are directly dependent on such control.

Thirdly, accountability and control are not only "the main features required for the 'establishment,' for the proper functioning of the first phase of the communist society" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 101), but the main factor in the conversion of this society to its higher phase, for it turns the need to observe the main rules of human public behavior into a habit (Ibid., p 102).

In this light it becomes understandable that society's entry into its contemporary stage of development means also a higher level of and improved control over the amount of labor and of consumption, and the search for new forms and ways and means for such control, consistent with the new conditions. Generally speaking, the task is to make the strengthening and further development of incentives for labor and labor discipline and the struggle for production intensification, effectiveness and quality consistent with more developed, mature, intensive and better quality control. "Control over the amount of labor and of consumption on the level of the conditions and tasks of developed socialism!" is the imperative of the times.

Naturally, the requirement of raising control standard contains nothing essentially new or previously unknown. In discussing accountability and control and their role in the elimination of speculations, bribery and slovenliness, Lenin pointed out that "This problem is not new. Strictly speaking, history does not raise new problems. It merely broadens the scope and dimensions of the old problems as the scope of the revolution, its difficulties and the greatness of its universal-historical tasks expand" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 363).

It was precisely thus, in the light of the Leninist principles of socialist economic management, that the 26th CPSU Congress formulated the problem: "...All cracks for the penetration of parasitism, bribery, speculations and unearned income and for any encroachments on socialist property must be sealed with the help of all available organizational, financial and juridical means."

The extensive program for improving economic management and planning and for strengthening the influence of the economic mechanism over increasing production effectiveness, formulated by the party, leads to substantial improvements in nationwide accountability and control over the production and distribution of goods and over the amount of labor and consumption. This is the purpose of the new system of planned directival and control indicators, ceilings, economic norms, physical measures, economic levers, economic contracts, assignment orders, and so on. Centralized planning, which is based on them, including wages and other monetary earnings by the population, wholesale and retail prices, and the volume and structure of trade must insure the balancing of the economy, the orientation toward end national economic results, and the elimination of shortages in supplies to enterprises and to the population. Unquestionably, this will improve the effectiveness of existing incentive systems. In this respect, the improvement of

lost effectiveness. The introduction of new forms of labor organization and wages (including the Shchekina method, the Kaluga experiment and others), the development of social planning at enterprises and areas and, in general, the paying of greater attention to social problems play an important role. Obviously, however, a great deal remains to be done in this direction.

The improvement of control in the production and distribution areas cannot resolve entirely the problem of controlling the amount of labor and consumption, for commodity turnover, and the area of commodity-monetary and market relations stand between production and consumption. It is in this area that the working people acquire the goods they need paid for with their income, i.e., it is precisely here that distribution according to labor ends. The end result of this distribution, therefore, depends on the state of affairs in trade, on the level of retail prices and on the observance of governmental laws which must insure, in the reproduction phase as well, the socialist "equality in labor and equality in the division of products" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 95).

Under socialism the turnover area is characterized by the absolute domination of public (state and cooperative) enterprises. However, its level of actual socialization of production and labor is substantially lower. Here the share of large-scale collective production is smaller compared with manual individual labor and vestiges of petty artisan-type production; here again we have the petty commodity producer who shows up at the unorganized kolkhoz market; the kolkhoz member and truck gardener who sells surplus products from his private plot. These circumstances complicate further the already complex problem of maintaining a proportionality between commodities, services and their structure, on the one hand, and the solvent demand of the population and the planned nature of the turnover process, on the other. Shortcomings in planning and nonfulfillment of production plans which may be due to poor weather conditions and natural disasters, among others, and the aggravation of the international situation disturb balanced supply and demand quite drastically sometimes, and at length. Consequently, elements of lack of control and anarchy appear in this reproduction phase and some manifestations of commodity-monetary and market relation exceed the limits of the necessary planned control. To a certain extent, this leads to an uncontrolled redistribution of income among the working people and to the appearance of unearned income in some population strata. To put it bluntly, there are set prices for consumer goods and services (on the part of the state), but some such goods and services reach the consumers as a result of violations of the rules governing Soviet trade, violations which include speculative prices and rates.

The nature of such breaches in the economic front on the part of elements alien to socialism was comprehensively studied by Lenin. Although the socioeconomic circumstances are radically different today, the essential aspect of Lenin's analysis has not lost its methodological significance in terms of understanding the economic problems of socialism.

In substantiating the food supply policy for the particularly difficult year of 1919, V. I. Lenin drew attention to the economic law according to which when products are in short supply speculation appears at all steps along the way, leaning toward so-called "free trade" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 417). In

emphasizing that speculation and bureaucracy are our internal enemies today, he said: "...The striving, the tendency on the part of the people to become speculators should be kept under observation in factory-plant centers when there is a scarcity of products, when there are few goods and when everyone who has acquired such products tries to find a comfortable hideout for himself and to make money" (ibid., p 416). Lenin called for opposing attempts to circumvent the rules, charge particularly high black market prices or procure goods with the help of "connections." He called for making a permanent distinction between the petty producer who sells his surplus, the working person, and the property owner, the mercenary, the speculator. Under the NEP, when peasant and any other kind of small-scale farming was encouraged and when freedom of trade was allowed, Lenin noted the private ownership and antisocialist trends which developed on this basis and demanded not to ignore them or to console ourselves with various statements, but to pursue an entirely clear policy: the Soviet system "must look at things openly. It must name things by their names. However, it must control this process and establish its limits" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 160).

As of 7 November 1917, Lenin consistently formulated the task of proletarian control over commodity-monetary relations. Thus, in his work "On the Food Tax," written in 1921, he included a large excerpt from his pamphlet "On 'Left-Wing' Childishness and Petit Bourgeois Feelings," written in 1918, which stated that the working class has the complete juridical ability to direct all financial-material funds along socialist channels, "but that the many ways of petty ownership and private capitalist elements undermine the legal status, promote speculation and block the implementation of Soviet decrees" (ibid., p 209). In the preceding page Lenin had written that "A speculator, a looting merchant, or a disrupter of state monopoly is our main 'internal' enemy, the adversary of the economic measures taken by the Soviet system.... Cash is proof of receipt of public resources, and the multimillion-strong stratum of petty owners, firmly holding on to this asset, conceals it from 'the state,' having no faith in any kind of socialism or communism, 'sitting out' the proletarian storm" (ibid, p 208).

The nature of commodity-monetary relations and of money changes radically with the building of socialism. The reason is that they become part of a different production system, which is based on public ownership and is operated on a planned basis, not for the sake of the exploiters' profits but for the satisfaction of the needs of all working people. Under the conditions of planning, proportionality, and the balancing of production, distribution, trade, consumption and commodity-monetary relations serve the socialist reproduction process reliably and are an effective tool for public control of production and distribution of goods. What happens if such planning and proportionality are violated? At this point, the mechanism for combining personal, collective and national interests begins to break down and the poison seeds of speculations and private ownership encroachments on public property begin to grow. This adversely affects the fullness and quality of the satisfaction of public and private needs and of material and moral requirements, as the most important means for involving every member of society in the social labor system, as well as the effectiveness of labor activities.

In this connection, it becomes particularly topical to paying greater attention to trade, public catering and cultural consumer services. The CC CPSU and USSR

Council of Ministers passed a special decree recently, aimed at strengthening the cadres and material facilities for trade and public catering, instituting strict order in trade regulations and in the distribution of products and commodities, putting a firm end to machinations and misappropriations and increasing workers control.

As we may see, despite their full importance and irreplaceable nature, commodity-monetary relations and the value instruments for accounting and comparing labor outlays do not by themselves resolve the problems of socialist control over the amount of labor and, even less so, the amount of consumption. Commodity-monetary relations as such are anonymous. Money is money. In the hands of its current owner, it does not reveal its origin or the means through which it found itself in his pocket, such as a result of improved production effectiveness or inflated prices, wages, earnings from the sale of surplus produce from his garden, account padding or eye-washing, or illegal bonuses, black marketeering, theft or bribery. This prevents tracking in its entirety the indirect monetary aspect of the movement of the socialist product, essentially in the final stage of the distribution of consumer goods and services among the members of society. That is why direct social control over the movement of the product, in its physical and value aspects, and commodity-monetary relations, is necessary, rather than relying exclusively on the fact that they are of a socialist nature. Therefore, socialism presumes not only control through the money but control of the money as well.

How are national economic disproportions which arise and the trends they create of redistribution in the turnover of labor income among the population not according to labor, and the formation of unearned income surmounted in the course of the development of the socialist society? Experience in the building of socialism and communism, including Lenin's theoretical summations themselves, answer this question. The solution of the problem demands three different kinds of specific actions.

First, the formulation and implementation of measures which insure a corresponding growth of output, elimination of disproportions, and maintenance of a stable and dynamic marketplace balance between supply and demand of goods and services. This can be achieved by achieving a more radical turn of the economy toward increasing the people's well-being, obeying the instructions contained in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" on the formulation of a food program, a rapid upsurge in the production of consumer goods, maintaining the pace of housing construction, insuring the stability of state retail prices, improving labor, health care, education and cultural conditions, and making structural changes which contribute to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and to the growth of labor productivity.

Second, the further socialist socialization of trade and population services, as the basis for the industrialization in this area and the use of large scale machine output, which is stipulated in the 11th Five-Year Plan and as the result of the maximum subordination of commodity-monetary relations to planning control, with a view to reducing to a minimum their anonymous nature and thus providing the economic possibility of controlling the monetary income and monetary operations of

any given member of society. We must think, again and again, of Lenin's ideas on these problems, analyze them from the positions of the level we have reached in our economic development, which includes wages and cultural standards, and formulate corresponding measures for the further advancement of finances, credit and the monetary circulation. If we bear in mind, in particular, the programmatic thesis to the effect that the party "promotes the implementation of a number of measures which broaden the area of cashless payments and which are preparatory to the elimination of money, such as the mandatory keeping of cash in the national bank; the introduction of budget cards, the use of checks instead of cash and of short-term notes entitling the owner to obtain products, and so on" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 441).

This appears to be the right time for the formulation and the gradual resolution the problem of converting (partially) retail trade, following wholesale trade, to cashless payments, i.e., for restricting cash operations gradually. Modern organizational and technical facilities, particularly after the installation of computers, our domestic experience and the experience of the developed capitalist countries (savings accounts, checking accounts, credit cards, credit checks, automatic deposit of customers's wages with automatic payments, and others) prove that the time is entirely ripe for taking this next step in socialist socialization. The extent to which this will restrict opportunities for illegal, uncontrolled and unearned acquisition of goods, not to mention improvements in the effectiveness of the credit-monetary system, is understandable.

Third, the formulation of the problems of control over the amount of labor and consumption by every member of society must become the focal point of the attention of party and public organizations, and of soviets and state organs. Such control must be systematically implemented on the basis of maximally wide and democratic foundations and with the help of all available organizational and ideological-educational means. Naturally, practical experience and the creative work of the party organizations and the masses will indicate how to implement this stipulation of the 26th party congress and to achieve under present conditions control of every collective and individual citizen specifically. However, in this case it is important to surmount extreme views.

One of them is control over income, and of whether or not a person lives according to his means and out of what funds. This restricts the freedom of the individual. This view merely proves the durability of the petit bourgeois mentality of identifying the freedom of labor with the freedom to buy and sell, and the existence of bourgeois-democratic prejudices. The higher freedom of the working man is freedom from parasites, loafers, black marketeers and bribers, freedom from attempts to shift burdens from one person to another. For this reason, the organization of comprehensive control by the working people themselves over the amount of labor and the amount of consumption of the individual is the supreme manifestation of the concern shown by society and the communist party for the working person. This is the most important distinction and main advantage of actual socialist democracy compared with formal bourgeois democracy. Such control can and must be firmly related to the organization of the socialist competition, for the competition becomes the more effective the lesser the opportunities for

increasing one's income through different methods or through the illegal redistribution of earnings in the turnover area become.

The other extreme consists of direct or indirect attempts to control not only the consistency between the amount of labor and the amount of consumption but the very nature of consumption or, in general, the way of life of the individual. This would indeed represent a violation of constitutional rights and an insult to the honor and dignity of the Soviet person. We need an "organization of control over the amount of labor, over intensive labor," and the prosecution of any malicious violator of this measure aimed at "increasing labor productivity, conserving manpower, and protecting products from the unparalleled type of waste from which we are excessively suffering today..." (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, pp 146, 148). This says it all.

Effective party, state and public control over the amount of labor and consumption is the most important prerequisite for the effective work of the socialist economic mechanism, for upgrading the labor and political activeness of the masses and for simplifying and reducing the cost and improving the operativeness and effectiveness of socioeconomic management in our society.

The increased role of the party in economic construction requires the further development of criteria for separating party from direct economic management. The 26th party congress indicated its opposition to the use by party organs of administrative-economic methods. Practical experience has indicated that wherever party committees do not direct but assume the functions of soviet, economic or public organs, less attention is invariably paid to political-organizational and ideological-educational work; party control and opposition to parochial and departmental trends are weakened; shortcomings are suppressed; the result of all this is a decline in managerial effectiveness. Substitutions and duplications merely create the illusion of operativeness and efficiency.

Obviously, the dividing line between party and direct management cannot be based on individual targets or problems. The targets are one thing, and problems something entirely different. Obviously, the division must be based on functions and therefore, on ways and means specific to party management: the formulation of policy which party members implement in state organs and public organizations, thus insuring, in particular, the coordination of their activities; selection and placement of cadres, including economic personnel; control over the implementation of party and state decisions and over administrative activities; and organization of the socialist competition and involvement of the working people in production management. In our view, this aspect of party management within the system of socioeconomic management may be described as the managing of management. The adoption of this concept enables us to wage a systematic struggle against replacing economic with party organs. It enables us to enhance the role of the party and its organizations in the context of the increased initiative and activity of all components of the socialist political system.

However, party management does not have a strictly managerial aspect alone. As the vanguard of the great labor army, naturally, the party and its members are part of this army. They not only guide economic development but are directly engaged in

its implementation, setting examples of highly productive work. "Our communist party, we, Soviet communists, have assumed the enviable role of being at the origins of the socialist reorganization of life," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. The more than 17 million-strong Leninist party is not only an ideal but a powerful material factor in the advance toward communism.

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CSO: 1802/12

PARTY OF TRUTH, HOPES AND THE FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 83-84

[Interviews with Portuguese communists conducted by V. Kadulin]

[Text] Alternating revolutions show an amazingly permanent concern for the moral beauty of their characters. More specifically this means that the best sons of the people join the ranks of the revolution and the struggle for freedom. The history of the Communist Party of Portugal, whose 60th anniversary was celebrated in the first days of March by the party members, working people and all democrats in the country and, with them, by the many foreign friends of the Portuguese revolution, provides one of the most outstanding confirmations of this fact. Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Communist Party of Portugal, described it at the 26th CPSU Congress as the party of truth, hopes and the future.

A meeting at which the first leading organs of the Communist Party of Portugal, which soon joined the Communist International, were elected was held in the premises of the Office Workers Association of Lisbon, on Madalena Street, six decades ago, on 6 March 1921. The first printed organ of the party—**COMMUNISTA**—was founded the same year. The First Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, held on 10-12 November 1923, adopted the organizational principles on which the party intended to build its activities, an "Action Program" and the resolutions "On a Government of Workers and Peasants" and "On the Agrarian Problem."

The young party faced severe trials. The reaction was actively preparing the overthrow of the republic in 1925-1926. The Communist warned the nation of the danger of a fascist putsch. A military coup d'etat took place in the country in May 1926. As a result of increasingly repressive measures the party press stopped its publications and the party organizations were either crushed or disbanded.

It was precisely during that difficult period for the PCP, at the end of 1928, that it was joined by the son of a peasant, a metal worker from Lisbon, Bento Goncalves, who resumed the struggle for the founding of a revolutionary party of the Portuguese working class. It was essentially the 21 April 1929 conference which marked the beginning of the organized clandestine activities of the party, the secretary general of which Bento Goncalves became soon afterwards. The first issue of the newspaper **AVANTE!**, the party's central organ, came out on 15 February 1931. The communists became active in the trade unions. A variety of associations under the political and ideological influence of the PCP appeared. They included

the Navy Revolutionary Organization, Army Revolutionary Organization, and Communist Youth Federation. Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, of whom Nazym Khikmet was to say later that his life offers inordinately outstanding material for a modern novel about people who are renovating the world, about communists, became secretary general of this militant organization in 1934.

Despite the terrorism to which it was subjected by the fascist regime the party grew and strengthened.

"I am the leader of the Portuguese Communist Party... I know that the court will sentence me. Let the court do what it wants. I firmly believe that the earth is turning!" was the answer which Bento Goncalves, PCP secretary general, gave to the charges of the Special Military Tribunal in 1936. The leader of the Portuguese communists repeated Galileo's famous statement, like Georgi Dimitrov had done at the Leipzig trial, 3 years earlier, investing in it the entire power of his Marxist-Leninist belief in the irreversible effect of the laws of history and the inevitable triumph of the revolutionary cause of the working class.

Despite the fact that the arrest of Bento Goncalves and of many other members of the party secretariat dealt a heavy blow which severely hurt party activities in subsequent years, the struggle went on. It went on despite the further fascistization of the state after the fall of the Republic of Spain and the beginning of World War II, and despite the fact that fascist security was able to penetrate the party ranks with provocateurs in 1939. The 1940-1941 reorganization enabled the PCP to emerge from a major crisis successfully. The publication of AVANTE!, which had been interrupted for almost 2 years, was resumed in August of 1941. Since then the newspaper has been published without interruption.

In the course of its work for strengthening its ties with the masses and building a strong organization, the party created a cohesive nucleus of professional revolutionaries, most of them members of the working class. On the initiative and under the guidance of the PCP a pro-democratic movement developed in Portugal. The actions of the Portuguese working people aimed at the satisfaction of their vital rights, headed by the communists, became increasingly extensive.

Unable to weaken the influence of the PCP, which had become a nationwide revolutionary party and a true vanguard of the working class, once again the fascist regime resorted to most fierce reprisals, between the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s. Many noted party leaders, including Alvaro Cunhal were arrested and many party organizations were destroyed during that period. However, because of its influence among the masses, the party continued to head the struggle of the Portuguese working people.

In addressing itself to the history of its 48 years of struggle under clandestine conditions, in one of its articles AVANTE! stated: "Nothing was able to help fascism: neither persecutions, nor murders, imprisonment or slanders. Nor were the informers which followed us any help. We were everywhere, we took all possible risks, we started fires in the darkest nights, we saw the inside of all jails, and we endured. We struggled. Fascism was helpless to silence our voices and to cut off the hands with which we wrote words of hope, or to destroy the seeds of freedom we planted. This was as hopeless as trying to kill a nation itself."

The legendary escape from the Penise jail of a group of PCP leaders, headed by Alvaro Cunhal, took place on 3 January 1960. He was elected party secretary general in March 1961. The 1960s marked the start of the armed struggle for national liberation in Angola, followed by Guinea and Mozambique. It was a time of growth of a powerful antifascist resistance in the mother country. The Portuguese revolutionary movement was scoring steady progress.

The April 1963 report entitled "Road to Victory," submitted by Alvaro Cunhal, was published by the Avante Clandestine Party Publishing House in 1964. The report summed up the results of nearly 40 years of experience in the antifascist struggle. It described the sources of the people's will for victory and taught the communists how to achieve the unification of all democratic and patriotic forces of the nation under the incredibly difficult conditions of clandestine life. This study, which was carried out in accordance with a decision passed by the Central Committee, analyzed the political situation in the country, comprehensively considered the ways to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and specified the objectives of the democratic and national revolution whose program was adopted at the Sixth PCP Congress in 1965.

Under the party's firm leadership and as a result of the tireless political efforts of the communists who emerged in the vanguard of the growing antifascist and democratic movement, conditions for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorial regime became right on 25 April 1974. The communist party, which came out of clandestinity, was in the leading ranks of the people's struggle. It acted as the political force which was vitally necessary for defending and strengthening the freedoms which were gained and for the building of a new and democratic Portugal.

An encounter with a revolution is always a celebration. Anyone who has visited revolutionary Portugal can only thank fate warmly for such a happy opportunity. The journalists have preserved in their notebooks the records of their numerous meetings held at various times with the heads of the Portuguese Communist Party and with its rank and file membership--industrial workers, peasants from the north, farmhands from the south and members of the intelligentsia. In discussing the problems of the intensification of the April revolution the Portuguese communists have responded also to the request to speak about themselves and their fellow fighters, although they have been necessarily brief and, for understandable reasons, restrained. Following are interviews with Portuguese communists who went through the hard school of revolutionary struggle against fascism, given at different times. They bring to life the legendary past of the Portuguese Communist Party and thus help us to achieve a better understanding of its future.

V. I. Lenin who, in his time, wrote warm words about I. V. Babushkin, the worker-revolutionary, emphasized how important it is for the people to know more about the revolutionary heroes who had "fully dedicated themselves to the struggle for the liberation of the working class... working persistently and steadfastly among the proletarian masses and helping the masses to develop their awareness, organization and revolutionary activity" for years on end ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 20, p 82). The stories of such people have always helped in raising the new generations of revolutionary fighters.

WE GREW UP IN THE STRUGGLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 85-88

[Article by Antonio Gervasio, member of the Central Committee Political Commission of the Portuguese Communist Party]

[Text] My full name is Antonio Joaquim Gervasio. By social origin I am a farm worker. I was born in Monte Morro Novo, Evora District, Alentejo Province.

I discovered what it means to be a proletarian in fascist Portugal quite early in life. My parents had eight children. I was the oldest. Between the ages of 7 and 14 I tended the landlord's cattle, after which I worked as an adult. Since I was unable to attend school, I learned to read and write only at the age of 17. From an early age life made me a revolutionary and urged me to rebel against exploitation and inhumanity whose victim I was.

As an adolescent the great war against fascism had a tremendous impact on me. The struggle which the Soviet Union waged against the forces of Nazism and fascism—German and Japanese—awakened my interest in politics. As I read the newspapers and listened to the radio I cheered the victories of the Red Army. I began to think of the party, of my party, whose organizations were beginning to expand in Alentejo Province at the beginning of the 1940s. Such organizations appeared in my district as well. It was precisely then that in our south the agricultural proletariat launched major actions related to the struggle against hunger, for Salazar's regime deprived the people from their bread which it sent to fascist Germany. This triggered the mass actions of farm workers. I joined the party at the age of 18, in 1945. I was instructed to agitate among the workers and to distribute AVANTE!, the party's newspaper. I subsequently went to work with the strike committees.

I was detained for the first time and kept in jail for 6 months during the strike of the farmhands, in 1947. Following my release, I continued to carry out the party's assignments. After I was drafted in the armed forces, I engaged in party work among the military personnel. I returned to my district after my demobilization and was assigned to the party committee of Evora District. I became a cadre party worker and, together with my wife and son—both communists—went underground in 1952. In the first years of clandestine work I remained in Alentejo Province. I took part in all the actions of the rural proletariat and in its struggle for higher wages and against unemployment..

I was captured by the PIDE in August 1960. I was kept in complete isolation in a cell, denied the possibility to read or write, and was beaten up repeatedly for 6

months. On one occasion I was beaten for 14 consecutive hours with brief interruptions. The last few hours I was already unconscious and felt nothing. The fact that I did not die is a miracle. I was tried in May of 1961. During the trial PIDE agents beat me up for exposing the regime and for describing the way I was tortured.

Together with seven other comrades I escaped from Casias, Lisbon's jail, on 4 December 1961. Actually, we escaped in an armored car, which was a present from Hitler to Salazar and which was parked in the prison's courtyard.

Our party raises its troops in a spirit of loyalty to the workers' cause and to its people. The party raised us in this spirit of dedication and constant readiness for the struggle. That is why the first thought of a detained communist was that of escaping, not for the sake of simply saving himself but of resuming his position in the ranks. I was lucky to escape on several occasions during my period of clandestine work. Thus, in 1956 I was betrayed to the police and seized by PIDE agents who were waiting for me as I was going to a meeting. I escaped while they were trying to push me into a car. I was able to avoid detention and pursuit by the police on subsequent occasions as well.

The recollection of this is quite painful. However, I must say a few words about the courage of my party comrade Terezo Antonio, who played a very important role in the successful escape of a group of cadre party workers from the Casias jail. He worked as a mechanic in a workshop which maintained Lisbon's public transport vehicles. This happy, talkative man, who loved to laugh and joke, was captured by PIDE and thrown into the Casias jail as well.

When we found out that the old armored car was being kept in the jail's garage, we decided to examine it thoroughly. This was to be accomplished by Terezo, who is a very good mechanic. He was to win the trust of the jailers and be transferred from a cell to the special section where inmates who had contact with the police were being kept. For the sake of receiving food or wine from home and for other benefits, these people had agreed to serve the jailers, and to become snitches and spies. They were hated and avoided by the other inmates. To be moved to their section was the most horrible, the most degrading thing which could happen to someone. Yet our comrade was asked to do this. Terezo objected and even cried for a long time. However, it was a question of the escape of an entire group of cadre party workers, and Terezo could not refuse to carry out his assignment.

Initially, PIDE could not believe that such a staunch party member as Terezo would disavow his comrades. He, however, proved to be an able conspirator and tricked the vigilance of the jailers. After a few months he was allowed to leave his cell and was instructed to work on the cars. He repaired them conscientiously, thus winning the even greater trust of the jailers. The immediate preparations for the escape were started from that moment on. All in all, they took more than one year and were carried out by a group of inmates. Everything had to be planned, to the smallest detail, for we knew what the consequences of a failure would be.

We decided to escape during exercise time and to use the old armored car for the purpose. The jailers, who suspected that something was going on, kept changing the

exercise time in order to prevent any escape possibility. We decided to find out the schedule they followed in letting the inmates exercise. An entire group of comrades was assigned to find the key to this rather complex system. One and a half months later we were able to predict precisely the hour allowed for recreation on any given day of the week. This was quite important, for the escape had to take place only before 10 am, when visits to the inmates began. Nor could we escape on a Saturday or Sunday, when no visits were allowed. Furthermore, we were in a hurry, for the threat of our transfer to the Penise jail was real.

We were allowed to exercise in the small yard of the jail on 4 December. We were surrounded by machine guns manned by guards. Other guards were with us. Terezo drove the armored car frequently, and the guards were used to this. So, he began by backing up the armored car toward the inside gates of the jail, which was open at that time. Everything happened very quickly. Under the very eyes of the prison guards we jumped into the car which rushed toward the outer gates. The gates were made of wood reinforced with iron bars but, as we hoped, the heavy armored car with its eight passengers breached them on the run and came out. The fire which the guards opened did us no harm, protected as we were by the armor. In 10 minutes we had reached the center of Lisbon. This widely known escape was not an adventurous event, for we had planned and prepared it thoroughly, and that is precisely why it succeeded. The party helped Terezo Antonio to leave the country after the escape, for he could not remain in Portugal any longer.

Personally, I returned to Alentejo where, for the first time in the history of Portugal, rural workers raised the demand for an 8 hour workday. Several hundred thousand farm workers participated in this struggle which spread throughout the entire south. I was made a member of the Central Committee at the end of 1962.

I was arrested again in the middle of 1971. By then I had already spent several years at work in the industrial areas of the country. During my third imprisonment I was subjected to the very cruel torture of deprivation of sleep. During the uninterrupted questioning PIDE agents made noises and poured water on the prisoner, thus preventing him from sleeping. Usually, a person could rarely withstand such a horrible torture for more than 10 to 12 days. By then the heart would fail and the mind would become disturbed. I was able to endure 17 days without sleep, i.e., 400 hours. I was sentenced to a 14-year jail term but was released on the night of 26 April 1974. By the time of the April revolution I had been a party member for slightly under 30 years, with more than 20 years spent in clandestine work and about 5 years in jail. Like my other party comrades, all my activities had taken place inside the country. I went abroad only on party assignments.

Operating under most difficult circumstances, subjected to most cruel repressive measures and occasionally sacrificing their own lives, the communists proved their loyalty to the party and to the cause of the working class, their people and their homeland. I could tell you a great deal about our party's courageous fighters. I could tell you about Central Committee member Francisco Miguel, who was one of the escapees from the Casias jail. Under the fascist dictatorship, Sico Miguel, as he was nicknamed in the party, underwent most severe trials. For many hours he was repeatedly subjected to the "statue" torture, according to which the prisoner must stand up straight without budging. The legs become so swollen as a result of this torture that the shoes worn by the prisoner burst open. He repeatedly refuted the

false claims made by PIDE that no one who falls into its hands can withstand its tortures and must confess. This man, who did not have any particularly great physical strength, proved that even the most extreme physical violence cannot break the spirit of the communist. Sico Miguel escaped from prison on four different occasions, more times than anyone else, for the sake of pursuing the struggle against fascism.

Autobiographical Reference

Francisco Miguel Duarte.

Born of a peasant family, worker.

Joined the International Organization for Aid to Workers in 1929.

In 1931-1932 was in Spain from where he was expelled for heading the struggle waged by the peasants and farm workers who demanded bread and work.

Joined the Portuguese Communist Party 1932.

Member of the leadership of the Portuguese Communist Party since 1939.

Spent a total of 21 years and 2 months in fascist jails.

Sent to the Tarrafal Concentration Camp twice: the first time for a period of 5 and 1/2 years; the second time, for 3 years. Was the last political prisoner to be released from the Tarrafal Concentration Camp.

On three occasions was subjected to the painful torture of deprivation of sleep (a total of 31 days), as follows: the first time, for 11 days and 8 hours; the second, for 10 days; and the third, for 9 days.

He was kept in chains for 17 days in solitary in the Penise Fort in 1940. His handcuffs were not removed even during his sleep.

In the court trials he defended his party and exposed the fascist regime....

Escaped from fascist jails four times. Took part in the escape from the Penise jail together with Comrade Alvaro Cunhal and other leaders of the communist party on 3 January 1960. Together with comrades Jose Magro, Antonio Gervasio and other noted communists, escaped from the Casias jail (in an armored car belonging to Salazar)....

Has represented the Portuguese Communist Party at many congresses of fraternal communist parties.

....Jose Magro was one of the escapees from the Casias jail. This outstanding person, a member of our Central Committee, spent 22 years in the jails of the dictatorship.

Alvaro Cunhal spent 10 years in solitary. The jailers did everything possible to isolate him from the outside world and the other prisoners, and tortured him

cruelly. Alvaro Cunhal with nine other comrades made their famous escape from the Penise jail on 3 January 1960. Several years earlier, in December 1954, our noted comrade Antonio Dias Lourenco, currently member of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission and editor in chief of AVANTE!, escaped from the same jail. He was able to make an opening in the door of the cell and to slide down the wall of the fortress for the length of the rope, and then jump into the sea where he spent several hours fighting the waves.... The party cadres grew up and tempered in the course of the hard struggle.

Occasionally, we, the Portuguese communists, are accused today of being a party of clandestine workers and that after many years spent in jail and clandestine work we, allegedly, cannot adapt to the new conditions, that we are excessively orthodox and sectarian. The party rejects such accusations.

Naturally, the reaction would like to turn the Portuguese Communist Party into an appendix of the bourgeois parties and to have it follow them. However, we are the revolutionary party of the working class and do not intend to abandon our principles. The same party which headed the antifascist struggle for democracy in Portugal--the communist party--is in the vanguard of the struggle waged by the Portuguese people for strengthening the gains of the April revolution and against capitalist restoration to this day.

Those who accuse us of sectarianism must ask themselves who was it who fought for the unity of all progressive and democratic forces not with words but with actions. Who has been systematically in favor of agrarian reform and has opposed the economic sabotage of landowners and monopolies? Who has supported decisively the nationalization of key sectors in the Portuguese economy and democratic control of enterprises by the working people? Our party has struggled for all of this.

We are guided in our struggle not by revisionism but by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. That is why we support the unity of all progressive forces but are against embracing the right-wing parties. We are unwilling to abandon our unity. This would threaten the gains of the April revolution. We are in favor of the type of unity which will make it possible to continue the process of revolutionary changes, eliminate the exploitation of man by man and give our people the opportunity of building socialism.

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ALONGSIDE OUR HUSBANDS AND BROTHERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 89-91

[Article by Margarita Tengarrinha, Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee member]

[Text] I was born in the city of Portimao, Algarve Province, which is the southernmost province of Portugal. The city in which I grew up is a fishing port. When I was born the city already had quite big fish canneries. I had the opportunity to observe the life of the fishermen and workers, who were cruelly exploited, since early childhood.

It was precisely there, in Portimao, that I, a small girl, witnessed a major action mounted by the working people of the province. Unless I am mistaken, it took place in 1936. The class trade unions of the working people had been abolished by then. The regime was implementing its policy of corporativism, emulating Mussolini. The fishermen, cannery workers and farmhands were fighting for higher wages and better working and living conditions. This was also a struggle against the fascization of the trade unions.

To this day I clearly remember the thousands-strong crowd which filled the big square in front of the house in which we lived. I was greatly impressed by the shouts of protest and indignation coming from the crowd. More than anything else, however, I was shaken up by the cruelty with which the repressive forces, commanded by a national guard lieutenant, were dealing with the demonstration of the working people. I shall never forget the way the mounted police moved in on the unarmed crowd, their horses trampling helpless women and children, for many workers had come to the demonstration with their children and many were holding their children in their arms. To me this slaughter became the embodiment of the cruel repressions which fascism used against the Portuguese people and a symbol of the tragedy which Salazar's regime perpetrated on my country for many years.

The 1945 events gave a strong impetus to the development of my political awareness. I was a student at Lisbon's high school when World War II ended. To all the peoples of the world the end of the war signified the victory of the forces of progress and, above all, the victory of the Soviet Union which had proved the power of socialism and the great loyalty to the ideals of socialism shown by all the peoples of that great country. The victory proved also that the forces of progress and democracy are capable of defeating fascist terror. The victory of the

Soviet Union and of its allies in the war meant also the victory of our people. This was a serious blow at Salazar's fascist regime. The demonstrations with which the people of Portugal marked the end of the war were antifascist and anti-Salazar actions as well.

I was 16 years old at that time and did not know what the communist party was. However, in answer to the appeal of the democratic movement, headed by the PCP, like thousands of my compatriots, I took to the streets. This was my first conscious decision to participate in political life. We marched on the streets of Lisbon, hailing the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. We shouted "Down with Mussolini's fascism! Down with Hitlerite Nazism! Down with Salazar's fascism; long live the peace!" For me, as for many members of my generation, this demonstration marked the beginning of the antifascist struggle.

I entered the School of Fine Arts in Lisbon, Department of Painting, after my graduation from high school. The members of the Youth Democratic Movement mounted an extensive struggle for the creation of a student association. Student unions had been banned by the fascist regime. The government did everything possible to hinder the struggle waged by the students for any kind of autonomy, for improvements in the quality of teaching and for the democratization of Portuguese culture.

I took part in this struggle from 1949 to 1954. We succeeded in creating an association of students of the Fine Arts School. This association protected the rights of the students, opposed teachers' arbitrariness and struggled for the right to organize exhibits of works by students. We also fought for the right to organize mobile exhibits through which the toiling masses could see the best examples of Portuguese art.

The movement for democratic unity of the youth mounted an active struggle for peace at that time. Let us not forget that this was the period of the cold war. The aggressive NATO bloc, directed against the socialist countries, had just been created. We, the students, were demanding at that time that a peace pact be concluded. We opposed the presence of NATO in our country. When a meeting of the NATO council was held in Lisbon, the students from the Fine Arts School, together with those of Lisbon University and, particularly, with the support of the students from the Higher Technical Institute, mounted such intensive protest actions that the authorities resorted to the most severe repressions.

To speak of peace was the equivalent of acting against the regime at that time. Consequently, 83 people were expelled from the Fine Arts School and were forbidden to enroll in other schools in the country. Jose Dias Coelho, who was studying sculpture, was at the head of the struggle waged by the students of the Fine Arts School at that time. He and I were both dismissed from our teaching positions, for as students we taught painting and drawing in one of the secondary technical schools. I married Jose Dias and, later on, together we went underground as cadre party workers.

I must point out that the Portuguese communist women, who were cadre party workers and were working clandestinely with their husbands, could not engage in extensive organizational work, for if a wife were engaged in such work together with her husband the possibility of failing naturally doubled. The danger of exposure of a

secret party meeting place, inhabited by underground workers, increased as well. The main concern of the clandestine women workers was to protect clandestine apartments from exposure. The closed and tense life, full of concerns and dangers, particularly if lived years on end, affected the nervous system of the people severely.

Every time we bade farewell to our husbands before they left for an assignment, we never knew whether we were parting from them for one evening, a night, many years, or forever. I said goodbye to my husband as I saw him off at 8 pm on 19 December 1961. One hour later he was killed on the street by agents of the political police who had been after him for some time. They surrounded Jose and shot at him twice. He was hit in the heart by one of the bullets.

I spent 19 and a half years underground, carrying out various party assignments. For example, together with my husband I contributed to the publication of a number of party works. Thus, at one point we were publishing the small journal PORTUGAL-USSR. I was the editor while Jose did the engravings. This small publication enjoyed great popularity among the Portuguese working people, for they were quite interested in what was happening in the Soviet Union, there were very few people who were familiar with Soviet reality. We usually reprinted articles from other newspapers and journals. Occasionally we rewrote Radio Moscow news broadcast. Sometimes we translated articles from Soviet publications, published in French. We published materials on life in the other socialist countries as well.

In addition to this small modest journal, my husband and I published something like a bulletin for communist women who lived underground and in the party's secret meeting premises, for a period of many years. This bulletin for internal use was entitled "The Voice of Women Comrades." Clandestine women workers contributed articles and notes on their lives, on how they had come to the party and on experience in clandestine work. For example, they would provide information on how to protect a clandestine drop, or how to find out whether or not the house was watched by the police. Through the bulletin we organized also an exchange of experience in household work, gave advice on how to have ends meet and how to survive on miserable wages. We set and printed the bulletin at home.

Furthermore, the party had asked us to produce engravings for the newspaper AVANTE! and other publications. This assignment was carried out essentially by Jose Dias Coelho who was tremendously talented. He did this to the very end of his life.

My life became even more difficult and entirely lonely after my husband's murder. I became ill and the party sent me to the Soviet Union for treatment. After my recovery I returned to Portugal and resumed underground work. I contributed to the newspaper AVANTE! and other clandestine party publications. I worked in Porto on problems of the small and average landowners of the northern end of Portugal in the last 6 years of underground work. I was editor in chief of the newspaper TERRA ("Land"), an organ promoting the unity of peasants in the north. I welcomed the events of 25 April in Porto.

It was on that day that the women communists came out of clandestinity and entered political work with twice their old energy. However, as during the period of clandestinity, they are doing this work with the same dedication for the sake of insuring the Portuguese people a happy future.

S003
CSO: 1802/12

IT WAS HARDER FOR MANY OF MY CONRADES

Moscow KOMBUNIST in Russian No 5, pp 91-93

[Article by Joaquim Antonio Campino, Portuguese Communist Party veteran]

[Text] My career in the party began in 1936, during the Spanish Civil War, through the International Organization for Aid to the Workers. The Portuguese working people were making use of all available means to aid the Spanish people at that time.

I was born in a village 60 kilometers from Lisbon, in a very poor family. My father was a transportation worker on the Tagus River and my mother did farm work. My elder brothers were barge men as well. I graduated from grammar school at the age of 11 and my father took me to Lisbon to become a tailor's apprentice. I settled in the workers' district where my father had taken me. In my view, this is the best thing he ever did for me. The workers in the district helped me to gain an accurate idea about life. They influenced me, despite the will of my parents, who considered any further studies on my part an unnecessary luxury, to enroll in the industrial night school and to learn to be a draftsman. It was thanks to my fellow workers that I established contacts with the International Organization for Aid to Workers and, subsequently, with the party.

I was already a member of the party cell in the district by 1939. I participated in the reorganization of the party, whose central apparatus had been penetrated by police agents, in 1940-1941. The party's reorganization was headed by a group of comrades who had been released from jail at that time, one of whom was Alvaro Cunhal.

Party work became noticeably energized after the reorganization. Its influence rose steadily. The major strikes mounted by the Portuguese working people throughout the country in 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1945 were the direct result of the reorganization of party ranks and the restructuring of work methods.

I became member of the party committee in the district which was the center of the most intensive striking movement in 1942. The next year I entered clandestine work as a member of the party committee of the industrial zone south of the Tagus, alongside Comrades Alfredo Dinis and Ferreira Marques. Both of them were killed later. I believe that I am the only one left alive of the members of the committee which headed the strikes in our area between 1942 and 1945.

I was arrested soon after the big demonstrations on the occasion of the end of World War II were held, in May 1945. I was still employed in the "red" barrio, where the strike was particularly intensive. I was caught after I had crossed the Tagus on the small ferry boat. I was carrying in my pocket a weapon which I was to use to cover the escape of a comrade entrusted to my care. As I landed ashore, I suddenly realized that I was being chased. It was too late to escape. I was grabbed by two police agents. I was able to push one of them off but the second one proved to be very strong and held on to me. They began to beat me up immediately.

However, this was 1945. As a result of the victory of the antifascist forces in the world the Salazar regime was in a state of crisis. Salazar had even promised to grant an amnesty which, of course, applied only to prisoners whose jail terms were to end soon. I was even allowed to post bail after my detention. The sentence of the court which tried me two years later was unusually light. All in all, on that occasion I sat in the Penise jail for no more than 18 months.

I was sent by the party to the north of Portugal where I remained for several years after my release. In particular, I took part in the work which the party conducted in 1949 in connection with the country's presidential elections. One year after I was once again working underground, I was detained the second time, together with my wife and son, then 8 years old. The police surrounded our house in a Porto suburb and started to break down the door which we refused to open, as my wife and I were burning secret documents. Finally, they were able to break into the house and took all of us to the police station.

The police knew me and the fascists also knew that they would gain nothing by beating me up. That is perhaps why this time I was not beaten up so severely as during my first detention. I told the police that I was a member of the party's Central Committee, whereas in fact I was a candidate member only, and told them that I would report on my activities only to the party's leadership and that I refused to give the police any information whatever.

The angered authorities sentenced me to 21 years in jail. However, this harsh sentence triggered such strong objections that the court was forced to review it. One and a half years after I was sent to Penise Fort, I was taken to Porto where I was retried. This time, however, I was sentenced to 8 years only and taken back to the Penise Fort.

It so happened that at that time many senior party workers with great experience in clandestine work were in the same jail. We were able to set up a party organization in the prison and I was one of its leaders. I had two main tasks. The first was to organize the escape of inmates. The second was to turn political inmates, who includes workers, totally illiterate peasants and intellectuals, into conscious party fighters. My term in jail was spent in this work. It was precisely during that time that Antonio Dias Lourenco, my fellow inmate, made his famous escape.

I was released while a group of party leaders, including Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, were still in jail. Their escape came later. These were very difficult times for

the party. The regime had hit us hard several times. Under those circumstances, it was very difficult for a person released from jail to establish contact with the party, which was operating in profound clandestinity, without risking the exposure of the comrades. Serious family problems as well forced me to retain my legal status. The problem was that I was released from jail one year after the expiration of the term. My family knew that the order for my release had been signed. However, I remained in jail and no one knew how long this situation would last. My mother became so desperate that she committed suicide.

I had had the occasion to work in legal democratic organizations in Portugal in the past as well. As I remained in the open after my release from jail, for a while I wrote for the press and subsequently, as instructed by the party, joined the Patriotic Front for National Liberation, which had been set up at that time. Detentions began after the defeat of the armed uprising of antifascist soldiers and officers in Beja, on 1 January 1962. The police were informed that I was the party's representative in the Patriotic Front but were unable to catch me at that time....

I already mentioned that the second time I was detained was with my son. I had two great loves in my life--my party and my son. I had always wanted for my son to become a communist and he became one. He was a very capable young man and was able to study engineering. He got married and had a daughter. He was killed in an automobile accident on the eve of the revolution.

The severe upheavals undermined the mental health of my wife who was active in the democratic movement of Portuguese women. I have to divide my time between my work and caring for my wife. I have always said, however, that I do not consider myself retired. I also say that it was even harder for other party comrades. Many of them had to make far greater sacrifices. My fellow comrades were always on my side at difficult times. In the darkest period of fascist dictatorship, when the party was experiencing difficulties, not for a second did I ever doubt its strength, the justice of its cause or the inevitability of our victory.

5003

CSO: 1802/12

NO OTHER SUCH PARTY EXISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81, pp 94-95

[Article by Fernando Sampaia y Castro, school teacher]

[Text] My social and political beliefs make me state confidently that socialism is the only solution to all problems related to human relations. That is why, immediately after the April revolution, the moment the possibility appeared to visit the socialist world, I asked permission from the party to make the trip. "I know that in this responsible period it is my duty to work for the revolution. However, I would very much like to go." My comrades, including Carlos Costa, member of our party's Central Committee Political Commission, said, "Well, go! you will learn a great deal." I found my trip to Czechoslovakia and Hungary truly useful and instructive.

My country was under fascist rule for almost half a century. This was both an economic and a moral tragedy for the country. The regime was killing humanity in man. The fear of being subjected to ferocious repressions, from which no one was safe, was instilled in a man's heart, turning him literally into an animal whose behavior was governed by the instinct of self preservation only. Human dignity or spiritual values were ignored. Actually, the purpose of any antipeople's regime is precisely to denigrate man, to corrupt his mind, to crush him, to turn him into the blind instrument of his will. To build a new life in a country where people were subjected to the corrupting influence of fascism in the course of decades is no simple matter!

However, I have faith in Portugal's democratic and socialist future. Strange though it might seem, today I feel myself even more of a communist than I did before 25 April. Under fascism I was a secondary school teacher. I was detained on four separate occasions but not once were the police able to prove my affiliation with the party. The last time I was detained the police threw my mother off her bed, and tore the mattresses open in the hope of finding "subversive" materials. However, they found nothing. As he released me, the PIDE inspector said: "You may go, but you must know that your behavior is the behavior of a communist!" "Pure coincidence," I answered. "My behavior is the behavior of a serious person and what you are telling me is a compliment not to me but to the communists!"

I grew up in the family of an old republican, one of those who struggled for the establishment of the Republic of Portugal in 1910. Naturally, these people held rather confused views on freedom.

Had I retained such ideas, I would never have become a communist. However, as a university student I became friendly with two workers. To my shame I found out that they knew more about life than I did. My new friends did a great deal to enhance my education or, rather, they remade me.

Nevertheless, I still had some doubts on the subject of this freedom, freedom, freedom... "I do not wish to lose my freedom!" was a persistent thought of mine. I undertook to read Lenin. It was precisely he who finally turned me into the person I am today. I was entirely overwhelmed by his work "The State and Revolution." It was there that I found my doubts answered. Lenin encouraged me to undertake the study of dialectics and philosophy. After 25 April I bought pamphlets of "The State and Revolution" and distributed it among all my friends.

One of my friends, a physician, is a very honest man but with very mistaken concepts about freedom. He has frequently told me: "Listen, what kind of communist are you if you feel free to think and act!" "Antonio," I answer, "it is precisely because I am a free man that I am a communist." However, the mind of my friend, as of many of his colleagues, is so molded that they find it impossible to realize what freedom in a communist world is. We believe that communism is a society in which every person is given a number and obeys orders thoughtlessly. This, in my view, is the tragedy of the bourgeois intelligentsia. I, however, have been saved from it with the help of my worker friends and Lenin.

Let me now say something which may not seem entirely proper. I believe in communism with a feeling of almost religious fanaticism. Yes, I am a fanatic! I simply cannot understand how anyone could live otherwise. Whenever I concealed in my home a comrade living in clandestinity I told myself: "They too are fanatics. They have left everything behind, they have left their homes and their children, they have sacrificed everything to the cause they are serving."

I did not see accomplishments only during my trip to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. However, I saw nothing which would question my faith in socialism and in the ideals for which my party is struggling.

In the course of my encounters with a great variety of people, I could hear that the party had been wrong in something or had done something improperly. Generally speaking, it is always a question of specific cases or even petty matters. It would be ridiculous to claim that my party can never be wrong in anything, the more so since, like any other party, it may be faced with excessive demands. That is why I tell my opponents that "I want to serve my people. I want to make my contribution to the building of the new Portugal. If you can show me a better party than mine, a party which is fighting more systematically and more dedicatedly for the happiness of my country and people, I shall join it immediately. However, there neither is nor could there be in Portugal a party which would fight for the interests of the people's masses more consistently and better than my party!"

"Some critics," said Comrade Alvaro Cunhal at the 26th CPSU Congress, "are predicting that the principle-minded policy and class position of our party, its total dedication to the struggle for the implementation and the defense of the great

revolutionary gains, the assertion of our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, which inspires our party in making creative decisions in accordance with the characteristics of Portugal, and that our internationalist line and opposition to the ideological pressure of the class enemy and its allies will all, allegedly, eventually lead to a decline in our party's strength and influence.

"Reality, however, indicates the opposite. Our party numbered 100,000 members in 1979, the time of the highest upsurge in the revolutionary struggle; it had 187,000 party members in June of 1980, not counting 36,000 Komsomol members. Furthermore, the ranks of the PCP are continuing to grow.

"Avante, Comarada, Avante!" ("Forward, Comrades, Forward!"), the Portuguese communists sing at their assemblies and meetings. Forward, for the situation in Portugal remains complex and dangerous, and because the struggle for restraining and stopping once and for all the onslaught of the counterrevolution against the basic achievements of the April revolution--political freedom and rights for the working people, nationalization, an end to monopoly groups and implementation of agrarian reform--has not ended. To the Portuguese communists forward means doing everything they can to insure the people's progress on the road to freedom, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

5003

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PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS ARE INDIVISIBLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 96-102

[Article by Horst Schmitt, West Berlin SED chairman]

[Text] Communists and all progressive people throughout the world followed the preparations for and proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress, which has just ended, with great attention.

The working people of the Soviet Union participated in the socialist competition in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress with unusual upsurge and inspiration and creative initiative. They fulfilled their obligations successfully and made a further contribution to the development of the tremendous potential of the socialist economy. The labor accomplishments of the Soviet people prove their confidence in their own future and their optimism. Unquestionably, these accomplishments also eloquently prove the revolutionary and combat role played by the CPSU in the life of Soviet society and its tireless aspiration to live and work as Lenin did. It was logical for the congress to define the main milestones of the next stage in the building of communism in the USSR.

As was the case with previous Soviet communist forums, this congress was an outstanding event which affects more than the life of the CPSU and the Soviet people alone. Each step along the road to communism and the growth of the power and strength of the land of the soviets are welcomed by all progressive people on earth with enthusiasm.

The West Berlin SED looks upon the 26th CPSU Congress as a significant milestone in upgrading the political, economic, spiritual, cultural and defense potential of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity and as an outstanding event in the global communist movement. The congress gave a major impetus to the nations throughout the world in their struggle for peace and disarmament and for rescuing mankind from the delirious plans for the arms race and nuclear war formulated by the most aggressive imperialist circles.

The members and friends of the West Berlin SED followed the work of the congress of their class brothers with tremendous interest and wished them great success in the implementation of their decisions.

The 26th CPSU Congress was held under difficult international circumstances. Our party believes that now, as always, the main development trend is defined by the

increased power of global socialism, the development of the communist movement in capitalist countries, and the strengthening of the national liberation movement. However, we cannot ignore the fact that imperialism is reacting to progressive changes in the world ever more aggressively. Thus, extensive claims are being made in the West that it is allegedly the events in Afghanistan that are creating the tension today. Allow me to emphasize most firmly that it is not these events but the already formulated and far-reaching plans of American imperialism and of the aggressive NATO bloc, which are aimed at achieving military superiority over the members of the Warsaw Pact, that are the starting point for international tension.

We have not forgotten that it was precisely NATO which adopted a new long-term arms race program in 1978, imposing a new economic burden on the working people in the capitalist countries, including those of West Berlin. Nor have we forgotten that the NATO decision to deploy additionally in Western Europe new American medium-range missiles was made on 12 December 1979, i.e., before a limited contingent of Soviet troops was introduced into Afghanistan in answer to the repeated request of the Afghan government.

Our party emphasizes in its declarations the need to counter the dangerous imperialist maneuvers with the unity of all forces interested in peace, detente and mutual understanding among nations. The peace-loving forces, which are worried by the fact that the arms race and the level of development of contemporary military technology may bring about a war resulting in the total elimination of mankind, to say the least, are showing a steadily diminishing inclination to allow imperialism to impose its aggressive plans.

The further development of West Berlin, more than of any other city in the world, will depend on whether or not the peace will be preserved and the policy of detente continued. We must not allow the aggressive forces here to gain the upper hand. That is precisely why our city itself must make a contribution to the struggle against the imperialist policy of unleashing wars, and that the population of West Berlin must become politically active in defining its own fate. Naturally, this will not remain unnoticed throughout the world.

We are following the development of events closely and we can see that the reaction in West Berlin is doing everything possible to subordinate, step by step, the interests of the city to American imperialism and thus to contribute to the further aggravation of the international situation.

True, we should not forget the fact that West German imperialism is not simply following American imperialism but is pursuing its own strategic objectives as well.

As we know, in accordance with the quadripartite accord, West Berlin does not belong to the FRG. It is not FRG soil. It is not governed by the FRG government nor could it be governed by it. However, ignoring this fact, the ruling West Berlin political leadership obeys the government of the Federal Republic and is thus essentially contributing to strengthening the intransigence of NATO policy. This inevitably brings about adverse social consequences which affect our city. Thus, quite recently the FRG government, citing the need to increase aid to Turkey

or, to set things straight, to increase Turkish military power, took from West Berlin's 1981 social budget 400 million marks. This harmed considerably many vitally important areas of the city. A close link may be traced between FRG policy toward West Berlin and the adverse consequences of this policy as it affects its population. Our party is struggling against this most decisively.

We proceed from the fact that the struggle related to social problems could improve the situation of the working people only if the peace can be strengthened. In this case we are guided by the fact that the struggle for peace is indivisible from the defense of the social and democratic rights of the working people. Today the struggle for peace has become a task of strategic importance for each communist party.

In this connection, we highly value the results of the Paris Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, held at the end of April 1980. On the eve of the meeting, on our party's initiative, several mass demonstrations of working people were held in West Berlin. They proved, yet once again, the resolve to dedicate maximum efforts to the struggle for peace and disarmament and against NATO policy.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Paris meeting, we published in a big edition an "Appeal of the Communists to the Peoples of the European Countries for Peace and Disarmament," on 1 May 1980, and distributed it among the broad West Berlin masses. The May Day ceremonies developed into a great demonstration on the part of the West Berlin working people and trade unions. Many slogans were raised against NATO's Brussels decisions to place in Western Europe new American medium-range missiles and against nuclear armaments.

Let me also mention that a demonstration with the participation of more than 25,000 people was held in West Berlin, organized by our party together with other democrats, on 8 May 1980, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of Berlin from fascism by the Soviet army. We held a big meeting which was also dedicated to this historical date on 10 May. In addition to West Berlin communists, social democrats, and Christian democrats, famous fighters for peace, including people from the Soviet Union, addressed the meeting. This meeting made many West Berliners think and encouraged many new people to join the struggle for peace, disarmament and detente.

Let me mention also the 20,000-strong demonstration in West Berlin, held on 18 May, as a sign of protest against the provocative speeches delivered in our city by Franz Joseph Straus, the representative of the most aggressive circles of West German monopoly capital.

Much could be said about the energetic struggle which our party is waging and about its activities. Let me mention, in particular, the press celebration in honor of our newspaper DIE WAHRHEIT, held on 28-29 June, with the participation of more than 60,000 people. The celebration was held under the slogan of the struggle for peace and disarmament.

All this confirms that not only the population of West Berlin but many other residents of our city are concerned by the present global situation and that

conditions are ripening which make it possible to rally in the joint struggle for peace a growing number of people with different outlooks and different political persuasions. Generally speaking, let us point out that of late a greater readiness for cooperation has been shown in this area among communists, social democrats, rank and file Christian democrats, liberals, unaffiliated people, well-known men of arts and science. We can say with full justification that our policy of unity of action and of alliances is acquiring an ever firmer base and that with any subsequent sensible development of this activity prerequisites will appear for a mass movement for peace and disarmament in West Berlin. This is a noteworthy fact.

For 20 years after the war the ruling social democratic mayors of the city described West Berlin as a front line city and suggested to its population that "they were all in the same boat." They told them that this was no time for social hostility, for in order to be "free" and to survive, they had to think of how to oppose the "threat from the East." These times now belong to the past.

Today the people pay greater attention to domestic problems. Their political awareness, mainly that of the workers, is growing. They are beginning to understand that social progress and progress in the area of democratic rights can be achieved only through cooperation and cohesion, in the course of the joint struggle against the common enemy. This line of cooperation was formulated at the fifth congress of our party, 5 years ago. Its accuracy was confirmed by reality.

We ascribe to the struggle for social rights and for keeping jobs at enterprises prime significance. Our city has had from 33,000 to 35,000 permanently unemployed people for many years. That is why the activities in which our party is engaged for the elimination of unemployment, for raising wages and against the restriction of trade union rights become particularly important. Extensive and energetic work at enterprises and in trade unions is the main activity of the West Berlin SED in the area of domestic policy. Let me reemphasize, however, that this should not be considered as separate from the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament, but as dialectically related to it. Only in such a case could we hope for any kind of success.

In our struggle we, the communists, are concentrating above all on the working class. Speaking of the West Berlin working class, we must bear in mind that the city has a distorted economic structure, which has a fatal influence on its situation. Let me cite a few figures only: the city has approximately 850,000 to 900,000 ablebodied people in a population of 1.9 million. However, no more than 183,000 work in industry. One out of five West Berliners are employed by the government, i.e., not in the production area; 120,000 are students, teachers, or higher school professors. Furthermore, about one-quarter of the population are people over 65. In other words, West Berlin is an aging city.

On the other hand, our city has more than 200,000 foreign workers who are being subjected to all kinds of discriminations and have neither political nor social rights. They lead an essentially miserable life and are employed in the most difficult types of unskilled jobs. About 120,000 of them are Turks. It is

jocularly said that West Berlin is one of the 20 biggest Turkish cities, for in all of Turkey there are precisely that many cities with a population of 120,000 or more.

Let us consider the problem of West Berlin's young men and women. The official policy in the field of education is being increasingly focused on providing schooling opportunities to the members of the rich classes. The crime rate among young people is exceptionally high. Many of them die from drug overdoses. In this respect West Berlin is as bad as any big American city. All this forces us to pay extremely close attention to the problem of young people, as we have been doing in the past. We would like the growing generation of our city to have a chance for a better future.

The gravity of the problems related to the situation of women in society is defined by the fact alone that women account for approximately 52 percent of the city's population. The number of women who are actively participating in political life has been growing precisely in the past few years. Most working women have already joined truly progressive associations and organizations. Here again, we must try to cooperate with anyone who is fighting for equality and for truly democratic rights.

The creative, scientific and technical intelligentsia is yet another social group with whose problems our party is dealing quite actively and whose cooperation we desire. It could play a more significant role in our efforts to use all opportunities offered by West Berlin. This is one of the problems with which we shall be dealing consistently in the course of our preparations for the congress. In the final account, this is our city and we feel responsible for it although we are not part of its political leadership.

From time to time, the bourgeois journalists claim that West Berlin is a dying city precisely for the reasons I cited. We disagree. All that is needed is to pursue a sensible policy in accordance with the realities of life and the special situation of West Berlin, which is in the center of the socialist GDR, a circumstance which could be a factor of tremendous positive importance for its population. However, this calls for putting an end to the enmity instilled by the ruling circles and to the official policy of ignoring the geographic location of our city. In order to insure a guaranteed future for the city the quadripartite agreement must be observed and all advantages stemming from it must be used. A policy defined not by anticommunism but by the city's interests must be pursued. Many new opportunities have appeared in this area, including the ones related to the proposals formulated at our party's congresses.

What are the party's plans for the immediate future? First of all, we intend to continue our extensive work on the further intensification of the struggle for peace and disarmament. To this effect we must broaden the range of our allies in the struggle for peace, disarmament and detente, and prove clearly to everyone that it is precisely the communists who are the most active and consistent fighters for peace. It is precisely this course that is the basis of our plans for the democratic development of West Berlin, a development which, in the final account, should open for the city the road to socialism.

Unquestionably, these problems will be discussed extensively by the Sixth West Berlin SED Congress, this coming May. We consider the forthcoming congress not an intraparty event only. The implementation of a number of additional measures will insure extensive support of it. West Berlin numbers many citizens who, without being members of our party, agree with it on many important matters.

The preparations for the congress are being made under the circumstances of the political crisis which has developed in our city and which brought about the downfall of the SPD/FDP coalition government, in January 1981, including Mayor Stobbe's resignation. The immediate cause was the financial scandal in which senators from the ruling parties were involved. The deeper reasons for the crisis lie elsewhere. They may be found in the faulty policy of the ruling circles, which are continuing to consider our city a citadel of anticommunism in the heart of the socialist GDR.

The ruling circles have remained deaf to our party's appeals to make use of the favorable opportunities provided by the quadripartite accord for the sake of pursuing a sensible policy which would take political realities into consideration. However, the FDP or, even less so, the CDU are showing no willingness to do this.

Let us add to this the negative consequences of the intensifying economic crisis in the capitalist countries and, not least, the cost of the increasing NATO arms race in whose financing West Berlin has been enlisted in violation of the legal norms. An open offensive is being mounted against the living standard of the working people. The housing problem has reached an unparalleled level of gravity. Budget allocations for the development of education and health care are being curtailed. The democratic and social rights gained by the workers in the postwar years are being restricted. Prices have risen considerably, particularly in the area of communal services. Briefly stated, the contradiction between labor and capital is intensifying. At the same time, however, the forces which oppose the policy of the ruling circles have become energized. All of this has led to a situation in which internal contradictions in West Berlin have reached a breaking point.

Not one of the three parties currently represented in the municipal council is able to formulate a political concept which would be generally consistent with the changed circumstances and could lead us out of the crisis which has developed to one extent or another in literally all areas of West Berlin social life. Not the least among them is the CDU, the party of monopoly capital which, with the help of impudent demagogy, is trying not only to shun responsibility for its previous policies but to gain an advantage from the developing situation. The CDU is demanding the early dissolution of the parliament, to be followed by new elections within the shortest possible time in order to profit from the discontent shown by the population with the bankrupt policy of the SPD/FDP coalition government. The obvious fact, however, remains that all parties represented in parliament will harvest the fruits of their near-sighted policies.

Such developments cannot leave our party indifferent. Its practical policy in the period of preparations for its sixth congress is focused on enabling West Berlin

to find its proper place, once and for all, in the rapidly changing world, a place consistent with the interests of the general peace and of the citizens of the city, today and in the future. This is the purpose of the suggestions formulated by the party, which are being extensively discussed by the membership and which will be submitted to the congress. This involves drafts of two documents. The first is a new edition of the "Principles and Objectives of the West Berlin SED;" the second is "The West Berlin SED and the Tasks of the 1980s."

The need for a new edition of the "Principles and Objectives of the West Berlin SED" is that this document was adopted 15 years ago. Since then great changes have taken place in the world, which the party must take into consideration in order to define its long-term political objectives accurately. As to the document "The West Berlin SED and the Tasks of the 1980s," it is the political platform for the struggle waged by our party for peace, security, democracy and social progress in the new stage.

Both drafts reflect the unbreakable link between Marxist-Leninist theory and our political practice. They are characterized by the continuity of the policy formulated at previous party congresses. This policy will be developed further. Furthermore, the documents sum up the experience which the party has acquired in recent years in its struggle in defense of the interests of the working people. The two documents are the foundations of the program for the party's further activities. They are consistent with the ideological, political and organizational principles of the communist movement.

The directions which the party will follow in its policies can be easily traced from the draft documents and the discussion of them in the course of the preparations for the sixth congress:

The struggle for peace. In the 1980s the struggle for peace will become the basic political problem whose resolution will determine the survival of mankind. In the circumstances of West Berlin, the peace movement is closely linked with the solution of grave social problems. This offers new opportunities for developing unity of action within the working class and the founding of democratic alliances. We also take into consideration that the rising power of the socialist comity and the development of the world peace movement will contribute to the intensification of the struggle against imperialism and for social progress;

Defense of the social and democratic rights of the working class and the people. In our city this is the main domestic political task of the party for the 1980s;

Combining the active struggle for the defense of the rights and interests of the working class and all working people with the strengthening of the party. The successful struggle which must be waged for the vital interests of the working class and of the majority of the population in our city today and in the future adamantly requires the strengthening of the West Berlin SED. Conversely, the West Berlin SED will be the stronger the more actively the party members participate in the struggle for the political, democratic and social interests of the working class and of all working people.

The major domestic political crisis in West Berlin is a clear manifestation of intensified class conflicts which, in turn, are manifested in sharp social clashes. On the basis of this conclusion the party will be working to change the ratio of class forces in favor of the working class and the other democratic forces in the 1980s. That is precisely why the struggle for unity of action within the working class, based on cooperation between communists and social democrats, between the West Berlin SED and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, is the focal point of attention in the preparations for the party congress and the draft documents. This cooperation is also a base for extensive anti-imperialist and democratic alliances whose purpose is to turn West Berlin in the direction of social progress.

The draft documents state that our party is the only one in West Berlin whose objective is socialism. It combines within its policy the propaganda of socialism with constant specific efforts to explain to the working masses their historical mission. Once again it proclaims that the Great October Revolution marked the beginning of the era of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, and that as an inseparable part of the global communist movement the West Berlin SED is linked with inseparable fraternal ties with the CPSU--the most experienced party in the global communist movement--and with the SED, the first party on German soil to establish the power of the workers and peasants and to build developed socialism.

We note in the draft of our documents that the communists are not in the habit of taking the second step without taking the first. By this I mean the following: the experience of the international workers movement proves that in the circumstances of existing state-monopoly capitalism the period of transition to socialism covers a number of intermediary steps. Starting with the objective situation of West Berlin and the level of development of the subjective factor, it is obvious that the task will be to achieve, step by step, a restriction of the power of the big monopolies by increasing the militancy of the workers movement, broadening its realm of action, and exerting a stronger influence on left-wing and other democratic forces in the area of political decision-making. Such is our understanding of the road to social and democratic progress. This is the direction taken by our party in the field of domestic policy. We realize perfectly that adamant struggle alone will enable us to reach our objectives. Our party will dedicate itself precisely to the development of this struggle in the 1980s. It will do everything possible to make the Sixth West Berlin SED Congress another culminating point in the struggle for the class interests of the workers and of all working people in our city.

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VICTIMS OF BRITISH COLONIALISM: CONSONANCE OF HISTORICAL FATES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 103-112

[Article by Michael O'Riordan, Communist Party of Ireland secretary general]

[Text] One may ask what connection could there be between my native Ireland, an island west of the European continent, and Afghanistan, thousands of miles deep within Central Asia? I was inspired to find an answer to this question by the excellent work by Prof N. Khalfin, "British Plots Against Afghanistan," published by the Novosti Press Agency, Moscow, 1981. As I was reading it, I became aware not only of a certain similarity with the title of my own modest work "Pages From the History of Soviet-Irish Relations," published in Dublin in 1977, but I also detected a tremendous number of comparable events in the history of the Afghan and the Irish peoples, not to mention the common influence which the Great October Revolution had on them.

However, the following question arises: is it necessary to discuss the past at this point? N. Khalfin gives the following explanation in his introduction: "Is it proper to publish a book on the not very distant yet but still past history of Afghanistan precisely now, in such strange circumstances?" he asks. "I believe that it is, for the events it covers are closely interwoven with the present. Irrefutable historical facts prove that for more than 150 years the threat of the division and enslavement of the Afghan state came from Western colonisers (British mainly), whereas Russia, not to mention the Soviet Union, was interested in the unification and consolidation of the country" (p 4). If we were to replace the words "Afghanistan" and "Afghan" in this excerpt with the words "Ireland" and "Irish," we would easily see that, with all the necessary changes related to the historical characteristics of these two countries, all in all, these words fully apply to my homeland also.

The Afghan and Irish peoples were both:

Victims of British imperialist duplicity;

Objects of the imperialist policy of "divide and rule" and of the division it promoted;

Recipients of the special "favours" of the British Queen Victoria;

Objects of research by K. Marx and F. Engels;

Forced into signing disastrous bilateral treaties with Great Britain;

Participants in the talks on the conclusion of friendship treaties with the young Soviet Russia, before it was recognized by other countries.

Let us add to this that the names of the same British statesmen show up in the history of the two peoples: Palmerston, Lloyd George, Gladstone and others. This line runs all the way into the 1980s, when Lord Carrington, the current secretary of state for foreign affairs, is expressing the traditional British opposition to the independence and positive neutrality of both nations. In Afghanistan's case he tried to block the April 1973 revolution and, using so-called neutralization as camouflage, to impose on Afghanistan an even harsher foreign domination than in the past. Meanwhile, he has been trying to force Ireland (the only member of the EEC which is not a NATO member) to abandon its neutrality!

In what period could Irish and Afghan history be considered consonant to such an extent? The period could be named quite specifically: the first war which England waged against the Afghan people, in 1838. It was precisely then that the interests of the Afghan people coincided with those of the Irish people, who had been suffering from British oppression ever since England seized Ireland in 1169. Not a single generation of Irishmen ever resigned itself to this oppression. The first resistance movement, which reflected the social structure of its participants at that time, was headed by the leaders of the Irish clans (i.e., tribes), as was the case with Afghanistan, through 1798, when the national liberation struggle was headed by the democratic forces of the national bourgeoisie, rallied in the "United Irishmen" society, whose most noted leader was Wolfe Tone. The main task of this organization, which appeared under the unquestionable influence of the French Revolution, was to oppose the British policy of the division of Ireland, hence the emphasis on unity, as indicated in its name. W. Tone said: "...My objectives were to break the ties with England, this inexhaustible source of all of our political troubles, and to make my country independent. My means were the unification of all Irish people, erasing the memory of all previous discord, and replacing all labels such as protestant, Catholic, or dissenter, with the name Irish."

These words have been frequently repeated years later, for the use of religion for divisive purposes remained one of the main tools for the preservation of the domination of the British ruling class in Ireland. Fifty years after W. Tone made this statement, McNaughton, "ambassador extraordinary and envoy plenipotentiary" of Great Britain to Afghanistan, seemed to practice the exact opposite: in an effort to reduce to naught the stipulations of the agreement he had been forced to sign, McNaughton deliberately pitted against one another and promoted quarrels between tribal leaders. N. Khalifin writes that McNaughton told Mokhan Lala, his secret agent, that if he were successful in this project, the British would be able to remain in Kabul, and that this would be far preferable to a winter retreat in the snow. McNaughton expressed readiness to pay whatever amount of money was necessary and emphasized to Mokhan Lala that he should use all possible means to achieve this objective (see p 33).

The "United Irishmen" rebellion of 1798 was suppressed with such cruelty that even General Abercrombie, commander in chief of the British forces in Ireland, resigned as a sign of protest and indignation. Similar cruelty was frequently displayed

during the three British wars waged on Afghanistan between 1838 and 1919. Many of the participants in the Irish rebellion of 1798 subsequently became heroes, whose memory was preserved in popular legends and songs. One such hero was a girl by the name of Nancy Gray, who inspired her fellow rebels as did the young Afghan girl Malalai who, during the battle against the British forces in 1880, "on the battlefield, tore off her veil which she waved like a flag and urged on her fighting compatriots by singing traditional Afghan 'landy'—two verse poems—which stated that it was better to die in battle than to be covered by the shame of cowardice" (N. Khalfin, p 64).

The creation of the English army, the perpetrator of the painful suffering inflicted on the Afghan people, is directly related to Ireland. General Frank Keatson, commander of the Second Rhine Division, states in his description of military operations in Northern Ireland in the 1970s, that "In the 17th century, when a regular army was first created (in English history—the author), one of the main reasons for its creation and being was to suppress the Irish.

It is perfectly natural for Britain to have used a similar tactic in both countries. In Ireland men good for army service were pressed into British army service after being bribed with what was known as the "king's shilling;" meanwhile, "Saint George's Cavalry," i.e., gold coins, were generously used to bribe Afghan tribal leaders. It is a historical irony that the Irish recruited with the help of the "king's shilling" turned out to be the mercenaries used by the British in Afghanistan, including generals and officers with typical Irish names such as Keene, Kelly, Connolly, and others.

In both countries England practiced warfare with the help of the "natives," i.e., using the same methods which the American imperialists tried to use later in their criminal war in Vietnam—the notorious "Vietnamization" of the war. In Ireland the colonizers set up the militia of the Northern Cork, the militia of Southern Down, the royal militarized police and others, which served England as its domestic forces and which played in Ireland the role which their Afghan counterparts played in Afghanistan: the Momand Militia, the South Waziristan Scouts, the Khyber Rifles, and the Kurram Militia. All these army formations—in both Ireland and Afghanistan—were commanded by British officers, although the troops were recruited among the local population.

The Gandamak Treaty of 1879, which totally deprived Afghanistan of its independence in foreign policy and severely restricted its internal political independence, was signed under circumstances similar to the enactment of the Act of Union of 1801, which made Ireland part of Great Britain, and every Irish man and woman a "Briton." As to the Gandamak Treaty, "It was approved by no more than an insignificant handful of feudal lords who were willing to cooperate with the enemy. Meanwhile, the British ruling circles were expanding: they had reached their goals. Rewards poured on the politicians and the military who had participated in the establishment of British rule over Afghanistan like a torrent" (N. Khalfin, p 56). This was nothing new compared with what had occurred three-quarters of a century earlier, when England had bribed members of the Irish parliament (in which the popular masses were no longer represented as a result of a British law), to vote in favor of the Act of Union. The vote was rewarded by the government in London by awarding 28 among them peerages; 26 were made counts, and

a great deal of cash was paid out. When they recall this event, the Irish say that "they sold out their country and thanked God for giving them a country they could sell out."

Queen Victoria's reign left its mark on the life of both nations. N. Khalfin recreates the very clear picture of the way England tried to conquer the Afghan people by eliminating the local leaders in addition to using "Empress Victoria" military power and bribery.

A fabulous little city appeared on the plain north of Delhi, near the Kashmir Gates toward the end of 1876. Rajahs, maharajahs, nabobs and sultans with huge retinues consisting of hundreds of elephants, horses, mules and camels came here from all parts of India. A hexagonal canopy, built in the style of an ancient pagoda, made of precious fabrics and crowned with a column bearing the initials "I. V."--"Empress Victoria"--rose above the innumerable tents and beautiful pavilions. Under it sat Baron Litton wearing a blue ermine mantle on which glittered golden lotus leaves. The queen's train was symbolically held by two pages--an Englishman, dressed in the fashion of the first Stuarts, and a Hindu, the son of the Maharajah of Kashmir, wearing a turban and a national costume decorated with precious stones. Behind the tents there were thousands of people, with the British infantry in red and the cavalry in blue.

It was here, after a sumptuous ceremony during which Indian princes were presented to the viceroy, that Litton solemnly proclaimed Queen Victoria empress of India, on 1 January 1877. But where were Afghanistan and its ruler? The point was that Sher Ali Khan had been invited to attend a durbar (council). This was a clever move, for here came the vassals of the British crown and the arrival of the Afghan ruler in Delhi could have been considered an admission of his attendance on his powerful neighbors. The emir understood this perfectly. Despite persistent invitations, no official from Kabul came to the durbar" (N. Khalfin, pp 41-42).

Queen Victoria paid a royal visit to Ireland as well. She came by sea to the Irish port of Cobh, which was renamed Queenstown on the occasion. However, she is remembered in Ireland far more frequently as the "hunger queen" who showed greater feelings and concern for dogs than for people. In the second Afghan war, when the British armies commanded by Roberts were able to break the Afghan siege of Kandagar, the news was welcomed in London with stormy enthusiasm. "Roberts was compared with Admiral Nelson and the Duke of Wellington. He was made Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of Bath, a baronet, and Lord Roberts of Kandagar. He was presented with two swords "for bravery," awarded 12,500 pounds sterling, and presented with many honorific titles. He was thanked by the entire high nobility and Queen Victoria awarded combat medals even to his horse and his dog" (N. Khalfin, p 65).

The second Anglo-Afghan war created thousands and thousands of human casualties and left a number of Afghan cities and settlements in ruins. Huge sums were spent on the military operations. However, the British ruling circles were comforted by the fact that these costs were met by India, their colony. They were not bothered in the least by the well-known fact that shortly before the British invasion of Afghanistan the peoples of India were in the throes of one of the most terrible

famines in the history of the country and that even a small percentage of the funds spent on the ambitious plans of a handful of politicians could have saved millions of human lives in India.

But how does all of this apply to Ireland? The Irish living standard was so low that potatoes were the main food staple. Yet in 1845, 1846 and 1847, during the reign of that same Queen Victoria, the Irish potato crop was killed by a disease. This resulted in the "great Irish famine." The population of Ireland dropped from 8.5 to 4 million as a result of death or emigration caused by the famine. The fact that this was not entirely natural is confirmed clearly by the still remembered Irish saying that "God sent the potato blight while the English sent the famine. Less than one-half of the amount of grain and meat exported from Ireland to England in the period of the famine would have sufficed to save all of those who died of hunger. However, the imperial economy demanded this amount of food and the English landowners demanded steady payments of the rent from the Irish peasants. A bitter story is remembered about Queen Victoria as the "hunger queen," according to which she personally donated five pounds sterling to a fund in aid to the starving (this is a typical "philanthropic" gesture of the British) and that on that same day she spent precisely the same amount on a dog show.

The war for national liberation went on. The passing of the Act of Union was followed by the 1803, 1867, 1916 and 1917-1921 Irish rebellions. In many cases they coincided with the continuing battles fought by Afghanistan against British imperialism.

The most important period in the history of the struggle waged by both nations began after the Great October Socialist Revolution and under its global impact.

In the December 1918 elections, the forces of independence won 73 of the 105 seats allocated to the Irish members of parliament in the British House of Commons. With such a significant number of seats, the members of parliament refused to go to the House of Commons and instead set up their own Irish parliament (the Irish Dail). A peculiar "twin rule" situation arose with the organization of the Dail which immediately became very active and which England declared illegal. England mounted a campaign of concentrated terrorism in which, in addition to regular British forces deployed in Ireland, it used special punitive "Black and Tan" units consisting of mercenaries recruited mainly among World War I officers and former criminals. Ireland responded to this governmental terrorism in town and country with extensive guerrilla warfare, a mass civil disobedience campaign and a wave of strikes.

Amanulla Khan ascended the Afghan throne on 28 February 1919 and proclaimed that Afghanistan must be independent, "as independent as any other country or state." The RSFSR was the first country in the world to recognize the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan, on 27 March 1919. As to Great Britain, as early as 6 May 1919, after a period of provocatory concentration of forces on the Afghan border and the deliberate instigation of disputes in the Khyber Pass area, it declared war on Afghanistan. Despite overwhelming superiority in troops and armaments (which even included the use of the air force), England was defeated by the poorly armed Afghan army which, naturally, had no airplanes but had instead the powerful weapon of fiery patriotism. An armistice was concluded on 3 June 1919. The winner of World War I was defeated in Afghanistan. In other words, what

happened was something about which V. I. Lenin had written regarding our country: "Today's 'winners' in the first imperialist slaughter are unable to defeat the small, the insignificantly small island..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 174).

In the face of the popular resistance movement in Ireland, England recognized that it would have to accept a certain degree of Irish independence. However, it undertook to do this in a way that was as hypocritical as it was treacherous. An armistice was proclaimed in July 1921, and talks were initiated between the Irish Dail and the British government. The high point was reached in the early morning of 6 December 1921 when, under the threat of "immediate and horrible war" which Britain was prepared to resume unless the Irish side were to accept its conditions, the Anglo-Irish treaty was signed. The English threat and the conditions of the treaty themselves opened a deep gap between the Irish. An Irish writer-patriot has given us the following description of the events in the Dail on the day the treaty was ratified by an insignificant majority:

"Something unusual happened then: less than 6 months later a dark prophesy was fulfilled. One member of parliament after another, regardless of whether he had voted "for" or "against" in this electrified chamber, broke down and the treaty was signed with cries, with the cries of those who, before that, had stood shoulder to shoulder, like brothers, staring at the face of death. The people who were crowding this room were all young soldiers. They were aware of the depth of the tragedy which had stricken them. The British politicians split the Irish who had so splendidly held together until then, they split them completely and irrevocably. People who had lived dangerously for 4 years and had not flinched at danger, had never abandoned a comrade in difficulty, were now at each other's throats... The signing of the treaty which swept away Irish unity and which, in the final account, surrendered the exhausted country to the will of its enemy, was received only with tears" (D. Hogan, "Four Glorious Years," Dublin, 1953).

In a display of fake greatness, Britain granted to most of the country the status of dominion. However, in order to prevent any further movement toward the total liberation of the entire country, the government in London undertook the implementation of the divisive plan, the "division of Ireland," which is well known today. Six of the nine counties in the Province of Ulster were separated from Ireland in order to set up an artificial state covering part of Northern Ireland. Britain justified this division by claiming that "on principle" it was acting to protect a minority, i.e., the descendants of the settlers who had been moved there by England and who professed the Protestant faith, for which reason they were being granted permanent British citizenship. Using a devilish divisive tactic, Britain not only divided Ireland but programmed the future division within the Northern Irish "state," by deliberately including within it Catholics (who account for one-third of the entire population), who wanted to remain citizens of the united and independent Irish state.

It was thus that a minority became a majority and vice versa.

Essentially, England had used the tactic of division in Afghanistan as early as 1893, when it divided the Pushtu ethnic majority into two separate groups separated by the "Durand line" and incorporated part of Afghanistan in its Indian possessions.

Under the circumstances which developed after the conclusion of the June 1919 armistice, which marked Britain's military defeat, "The British bourgeoisie, which V. I. Lenin repeatedly described as resourceful and cunning, decided to change its tactics in the hope, nevertheless, of being able to control the emir in the course of the peace talks. The British ruling circles were in no hurry, assuming that the termination of "subsidies" and a break of trade relations with India would trigger Afghanistan's economic collapse, followed by its total capitulation.

"The plan stood a chance for success until October 1917. Following the appearance of Soviet Russia it had no future: the Afghan people were guaranteed fraternal support.

"Soviet-Afghan relations developed rapidly and purposefully. A special Afghan mission reached Tashkent on 28 May 1919, and an Afghan consulate general was opened in that city in June. Communications between Turkestan and the center were interrupted once again during that period, and a diplomatic mission of the Turkestan ASSR was sent to Kabul to represent the land of the soviets. This was the first foreign diplomatic mission to Afghanistan after the proclamation of its independence. This put an end to Afghan foreign political isolation" (N. Khalfin, pp 90-91).

With the help of various tricks England attempted to stop this course of events but failed, for the conclusion of the Soviet-Afghan treaty encouraged other countries (such as France, Italy and Iran) to recognize Afghanistan's sovereignty and independence. "Britain which had unchallenged control over Afghanistan until recently suddenly found itself in a condition of 'splendid isolation' toward it" (N. Khalfin, p 97). Naturally, however, England pursued its intrigues and, to this day, is continuing to wage an undeclared war on Afghanistan—the fourth for England—on the side of counterrevolutionary forces supported by Islamabad, Beijing and Washington.

Friendship with Soviet Russia, which began in the 1920s, brought tremendous benefits to the Afghan people. By then Ireland as well was establishing diplomatic contacts with the RSFSR. This is yet another example of common features shared by Ireland and Afghanistan. Eleven months before the conclusion of the armistice with Britain, which opened the way to the December 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, in June of 1920 the Irish Dail, which was functioning without international recognition, took steps leading to the conclusion of a treaty of an entirely different nature. The Dail gave its agreement to send a diplomatic mission to the government of the RSFSR with a view to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Patrick McCarton, the intermediary appointed for this purpose, met with two Soviet representatives. A draft treaty was the result of this meeting.

Here is what the treaty stipulated:

"Greatly desirous to develop peaceful and friendly relations between the peoples of Russia and Ireland, and aspiring for cooperation in the interest of mankind and for the liberation of all nations from imperialist exploitation and oppression, by virtue of the power vested in them by the constitutions of their respective

countries, and on behalf of the people of Russia and the people of Ireland, the governments of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Irish Republic agree on the following:

"1. The government of the Irish Republic undertakes to use its possibilities and influence to assist in the recognition of the sovereignty of the RSFSR by all countries in the world.

"2. The government of the RSFSR undertakes to use its possibilities and influence to assist in the recognition of the sovereignty of the Irish Republic by all countries in the world.

"3. The government of Ireland undertakes to use its influence with all organizations and elements which relate to it with a view to preventing the shipping of weapons, equipment and ammunition to be used against the RSFSR.

"4. The government of the RSFSR expresses its readiness to exert pressure on any country, organization or group of people on which it has influence with a view to preventing shipments of weapons, equipment and ammunition to be used against the Irish Republic.

"5. The government of the RSFSR grants all religious organizations represented in the Irish Republic the same rights granted religious sects in accordance with the Soviet Constitution, and commissions the representative of the Irish Republic accredited to Russia to represent the interests of the Roman Catholic church within the territorial limits of the RSFSR.

"6. In any country in which one of the contracting parties maintains a diplomatic mission, it will be placed at the disposal of the other contracting party.

"7. The government of the RSFSR undertakes to sell all goods exported from Russia to Ireland, directly or indirectly, exclusively through institutions designated by the government of the Irish Republic and at prices and conditions accepted by said government.

"8. The government of the RSFSR agrees to place orders for all goods which can be purchased from Ireland to the extent to which said privilege applies to said institutions.

"9. The privileges named in the preceding two paragraphs (7 and 8) will apply to extraterritorial institutions controlled by the government of the Irish Republic, to the extent to which said privilege is applicable to said institutions.

"10. The government of the RSFSR will invite and accept the services of citizens of the Irish Republic for the reconstruction of Soviet industry and will give special consideration to tenders for services submitted through governmental departments of the Irish Republic or by private individuals and concerns recommended by the Irish Republic, requesting concessions for the exploitation of Russian natural resources.

"11. The government of the Irish Republic undertakes to assist the sending of sanitary and medical aid to the people of Russia with all means at its disposal.

"12. With a view to their acknowledged objective of putting an end to imperialist exploitation, insuring the freedom of international contacts, achieving general disarmament and insuring the mandatory consideration of all international disputes by a court of arbitration and insuring peace for all peoples on earth, the contracting parties agree to join a league of countries holding the same views, in which each state will be represented by delegates freely elected by its citizens.

"13. Any disagreement on the interpretation of any provision of this treaty will be submitted to the league organized in the previously stipulated manner, and decisions on any question will be adopted by the majority vote of countries represented in the league.

"14. In the final account, treaties between free nations are guaranteed by the good will and trust of the nations themselves, with a view to promoting in their citizens feelings of friendship for another nation and reciprocal understanding with other nations.

"15. The term of this treaty will be 10 years. Intent of its termination may be submitted only at the end of the 9th year; otherwise the treaty will remain in force for the next 10-year period" (cited from Michael O'Reardon's "Pages From the History of Irish-Soviet Relations," New Books Publications, Dublin, 1977, pp 43-46).

Alas, the Irish national leadership failed to ratify the treaty because of the hesitation of the bourgeois elements which set the tone of the leadership. At that time Eamon De Valera, the president of Ireland, was more concerned with gaining the recognition of the Irish Republic by the United States. This hope was largely based on the fact that an influential Irish lobby was active in American political life. As it happened, however, recognition was not granted. The American bourgeoisie proved that its class relations with the British bourgeoisie were far more important than all the loud assertions made by American politicians of Irish origin on the strength of their ethnic and sentimental ties with "the mother country."

The draft Irish-Soviet friendship, reciprocal recognition, aid and cooperation treaty was not ratified. Instead, one year later, Ireland affixed its signature to a treaty with Britain which brought about not friendship but bloodshedding civil war in the south of Ireland, division in the north and the violence which prevails to this day throughout Ireland...

...The struggle for the independence of the Afghan people reached its peak with the victory of the April 1978 revolution, which proclaimed objectives such as the implementation of an agrarian reform, gradual industrialization of the country, comprehensive planning, social justice, elimination of backwardness and organization of public education and health care. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, born of this revolution, was faced with the fierce attacks of external enemies who were also supporting subversive internal forces hostile to the new republic. When

the revolution in neighboring Iran broke out, imperialism frenziedly started to look for another base and, having always opposed any form of social progress, focused on Afghanistan. There was nothing strange in the fact that the progressive forces turned to the Soviet Union, as Afghanistan had done in the 1920s, as the threat to the Afghan revolution increased. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated, the USSR is helping the new Afghanistan, on the request of its government, to defend the country's national independence, freedom and honor from foreign armed aggression.

The action of solidarity between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan brought the imperialists and their Beijing allies to a state of disarray close to insanity. They launched a total propaganda campaign, distorting everything possible for the sake of presenting this action of solidarity as an act of Soviet "aggression." This campaign is being pursued at full speed. From time to time, its extremely shrill tone is accompanied by gestures on the part of the United States, British imperialism, Beijing hegemonists and Pakistani reactionaries, who are trying to assume the stand of "supporters of non-intervention" in the domestic affairs of the nations. The position of the Soviet Union on this matter was expressed with extreme clarity at the splendid 26th CPSU Congress, which was attended by 123 delegations from the entire world, including, quite naturally, representatives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Communist Party of Ireland. In expressing this principled position with absolute clarity, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "We oppose the export of revolution but equally disagree with the export of counterrevolution."

"Imperialism unleashed a real undeclared war on the Afghan revolution. This created a direct threat to our southern border. This situation forced us to grant the military aid requested by a friendly country."

"The plans of the enemies of Afghanistan were defeated. The planned policy of the people's democratic party and government of Afghanistan, headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal, planned according to and consistent with the national interests, strengthened the people's regime."

"As to the Soviet military contingent, we shall be ready to withdraw it with the agreement of the Afghan government. In order for this to happen, the sending to Afghanistan of counterrevolutionary gangs must come to a full stop. This must be codified with agreements concluded between Afghanistan and its neighbors. Reliable guarantees must be given that there will be no more intervention. Such is the principled stand of the Soviet Union to which we will adhere firmly!"

Despite this clear statement or perhaps precisely because of it, imperialism and its accomplices have increased their propaganda campaign even further. If such propaganda pressure may lead some individuals in the world's labor movement to engage in such intervention--as cases such as this will invariably occur--they would be among those who believe that revolutions must be "pure, smooth and precise," and that a revolution must be defended only according to the rules governing debates in the House of Commons in London or in other bourgeois parliaments and institutions. Clearly, they should read what Lenin wrote on views concerning such so-called "pure" revolutions.

"...To think that a social revolution is conceivable without the uprising of the small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary explosions on the part of the petite bourgeoisie, regardless of all its prejudices, and movements on the part of unconscious proletarian and semiproletarian masses against landed, church, monarchic, national and other oppression," Lenin claimed, "is to reject the social revolution. It means to deploy troops in one place and say, 'We are for socialism,' and to deploy troops elsewhere and say 'We are for imperialism,' and the result will be a social revolution!..."

"Anyone who is waiting for a "pure" social revolution will never live to see it. He is a revolutionary in words only who fails to understand the nature of a true revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 54).

Lenin wrote this in defense of the Irish rebellion of 1916, which was being described as a coup d'etat. This is only one of the many reasons for which the Communist Party of Ireland supports the historical Afghan revolution of April 1978 and approves the action of solidarity carried out by the Soviet Union in the defense of it.

5003

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GIVE UP MYTHS AND FACE REALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 113-120

[Article by Gus Hall, U. S. Communist Party secretary general]

[Text] The thought that "Each CPSU congress is a unique milestone, an event of tremendous universal historical significance" was most heavily emphasized in the message of congratulations which our party, the U. S. Communist Party, addressed to the 26th CPSU Congress. Numerous arguments, an entire set of them even, could be cited in support of this truth. Nevertheless, they have a linchpin, i.e., characteristic features which determine the scope and depth of the impact of CPSU congresses on global social developments to a decisive extent. They are related to the scientific depth and precise analysis of the objective processes of global developments and also to the critical consideration of all accountable subjective factors. It is on this basis that the required conclusions are reached and lessons from gained experience are drawn. This is the reason why future developments extending into the foreseeable future can be anticipated so confidently. Quite naturally this is the reason for which the CPSU congresses are imbued with a vivifying revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit, a spirit of enthusiasm, optimism and decisiveness.

These features were embodied to their fullest extent and with unusual vividness in the proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress. This is particularly important to the American communists also, for the congress paid particularly close attention to problems directly pertaining to the United States. Specifically, it formulated a set of proposals on peace throughout the world and detente, as well as suggestions on the normalizing of American-Soviet relations. Therefore, as we have frequently emphasized, it is now up to the American side..

All of this forces us to pay twice as much attention to the events taking place in that same American side following the arrival of the new U. S. administration.

The policy pursued by the capitalist governments in their domestic and foreign affairs is essentially based neither on subjective nor personality factors, but is a reflection of deeper subjective processes. They vary according to the private interests of the ruling monopoly capital groups. In the United States governmental policy is controlled by the high financial oligarchy most directly and fully. This is regardless of whether a Republican or a Democratic administration is in power. Differences and disagreements do exist in matters of governmental policies. However they do not overstep the limits of shared class interests. The same limits

apply to the concessions made to the working class and to the peoples' masses which, however, can be achieved only as a result of mass movements and struggle. But even concessions granted to the working class are determined by the extent to which they fit into the general scheme of the functioning of the class exploitation system. Under pressure from below and in pursuit of votes, some politicians may occasionally take an independent stand. In the final account, however, it too does not overstep the limits set for relations between the monopolies and the state.

The apples of the political crop will keep falling in the shade of the old monopolistic tree as long as a deeper change has not taken place in the ratio of class forces.

U. S. state monopoly capitalism is facing ever newer and more difficult problems. Many old solutions no longer fit. Extensive confused and conflicting searches for something different are under way and there are arguments as to what road to follow and where to go.

In assessing the present situation *DEDALUS*, the rather refined journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, wrote in its issue No 1 for 1981: "The world, as it was in the 1950s and 1960s, is irretrievably lost. The ubiquitously prevalent feeling is one of America's decline or at least, of a relative loss of position in military and economic affairs." "If we have truly become, as it is thought, a 'sick' nation, which is seeking relief in simplicity, panaceas and Jingoism, all of these, naturally, are merely superficial manifestations of a deeper upheaval of our social institutions and our way of thinking;" "all of these are components of intricate and difficult problems which cannot be resolved as long as the numerous social, economic and psychological entanglements of the American nation have not been unraveled. Therefore, it is unlikely that Americans will be able to accomplish in the remaining decades of this century what they were able to do almost effortlessly only a couple of decades ago."

The present situation remains a "mysterious intricacy" to those who refuse to understand the basic nature of the general crisis of capitalism and of the world's revolutionary process, along with their internal laws and true reasons.

The Reagan administration will be forced to face the reality of the "ubiquitously prevalent feeling of American decline or at least, a relative loss of position in military and economic affairs." That which "entangles the nation" will entangle the Reagan administration as well. It can neither ignore nor avoid this "entangling" reality of the current situation. That is why the general line and policies of the present administration will not be fundamentally different from the policies of the Carter administration, particularly from the reactionary and conservative course it pursued in more recent times. It seems quite likely that Reagan's reactionary character will prove to be more direct and use fewer cosmetic covers. The new administration is feeling greater pressure from the right both from within and the outside, which is urging it to act more openly as antilabor, antidemocratic and racist. Its initial period will be the test of how far it could go in the pursuit of its policies and of the extent to which it could pursue them before it is confronted by the reaction of the masses. After an initial period,

however, the administration will have to face the political and economic realities of the country. Similarly, the world will not begin to change or adapt to Reagan's policies. The ratio of forces in the world arena will continue to change to the detriment of imperialism.

The economic crisis which is developing in other capitalist countries is one of the many economic problems facing the Reagan administration. It is not excluded that the whiplash of the crisis in these countries will lay the foundations for a new decline in U. S. output, as was the case with the crisis in the 1930s. Although numerous such attempts are being made, it is hardly possible to predict accurately the development of events and make predictions on comparisons between the Reagan administration and previous reactionary and conservative U. S. administrations. These are different times.

Herbert Hoover's conservative politics in 1930 were based on the economic boom, on the dizzying upsurge in the power of industrial monopolies. At that time no trade unions had been created in the main industrial sectors and racism, which was not even officially opposed by the government, was flourishing. Nor was inflation any particular problem for the Hoover administration. As we know, Hoover's conservative policies collapsed along with the economy. In turn, this triggered a mass struggle of historical significance, which was the objective base for the concessions which were made in the course of the implementation of Roosevelt's "new deal."

A different set of objective factors prevailed in the McCarthy period of reactionary conservatism. U. S. foreign policy was based on the illusion of U. S. monopoly of the atom bomb and on the concept of the "American century." Dulles' policy of pushing socialism back was being promoted by all possible propaganda means. The postwar situation allowed the United States to engage in economic expansion throughout the world, with the exception of socialist part of it. In addition to illusions of global domination, the Dulles-McCarthy conservatism was distinguished by the aspiration to erase even the traces of Roosevelt's "new deal" and above all, to eliminate in the trade union movement its most militant detachment headed by left-wing forces and communists. Concentrated efforts were launched with a view to the elimination of the communist party. Attacks on the party were used for the purpose of reducing to naught the influence and effectiveness of all progressive and liberal forces. This was an attempt to change the ratio of forces in the country and in the world arena radically and to establish American rule.

However, the global revolutionary process continued its triumphant march. The old colonial empires collapsed like houses of cards. The ratio of world forces was becoming increasingly adverse to imperialism.

The opposition to a foreign policy based on the myth of U. S. military superiority and the fear that McCarthyism was endangering all democratic rights and institutions not only triggered widespread concern but developed into mass movements. It was precisely the mass movements and the struggle of the masses that defeated McCarthyism.

Reagan's reactionary conservatism is forced to cope with a different correlation between domestic and international forces. Reagan will encounter the same forces

of the global revolutionary process and the same contradictions between the U. S. and the other capitalist countries which discredited and emasculated Carter's foreign policy. Furthermore, the world will not turn the clock back to the time of colonialism.

Reagan will have to deal with the Soviet Union which has become even more powerful today. He will have to deal with a Soviet Union which, since the end of World War II, has prevented the outbreak of a new world war, a Soviet Union which is pursuing a policy of peace and detente and is not allowing the widening of local wars; a Soviet Union whose policies have given the oppressed colonial peoples the opportunity to gain their freedom and not be destroyed in the course of their liberation struggle. The policy of the Soviet Union, which is pursuing these objectives, and its unusually increased prestige and influence will continue to play a most important role in the international reality with which Reagan's administration and U. S. monopoly capital will have to deal.

Because of these new realities a considerable segment of U. S. monopoly capital is not supporting or trusting at present concepts based on the fact that a military confrontation with the Soviet Union is the proper choice currently.

Taking this into consideration, the Reagan administration intends to speed up its plans for insuring American superiority in nuclear weapons and is hoping to gain military superiority in the area of the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and Western Europe.

Whenever possible, the Reagan administration will try to restrain by force the global revolutionary process in Africa and South America. Most of all, it will speed up the arming of reactionary forces in the Caribbean and Central America. The danger of direct U. S. military intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua remains and the farce of granting Puerto Rico statehood is continuing.

The Reagan administration will spare no efforts to get rid of the "Vietnam syndrome," i.e., of the fear which has haunted the United States after the defeat in Vietnam, in its efforts to impose upon the American people this aggressive militaristic policy.

It will look for ways to maintain ties with both Taiwan and China. Incidentally, if further proof is needed that the Maoists have used their anti-Soviet policy for the sake of extracting concessions from American imperialism, such proof may be found today in the Maoist base hints that its anti-Sovietism may abate were the Reagan administration to establish closer ties with Taiwan.

Reagan speaks of "linkage," of the fact that the progress of the global revolutionary process and the victory of socialism and of national liberation must be restrained. He considers this to be the basis for the development of American-Soviet relations. However, he will soon find out that this is like asking the earth to stop turning.

The Reagan administration will realize soon that the key unbreakable link in the chain of international realities is the interconnection between the Soviet Union and the global revolutionary process.

In pursuing its hegemonistic interests, the United States is hiding behind a variety of labels. One such label, used for the purpose of concealing the truly global expansion of U. S. multinational corporations, is that of "national interests." Another sample of labels borrowed from the arsenal of the "big lie" which is, if one may say so, joint property of American imperialism and China, is the petty word "hegemony." It has a special meaning and is nothing but an attempt to ascribe to the forces of peace and progress one's own aggressive and hegemonistic aspirations.

The armored fist of imperialist hegemony is represented by more than 2,000 U. S. military bases and strongholds on foreign territory.

The purpose of the armada in the Persian Gulf, consisting of more than 16 ships, is to insure U. S. hegemony in the area of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

The U. S. Sixth Fleet is supporting American hegemony in the Mediterranean.

Essentially, the Camp David accords are yet another support of U. S. hegemony in the Middle East.

The intended deployment under NATO command of a "rapid deployment force," which was once intended to number 100,000 men, but which now has about 200,000, represents a shameless attempt to involve the NATO countries in direct participation in the implementation of U. S. global hegemonistic intents.

The leading Maoist personalities in the PRC have their own hegemonistic thoughts. However, the hegemonistic manners of the American boss include hegemony over China and over the Sino-American military deal, i.e., the hegemony of the CIA over joint American-Chinese intelligence operations, not to mention the increasing hegemony of American banks over Chinese trade and financial institutions. The only thing we can add to this is that the ideas of Mao Zedong have been subordinated to the ideological hegemony of U. S. imperialism.

Total U. S. hegemony presumes the use of China in the role of an active supporter of American imperialism which is pursuing its main objective of weakening and blocking the progressive forces of national liberation and socialism, defeating them and turning back their progress wherever possible.

Through its banks American imperialism is exerting also a new pressure in an effort to establish an even more rigid financial hegemony over all countries which are its debtors. It is trying to achieve the financial and economic enslavement of these countries by threatening them to call in their loans and refusing new ones.

Another attempt is being made also to use food and other farm products as a hegemonistic tool. This applies to relations with underdeveloped countries in particular.

As a whole, the Reagan administration intends to make many other changes in the financial policy toward the developing countries, such as a general reduction in the amount of funds sent to them. The appropriated funds will go to a limited

number of countries with most reactionary leaders and governments, which are most closely tied to American imperialist policy. The majority of developing countries will not receive U. S. "aid" unless they agree with its imperialist policy. In a word, the new policy will use more the stick than the carrot.

On the domestic front, the Reagan administration faces a number of economic problems which have already become chronic and typical of the current stage reached in the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism. Such typical problems include built-in inflation, an excessively inflated "military community," a rising chronic unemployment, the harm which the multinational corporations are causing to domestic economic progress, high interest rates, reduced capital investments, which have resulted in the decline of many sectors and the closing down of many enterprises, a drop of real incomes and an unprecedentedly high consumer indebtedness.

The Reagan administration is trying to cope with these problems with the help of the old economic subtlety developed by Milton Friedman, a reactionary conservative and Nobel Prize laureate in economics, who bears the main responsibility for Carter's electoral defeat. The meaning of the so-called "supply-side economics" (i.e., the opposite of economics based on population demand) was described quite recently by Paul Volker, the very conservative chairman of the Federal Reserve: "The living standard of the middle American," he said, "must drop." The same idea was expressed in the 16 November NEW YORK TIMES editorial: "Real economic growth depends to a decisive extent on the strictness of state expenditures and incentives provided by the state to encourage production and reduce consumption." Simply stated, this means to produce more and to eat less. The Reagan administration intends to be guided by this fraudulent "supply-side economics" school of thought.

The drastic reduction of state expenditures suggested by Reagan mean "reduction of consumption," as a result of which the living standard of the middle American will indeed decline.

"Supply-side economics" is also a label which conceals a new level of fraud on the part of monopoly capital. It represents the true picture of state-monopoly capitalism.

We must point out that of late a rather substantial change has taken place in the economic policy of state-monopoly capitalism, and that the Reagan administration and the Thatcher cabinet have taken yet another step in that direction. It is a step away from Keynesian prescription of priming the economy with state expenditures and refusal to grant concessions to the working people as a means for expanding the consumer goods market in favor of a policy which tries to stimulate the economy by transferring huge funds to monopoly capital. Higher military expenditures and the growth of inflation are other important features of this change. Under conditions of monopoly control however, reduced consumption no longer lowers the rate of inflation.

Dissatisfied with maximum profits earned in the production area, the corporations are urging the state to engage in the most shameless redistribution of income in the history of capitalism to the detriment of the working class — the people,

and the benefit of the biggest monopolies. This can be achieved with all kinds of tax tricks and loopholes which will lift all restrictions and rules blocking the gigantic corporate fraud. The purpose of this policy is to remove any kind of control or regulation affecting the military-industrial complex. In this manner the state not only assumes the role of "bailiff" obeying the demands of the corporations but becomes a direct full partner in the plunder of the people.

An inseparable feature of "supply-side economics" is the onslaught on social programs interpreted as "false attempts at the redistribution of wealth," as a "burden of moral dependency," and so on. In revealing the racist edge of these attacks, a journalist working for David Rockefeller stated that "The expansion of Social Security programs hindered improvements in the situation of the poor, the blacks in particular." Is it astonishing that the steady decline in the living standard of the working people becomes a "gradual improvement" as interpreted by Rockefeller's circle?

To black Americans "supply-side economics" is a gigantic fraud combined with racism. Compared with the same period of last year, the average income of a white American family declined by 6.2 percent in real terms, compared with 8.1 percent for a black family. The family budget dropped by 12.1 percent for black Americans (with isolated exceptions) and by 15.1 percent in families with a single breadwinner.

The reduction of government expenditures suggested by Reagan will represent the further curtailment of precisely those programs which could assist working people subjected to racial oppression to some extent.

Naturally, as we enumerate all these antilabor, antipeople's and racist political programs drafted by the Reagan administration, we must bear in mind that these are merely drafts and that a great distance separates plans from the ability to implement them. The energizing and upsurge of popular movements and the apparent scope of a widespread mass struggle are major distinguishing features of the new political situation. The fact that many trade unions have agreed to participate in a march on Washington to demand job security is a very characteristic indicator of the mood and readiness to fight, which is developing in trade union ranks, mainly on the low, the mass level.

About 1,300 black organization activists held a conference in Philadelphia to discuss the possibility of creating several new political organizations. This conference reflected also a growing readiness to develop higher forms of politically autonomous action and to seek various means for gaining political influence in terms of resolving problems affecting the vital destinies of Afro-Americans.

A movement with growing popularity, mainly among religious leaders who oppose the extreme right movement known as the "moral majority," is assuming major importance.

Naturally, there are influential forces in the congress which are unwilling to follow the conservative policies of the Reagan administration. This applies mainly

to a group of black congressmen. Clearly, this group will play an essential role in the forthcoming struggle. Furthermore, a corresponding group of congressmen of Hispanic origin is developing and growing, and will play an increasingly important role in the congress.

Under the Carter administration the U. S. government mounted, as we know, a thoroughly hypocritical campaign "in defense of human rights." Today this has been replaced by the even more hypocritical campaign mounted under the slogan of "international terrorism." This is nothing other than an effort to turn the truth inside out. Its purpose is to mount a counteroffensive against the national liberation movement and against El Salvador and Nicaragua and perhaps, to organize the naval blockade of Cuba.

This entire false concern with "terrorism" is inseparably linked with the great imperialist lie on the subject of the "Soviet threat."

This lie remains a major ideological problem at the present time. It is a fact of political reality that those who believe that the United States is facing a "military threat from the Soviet Union," would be unlikely to join in the struggle against rising military expenditures, the MX missile or the B-1 nuclear bomber.

We must find stronger and more convincing arguments, for the simple repetition that this is a big lie will convince no one. Furthermore, the repetition itself would merely indicate an avoidance of the problem.

People who believe that the national liberation struggle is "instigated and directed by the Soviet Union," or else that it is one of the manifestations of "Soviet expansionism," will not join in the struggle against the American policy of imperialist aggression. We must prove that this is, indeed, a big lie.

As long as the people believe that the "national interest" of the United States extends to "sea lane communications" covering the entire world and most developing countries, the reactionary forces will be able to mislead such people. We must prove that this affects the interests of American corporations rather than the national interest of the United States.

People who believe that the Soviet Union is ready to "cut off oil deliveries to the United States" and to other capitalist countries will not object to the "rapid deployment force." As long as the people continue to believe the big lie and that the entire purpose is to "humiliate America," they will be inclined to support the concept of U. S. military superiority.

We must do more than what we are doing presently in order to explain the policy of peace and detente. We must prove that the big lie is aimed above all against the interests of the American people themselves.

We can only reemphasize that on this level the 26th CPSU Congress has opened tremendous possibilities with its analysis of the global circumstances and specific and purposeful proposals in favor of peace.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report to the 26th CPSU Congress opens new horizons in today's international reality. It erects a new obstacle on the path of the imperialist policy of war and aggression. It is a source of inspiration to all forces of human progress. The policy of the Reagan administration is based on the hopelessly obsolete myth of American economic and military superiority. That is why it will founder on the rock of the new international reality.

5003

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TIME OF REBIRTH AND CONSTRUCTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 81 pp 121-127

[Review of the book "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union]. In six volumes. Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU. Editors: P. N. Fedoseyev (chairman), Ye. I. Bugayev, A. G. Yegorov, A. A. Yepishev, A. S. Kapto, I. I. Mints, A. D. Pedosov (deputy chairman), B. N. Ponomarev, P. N. Pospelov and S. P. Trapeznikov. Vol 5 "The Communist Party on the Eve of and During the Great Patriotic War and in the Period of the Consolidation and Development of the Socialist Society (1938-1959)." Book 2 (1945-1959). Editors of the fifth volume: A. D. Pedosov (chairman), V. I. Kas'yanenko, A. A. Solov'yev (deputy chairman), A. G. Yegorov, A. A. Yepishev, A. A. Spasskiy, N. V. Tropkin and G. V. Sharapov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 691 pp]

[Text] The historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress triggered the tremendous patriotic and labor upsurge of the Soviet people. They were warmly supported by the communist and workers movements and by all progressive mankind.

The CC CPSU accountability reports to the 26th CPSU Congress, presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, and the congress materials contained profound and essential conclusions on the condition and tasks of the social sciences. They rated highly the extensive amount of work done in this area. The 26th congress emphasized the need for the further study and summation of the universal-historical experience of the revolutionary-transforming activity of the CPSU.

The Soviet scientists are doing fruitful work on the solution of this important problem. The several volume work "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," which is being written by the collective of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU, in close cooperation with the party and scientific public, and which is a long-term project, occupies a noted position among such published works.

The second book of the fifth volume of this publication covers the period from the end of the Great Patriotic War to the end of the 1950s, when socialism won its total and definitive victory in our country. These were heroic years in the history of our homeland. After defeating German fascism and Japanese militarism, the Soviet people took to peaceful labor and to the further strengthening and development of the socialist society. "The 20th century," noted L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "brought with it greater changes than any previous century. No single country has made a greater contribution to such changes than

the USSR--the homeland of the Great October Revolution and the first country of victorious socialism. This is the seventh decade in which the invincible Leninist banner has been flying over it!"

Our party's activities in the period covered by the book is an inseparable and important component of the history of its struggle for the implementation of the great revolutionary changes and for the total triumph of socialism and communism in the USSR.

The study of party activities in the volume is based on Marxist-Leninist methodology and the theoretical legacy of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin. Extensive use has been made of documents of CPSU congresses, plenums of its Central Committee, Central Committee decisions, materials of party committees of union republics and local party organizations, archives (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU and others), statistical collections and the party press.

Extensive attention has been paid to the 19th (October 1952), 20th (February 1956) and the extraordinary 21st (January-February 1959) party congresses. The work considers the significance of the congresses in the formulation of domestic socioeconomic and foreign policy. It defines their place and role in the strengthening and development of the socialist society and in the global revolutionary process.

The volume extensively covers CPSU activities aimed at strengthening further the power of the socialist homeland, particularly problems of party economic policy, of strengthening the material and technical foundations for socialism and of socialist planning improvements.

Immediately after the war the party Central Committee formulated the next economic task which was the fastest possible elimination of the consequences of the war, the rebirth of the victimized areas, the rebuilding of industry, transportation and agriculture, the reaching of the prewar level in their development within the shortest possible time, and substantially surpassing it subsequently. At the same time, the party formulated a long-term plan for national economic growth.

The party and the people performed an unfading exploit in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. Within the shortest possible time and without outside help, relying on the basic advantages of the socialist system, the Soviet people, who had lost more than 20 million people in the war and one-third of their national wealth, were not only able to heal the wounds but also to achieve considerable progress.

"The heroes of the Great Patriotic War--soldiers, partisans, and workers in the rear--covered themselves with unfading glory," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has written. "Their exploit will live through the centuries in the grateful memory of their descendants. The exploit of those who withstood the incredible burden of rebuilding the country destroyed by the Hitlerite aggressors deserve the equal gratitude of the people."

Dneproges, Azovstal', Rostsel'mash, the Stalingrad and Khar'kov tractors plants and the Donbass Mines were rebuilt through the heroic efforts of the Soviet

people. The machine building industry in Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov and other cities was restored. As was the case in the war years, the communists were in the leading ranks, setting the example which inspired the workers to labor exploits. A particularly convincing example of this, cited in the volume, is the case of Zaporozhstal'—the ferrous metallurgical giant of the southern part of the country. The VKP(b) Central Committee, the KP(b) Central Committee of the Ukraine and the Zaporozhskaya Oblast party committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, dealt ceaselessly with the problems related to rebuilding it. "The science of rebuilding what was destroyed," he pointed out in his book "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] did not exist. There were no textbooks to teach us how to raise from the ruins installations which had been burned down, wrecked or blown up. Everything had to be created for the first time, from scratch. In itself, this was a daring task and it was important not to kill the spirit of innovation. Everyone's daring had to be encouraged, that of workers, engineers and party workers."

Thousands of enterprises in the areas liberated from the Hitlerite aggressors were commissioned and transportation and communications facilities were restored under the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The prewar level of industrial output was outstripped essentially by 1948. "The restoration and development of industry and transportation," the book states, "were the prerequisites set by the working class for the further successful progress of the entire Soviet economy" (p 164). In subsequent years the Soviet economy developed at a high pace. Qualitative changes took place in the structure of industrial output, characterized by the faster growth of the most promising sectors such as electric power, machine building, chemical and many other industries. By the end of the 1950s the gross national product of the USSR had exceeded the 1940 level by a factor of almost 3.5; industrial output was higher by a factor of 4.3 (see page 608).

One of the most complex tasks of that time was the rebuilding and further development of agriculture. The party organizations headed the struggle for strengthening the material and technical base of farm production, the organizational-economic strengthening of the kolkhoz system and the effective utilization of public land. They made a comprehensive contribution to the development of the initiative of the rural workers. The February 1947 and, particularly, September 1953 Central Committee plenums played an important role in the solution of these problems. The volume describes the way in which the party implemented the line of the Central Committee plenums and surmounted difficulties.

The development of the virgin lands and the broadening of the production base of agriculture in the eastern parts of the country played a special role in the heroic epic of the accomplishment of the party and the people at that time. The development of the virgin lands, carried out by the Soviet people, mainly the youth, the Komsomol, under the leadership of the party organization, was not only of tremendous importance to our agricultural upsurge. It assumed a most important political-educational significance as well. "The concept of 'virgin land' itself," emphasizes Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his book "Tselina" [Virgin Lands], "lost its purely agricultural meaning at that time. It became a social term, for it was backed by high level civic-mindedness and profound Soviet patriotism. The developer of the virgin land is a historical figure who represented that heroic time." The comprehensive development of the virgin land became the vivid embodiment of the wise party policy addressed to the future.

In subsequent years the party insured stable rates of agricultural development and increased labor productivity in kolkhozes, machine-tractor stations and sovkhozes. The purpose of the measures it took was mainly to strengthen the material and technical base of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, to improve economic relations and in the final account, to increase agricultural output.

The party paid great attention to problems of collectivization in the Baltic republics, the western oblasts of the Ukraine and Belorussia, and Right-Bank Moldavia. It proves that collectivization is based on the general laws governing the socialist reorganization of agriculture, tested through the practice of kolkhoz construction in the country, and is consistent with the specific conditions governing the historical development of these republics and oblasts.

The successes achieved in the upsurge of the country's national economy in the postwar period were inseparably linked to the accelerated development of the basic and applied sciences in the country. Restoration and construction of new industrial projects were organized on a modern technical basis. Great attention is paid in the work to the July 1955 CC CPSU Plenum which played an important role in charting the course of accelerated technical progress and priority development of the most progressive production sectors.

The party emphasized that strengthening the creative cooperation between science and production is an important factor in the successful upsurge of the country's national economy. Many outstanding scientific discoveries progressed from laboratory experimentation to practical production.

The party guided the scientists toward the development of the most important scientific and technical directions such as nuclear power industry, aerospace building, electronics, radio engineering and others. The work convincingly proves that in that period Soviet scientific and technical thinking took a tremendous step forward, emerging on the front lines of the beginning scientific and technical revolution (see page 174).

In the face of the threat of unleashing a third world war by the reactionary Western imperialist circles, the Soviet Union was forced to accelerate the practical solution of the atomic problem. The first nuclear reaction was achieved under the guidance of the outstanding scientist I. V. Kurchatov at the end of 1946; a nuclear bomb was tested in 1949. This was paralleled by the unquestionable priority reached by our country in the peaceful utilization of nuclear power: the first nuclear electric power plant in the world was commissioned in Obninsk in 1954; the "Lenin," the first nuclear ice breaker in the world, was launched in 1957. The Joint Institute for Nuclear Research was opened in Dubna in 1956.

During that period S. P. Korolev, the major scientist and designer of space rocket systems, successfully developed his activities, which played a tremendous role in the creation of the school of modern rocket construction and in the conquest of outer space. The launching of the first artificial earth satellite in the world in October of 1957 and of a space rocket to the moon in January of 1959 were the brilliant results of the efforts of the scientific and technical collective he headed.

Along with resolving problems of peaceful economic construction, the party and the Soviet government were forced to allocate considerable funds for strengthening defense capability and the further advancement of the armed forces. Thanks to the successful development of all economic sectors and the achievements of domestic science and technology, qualitative changes were made in the material base of the army and navy in the postwar years.

After the war, the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function of the Soviet state resumed its priority status. The problems of social policy, improving the political system of the society, soviet management of mass public organizations, the development of socialist democracy, and the involvement of millions of working people in extensive and energetic participation in the administration of governmental and public affairs assumed a major role in party activities.

In the area of national construction the party directed efforts toward the further equalization of the economic and cultural levels of all republics. The process of their further development and rapprochement was continued.

On the basis of the growing opportunities presented by the socialist economy, the party systematically pursued the line of upgrading the living standard of the Soviet people. Rationing was abolished soon after the war. The real income of the working people was raised and pensions were improved. Subsequently as well, the party continued to take more and more new measures aimed at improving the material well-being of the people.

By the end of 1945 more than three million soldiers and officers had returned to peaceful labor. The book describes the warmth and concern with which front line veterans, the disabled, and the families of casualties were surrounded. Despite limited material resources, party, state and public organizations tried to do everything possible to provide them with income and housing and to improve their living conditions. "The humanism of the Soviet society was manifested in the nationwide fatherly concern for the families of the dead soldiers, the disabled, and the orphans" (p 15).

Cities, tens of thousands of villages and workers settlements rose from the ashes and the ruins. The party never lost track of the urgent problems in the development of health care and public education. "The activities of the communist party," the book emphasizes, "were imbued with its constant concern for the working people and for the ever fuller satisfaction of their needs" (p 558).

All ideological work was subordinated to enlisting the Soviet people in the implementation of the party's tasks. The CPSU tried to preserve and develop under the conditions of the peace the high patriotic feeling and dedication shown by the Soviet people during the war.

The CPSU pursued a firm line of upgrading the responsibility of all workers on the ideological front in the struggle for maintaining the purity of the Marxist-Leninist outlook. The book contains principle-minded party assessments of the discussions held under the sign of strengthening Marxist-Leninist methodology in the

social sciences in the areas of philosophy (1947), linguistics (1950) and political economy (1951). Any belittling of socialist ideology, Lenin pointed out, means the strengthening of bourgeois ideology (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 6, p 40). Reverence of the West, lack of ideas and political indifference have always been alien to Soviet social science which is based on the firm Leninist principles of high party principle-mindedness and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. "The discussions which were held," the book emphasizes, "contributed to the development of the social sciences, the consolidation of the principle of party-mindedness in them, the strengthening of ties with reality and the surmounting of a number of erroneous views and concepts" (p 253). The book also notes that in the course of the discussions occasional groundless conclusions were drawn but were corrected subsequently.

The party paid serious attention to the development of Soviet literature and art based on the principles of socialist realism. Many works were created in that period, which reflected the great exploits of the party and the people in the Patriotic War. The multinational Soviet art reached a new blossoming. The book proves how the feeling of oneness with the people and the party, and the desire to serve the ideals of communism became even stronger among the creative intelligentsia. At the same time, the Central Committee decrees "On the Journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD," "On the Motion Picture 'The Great Life'," and "On the Repertory of Drama Theaters and the Measures for its Improvement" (1946, 1948) noted shortcomings in the activities of several creative unions and in the works of individual men of culture. Thus, a deviation from the truth of life and trends of political indifference and formalism were noted in some works. The Central Committee decrees developed most important stipulations on the ties linking artistic creativity with the building of socialism. The party, the book points out, called upon the workers in literature and the arts to enter life more energetically. Modern topics were given priority, for "the features of the new epoch, the new qualities of the Soviet person" can be depicted most completely on the basis of contemporary themes (p 256). However, as the 28 May 1958 CC CPSU resolution noted, the decree on the opera "The Great Friendship" and the press contained "some unfair and unjustifiably sharp assessments of the works of many talented Soviet composers..." Occasional errors and bureaucratic actions were committed in the course of the implementation of the party's decisions on problems of literature and the arts.

As a whole, ideological work was characterized by its growing ties with life and with the practice of building socialism. The main task of party propaganda was to make Marxist-Leninist theory accessible to all party members and Soviet people. In 1957 the CC CPSU passed a decree on the publication of the fifth edition of V. I. Lenin's "Complete Collected Works." Preparations were undertaken for the writing of K. Marx' scientific biography and for a new edition of V. I. Lenin's biography. The increased significance of the party's ideological activities was based on the process of development of the socialist society itself.

The book offers a broad multidimensional picture of the active foreign policy efforts of the CPSU in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. It provides a complete description of the tremendous importance of the victory of the Soviet people over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the destinies of all mankind. The defeat of the most aggressive forces of imperialism dealt a most

severe blow at the political, economic and ideological foundations of capitalism. Led by their communist and workers parties, the peoples of many European and Asian countries carried out deep revolutionary changes and took the road of socialist construction. The world socialist system was founded. This was the biggest universal-historical event after the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution. The revolutionary struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries entered a new stage. The colonial system of imperialism broke down under the powerful strikes of the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples.

The emergence of socialism beyond the framework of a single country and its growing impact on the course of universal history confirmed that radical changes had taken place in the overall ratio of class forces in the international arena in favor of socialism and were yet another confirmation of the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. The capitalist system suffered irreparable damage; its positions were undermined and weakened and its realm of domination was reduced.

The book analyzes the sharp confrontation between the two different social systems and describes the diametrical differences separating socialist from imperialist policy. The theme of the unbreakable unity between the objectives of the building of socialism and communism and the development of the world socialist system, on the one hand, and the world revolutionary process, whose task is to prevent war, strengthen the peace and security of nations, and assert the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, on the other, runs through the entire book. A different policy was followed by the imperialist states, headed by the United States. They resorted to an aggressive policy from positions of strength and mounted the cold war.

The communist party systematically implemented the peaceful principles of Leninist foreign policy and firmly rebuffed the imperialist warmongers in the complex and tense international situation. The foreign policy course of the Soviet state, formulated at the 19th, 20th and 21st party congresses and at its Central Committee plenums, was based on the thorough analysis of the sociopolitical changes which had occurred in the world, the new deployment of forces in the international arena and the laws of social development. This systematically pursued foreign policy course yielded tangible results by the mid-1950s. The plans of American imperialism for world rule and the policy of nuclear blackmail failed. For the first time in the postwar years, a certain weakening of international tension took place. The book notes the great importance of the theoretical conclusions formulated at the 20th CPSU Congress on basic problems of world development. The changed ratio of forces in favor of peace and socialism enabled our party to develop the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and to substantiate the conclusion that a real possibility existed for the prevention of a world war in the contemporary epoch. On the basis of a creative analysis of the new historical circumstances, the congress concretized Lenin's proposition on the variety of forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism, based on common laws.

On the basis of their study of the materials of party congresses and activities of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government, the authors prove that one

of the main tasks of USSR foreign policy is to insure favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism. The internationalist nature of these tasks rests on the fact that they express the basic interests of the main revolutionary currents of our time.

The book deals extensively with the founding and development of the world socialist system as well. Its establishment created a new type of relations among governments, as expressed in the friendship, mutual aid and cooperation treaties signed among socialist countries, their activities in international organizations and their joint foreign policy initiatives and actions. The authors extensively describe these relations aimed at the development of fair, equal and fraternal cooperation.

The creation of CECA, the international economic organization of a socialist type, which was founded in January 1949, was of great importance in the organization and growth of the socialist economy. The book reflects the comprehensive activities of the CPSU and of the other communist and workers parties in the socialist countries for the establishment of strong long-term economic relations based on the coordination of national economic plans and production specialization and cooperation. Cooperation among socialist countries contributed to the strengthening of their economic power. At the beginning of 1959 they already accounted for one-third of the global industrial output (see p 477).

In the course of strengthening their comprehensive cooperation and faced with the reactionary policy of the imperialist countries, which set up the aggressive NATO bloc in 1949, in May 1955 the USSR and the other socialist countries created the Warsaw Pact. This became a most important factor for the peace and security of the nations and for reliably insuring peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism.

The strengthening of the global socialist system brought about major changes in the international communist and workers movement. The prestige of the communist parties rose sharply, their ties with the masses became stronger and their membership expanded in the postwar years. The class self-awareness, political activeness and organization of the working class increased. Led by the communist parties, it joined the battle for the defense of its social and economic gains and for democratic rights and freedoms. The communist and workers movements had to surmount some difficulties as well in the period under consideration: police repression of progressive forces intensified in the capitalist countries; an extensive ideological campaign was mounted against the communists; and revisionist elements raised their head in some communist parties. Beijing's Maoist leadership slid even further towards anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. "After breaking up with proletarian internationalism, they took the positions of hegemonism and of claims to world domination and great power status" (P 528).

The struggle waged by the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties for unity within the international communist movement and for its organizational and ideological cohesion was particularly important in the postwar years. The materials contained in the book prove the great efforts made by the CPSU in this direction. The CPSU provided a scientific analysis of the aggravated struggle between

socialism and capitalism. It exposed firmly the subversive activities of imperialism and its accomplices and of various revisionists. It systematically promoted unity of action within the working class and the strengthening of international proletarian solidarity. The CPSU made an invaluable contribution to the development of international relations among Marxist-Leninist parties, to widening contacts among them, on the basis of bilateral and multilateral meetings and to the advancement of the entire system of interparty relations. The authors provide an extensive analysis of the decisions passed at the Moscow conferences of representatives of communist and workers parties of socialist countries (14-16 November 1957) and of 64 communist and workers parties from the entire world (16-19 November 1957), which marked the beginning of a new form of collective discussions of topical contemporary problems by the communist parties.

The materials in the book reflect the active foreign policy efforts of the CPSU in support of the anti-imperialist and national liberation movements. "The increased power of world socialism and its counteraction to colonialism blocked the attempt of the imperialist powers to deal with national liberation movements with armed force and deprived them of their previous possibilities of plundering underdeveloped countries. This contributed tremendously to the intensification of the struggle waged by the oppressed peoples and accelerated the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system" (pp 497-498).

The work covers the history of the struggle waged by the CPSU for strengthening the peace and international security. The party's extensive efforts to rally all antiwar democratic forces are followed on the basis of extensive data; the practical steps taken by the USSR to improve the international situation, including its efforts in the United Nations and at various international conferences, are analyzed. Our country has adamantly worked for achieving a peaceful and just solution of postwar problems, including that of Germany, the creation of a collective security system in Europe and Asia, the dismantling of military blocs and groups, and the resolution of the problems of universal and total disarmament and, above all, of banning nuclear weapons. The peaceful policy of the USSR has met with the support of the working people and the progressive public throughout the world, as confirmed by the tremendous scope of the peace movement.

As the book shows, the efforts of the USSR and the peace-loving forces aimed at detente defeated the aggressive plans of imperialist reactionary circles. In Asia, the hotbeds of war in Korea and Indochina were eliminated. In Europe, diplomatic relations were established between the USSR and the FRG and the treaty which restored sovereign and democratic Austria was initialed.

These and many other facts confirmed the correctness and increased effectiveness of the foreign policy of the communist party and the Soviet state and the continuity of their tasks in the struggle for the peace and security of the peoples.

All accomplishments in the postwar rebuilding and further development of the national economy, domestic science and technology, strengthened defense capability of the country, improved social structure and socialist democracy and improvements in the living standard of the working people and in foreign policy were achieved under CPSU leadership.

The historically determined law of the enhanced leading role of the CPSU was manifested with particular clarity in the postwar years. It was determined by the growing scale of the building of socialism and the increased complexity of internal development and political activity tasks. The party came out of the Great Patriotic War ideologically tempered and organizationally strengthened despite tremendous losses. It gained great new experience in leading the masses under most difficult conditions. Its unbreakable ties with the people became even stronger.

The resumption of peaceful construction and the complexity of the new tasks changed the requirements concerning the level of party management in all of its units, from the Central Committee to the local party organizations. During that period, the work emphasizes, the first thing that the party had to do was to reorganize its ranks and ways and means of work. This process covered all aspects of party life. A conversion to peacetime forms of party work was made. The role of the party committees as organs for the political management of state, economic and social affairs intensified. The party continued to follow its line of strengthening and expanding the network of primary party organizations, above all in the national economy. By 1959 more than 70 percent of the entire party membership was concentrated in these organizations, as follows: 40.5 percent in industry, transportation, communications and construction, and 23.7 percent in agriculture (see p 562).

The party ascribed great importance to the selection, deployment and training of party cadres. The book provides the following impressive data: in 1958 almost 94 percent of the secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics and of kraykoms and obkoms had higher or unfinished higher education. About one-half of them had been party members for 20 or more years (see p 564). Having joined the party between the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, they had experienced the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War and surmounted the difficulties of the restoration of the national economy. At the same time, the party boldly promoted to leading positions the young and energetic party members who had suitably proved themselves in peaceful construction. The outstanding blend of wisdom and practical and party experience with the enthusiasm and forward thrust of youth has always been an important feature of party cadre policy.

The party ascribes tremendous importance to improving the quality structure within its ranks and to reinforcing them by recruiting the best representatives of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia. The Central Committee decree "On the Growth of the Party and on Measures for the Strengthening of Party-Organizational and Party-Political Work With New Members of the VKP(b)" (July 1946) and the resolutions adopted at party congresses played an important role in this respect. "The party," the authors state, "always proceeded from the fact that the growth of its ranks and its structure are an objective as well as a consciously controlled process" (p 229). Between January 1946 and the beginning of 1959 CPSU membership rose from 5,510,862 members and candidate members to 8,239,000 communists. This reinforcement represented the best members of the multinational Soviet society. The book describes the party's systematic efforts to insure the ideological training and moral upbringing of the young party members and to raise their general educational and professional standards.

The party showed tireless concern for the further organizational strengthening and cohesion in its ranks and for the steadfast implementation of the principle of democratic centralism. The party congresses paid considerable attention to these problems. Thus, the 19th congress introduced substantial amendments in the party bylaws. It renamed the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)—the VKP(b)—Communist Party of the Soviet Union—CPSU. The authors emphasize that the surmounting of the consequences of the cult of personality, started with the July 1953 CC CPSU Plenum and subsequently codified with the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Surmounting the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences" (June 1956), was an important prerequisite for strengthening the party's leading role. The restoration of the Leninist norms of party life and principles of party management and of the Leninist work style insured the organization of collective leadership and of a creative atmosphere in the party, the enhancement of its organizational and political activities and the strengthening of party democracy and socialist legality. All of this had a positive impact on political circumstance in the country at large.

The process of the rising role of the CPSU in the building of socialism and communism was the result of the party's purposeful political and organizational activities among the masses, its continuing concern for upgrading the combat capability of all its units, the improved work of the local party organs and primary party organizations and the growth of the political and labor activeness of the party members. "Along with the development of our society and the changes in its sociopolitical and cultural aspect," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated at the 26th party congress, "the communist party is growing, strengthening and maturing."

In the postwar years, headed by the communist party, and having repaired the destruction of the war in the shortest possible time, the Soviet people undertook the intensified socialist reorganization of the country. They created a powerful economic potential, strengthened the ideological and political unity of Soviet society and reached great heights in science and culture.

In characterizing the historical achievements of socialism, the 21st CPSU Congress drew the major conclusion that as a result of the tremendous constructive toil of the Soviet people and the profound changes in all areas of social life and of radical changes which had taken place in the world arena and in the international status of the Soviet Union, "socialism won its full and final victory in our country."

The most important prerequisites for the further all-round development and consolidation of socialism on its own grounds were created. The new qualitative features of the socialist society, which subsequently determined the reaching of its mature stage, became apparent.

In his report on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, in discussing the significance of the great exploit of the party and the people in the period of rebuilding the country's national economy, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev also emphasized that "The history of these years has not been truly written." The present work fills this gap to a large extent. It will be a major contribution to party history science and to the summation of the permanent

significance of the universal-historical experience of the CPSU in the building of socialism and communism.

In the light of the decisions of the 26th party congress, new broad horizons have opened to the science of party history. Responsible tasks have been set in upgrading research effectiveness and quality.

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