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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 1, January 1982

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USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST
No. 1, January 1982

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

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD TO THE COLLECTION 'ON LENIN AND LENINISM'

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 1, Jan 82 p 3

[L. I. Brezhnev's preface to "O Lenine i Leninizme" [On Lenin and Leninism]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 336 pages]

[Text] Lenin and Leninism are the topic of this collection published by Politizdat. Naturally, this topic is essentially so vast that it can include everything which pertains to our party's domestic and foreign policy. This is because everything which we, the Soviet communists, are doing today in order to advance our socialist society along the road of building communism, to strengthen the alliance among the fraternal socialist countries, to develop cooperation with all progressive forces on earth, and to prevent the threat of war and to strengthen peace on earth represents the development of Lenin's cause and the practical implementation of Lenin's behests under contemporary conditions.

However, we also believe that in a narrower sense, the topics of this collection, i.e., statements directly related to V. I. Lenin, the specific application and development of one stipulation or another of Lenin's immortal doctrine and one Leninist idea or another in the activities of the party today, are also very important. For the great doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Lenin's thinking, the depth and farsightedness of the Leninist analysis of social development, Lenin's method and his work style have always been, are and will remain, to all those who are continuing his great cause, an unfading guiding light, a reliable guideline and wise counselor in understanding modern life and in resolving the problems which face the fighters for socialism and the builders of socialism and communism in our time. For this reason, I believe, a study of the manner in which Leninist ideas are being applied and the way Lenin's behests are being implemented may be of great interest and use to the Soviet people, and particularly the youth -- the active participants in the building of communism -- and to a certain circle of readers abroad.

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TO THE VIETNAMESE READERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 4-5

[L. I. Brezhnev's address to the readers on the occasion of the publication of his collection of speeches and articles "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course] in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam]

Dear Comrades!

I appreciate the opportunity to address you through the newspaper NAN THAN on the occasion of the publication of a collection of my addresses, speeches of greeting and articles in Vietnamese.

The readers of this work will see that they cover a substantial period of time in the life of the CPSU and the Soviet state and pertain to domestic and foreign policy. Another topic to which I keep coming back in my articles and speeches is that of party work.

The range of matters with which a ruling party has to deal is extremely broad. The party determines the strategy of the country's development. At the same time, without replacing the state organs, the trade unions and other public organizations, the party is involved in the solution of all key problems, be they in the area of economics, the development of culture and public education, the country's defense or the defense of peace.

Marxism-Leninism has been and remains the compass of all party activities. The new problems which have appeared and are appearing in the course of progress keep demanding of us new answers and new solutions. It is Leninist methodology, the Leninist revolutionary teachings that help us find these answers and solutions. It is pleasing to realize that thanks to the great work accomplished by Soviet and Vietnamese specialists, today Vietnamese readers have at their disposal Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's "Complete Collected Works" in their native language.

Global revolutionary experience has brought to light a number of general laws governing the building of socialism. Naturally, however, this does not mean that henceforth the problems of the communists can be resolved simply on the basis of some kind of general system which can be implemented as completely and precisely as possible.

Today, each Marxist-Leninist party is participating in the development of revolutionary practice and revolutionary theory. There is simply no other way. The pace and means of socialist change inevitably bear the mark of the national and historical characteristics of the specific country. But who if not the members of the ruling communist party, who are familiar with the thoughts and expectations of their people, should have the final say as to how to resolve one problem or another and within what length of time?

I realize perfectly well that the revolution in Vietnam has its characteristic features and that the Vietnamese communists and the working people in the republic are resolving the problems of socialist reorganization under circumstances quite different from ours. However, we share common objectives and ideals and common aspirations. Therefore, we can only be pleased by the fact that we are becoming increasingly familiar with one another. This makes us spiritually richer and wiser.

Some of the problems of international policy I discuss are already a thing of the past. This is natural, for the world keeps changing. For our part, we are trying to do everything possible for it to change for the better. The struggle for lasting peace, defense of the interests of socialism and the rights of the peoples to free and independent development and firm rebuff to the forces of imperialism and hegemonism are some of the most important guidelines of our socialist foreign policy.

The current international situation is uneasy. Our adversaries are trying to heat up the tension. They are engaged in an unrestrained arms race, developing increasingly refined military equipment, and are resorting to gross blackmail and pressure on the independent countries. It is precisely this that creates a serious threat to the international situation.

The forces of militarism and aggression frequently act thoughtlessly. However, they are forced to retreat when opposed by the firm will of the peoples. That is why the continuing strengthening of the power of the world socialist comity is so important. This is a factor of the first magnitude in international affairs. The developing countries are acting with increasing firmness in favor of the reorganization of international relations on a democratic basis. A broad movement has developed among the people's masses in NATO countries, demanding an end to the spiraling arms race and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. Today, no one can ignore their voice any longer. There are circles, influential circles at that, even among the rulers of the capitalist world, who favor relations of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, realizing that this is required for the preservation of mankind.

Unquestionably, the vivifying climate of peace and freedom will contribute to the immeasurable growth of the constructive ability of all nations. This unquestionably applies to the peoples of Asia, with their very rich spiritual culture and unique natural resources. They could attain the level of the most developed countries within a relatively short period of time.

We, the Soviet people, are deeply satisfied with the fact that we are acting hand in hand with the fraternal Vietnamese people. Our friendship, which was tested in the period of heroic struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against the foreign aggressors, is now acquiring a new meaning.

We hold your actions close to our hearts, dear Vietnamese friends. We are familiar with your great achievements and also know the serious difficulties which your country must surmount. I am convinced that united socialist Vietnam will become strong and prospering. You have all the necessary prerequisites to this end: rich land and rich ground resources, loyal friends and, naturally, a people's regime and people who are staunch, industrious and truly patriotic.

The Communist Party of Vietnam, which was created and hammered out by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the great revolutionary, is currently preparing to hold its fifth congress. Unquestionably, the congress will open up new horizons in the socialist reorganization of your beautiful country. Let me emphasize that our country and party were, are and will stand together with the Vietnamese communists, the Vietnamese people.

I wish you all the best, dear comrades.

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LASTING PEACE IS OUR IMMUTABLE GOAL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 6-7

[L. I. Brezhnev's preface "To the British Reader" in the book "L. I. Brezhnev. Stranitsy Zhizni" [L. I. Brezhnev. Pages From My Life]. Published in English by Pergamon Press]

[Text] The time when world politics originated behind closed doors. The peoples who inhabit the earth in increasingly close proximity want to assume responsibility for its future. Given such circumstances, reciprocal acquaintanceship and the ability to be able to judge everything objectively and without prejudice, on the basis of first hand facts, becomes particularly important.

This book is about my life. However, since my biography is a particle of the life of the Soviet people, I hope that it will help the British reader to gain a more accurate idea of Soviet reality and a better understanding of the views and aspirations of the Soviet people.

Regardless of any differences in historical destinies and now in social systems, our countries have been linked for a long time by a variety of traditions involving reciprocal contacts. Linked to them are the names of Shakespeare, Newton, Dickens, Faraday, Rutherford, Lomonosov, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Mendelejev, Pavlov and other outstanding cultural personalities. Today as well, the Soviet and British peoples are known for their respect for and interest in the contribution of each to the spiritual wealth of mankind.

We remember the time when our countries were allies in the struggle against the common foe, when they fought to liberate Europe from fascism shoulder to shoulder. The people of my generation who took part in World War II remember the sword which was hammered out in suffering Coventry and was presented to the heroes of the battle of Stalingrad. We render their just due to the courageous British sailors in the convoys which broke through Hitler's submarine blockade on their way to Murmansk.

During that period the Soviet Union and Great Britain were not only linked by a state treaty. This was a combat alliance between peoples. It was a historical example of their ability to join efforts in the face of a dangerous threat.

This example has not lost its significance. On the contrary. Imagine how much good could be accomplished today if the Soviet Union and Britain could more frequently a find common language, above all on such a problem as the arms race. It is of vital

importance to put an end to it in order to eliminate the tension and to avert the terrible danger which threatens all countries.

The USSR has always properly assessed the role and place of Great Britain in world affairs and regarded relations with it as a major component in global politics.

Great Britain was our largest trading partner at one time. An enhanced level of cooperation between it and the USSR in the areas of politics, economics, science, technology and culture would serve the interests of both countries.

The elimination of many prejudices and the promotion of reciprocal understanding and trust constitute one of the most important prerequisites in this connection.

In my view, the topic of peace is among the most important of all the thoughts which this book might generate. Thoughts about peace always come first in the minds of the Soviet people. Nothing else is possible in a country in which there is virtually no family which did not lose friends and relatives in the last war. That is why our people feel indignation and bitterness when they hear statements about the "Soviet military threat."

As the chairman of the USSR Defense Committee, I am perhaps more familiar than anyone else with our military strategy doctrine and real military potential. This allows me to state most responsibly that both are designed exclusively for defense. Our invariable purpose is to halt preparations for war and achieve an enduring peace. We extend a hand to anyone who is ready to fight for peace. I am convinced that the common sense which is typical of the British people will tell them that in the nuclear-missile century, our prime common interest lies precisely in peace, detente and restraint of the arms race.

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L. I. BREZHNEV ANSWERS NBC QUESTIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 8-9

[Text] NBC, the American television network, requested an interview with L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. The following are Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's answers to the questions posed by NBC:

Question: Is there a possibility that a basis for an agreement on the conclusion of an arms control treaty could be reached during the Geneva talks in 1982?

Answer: Yes, there is. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, an agreement is wanted. Naturally, however, this does not depend on us alone. The positions which are adopted by the United States will be of equal importance.

The key to successful talks is the observance of the principle of equality and equal security on both sides. This principle must not be violated. The agreement must take into consideration the differences in the weapons systems and in the geographic location of the Soviet Union and the United States and many other factors. Both sides of the balance must be truly equal.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the importance of the talks. Their outcome will determine whether the threat of the outbreak of a nuclear war will decline or increase.

Question: Do you foresee and approve of a Reagan-Brezhnev summit meeting in 1982? And if so, why?

Answer: We are in favor of an active dialog with the United States, including a summit meeting. This was clearly stated as early as February 1981 at our party congress. My view has not changed. Experience indicates that summit meetings are the most useful method of intergovernmental contact for achieving a better understanding of reciprocal positions and intentions and making serious political decisions. Naturally, proper preparations is necessary if such a meeting is to be successful.

Question: There is apparent growing concern that East and West are sliding toward confrontation, which poses a tremendous danger, even including the possibility of war. Do you share this concern?

Answer: I do. However, I would rephrase the question: What must be done to avoid confrontation? Here is my answer: It is important for governments and state leaders to be fully aware of the fact that the main thing for all the peoples on earth is peace and confidence in the future. Naturally, it is even more important for this to be implemented in the practical policies of all countries. The dangerous heating up of the arms race must be restrained. Tension must be reduced, dangerous hotbeds of crisis must be extinguished, the policy of heedless arms competition must be abandoned and there must be a return to normal relations among countries, reciprocal respect, understanding and consideration of mutual and legitimate interests. We must tackle problems of armaments limitation and reduction seriously, in a businesslike fashion. All of this, taken together, will enable us to eliminate the threat of nuclear war.

Question: What specific steps do you believe should be taken by the two superpowers to reduce the increased danger of confrontation?

Answer: I assume you are referring to the USSR and the United States, although we do not consider the term "superpowers" a suitable one.

Naturally, bearing in mind their importance in the international arena, the problem of disarmament is the prime area on which our two countries should focus their efforts. In addition to talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe I have already mentioned, and as the American side certainly realizes, the problem of limiting and reducing strategic weapons, since they are the most powerful and dangerous, arises in all its magnitude. We are ready to resume the talks. It is now up to Washington.

A number of other very important problems in this area could be named, such as the banning of chemical weapons, and the total and universal banning of nuclear weapons tests. With an active role and adequate reciprocal understanding, mainly between the USSR and the United States, a move toward their resolution could be realistic.

Now as to Soviet-American relations specifically, artificial obstacles have frequently been erected in this area of late, preventing their normal and mutually profitable development in trade, culture, science and other areas. It would be far better for the peoples of our countries if such obstacles were removed, and in general ceased to exist.

This is a minimum, so to speak. However, it is a minimum which can serve as a start along the path toward restoring trust and better relations between our countries. This would obviously improve the general situation in the world. I do not believe that the Americans are any less interested in this than we are.

Question: You are clearly supporting the role of West Germany as an intermediary between Moscow and Washington. Do you believe that this role might be enhanced in the future?

Answer: Naturally, we welcome trends in FRG politics which contribute to detente and peaceful cooperation. This, in particular, was discussed during my recent visit to Bonn. The Soviet Union also has a positive attitude toward the efforts of any other country -- large, average or small -- if such efforts are aimed at improving the political climate and reducing the level of military confrontation. We personally

are doing and are prepared to do a great deal in this direction. There should be no doubt that actions on the part of the United States or any other country will meet with our understanding and response. No hand honestly extended in our direction will remain unshaken.

Since this interview comes on the eve of the new year, allow me to wish to all Americans prosperity, personal happiness and, naturally, again and again, peace in 1982.

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S 75TH BIRTHDAY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 10-11

[Greetings presented by the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Dear Leonid Il'ich!

On the day marking your 75th birthday, we address to you, our comrade and friend, our most sincere greetings, and we warily congratulate you on the high award presented to you by the motherland.

The most important landmarks in the history of our Soviet country are also milestones in your own biography. Collectivization, industrialization and the laying of the foundations for socialism -- in all of these great and unparalleled new accomplishments, there is a part of the effort made by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the communist and follower of the Leninist school. Your gift as an outstanding political leader was already evident then. You also became fully cognizant of the meaning of military toil. From the first tragic day of the war and until the great Victory Day, you were in the ranks of the active army, heroically fighting the Hitlerite aggressors. Participation in the restoration of the national economy, the legendary epic of the virgin lands, the organization of the first outer space research in the world and other major deeds constitute the great stages of your career in life.

Your labor activity began 60 years ago. For the past 50 years you have stood in the ranks of the communist party. Your words are truly just: "...Every single day of my life has been inseparably linked with the projects with which our communist party and land of the soviets have lived and are living."

You, the great son of the Soviet people, have always been notable for your concern for their good. You see the interests of the people, and teach others to see them too, in every problem.

You, Leonid Il'ich, possess the skill to unite the people and to inspire them to joint collective work. You have the rare talent of noticing the capabilities of every comrade and finding the best way of applying them.

In dealing with one problem or another, you avoid unnecessary haste and try to reach the heart of the matter. You combine profound idea-mindedness and loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism with intolerance of any stagnation or paralysis. This gives a steady creative impulse to the work of the CC CPSU and to the activities of our entire party.

For the past 17 years, you have been making a determining contribution to the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

You have the historical merit of having surmounted subjectivism and voluntarism and having created a healthy moral-political atmosphere in the party and the country. Your attentive attitude toward people, intolerance of any injustice, trust and exigency and practicality with a daring attitude of search set the style in our society. The party members quite justly link this style with your activities, Leonid Il'ich.

On your initiative, broad measures aimed at the further development of the Soviet governmental system and the intensification of socialist democracy were implemented. All of this was reflected in the 1977 USSR Constitution, which could be described as the outstanding democratic document of our time with full justification.

The directions for industrial and agricultural intensification, improved production effectiveness and the enhancement of labor standards to a qualitatively new level which you have formulated have become the platform of action for all working people. The importance you attach to the multiplication of the spiritual wealth of society and to the creation of the most favorable conditions for the development of science, culture and art is well known.

Over many decades you have paid tremendous attention to the defense capability of our state. As chairman of the Defense Council you have seen to it that the peaceful toil of the Soviet people and their friends and allies is being reliably protected.

Hundreds of millions of people on all continents know you well as a fighter for the cause of peace and friendship among nations. You are the creator of the peace programs of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses, which opened up new horizons in world politics. Today there is no other state or political leader who has done as much to strengthen peace as you have. The policy of detente, which is linked with your name, and your tireless and dedicated struggle against the threat of a global nuclear-missile war are receiving the total support of the Soviet people and broad understanding on the part of all nations on earth.

All that you have accomplished and are continuing to accomplish every day for the blossoming of our great homeland and the triumph of the ideas of communism is invaluable. At the 26th CPSU Congress you gave major new assignments to the party members and to all Soviet working people. The food, energy and other programs designed to eliminate the existing difficulties and to serve the good of the people and ensure their happiness effectively are being formulated.

In expressing the thoughts and feelings of the party members in our country and all the Soviet people, we warmly wish you, dear Leonid Il'ich, good health, inexhaustible energy and good spirits. We are confident that your political wisdom and rich experience as a leader will continue to serve the interests of our party and people and the cause of peace and social progress.

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AWARDS PRESENTED TO L. I. BREZHNEV

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 1, Jan 82 p 12

[Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the awarding of the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal of Hero of the Soviet Union to Marshal of the Soviet Union Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, is hereby awarded the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal of Hero of the Soviet Union for outstanding service to the communist party and the Soviet state in strengthening the economic and defense power of the Soviet Union, for his great personal contribution to winning the victory over the German-fascist aggressors during the Great Patriotic War and the restoration and further development of the USSR national economy in the postwar period, and his tireless efforts in the struggle for peace and fruitful leadership in the building of communism, on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

V. Kuznetsov, USSR Supreme Soviet first deputy chairman.

M. Georgadze, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary.

Moscow, The Kremlin, 18 December 1981.

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S 18 DECEMBER 1981 SPEECH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 12-13

[Speech by L. I. Brezhnev on the occasion of the presentation of awards to him by the socialist countries]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Friends!

I hope that you can understand my emotion. A birthday anniversary is an occasion for accounting not only to oneself and one's people but to like-minded friends as well. It is a review of the road covered.

I am sincerely grateful to Comrades Zhivkov, Kadar, Honecker, Tsedenbal, Ceausescu and Husak for their presence in Moscow today. Thank you, my friends, for the high awards and warm words expressed now about me and my work.

It is both difficult and embarrassing for a person to speak about himself. Therefore, let me immediately emphasize that my work is only a particle of the gigantic activities of the Leninist party with which my life has been inseparably linked for the past 50 years.

Our country and people have experienced many trials. We have known great adversity and failure, but also and to a far greater extent, joy. Naturally, to us communists, the main joy has always been and remains the joy of creativity, the joy of building something new.

We have had the good fortune to participate in the establishment and development of the world comity of socialist countries. For nearly 40 years, we have been toiling hand in hand with our class comrades in the socialist countries. Together we are building -- under complex circumstances -- truly just and truly fraternal relations among peoples. It would be no exaggeration to say that this is one of the noblest directions of any activities in human history.

All our political and moral aspirations are subordinated to peaceful aims. For us, they always have priority. We wish peace for ourselves and for the peoples who are seeking the path to progress, and for all mankind. Government leaders must understand that in order for the cause of peace to triumph, they must not only protect their own interests but respect the interests of others as well.

Peace and justice are indivisible concepts. Naturally, true concern for peace is incompatible with national egotism and claims to world leadership.

In politics, it is not only useful but also necessary to look beyond the horizons of the present. I have no doubt that the light of peace will disperse the specter of war. The future can and must be peaceful. It will bring to light the humanism of our ideals and the greatness of our friendship to an even greater degree.

As for myself, let me assure you that I shall continue to spare no effort to strengthen the friendship among socialist countries and the new successes of the immortal Leninist cause.

These are, dear comrades, some of the thoughts and feelings I wanted to share with you on this day of solemn importance for me (lengthy applause).

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SUSLOV AND BREZHNEV SPEECHES ON THE OCCASION OF BREZHNEV'S BIRTHDAY

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 14-20

[Text] Speech by M. A. Suslov on the presentation of the highest award of the USSR to L. I. Brezhnev on 19 December 1981

Dear Leonid Il'ich!

Today, together with the party and the entire Soviet people, we, your fellow-workers and friends, are celebrating your great 75th birthday. The feelings and thoughts expressed in the greetings of the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers are the feelings and thoughts of all the Soviet people.

Millions of people all over the earth are expressing their sincere and heartfelt feelings of respect and deep gratitude to you -- the outstanding leader of the communist party and the Soviet state and the international communist and workers movements, the loyal perpetuator of the immortal Leninist cause and fiery fighter for peace and social progress on earth.

It would be no exaggeration to say that your entire life has been spent with the party and the people, that is has been a life spent for the people. The factory shop and the peasant's field were the places where you learned the science of life and where the thoughts and expectations of the working people became close to your heart. Land surveyor, metallurgical engineer and soviet and party worker -- these are the important milestones in your rich labor biography. The restoration of the economy destroyed by the war, the upsurge and development of the endless areas of the virgin lands and the accomplishment of the great space epic are all accomplishments which took place with your direct participation and to which you warmly dedicated your heart, creative energy and outstanding talent as a noted leader.

As a combat commander and political worker, you made a great contribution to the defeat of Hitlerite fascism, and you covered the hard battle road of the Great Patriotic War from beginning to end. You are still a soldier and remain to this day in the ranks of the defenders of the homeland. As marshal of the Soviet Union and chairman of the USSR Defense Committee, you daily guide the strengthening of the country's defense capability and the building of the armed forces, which reliably stand guard over the gains of peace and socialism.

Dear Leonid Il'ich, wherever the party has sent you, you have fought for its great cause with dedication. As head of the Central Committee of our Leninist party,

holding a high government position, you are doing everything to make it possible for the mature socialist society to rise confidently to the heights of economic, scientific and cultural development and to strengthen the friendship among the nations and nationalities in the country.

The establishment of an atmosphere of creative and constructive toil, to which your contribution is unquestionable, has become an important factor in the dynamism of social processes and the great feats which have characterized the development of the country during the past 5-year plans. The Soviet working people have adopted as their own the tasks of national economic intensification and improved production effectiveness and work quality formulated by the party and by you personally.

The current accurate, scientific Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPSU, which was formulated and is being implemented under your leadership, serves the vital interests of the Soviet people. It inspires the Soviet people and mobilizes them for new labor exploits. The party's course designed to satisfy the growing material and spiritual requirements of the working people, specifically embodied in the resolutions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th party congresses, were further profoundly elaborated at the 26th CPSU Congress and in the 11th Five-Year Plan for economic and social development. Concern for the good of the people is what the party's Central Committee, the Politburo and the CC CPSU general secretary himself live for every single day. The strength of the party's policy and the realistic nature of all of our plans derive from the unity of the interests of the party and the people.

The Soviet people and the progressive world are sincerely grateful to you, Leonid Il'ich, for the farsightedness and the Leninist party wisdom you are displaying in the solution of acute political problems, and they are consistently defending the cause of peace and the security of the peoples under difficult international circumstances.

Dear Leonid Il'ich!

Heeding the numerous suggestions of the working people and expressing their feelings and wishes, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to recognize your outstanding merit in war and peace with the highest award bestowed by the motherland.

Comrade M. A. Suslov read the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase awarding Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star of Hero of the Soviet Union and proceeded to present these awards to him, accompanied by lengthy applause from those present.

In conclusion, Comrade M. A. Suslov said:

We congratulate you with all our hearts, Leonid Il'ich, on the occasion of your birthday and the high award given you by the homeland. We sincerely wish you good health and new accomplishments in your tireless efforts for the good of the people and in the name of peace on earth and the triumph of the ideals of communism.

Speech by L. I. Brezhnev

Dear Mikhail Andreyevich! Dear comrades and friends!

My heartfelt thanks for the high award and the good words. This manifestation of attention and respect for my labors touches me to the bottom of my heart. It strengthens the belief that after many years of work I have been able to accomplish something useful for the party and the people. All of this gives me new strength and spirit.

I consider the award bestowed upon me not only to be recognition of what I have been able to accomplish personally in the responsible party and state positions entrusted to me. I see it above all as recognition of the accuracy and effectiveness of the course we have charted, the policy which has been clearly defined in the resolutions of the last congresses of our party, to the implementation of which we are dedicating all our energy.

Comrades, I would like to say the following in this connection:

One of the main prerequisites for successful activities by the party as the directing and guiding force of our entire society is unity, cohesion and joint work by its directing nucleus -- the Central Committee, Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat. It is very satisfactory to know that we have this.

First and most important, we have true mutual understanding regarding leadership and unity of views on the objectives of our policy, both domestic and foreign, and on the paths leading to these goals. All of us together and every one of us separately have no concerns other than ensuring peace and the blossoming of our socialist homeland and the good of the Soviet people.

Secondly, we have a leading collective, i.e., we have practical experience in the joint examination and serious discussion of the tasks and problems which arise and joint decision making.

Finally, we have sincere respect for one another, a true spirit of comradeship and good friendship. All of this ensures a creative atmosphere and work effectiveness.

It is this spirit of comradeship within the leading party nucleus, combined with high principle-mindedness and practical exigency, that helps to maintain a healthy moral-political climate throughout the party and the country, enabling us to be more familiar with and take into better consideration the thoughts, expectations and initiatives of millions of Soviet people. This, in turn, means the more successful guidance of the efforts of the party and the entire people toward the resolution of the major and complex problems in the country's development.

It is easier under such circumstances to surmount the difficulties we encounter and to concentrate our efforts on the accomplishment of the truly great undertakings in which the noble Soviet people, the first builders of a communist society in history, are engaged.

I sincerely thank you -- my comrades, members and candidate members of the Politburo and Central Committee secretaries -- for the support you have invariably given me as Central Committee general secretary and in our united joint work.

I accept this award with a feeling of profound gratitude and great responsibility to the party and the state.

M. A. Suslov's speech at the reception given in the Kremlin on the occasion of L. I. Brezhnev's 75th birthday:

Comrades and friends! We are happy to be able today to present our warm and heartfelt congratulations to our dear Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev -- the loyal Leninist, outstanding leader of the communist party and Soviet state and international communist movement and consistent and persistent fighter for peace and communism -- on the occasion of his birthday (lengthy applause).

Dear Leonid Il'ich! The congratulations of the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers express the high appreciation of your activities and the love of the whole people for you as a person with worker's training, soldierly staunchness and the wisdom of a farsighted political leader (applause).

The party and the people highly value the fact that throughout your working life you labored in the most important sectors of the struggle for socialism and on the front line in battle and peaceful construction. You have taken part in major large-scale projects such as the restoration of the national economy, which was destroyed by the war, and led hundreds of thousands of patriots in the storming of the virgin lands, sharing with them the joys and hardships of pioneer life. You have also led in the conquest of space -- another virgin land. You walked the difficult roads of war for 1,418 fiery days and nights. In a word, the biography of the land of the soviets is also your biography, Leonid Il'ich (lengthy applause).

It is noteworthy that 50 of the 60 years of work you have given society, Leonid Il'ich, were spent in the ranks of the communist party. It is also noteworthy that half of these years of tireless activity as a communist were spent working in the CC CPSU Politburo, the supreme party headquarters.

This year is the 17th in which you, Leonid Il'ich, have, by decision of the party, headed its Central Committee. Your ability as a talented party organizer and leader of the masses, infinitely loyal to the cause of communism, has developed with particular strength in the most honorable and responsible position of CC CPSU general secretary (lengthy applause).

Your work as the head of the Soviet state has been exceptionally comprehensive and fruitful. Your election to the position of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman helped to enhance the prestige of the organs of the people's regime and to improve their activities. As the deputy representing the whole country, you are setting an example of dedicated service to the people.

The new USSR Constitution, which was drafted under your guidance, provided a powerful impetus for the development of socialist democracy and created even broader opportunities for the labor and political activeness of the Soviet people (applause).

On your initiative, the party adopted the course of upgrading public production effectiveness and work quality with a view to ensuring the maximum satisfaction of the steadily increasing needs of the working people and formulated a modern agrarian policy for resolving the food problem and achieving the social renovation of the countryside.

You have dedicated much effort and talent to strengthening the country's defense capability. Marshal of the Soviet Union and USSR Defense Council Chairman Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev deserves tremendous credit for the fact that the Soviet people and our friends and allies can peacefully toil in tranquility (lengthy applause).

The peoples know of the persistence and consistency with which you are promoting peace on earth and the elimination of war from the present and future of mankind. The passion, sincerity and conviction you are displaying in defending the great cause of peace and your struggle against all forms of oppression have earned you the universal respect and love of the working people throughout the world (applause).

Your personal contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and the development of the theory and practice of scientific communism is invaluable, Leonid Il'ich. Your speeches at our party congresses and Central Committee plenums and your articles and other works contain major and essential summations in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. They provide clear guidelines for the further progress of society in the stage of developed socialism in the building of communism.

Having received labor and political training in a worker's family, you, Leonid Il'ich, have maintained for life not only the memory of the plant's collective, which became your labor university, but your organic ties with the working people and the aspiration to serve the basic interests of the working class and the entire people and to live with the needs and demands of the working people. This is one of the outstanding features of Leonid Il'ich as a Leninist type of leader able organically to combine the implementation of the communist ideals with the solution of the practical problems of the day, to assess our great accomplishments soberly, to see difficulties and shortcomings and to find ways of eliminating them.

Your ability to unite and inspire the people and to develop an atmosphere of joint collective work is having a beneficial influence on all aspects of our social life. Respect for and trust in people, combined with strict exigency -- leadership features inherent in you, Leonid Il'ich -- have become the model against which Soviet communists check their methods of working with the people (applause).

Your purposefulness and consistency in the execution of domestic and foreign policy and the ability to single out the main directions and to focus effort as well as party principle-mindedness on them are features which define the comprehensive activities of the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat, and all party levels. They help in the comprehensive assertion of the Leninist style of work of the party and state organs (applause).

The homeland has shown its high appreciation of your contributions to the party, the state, the Soviet people and all mankind, Leonid Il'ich, by awarding you the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star of Hero of the Soviet Union. To be awarded a fourth Hero of the Soviet Union Star is a token of great honor and merit (applause).

Allow me, dear friend, to congratulate you warmly once again on the occasion of your birthday and the receipt of this high award, and to wish you good health, happiness and many years of fruitful and constructive work for the greatness of our party and the good of our people and for communism and peace (lengthy applause).

Dear comrades!

As an expression of the feelings of all those present, I raise a toast to dear Leonid Il'ich, and wish him health, happiness and great accomplishments in his tireless labor (lengthy applause).

L. I. Brezhnev's Speech

Dear comrades and friends!

Many good and warm words have been said here today by my comrades in the leadership of the Central Committee, by representatives of union republics, trade unions, the Komsomol, scientists and the armed forces and our foreign guests. I warmly thank them for all this (applause).

Some may be excessive in their praise, which almost always happens at our celebrations of anniversaries (laughter). Lenin himself mentioned this, cautioning us communists not to become conceited, not to forget the cause. Let us honor this behest of Lenin as well (applause).

Everything that I have been able to accomplish in life -- at work, in battle and in the field of political and state work -- was done in answer to the call of our Leninist party, whose loyal son I have been for the past 50 years and shall remain for as long as I live. The party is the source of our strength (applause). It is the beacon which illuminates our future path. It is the collective mind of the best sons and daughters of a great people. As we frequently and accurately say, it is the inspirer and organizer of all of our victories (applause).

The party subordinates all of its activities to the interests and the good of the people, for which reason it meets with the understanding and support of all of them. This is the source of its strength and the guarantee of the successful implementation of all its plans (applause).

Wherever I have worked, in the final account it has been a question of resolving three main problems: the problems of economic upsurge, ideological-educational work and, finally, strengthening defense and struggle for lasting peace. These are the "three whales" in our party activity, the supreme objective of which is the happiness of the people (applause). It is worth dedicating a life to such a great cause and I am proud of being one of those whose lot this has been (applause).

Let me mention one more thing: all of our efforts might have come to naught without daily reliance on the tremendous and tireless work of the local party leadership throughout our immense country. Let us mention here, above all, the work of the secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics and the secretaries of party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. They carry a tremendous burden of concerns. They are responsible for the organization of the work in

literally all areas of life. I know from personal experience how difficult yet captivatingly interesting this is. That is the reason why, in this solemn hour, I want to express to all of these people my warm gratitude. The work of these comrades -- the loyal and reliable promoters of party policy -- must be shown proper appreciation (lengthy applause).

Dear friends! In stepping into the next period in one's life, one unwittingly thinks of what has been and what will be.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the past, as it is known. No need to blush for it, I think. We must think more about what the party and the people must accomplish in the years to come. Frankly speaking, I would like to remain involved in such accomplishments as long as I have the strength (lengthy applause). And, comrades, a tremendous amount remains to be accomplished!

We have created a powerful and technologically well-armed socialist national economic organism. We have trained a huge army of specialists in all sectors of the economy, management and social life. However, this is no reason for relaxation.

Now we must organize the efficient and uninterrupted operation of this mechanism and all the people involved in it.

Based on progressive technology and the scientific organization of labor, the most important thing will be to enhance labor productivity considerably in the whole of our national economy to such an extent as to make it not lower but higher than that achieved in the most developed capitalist countries. The socialist system offers us all the necessary opportunities to accomplish this. The only problem is becoming able to use them properly and learning how to manage efficiently and thriftily.

Economic management must be improved considerably, taking into consideration the experience and creative initiative of our people and the best experience of the fraternal socialist countries and the developed capitalist states.

We must formulate and comprehensively apply a perfectly functioning system of moral and material incentives which will encourage the people to work such as to obtain maximum returns and to upgrade production quality steadily.

We must raise the civic conscientiousness of all Soviet people, their attitudes toward work and socialist property, their discipline and their standards for work, social life and at home to new levels.

All of this must be done, comrades, if we wish to insure ourselves against the difficulties which are still being encountered in the country's development. Moreover, all of this is absolutely necessary in order successfully to resolve the main problem facing our party and the Soviet people -- the building of a communist society. This precisely is the line followed in the resolutions of the 26th party congress.

This is a tremendous field of action for the party, the soviets at all levels, the trade unions, the Komsomol and our entire people.

Naturally, we must do everything we can to ensure the security of the country and a lasting and reliable peace. Considering the current acute and tense international situation, this is not easy at all.

Occasionally, in talking with foreign state leaders we hear that they do believe in Brezhnev's peaceful intentions but do not as yet know what other people in our country, the USSR, feel about this matter.

I would like to tell the gentlemen who think thusly that they have little familiarity with the Soviet Union. Brezhnev's support of the cause of peace can be explained precisely by the fact that he reflects the thoughts and feelings of the entire Soviet people (lengthy applause) and, naturally, the entire Soviet leadership, and expresses the firm and undeviating foreign policy line of our party and state (applause). This line has been consistently followed from Lenin's time on (applause). Support of peace and peaceful cooperation with other countries is based on the very nature of our society. That is precisely why supporters of war, aggression and political adventurism neither exist nor ever will exist in our country. Such is the case today and so it will remain in the future (lengthy applause).

In conclusion, let me propose a toast:

To our great Soviet people (lengthy applause)!

To the Communist Party of the Soviet Union -- the party of Lenin and the architect of the building of communism (tempestuous applause)!

To the great comity of socialist states, one of the main motive forces in modern history (lengthy applause)!

To lasting peace throughout the world (lengthy applause)!

To your health and success, dear comrades (tempestuous and lengthy applause)!

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IN PRAVDA'S EDITORIAL OFFICES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 p 21

[L. I. Brezhnev's expression of thanks]

[Text] On the occasion of my 75th birthday, I have received many congratulations and best wishes which were sent to the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, PRAVDA, many other newspapers and periodicals, television and radio stations by party and soviet organs, public organizations, republics, krays, oblasts, plants, construction and transportation enterprises, sovkhoses, kolkhozes, establishments, schools, military units and subunits, workers, kolkhoz members, members of the intelligentsia, and Leninist party and Great Patriotic War veterans -- my comrades in arms. I have also received congratulatory telegrams and letters from the leaders of the fraternal socialist countries and communist and workers parties and state and public leaders from many of the countries on earth.

Allow me to express in PRAVDA my heartfelt thanks and sincere gratitude to all of those who have addressed friendly words of greetings and congratulations to me.

On my birthday I have sensed once again the eternal nature of the ties linking my life to the fate of the country and this century. I see in the congratulations addressed to me not only a recognition of my personal merits but support of all CPSU activities and its noble programmatic objectives, an expression of the indestructible unity between the communist party and the Soviet people and approval and support of the consistent peaceful course followed by our party and Soviet state in the international arena, our solidarity and cooperation with all freedom loving and progressive forces on earth and our tireless efforts to protect mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe and to ensure peaceful skies over our planet.

Such cherished congratulations, letters and telegrams from the working people reflect their hopes and expectations of a bright future and the blossoming of our socialist fatherland. They express wishes for new victories in the building of communism. Such inspiring thoughts and directions give optimism and add more energy and resolve to implement our party's plans.

I ascribe to our party, which is the true embodiment of the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch, everything which has been said about me in these days.

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PRESSING IMPERATIVE OF THE TIMES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 22-33

[Text] The communist party and the Soviet people are enthusiastically working on the implementation of the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The socialist competition for the successful implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan is developing in an atmosphere of great moral-political upsurge. A persistent struggle is being waged for the implementation of the peace program for the 1980s, which was formulated at the congress and received the warm support of international public opinion. Time is confirming the assessments and conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress on the laws of and trends in contemporary global developments and the characteristics of the aggravated struggle between communist and bourgeois ideology. The results of the Crimean meetings between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and the heads of the fraternal parties and countries, his recent visit to the FRG and the new political initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet state triggered a broad response the world over.

The party's ideological cadres, the mass information media and the huge army of party members and nonparty people who are spreading and interpreting CPSU policy and participating in the mobilization of the working people for the implementation of the congress' decisions are making a significant contribution to the solution of the major and difficult problems facing the Soviet people.

Although the achievements in political education work are unquestionable, such work must be steadily perfected and its effectiveness improved. This is the pressing imperative of the times. The immediate tasks in this area were defined in the familiar party Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," and subsequently in the materials of the 26th congress. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CC CPSU accountability report that "Essentially, it is a question of reorganization -- no, this is not a slip of the tongue -- I do mean reorganization of many sectors of ideological work. We must see to it that its contents become more topical and its forms more consistent with the contemporary requirements and needs of the Soviet people."

The essence of this work has been formulated with maximal clarity, and the party's demands must be met creatively and energetically. However, although positive changes have taken place in this direction, they are still taking place with insufficient speed, particularly in terms of the propaganda and agitation content and organizational support for these activities. Propaganda and agitation must pay closer attention to topical political and economic problems and to the specific

problems which affect the entire population. Many new features arise both in Soviet reality and in the international arena, which must be interpreted and assessed promptly and convincingly, showing their origins, nature and developmental trends. Some articles in press and radio and television presentations fail to provide a profound analysis of the facts of our life and to draft serious summations. Manifestations of formalism and verbal blatherings in ideological work are being eliminated with difficulty. Yet effectiveness is largely determined by the manner in which the organic unity among ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and managerial activities is achieved in practical work.

"It is very important," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in developing his idea on reorganization, "that propaganda not bypass sensitive topics or be afraid of touching on so-called difficult topics. Our party's policy is clear and we are ready to answer any question which the Soviet people wish to ask. This must be done more boldly in view of the fact that unless we answer them, the enemies of our country will try to use them to slander socialism. Something else: all ideological education work must be conducted in a lively and interesting manner, avoiding cliches and the use of standardized sets of prescribed answers. The Soviet person is educated and cultured, and whenever we begin to address him in mindless official language, making general statements instead of using specific facts related to life, he simply turns off the television set or the radio or puts his newspaper aside."

These instructions formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the stipulations in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" provide the key to the formulation and application of specific methods and means for enhancing all aspects of communist education, propaganda and agitation in particular, to a new and higher level. Here it is important to become imbued with the awareness that the reorganization of ideological activity is not a short-term campaign but involves comprehensive and painstaking long-term work objectively dictated by the progress achieved by Soviet society and the development of the world revolutionary process as a whole. That is why it must be conducted very substantively and with an eye to the future.

Shortcomings in ideological work are particularly intolerable today, when the party and the people are resolving problems of historical importance such as the conversion of the economy to a primarily intensive path of development and the implementation of difficult and large-scale economic programs which lead to the increased well-being of the people and the further strengthening of the homeland's economic and defense power. We must also remember that a number of objective factors which are complicating our economic development are operating in the 1980s.

The problems of communist construction formulated by the 26th CPSU Congress must be resolved under increasingly difficult international circumstances. The foreign policy course and practical steps taken by the current U. S. administration show that the United States is abandoning the policy of detente. Its actions are openly hostile to the Soviet Union. In an effort to secure military superiority for itself, the United States is trying to deploy medium-range nuclear missile systems in Western Europe and is developing the production of the neutron bomb. Falsely claiming the need to counter a "Soviet military threat" and "international terrorism," as the national liberation movements are being called, imperialist U. S. circles are waging a fierce struggle against the USSR and all the forces of

socialism and peace, allying themselves with the Beijing leadership. In concentrating their subversive activities mainly against Poland, Cuba, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, the imperialists are trying to shatter the socialist comity, which is regarded as the main obstacle on the path of regaining the international positions previously lost. The increased threat to universal peace has been the result of this in the world arena.

The aggressive imperialist course is paralleled by the aggravation of the ideological struggle -- the fanning of anti-Soviet and anticommunist hysteria and the deliberate distortion of our foreign and domestic policy. Imperialist propaganda is trying to discredit real socialism, to defame its accomplishments and to erode the class awareness of the working people in the socialist countries.

As we can see, the current circumstances require the adoption of additional measures to enable us to make a more rapid and radical turn in the solution of the topical new tasks of ideological and party organization work to implement the historical resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Great political consciousness and labor activeness and the ability to do effective and qualitative work with all their strength are demanded of the Soviet people in all sectors of economic and cultural construction. The further strengthening of the sociopolitical and ideological unity of our society and the education of the working people in a spirit of fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism and readiness to defend the gains of socialism assume increasing importance under conditions in which the aggressive imperialist circles are intensifying international tension and systematically organizing ideological campaigns against the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. It is important for every person to be proud of his great homeland, to be an optimist and to be convinced of the rightness and invincibility of socialism.

One of the most important Leninist principles of ideological activity is the unity between word and deed. The successful communist education of the working people depends largely and even decisively on how well it is combined with organizational party work, particularly on the level of the primary party organizations and party committees in enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and establishments. It is precisely here that CPSU policy is materialized and the vanguard role of the party members in the life of our society is manifested. Regardless of how skillfully the people are taught Marxism-Leninism, the lofty moral principles and norms of the Soviet way of life and communist morality are preached, and the profoundly national nature of CPSU policy and the content of its programmatic documents and Central Committee decrees are interpreted, their educational potential can be reached in full only when the party organizations and the individual party members refuse to allow any gap to exist between words and actions. The passionate party word is a powerful weapon only when it is supported by specific party-oriented actions which yield positive results. In the final account, such actions alone can determine whether a given party organization is what it is supposed to be -- the political and organizational nucleus, the focal point of social experience and the heart and conscience of the labor collective.

As we know, people are judged by their actions and it is by their actions that the people judge the party, the state and the social system as a whole. Man lives in

a specific production and territorial microsocial environment. However, he tends to generalize the personal experience he acquires with every passing day and to make his assessments and conclusions as broad as possible. The confusion which people come across in their daily lives is taken by some as being almost inherent in the socialist way of life, while immoral behavior which has gone unpunished, particularly in the case of a party member, reduces the attractiveness of communist morality in the eyes of many people.

This is worth remembering not only for ideological workers but all party members. They must remember that the people around them watch them closely, sharply aware of each breach in behavior or blunder. They must remember that the title of party member is not only one of honor but one which entails great obligations and which must be asserted unconditionally always and everywhere. The deep awareness on the part of the party member of his responsibility to the entire party and the people is the touchstone on which his real rather than his official authority is tested.

The members of Lenin's party, which accomplished a historical exploit for the sake of the happiness of the people, and which is setting an example for the entire world in dedicated service to the interests of the working class and the toiling masses, must lead in sectors of communist construction and in all socially significant undertakings, above all professional activities. This was recently pointed out at the November 1981 Central Committee Plenum. "The party's Central Committee ascribes tremendous importance to the militancy of the primary party organizations," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said. "The situation and mood in the labor collectives and therefore the production indicators largely depend on the way the party members do their work. Every party member -- and we have almost 18 million of them -- must dedicate all his strength, experience and knowledge to finding reserves in his sector and increasing labor productivity. He must provide a worthy example of dedication to work."

Unfortunately, not all of those who carry party cards fully merit the noble designation "communist". The party gets rid of people who clearly fail to meet requirements, and punishes and educates those who have violated CPSU bylaws or socialist legality without malicious intent. However, there also are party members who officially violate no rule and even try to appear to earn distinction by their good work and model behavior, without, however, attaining the necessary results: they either become slack and passive or else show insufficient interest in the solution of important problems. Or they may carry out party assignments sluggishly and without zeal, or fail to react to errors committed by others and to shortcomings in the work. Naturally, such party members reduce the combat capability of their party collectives and the effectiveness of ideological education work.

The party organizations must promote the initiative and responsibility of the party members in the struggle for the implementation of the party's policy. They must persistently oppose shortcomings at work and in the education of the people, any lack of discipline, carelessness or abuse. They must enhance exigency toward cadres and see to it that everything done by the soviet and economic organs and trade union and Komsomol organizations is characterized by a sensitive and attentive attitude toward the people and concern with the satisfaction of their needs and requirements. In the Soviet way of life, there can be no place for bureaucracy, callousness or conceit. Proper ideological education and party organizational work make it possible to reach every person, to be very familiar with the thoughts and feelings

of the people, to strengthen the links with the masses and to make carefully weighed and accurate decisions.

Naturally, the party organizations and party committees are working persistently on the implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress. However, as practical experience has indicated, substantial omissions also exist here. The fact is that the advancement of intraparty relations and the upgrading of the vanguard role of the party members are still insufficiently linked with economic and political problems, the strengthening of discipline and organization in the labor collectives and the development of the creative initiative of the working people.

Some primary party organizations are not implementing the party line with sufficient firmness. They fail to make full use of the organizational-political measures aimed at upgrading work effectiveness and quality and improving the education of the people. Not all party organizations have drawn the necessary practical conclusions from the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress on the need to provide energetic and competent party leadership, to increase the control and supervision of execution, to improve work styles and methods, to ensure the further improvement of intraparty information and to broaden publicity in party work as an effective means of strengthening the ties between the party and the masses.

The party organizations and committees rarely show the necessary principle-mindedness toward their members -- economic managers -- who violate state, planning and financial discipline, who are guided not by national but parochial interests in the solution of production and social problems, or who allow bureaucratic administrative methods. Moreover, they sometimes actually support the erroneous actions of administrators, follow these practices and even shield the culprits.

Every one knows that the party has long condemned the faulty practice of downgrading the annual production plans, which have the power of the law, thus legitimizing their nonfulfillment. Occasionally, the party committee secretary of a plant or production association will accompany a director to the ministry to help him achieve something which, as a party leader, he must actively oppose. It would be difficult to prove to the members of the collective who are aware of this that the planned socioeconomic development of society is an unquestionable advantage of socialism: they develop justifiable doubts at least on the subject of the actual opportunities available for the utilization of this advantage and the effect of education becomes negative. The question of amending the plans was raised once again most seriously at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum, and the party organizations must devote maximal effort to eliminating this phenomenon, which has been spreading in recent years. They must provide party leadership more energetically and with greater initiative without, naturally, taking over the functions of the economic managers.

The primary party organizations can accomplish this accurately and with principle-mindedness if they exercise their right to control administration activities as codified in the CPSU bylaws properly and to the fullest extent. They must supervise the solution of all problems related to the work and social and domestic life of the people, not sporadically and by a small group of selected individuals, but by extensively involving the trade unions and the Komsomol, in accordance with the public opinion of the labor collective. Such control must be exacting and equitable. The results of investigations must be publicized and discussed at general meetings of the working people and the resulting conclusions must not be

left as pious wishes only. The members of the collective will participate actively in the correction of the errors exposed, with initiative and willingness, when they are aware of the effectiveness of the party's control and the steps which were taken based on the results of this control. Propaganda and agitation can and must play a greater role than they do currently in upgrading the effectiveness of control and the extensive publicizing of its results.

The errors committed by managers, if criticized at all, are criticized in private, cautiously and fearfully, as though to avoid eroding or undermining their authority, in the hope that the party members will either ignore these errors or pay little attention to them. Such criticism is useless. Gradually, the culprit develops the view that he merits special treatment, that he is someone special. Gradually, he becomes accustomed to uncontrolled behavior and to ignoring public opinion. This takes place when negligence, irresponsibility, violations of planning and financial discipline or neglect of the interests of the working people go unpunished. After this, such a person no longer listens to the views of the party organization and no longer reacts to any kind of criticism, while those around him ask themselves how this could happen and why he has changed? It may also happen that the primary party organization does not even know of "scoldings" given to a party member -- one of its own -- by the superior party organization, which has summoned him, taken him to task like a child, and dismissed him. It does not do at all for a party organization to shut its eyes when certain party members use their official positions for selfish purposes or engage in unseemly behavior outside work.

To use Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's metaphor, the great concepts of politics and economics are translated into practical language in the labor collective. Is it not clear that such translations must be accurate? These very concepts become impoverished or even distorted in the minds of individuals to the extent to which their practical implementation is wrong. This has a very negative effect on the entire process of ideological-political education and reduces its effectiveness considerably.

The absolute majority of the Soviet people are collectivists, patriots and internationalists. They combine within themselves beliefs and tremendous vital energy. They accept communist ideology and morality as the only correct and proper foundations for spiritual and moral life and daily behavior. Through their actions, they demonstrate the meaning of being a conscientious socialist citizen, a good worker and an active disseminator of the great ideals of the October Revolution. The strengthening and intensification of these splendid qualities in the Soviet person and the continuing concern for his all-round development, such as the broadening of his ideological-theoretical, political, scientific and cultural outlook, help him to find his position in life more accurately and to grow as a truly creative and socially active socialist individual with developed and sensible needs. It also means achieving the desired effects in political education work.

In noting with legitimate pride the successes achieved in shaping the new man in our country under the Soviet system, and in the course of building socialism and communism, the party draws the attention of the party members and all conscientious members of society, with unconcealed concern, to the fact that individualistic thinking and morality, bourgeois in their class nature and long ago rejected by socialist social consciousness, can still strongly be felt in the minds and behavior of many people. Surfacing here and there quite forcefully, they deform

collectivistic social relations and do tremendous harm to our economic and cultural construction and to the development of socialist democracy. The greedy attempts on the part of those who steal the people's property, the impudent profit-seeking of those who take bribes, the petty authoritarianism exercised by various bureaucrats, the callous indifference shown by philistines toward the public interest, the consumerist attitude toward life, the disease of material acquisitiveness in new members of the petite bourgeoisie and other similar negative phenomena are in glaring contradiction with the whole way of life of Soviet society.

It is necessary to focus attention on the bourgeois nature, i. e., the antisocialist nature of such negative phenomena in thinking and behavior because we frequently view them as no more than petty mischief, although they have long been classified categorically in party documents as the opposites of communist morality. Why then are they occasionally tolerated? Is it because of the weak argument that no one is without sin and that since these are vestiges, they need not frighten us?

The opposites of communist morality are indeed vestiges of the past in terms of historical origin. To us they are a real evil and, naturally, their causes are no less real. Are we afraid to look for these reasons, on the far-fetched pretext that we might thus defame socialism? But there is no reason to be afraid of this in our country. There indeed are no reasons for such opposites to exist in the profound, basic and commonly used meaning of this term, as any person with even elementary knowledge knows. There are no foundations in the life of Soviet society which could directly or indirectly but objectively inevitably substantiate immoral and antisocial behavior from the communist viewpoint. There is no argument about this. However, there are circumstances which contribute to the resurrection of the old mores which lead people into committing antisocial actions. Such circumstances are the results of our errors, unfinished projects and shortcomings in economic and educational activities. It is precisely they which create the fertile soil which subjectively and objectively produces recurrences of petit bourgeois behavior. It is they which must be sought out and actively fought. Public opinion must be directed toward the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance of any violation of the socialist principles of production and distribution of material goods, control over the measurement of labor and consumption and the organization of public order. In such a case propaganda and all political education work will truly become closely related to life, for it will become clear not only what must be eliminated but how to do this in each specific case.

Ideological workers must necessarily and always keep in mind the need to provide a class and party assessment of any phenomenon in life, positive or negative. However, this must be done skillfully, unobtrusively and persuasively, for people are rarely able to realize all of this by themselves. Sometimes new and unexpected situations in life, scientific achievements or art fashions may lead even highly educated people to a dead end if their ideological tempering proves to be insufficient. Has it not happened that a person who has seen immoral behavior go unpunished begins to question the values of the socialist way of life in general, or after reading some pseudoscientific work (such unfortunately occasionally sneak up into print), is unable to clarify its non-Marxist nature and adopts an unscientific and idealistic outlook instead of a dialectical-materialistic one? Such events occur particularly easily in the assessment of works of literature and the arts whose authors have abandoned the Marxist-Leninist outlook, the class positions and the principles of socialist realism.

The following instructive lines may be found in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences]: "Forgetting the ideological principle in state and social life and tolerance of ideological errors are dangerous even if it is for a short while and only in individual sectors. Initially these are not as noticeable as technical errors, for example. If a machine design is faulty the machine will not reach planned capacity or will not work at all. This becomes clear immediately, and the loss is simply estimated. As a rule, however, an ideological error is concealed, camouflaged behind beautiful words, but it is fraught with even worse consequences, for it cannot fail to have an effect and could do tremendous harm unless corrected promptly. There is no vacuum in the modern world: our ideological adversaries are active wherever we let down our guard."

Communist education is based on a firm and profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and on the shaping of a scientific and dialectical-materialistic outlook in every Soviet person. This is the only outlook which enables us to think accurately and broadly, to interpret reality in all its contradictory development, to find fruitful ways of resolving the contradictions in life, to approach each undertaking creatively and from the viewpoint of the implementation of the ideals of communism, to find our way accurately in any new field of knowledge and activity, to understand the nature of events in social life and to see their interconnection and interdependence and developmental trends. The conscious Marxist-Leninist approach to objects and phenomena is a prerequisite for the successful enhancement of the political standards of the working people, for reliable mastery of economic and legal knowledge and the development of ethical and esthetic exigency, which help to resolve all aspects of problems in political, labor and moral upbringing and to develop in everyone the active position of the builder of communism.

Comrade M. A. Suslov, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, said the following about the high responsibility of scientists for communist education at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Science Departments held last October: "The most important task facing our social scientists is the profound elaboration of the scientific foundations for the shaping of the new man. Here priority must be given to the further enhancement of the effectiveness of the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the Soviet people and the level of their Marxist-Leninist awareness. We must study the problems in the purposeful development of the needs of the individual and the laws which shape the socialist consciousness and spiritual life of the developed socialist society in greater depth. The working people, the working youth in particular, are showing tangibly greater interest in problems in cultural and moral progress. All of this offers broad opportunities for creative work and practical cooperation among philosophers, psychologists, historians, sociologists, jurists, educators, and specialists in ethics, esthetics, literature and art."

Raising the ideological-theoretical standard of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism is of great importance as well. It is frequently still taught scholastically, by rote, with emphasis on individual quotes and a superficial interpretation of them, instead of systematic, comprehensive and creative study, or in isolation from specific and vital political and socioeconomic problems. Consequently, Marxism-Leninism is sometimes considered not as an irreplaceable manual for practical action which triggers unabated and lively interest, but as a subject study of which is truly mandatory.

The Soviet people study Marxism-Leninism at school, in VUZs, in the party and Komsomol training system, people's universities, etc. Essentially, in all cases, teachers, instructors, propagandists, authors of textbooks and popular science pamphlets or participants in television programs such as "Leninist University for the Millions" have the single objective of providing systematic knowledge which will bring to light the greatness of this peak of social thinking and impeccable tool for the study of the world and for the revolutionary reorganization of society. It is possible to acquire a taste for ever deeper penetration into the creative laboratory of Marxist-Leninist thinking only by presenting tangibly, distinctly and passionately the entire wealth of the contents and the irrefutable logic of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the documents of the communist party.

As we consider the problems of restructuring and improving ideological-political work, we return again and again to the universal truth that it is daily life and the social conditions in which it takes place that educate the people more than anything else. It is important for every person to interpret and understand these conditions accurately as completely as possible and to feel in them the historical links with the fate of the homeland and the people in the context of the struggle for social justice being waged by communists the world over.

Properly argued propaganda on the historical advantages and accomplishments of socialism in the solution of even the most difficult sociopolitical, economic and national problems, the development of science and culture and the assertion of lofty moral values must hold the center of all such work. We must not tolerate the fact that this most important project is still not being pursued skillfully and intelligibly, directing the attention of the people to the major and impressive accomplishments of the party and the people and all the benefits which the socialist system gives to man. The heroics of our day and the beauty and true greatness of the working man -- the builder of communism -- must be brought to light vividly and convincingly.

The Soviet people are unfamiliar with unemployment, poverty and hunger, lack of a roof over their heads, inaccessibility of education, impossibility of obtaining skilled medical aid and fear of lack of means of existence in old age or disability. We do not have to earn our daily bread by enriching with our toil the exploiting owner or to defend our vital rights in the heavy struggle against all kinds of oppressors. We are unfamiliar with the distressing feeling of the people on the bottom rungs of the hierarchical class ladder of the antagonistic society, cast to the "economic bottom" by circumstances beyond their control. To breathe the clean air of the healthy and calm social atmosphere and to have the opportunity (and even the duty!) to work for the good of oneself and society with confidence and inspiration and to lead a human life in the full meaning of the term brings tremendous happiness. Does everyone realize this? Social concern for the working person and his family, for the development of every individual and for the steady growth of the living standard of the people has become such a customary and natural feature in the land of the soviets that many people, young people in particular, tend to forget or simply do not think about its sources and social conditions.

Naturally, the topic of the historical gains of socialism is not ignored in propaganda and agitation. However, it is frequently described or written about as though incidentally, indifferently, rather sluggishly and therefore unconvincingly. As a rule, the main emphasis is on the improved living standard of the people, their

improved social benefits, housing construction and concern for the children. This is good and proper. Meanwhile, essential matters such as the elimination of exploitation, social inequality and political, racial and national oppression and the victory of collectivistic social relations are mentioned in passing statements which almost fail to touch the minds and hearts of the readers, listeners or viewers. However, this is necessary precisely in matters which we sometimes consider extremely clear, demanding no interpretation. Otherwise, in the final account, general statements begin to bypass the mind, and their profound meaning, which teachers, propagandists or journalists have failed to present vividly and convincingly, triggers no interest. Yes, these are the basics of life in the developed socialist society, but it is precisely such basics that must not be treated thoughtlessly, for failure to master the entire wealth of the content concealed behind their seeming simplicity makes it difficult to understand everything else which comes from and is based on them.

The advantages of socialism over capitalism, the humanistic nature of a society which is not torn apart by class antagonisms and divided by social barriers, a society which has not experienced social collisions and national discord which create numerous difficulties for the toiling people, a society which is not shaken up by economic and political crises, etc., must be written and spoken about in such a way that the historical meaning of the tremendous accomplishments of socialism become firmly secured in the minds of the people instead of being passively learned phrases. For example, we must not think that the full meaning of the concept "economic exploitation" can be fully understood by someone who has never experienced it, merely by mention of it. Seemingly familiar things such as the elimination of conflicting interests between the individual and society, their organic merger under socialism, and many others, must be explained to the people more frequently and understandably.

It is equally insufficient in propaganda and agitation work merely to mention the social ownership of capital goods as the economic foundation of the socialist society. The people must realize and feel that without the normal functioning and multiplication of such capital goods, the growth of the people's well-being, the efficient and maximally effective organization of labor, the advancement of truly collectivistic social relations and the moral perfecting of the members of society are impossible. Sometimes socialist property is considered as being "nobody's," or as "official" property unrelated to the people, so that it does not have to be protected but can be thoughtlessly squandered and so that a somewhat bigger slice can be cut for oneself. In our country those who encroach on the people's goods are few, but many are those who fail to stop them, considering that this is none of their business. Such indifferent people obviously fail to realize that their own well-being and the true individual freedom they enjoy in the developed socialist society are in the final account the result of public ownership.

Socialist social ownership has made the working people the owners of the production process and of all social life, objectively ensuring the safeguarding of their basic interests. The most important task in ideological work is to promote this feeling of ownership and to issue more frequent reminders that the people's property is created through work and only work, and that increasing and protecting it are in the interests of one and all.

Propaganda pays clearly insufficient attention to the topics of freedom and Soviet democracy. This is not due to the underestimating of such topics. Good telecasts and printed essays on the work of the soviets, the deputies, the activists who are voluntarily participating in the work of the authorities and the people's controllers abound... However, we are not always successful in depicting socialist democracy as compared to bourgeois democracy and in skillfully strikingly, vividly and graphically contrasting the full rights enjoyed by the Soviet citizens against the official equality of the people in the capitalist world. We do not teach the people sufficiently how to make proper use of the extremely broad rights and freedoms granted to them by the Soviet Constitution and our entire political system and how to combine them skillfully with their personal responsibility for governmental and social affairs. We must propagandize more extensively the possibility of decisive participation by the working people in planning and production management, in the struggle for the conservation of energy and raw and other materials and for production quality and the implementation of major national economic programs.

The historical meaning of the social gains of socialism can be firmly secured in the minds of the people by showing the humanistic nature of our system and the harmonizing of human relations with proper and convincing arguments, persistently and purposefully, with the help of obvious facts and profound summations and comparisons with the realities of capitalism. The mass information media, lecturers, propagandists, political informants and agitators must learn how to make better use of economic and social statistics and to translate into the language of emotions the living nature of many superficially dry-seeming data which have a tremendous social content and which characterize the development of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries.

The advantages of socialism must be presented systematically and concretely. The problems and real needs of the people must be brought to light. We must strive to make party propaganda profound, realistic and carefully considered. However, occasionally the wrong emphasis is placed in the analysis of the complex problems of our development in the course of discussing domestic problems. Unquestionably, criticism and self-criticism must be serious, principle-minded in a Leninist way and sharp: as the party stresses, it should not be feared on the grounds that it may be used by the enemy. Truth is our main weapon in both politics and propaganda, and the party has always spoken to the people honestly about successes and shortcomings. The people will always understand frank talk. The force of socialism lies in the conscientiousness of the masses and the CPSU has always proceeded and will proceed on the basis of this Leninist behest. However, bare fault-finding must not be taken as criticism, for essentially it leads to the defamation of Soviet reality. Such so-called "criticism" must be firmly rebuffed.

The dissemination of the moral code of the builder of communism formulated in the CPSU program has weakened in recent years. Paradoxically, this precisely coincides with the period during which studies of the Soviet way of life were developed extensively. Norms contained in the moral code, such as intolerance of violations of the public interest, parasitism, money-grubbing, careerism, dishonesty, and immodest behavior in public and private life are frequently ignored. Naturally, there have been sharp critical articles in the press and on television, and occasional films and plays scourging such vices. However, the absence of a steady massed offensive has been obvious. Furthermore, less attention than it deserves

is being paid to the feeling of collectivism. All of this means that ever more effective work remains to be done in the area of moral education.

In the ideological struggle success is sometimes achieved not by the one who is right but by the one who is the first to present his version on the air or in print. In such cases proof yields to efficiency. Under the conditions of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, American imperialism above all, the ideological struggle against our class enemies must be waged more profoundly and aggressively. The reactionary antipopular nature of imperialism and its domestic and foreign policies must be exposed systematically, with substantiation and convincingly. The situation calls for firmness and principle-mindedness in defending the positions of the Soviet Union and world socialism and for truly aggressive propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. We must firmly rid ourselves of the swoops of pacifism which occasionally appears in some information-propaganda materials. This will help to develop and strengthen the revolutionary vigilance of the Soviet people and their class self-awareness.

We must draw attention to the increased threat of war without exaggerating the power of the forces opposing socialism or creating the impression that a global thermonuclear war is inevitable. The positions of world socialism are firm and unshakeable. It can defend its gains. The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union is also a policy of firm rejection of aggressive imperialist aspirations or encroachments on our security. The USSR and its allies have sufficient resources and possibilities, including military ones, to repel imperialist pressure. The changes which have taken place in the postwar world are irreversible. There is no force on earth capable of stopping the legitimate process of the revolutionary transformation of society. Imperialism is unable to oppose these objective realities and to remake the world in its image and likeness.

The task of all mass information and propaganda media is to keep at the focus of their attention the need to explain the deeply principled and far-sighted foreign policy activities of the CPSU and the strategy of peace which has enabled us to avoid war for 37 years.

The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Educational Work" called for counteracting bourgeois propaganda more effectively. The steps taken in that direction are yielding positive results. At the same time, the situation calls for paying considerably greater attention to problems of counterpropaganda both abroad and at home, comprehensively improving such work and exposing imperialist ideological diversions more energetically. Using all possible means, the class enemy is trying to impose on a certain segment of our population its own assessments regarding the most topical problems of domestic and international life. Under such circumstances, the party committees must consider counterpropaganda as one of the most important areas of their activity. They must conduct it systematically, competently and consistently, involving experienced party and state workers, scientists and specialists. Good experience already exists in this area. It would be useful to study and to apply it everywhere. This will give counterpropaganda the necessary consistency with the level of the influence of bourgeois propaganda in any given part of the country or one population stratum or another.

Every conscientious citizen, and in particular every party member, must feel personally responsible for counteracting foreign ideological influence. However, it frequently happens that by their silent tolerance, some "informed" people spread false rumors drawn from the broadcasts of hostile "radio voices" and discuss clearly tendentious evaluations of events and facts imposed from abroad. Such actions must be firmly stopped.

In his time, Lenin said that "The old type of propaganda described and provided examples of communism. Such old propaganda, however, is totally unsuitable, for we must show in practice how to build socialism. All propaganda must be based on the political experience of economic construction" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 407). He also said "Let there be less talk, for you cannot satisfy the working people with talk" (Ibid.). In following such Leninist behests, we must learn how to implement them fully, always taking into consideration the contemporary conditions of domestic and foreign life.

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CADRE POLICY--EXPERIENCE AND PROBLEMS

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

[Text] The cadres policy, or personnel policy, is one of the keys in the revolutionary-transformational activities of the communist and workers parties. For the CPSU, a principle that is absolutely fundamental is the well-known principle of V.I. Lenin's to the effect that "policy is conducted via people" (Complete Collected Works, vol 45, p 123), and that the implementation of the party's general line depends to a decisive degree on the activities of personnel. Thus, when the objective conditions for the struggle to build a new society are identical or similar, and the results can be and sometimes are different, the reason lies primarily in the fact that there is a different level of management, of work by organizers, of the political and on-the-job qualities of the managers who head the various areas and sectors.

In the personnel policy that has been called on to guarantee the training, education and efficient placement of the workers in all spheres of activity in conformity with their political and on-the-job qualities, their education, their work experience and their capabilities, one sees most clearly the implementation of the managing role of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Therefore, the personnel policy of the communist and workers parties are attacked with particular zeal by the opponents of socialism. Their goal is obvious: they would like to deprive those parties of the opportunity to assign personnel to key positions, to snatch from their hands the powerful means of implementing their political line.

That is why a Leninist instruction that has not lost, and never will lose, its vital importance is the instruction to the effect that one must not allow the very important state assignments to be made by other than the ruling party (see Complete Collected Works, vol 42, p 166). Only the political vanguard of the working class is capable of assuring the mass promotion from its ranks, from the workers, of talented political managers and organizers of production and state and cultural construction and of nipping in the bud any technocratic, bureaucratic or anarchistic, anarchosyndicalistic strivings.

In work with personnel, as in sharp focus, one sees concentrated all the facets and problems of social development--the winning and the reinforcement of the authority of the workers, party and national-state construction, the deepening of socialist democracy, the creation and development of the socialist economy and culture, the country's defense and the improvement of management and administration in society. In personnel work, everything is important, everything is essential. There are no petty details in it, and there cannot be any. Therefore, both past experience and the present-day practice of developing and implementing the personnel policy, including the experience gained by other communist parties, are constantly and carefully studied, are summarized and used by the party organizations of the CPSU. Our party rests on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the complete analysis of the conditions and tasks of each historic stage and, on that basis, defines the specific requirements that it makes on its personnel.

The 26th CPSU Congress positively evaluated the considerable amount of work that was done during recent years by the party and its local organizations, which was aimed at further improving the qualitative makeup and placement of personnel and the raising of their level of proficiency. "In the Communist parties of the Ukraine and Belorussia," noted General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in particular, "there has appeared much that is interesting with regard to the selection and education of personnel and the increasing of the responsibility borne by managers for the specific work sectors."

At the same time, the congress advanced fundamentally new tasks in this area, tasks dictated by the needs for the development of the society of mature socialism. Their resolution is an important condition for further increasing the managerial role of the party, reinforcing its ties with the nation and carrying out the routine tasks of the country's economic and sociopolitical development.

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The scientific principles of the party's personnel policy, the principles of work with personnel, were worked out in the many years of the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class and its political vanguard. The history of the CPSU is, first of all, the history of a person that became the true forge for developing professional revolutionaries, a school for training its members for the consistent struggle to carry out the socialist revolution. As they proceeded through the Bolshevik "revolutionary universities," the party personnel under the guidance of Lenin persistently strove to master the theory of Marxism and the practical skills needed for organizational and ideological-political work among the masses. They never stopped learning. The formation of the qualities of true proletarian revolutionaries began in the illegal clubs and was deepened and reinforced in the course of the class struggles, the bitter clashes against opportunists of all types and hues. The Bolsheviks deeply believed in the creative capabilities of the proletariat, saw in it an inexhaustible source of talent and absorbed everything that was most advanced and most honest, all that was heroic and selfless in the working class. The party's wealth--its time-tested personnel--constituted the nucleus of the political army of socialist revolution, a nucleus that carried along with its millions of workers and guaranteed the victory of that revolution.

After Great October, it was specifically the party personnel that assumed entire responsibility for the fate of the first victorious socialist revolution and of the great nation. And they successfully passed that severe test. In an extraordinary situation of foreign military intervention and civil war, the party located, recognized and tested "people with a sober mind and practical sharpness, people combining devotion to socialism with the ability, without any bluster (and despite the turmoil and noise), to organize smoothly the strong and well-coordinated joint work of a large number of people within the framework of the Soviet organization" (V.I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, vol 26, p 193).

World history had not known previously such a broad elevation of workers to the apparatus of state administration. By the Eighth VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)--predecessor of the CPSU] Congress, Lenin proudly stated that Soviet authority, for the purpose of involving the workers and peasants in administration, had done more than the most advanced democratic republics had been able to do in hundreds of years. In the fire of the class struggle, people who previously had been proletarians became plant directors and bank managers, scientists and diplomats. The communists, by their deeds, refuted the prophecies of the enemies of Soviet authority concerning the inevitable doom of the world's first state of workers and peasants as a result of a shortage of necessary personnel and the impossibility of promoting them from among the people. Life convincingly proved that the assertions being disseminated by the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on were absurd and malicious fabrication.

In the resolution of personnel problems, as in all its activities in managing the building of a new society, the party always concentrated its attention on the main, primary link in the chain of complicated tasks. For example, the period of the civil war and foreign intervention required first of all a considerable number of command personnel for the building of the workers and peasants Red Army and the conducting of military actions. And the party sought those personnel among the people, and nurtured and educated within the shortest periods of time tens of thousands of army commanders who won with distinction numerous engagements and saved their country from foreign enslavement.

One of the time-tested forms of resolving the problem of personnel during that time, a time that was so difficult for the party and for the nation, was the use of party mobilizations. The experience of carrying them out is a very valuable property of the CPSU and is of lasting importance. Confirmation of this is provided by the party's mobilization measures during the period of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar restoration of the national economy, when millions of communists were sent to the decisive sectors of combat engagements and peacetime creation.

The Soviet Government, as is well known, broadly involved in the job of socialist construction those specialists who had been born in what were previously the exploiter classes. The realism of the party of Bolsheviks, the class steadfastness of its line, the purposeful ideological and psychological effect on the "old specialists," the constant monitoring of their work on the party of the working class and the decisive suppression of the counterrevolutionary actions of saboteurs guaranteed success in the new undertaking. Something that became an important party gain was the fact that, within short periods of time, a considerable number of the old intelligentsia crossed over to the side of the Soviet authority.

The involvement of the old specialists undoubtedly played a noticeable role in organizing the socialist administration and resolving the tasks of restoring and developing the economy. However, it did not, by any means, resolve the personnel problem. Therefore, the party consistently carried out a course aimed at developing personnel from among the best representatives of the working class and peasantry and promoted them to responsible work in party, state, public and economic agencies.

The adjustment of organizational work during the first years of peacetime socialist construction was carried out during the course of the decisive struggle by the CPSU against the attempts of the Trotskiyites and rightist restorationists, national deviationists and other capitulators, who were attempting to undermine the leading role of the party, to deprive it of the opportunity to exert an effect on the selection and placement of administrative and economic personnel. They attempted to defame the party and soviet workers who had been tempered in the revolutionary struggle and the crucible of socialist construction and to remove the party and state from the formation of a system of socioeconomic administration.

V.I. Lenin and the party revealed the complete insolvency of the thesis that was defended by the "decentralists" ["detsisty"] and the "workers opposition" concerning the transfer to the trade unions of the administration of the national economy and censured the manifestations of narrowly local interests in personnel policy, which are incompatible with the democratic centralism of the idea of anarchosyndicalism. Other so-called ideas that were decisively rejected were the Trotskiyite "ideas" concerning the "tightening of the screws" and the "shaking up of the trade unions," the "developing of the trade unions into a state" and the drawing of the party's youth organizations, "upper strata" and "lower strata" into opposition within the party itself.

Other ideas that today have not lost their vital importance for the worldwide communist movements are those that were expressed by Lenin in the course of the ideological struggle against the opportunists. In his article "Party Crisis" (January 1921), he wrote about the need "to combat the ideological disorder and those unhealthy elements of the opposition that talked themselves ...to the point of renouncing not only the 'appointment method,' which was the main practice up until now, but also every kind of 'appointment,' that is, in the final analysis, renouncing the leading role of the party with respect to the mass of nonparty members. It is necessary," Vladimir Ilich emphasized, "to combat syndicalistic deviation, which will destroy the party if we are not finally cured of it" (Complete Collected Works, vol 42, p 244).

Returning at the same time, in January 1921, to this question in a report on the role and tasks of the trade unions at a session of the communist faction of the Second All-Russian Congress of Mine Workers, Lenin said that the party "leads and selects people.... If we say that it is not the party that makes the nominations and administers but, rather, the trade unions themselves, that will sound very democratic, and by doing that it may be possible to catch some votes, but not for long. It will destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Complete Collected Works, vol 42, pp 252-253).

The mass scope and innovative nature of the tasks to be resolved by the party under the complicated conditions of the transitional period dictated the vital necessity of carrying out a firm, consistent, proletarian-steadfast policy in all spheres of social life. And that, in turn, to a decisive degree depended on the level of class awareness of the workers carrying out the particular policy. Hence that special attention that the party devoted and continues to devote to the political tempering of the personnel, to their profound assimilation of revolutionary theory, to the job of educating in them their ideological conviction, staunchness and devotion to the cause of the working class.

V.I. Lenin, the party's Central Committee and the local party organizations showed constant concern for the political enlightenment of party, soviet and economic personnel and to their study of the laws of social development and of the science of the origin and development of the new socioeconomic formation--communism. The political training of the managerial workers and the broad detachments of specialists took on a truly mass nature.

A factor of intransitory importance in intensifying the work of providing communist education of personnel at all stages was the publication for the workers of the classic authors of scientific communism, both in Russian and in the languages of the peoples of the USSR, and the mastery, by the personnel and by the broadest masses, of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In the Ukraine, for example, in 1918-1981 there were published 296 editions of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels, with a total printing run of 5,393,500 copies, and 1,343 editions of the works of Lenin, with a printing run of 35,835,400 copies, including collections of works in Ukrainian.

The successful carrying out of the personnel policy by the ruling Communist Party is directly dependent on the constant reinforcement of its ideological organization and the improvement of its social and qualitative composition. Showing concern for the purity of its ranks, the party has always put up a reliable roadblock in the path of the careerist elements that have been contaminated by the ideology of private ownership and by philistine morality and that have attempted to penetrate to managerial positions and to use them for their selfish purposes.

The fight against bureaucratism, careerism and malfeasance represents an immutable law in the activities of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Methods that became specific in improving the social and qualitative composition of the party ranks during the years of building socialism were the periodically conducted mass inspections and purges of party organizations. That was linked with the fact that, under the conditions of the transitional period, an economy based on various ways of life and the corresponding social structure, the pressure of uncontrollable forces of private enterprise sometimes led to the contamination of the ranks of the ruling party by petty-bourgeois, unstable elements. Therefore, as Lenin noted, it was necessary "to purify the party...of the petty thieves, the solidly established bureaucrats, the dishonest and unsteady communists...." (Complete Collected Works, vol 44, p 124) The purges, which were carried out on a broad democratic basis, with the active participation of the masses of nonparty workers and peasants, made it possible

to check the state of work of each party organization and each communist. By ridding itself of the "hangers-on," who had been abusing their authority, the party raised still higher the importance and the rank of the party member.

Simultaneously the party supplemented its ranks by taking cadre workers "from the machine tool." That is what happened in 1924, when, in response to the Leninist call, 31,500 persons were accepted into the party in our republic alone. In 1927-1928, in the course of the October call, 22,300 workers entered the party in the Ukraine. As a result, there was an improvement in the social composition of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, an increase in the combat capability of the organizations and a reinforcement of their proletarian nucleus.

The mass purges, as a means of preserving the purity of the party ranks and reinforcing their ideological and organizational unity, were used only during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. The 18th VKP(b) Congress abolished them, stating that subsequently the party was able, by ordinary procedures, without resorting to mass purges, to clean its ranks of unworthy individuals and to regulate the social composition in the course of everyday work.

To execute successfully the role of the vanguard, the Communist Party must be "as organized as possible, as unanimous as possible and as independent as possible..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol 7, p 258). Lenin always opposed equating "party" and "class" and also opposed any attempts to erase the boundaries between them, warning against the threat of liquidationism and dissolving the party in the masses. He spoke "about the constant duty of the advanced detachment to raise increasingly extensive segments to that advanced level" (Complete Collected Works, vol 8, p 245).

The needs of socialist industrialization were among the factors influencing the necessity for the mass training of qualified workers and the creation of a large detachment of engineers and technicians. In the Ukraine alone, according to the First Five-Year Plan, it was planned to build and remodel more than 50 very large-scale enterprises in heavy and agricultural machine-building, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, mines and electric power stations. It was necessary within the shortest time to provide the new construction sites with politically mature and professionally trained cadres of managers, specialists and qualified manpower.

The party organizations carried out a broad series of steps to promote workers to the management of industrial enterprises and to provide for the mass training of economic personnel for the higher and middle levels. In 1928-1929, 900 of the best communists were sent to higher technical training institutions and the industrial academy in the Ukraine. For the most part, they were workers who soon headed many very important sectors of socialist construction. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan, the enterprises had more than 84,500 engineers and technicians, the majority of whom had been trained in the republic itself. They were representatives of the first generation of the Soviet technical intelligentsia, which had emerged from the ranks of the workers and peasants, from the very midst of the masses.

"Cadres decide everything!"--that was the party slogan that called on the working class and all of the workers to work actively to master the new technology, to improve their knowledge and to raise their proficiency level without a break in production. The resolution of the problem of the mass training of personnel in our country had had no counterpart in world practice. In the capitalist countries the personnel who are capable of creating and using the complicated technology took decades to develop. But the socialist system made it possible to reduce those periods considerably and to successfully overcome the gap that had arisen during the process of the fundamental reorganization of the national economy--the gap between the new technology and the level of training of the managers, the engineer-technical personnel and the workers.

With the elimination of unemployment in the late 1920's, the training of qualified personnel rose to a qualitatively higher level. To guarantee the steady rise in the proficiency level of the workers, a network of training institutions was created: factory-plant training schools (FZU), technical schools, special courses, clubs and so forth. By the late 1930's a single state-wide system for training labor reserves had been created.

During compressed historical periods, in one or two 5-year plans, a detachment of many thousands of persons in the engineer-technical intelligentsia was formed. That was aided by the fundamental reorganization of the work of the industrial institutions of higher learning, the creation of factory-plant technical sources at the enterprises, higher technical instructional institution-plants and industrial academies. Soviet production-technical personnel, from the point of view of their on-the-job qualities, not only did not yield to the specialists in the old school but even surpassed them. We developed talented organizers of production, plant directors and construction-project managers.

In the selection, placement and education of personnel, the party consistently carried out the principle of proletarian internationalism and took all steps to assure the training of national cadres. In the USSR--a single, unified, multinational state--that had and continues to have especially great importance. The party and state, in a planned procedure, supplemented the shortage of skilled personnel at the most important sectors of socialist construction, sending to the appropriate areas the workers from other oblasts, krays and republics. During the years of Soviet authority, all the union republics, which had been borderland territories, were given all kinds of assistance in economic and cultural construction, in raising the educational level and in training personnel. The higher educational institutions in the largest centers of the country trained large detachments of persons who had been sent there by all of the national republics, oblasts and okrugs. Without assistance from the center, the problem of forming a national intelligentsia would have been unresolvable.

An effective factor for involving local workers in state and economic construction was the policy of broadly promoting personnel from the indigenous population in the national regions. At the same time, the party decisively opposed the national-deviationist perversion of the meaning of that policy. When, under the flag of the "Ukrainianization" of the state and party apparatus,

which was borne for the alleged purpose of bringing that apparatus closer to the masses, antidemocratic attempts were made to implant the Ukrainian language artificially among the workers, the Communist Party of the Ukraine decisively rejected such attempts as contradicting the principles of voluntary action and proletarian internationalism.

Much attention during the development of personnel potential was also devoted to involving women in active party and soviet work, in social production and in cultural construction.

Within the historically shortest period of time, the party not only learned itself how to manage all aspects of social development but also taught that very complicated art to millions of workers. The secrets of the "Soviet miracle" had their roots not only in the emancipation of labor but also in the creation of the broadest opportunities for the education and intellectual development of the masses of the people, in the organizing of a system of planned training, promotion and assignment of personnel that was completely unprecedented in its scope.

An important stage in the work with personnel is linked with the socialist reorganization of the rural areas. Kolkhoz construction and the technical remodeling of agriculture presented an urgent task of providing for the mass training of managers of collective farms and various kinds of specialists. By 1932 25,300 kolkhozes, 1,060 sovkhoses and more than 600 MTS [machine-tractor stations] were created in the Ukraine. In rural areas where, until recently, a machine had been an unusual sight, 39,000 tractors, approximately 2,000 combines and a large amount of other agricultural technology were operating. It was necessary also to take into consideration the social aspect of collectivization, which, as is well known, was carried out under conditions of an acute class struggle.

Thanks to the party's efforts and the active aid provided by the working class, within a short time a stable contingent of managerial and technical personnel for agricultural production was created. In the Ukraine alone, in 1930-1932 the agricultural higher educational institutions and technical schools graduated approximately 19,000 specialists. Training at short-term courses and schools was offered for more than 160,000 brigade leaders, a large number of kolkhoz chairmen, accounting clerks, ledger clerks and more than 250,000 tractor and combine operators and mechanics.

As a result of the building of socialism and the carrying out of the cultural revolution in all spheres of the country's social life, a mighty personnel potential was created. That potential played a very important role in guaranteeing victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, in eliminating the serious consequences of the war and in building a well-developed socialist society.

The long process of forming the personnel of the socialist type from among the working class and the broad masses of the workers, their bold involvement in managing the affairs of state and all branches of the national economy and culture and the creation of a national intelligentsia are not all simply history. They are a treasure house of rich historical experience, which has lasting

importance, including for other socialist countries, and a vast ideological-political and organizational wealth, which our party protects and uses economically in practical work under new conditions.

The experience of the CPSU and its local party organizations confirmed and made it possible to concretize the basic principles of working with personnel: their selection according to political and on-the-job properties; the succession of management, the combination of experience and young, promising workers; the stability and renovation of personnel; the constant concern for raising their ideological-theoretical level and the basis of work methods and the final results; democratism and social equality, with the working class in the leading role; the truly internationalistic approach in work with personnel; the guaranteeing of their correct distribution and movement between production and administration, between the center and the outlying areas; an economical attitude toward personnel, in combination with fundamental demandingness toward them; and the creation and active use of an effective personnel reserve.

The vital importance of studying and making creative use of the historical experience of the personnel policy of the CPSU has been growing dynamically as a result of the complication of the tasks of economic and sociocultural construction in our country and in the other states in the socialist community and the need to vigorously counteract the hostile attacks that have been made on the personnel policy of the ruling communist and workers parties.

2

The building of well-developed socialism in the USSR presented our party with new tasks in the area of personnel policy. Each of the union republics currently has at its disposal a large detachment of mature, well-qualified personnel. But that does not mean that all sectors have been fully provided with personnel that meet present-day requirements. Obviously, one cannot resolve that problem once and for all. And so today a demand that continues to be of vital importance is the Leninist demand "to set up in a broad, planned, systematic and open manner the job of selecting the best workers for economic construction, the best administrators and organizers on a special and general, local and nationwide scope" (Complete Collected Works, vol 42, p 280). The CPSU is implementing that demand with consideration for the new conditions and tasks.

What we are discussing are, primarily, the factors of a socioeconomic order. Under the influence of the scientific-technical revolution, social production at the stage of mature socialism has been dynamically growing quantitatively and changing qualitatively. It is becoming more complicated by virtue of the fact that the economic and informational ties that encompass all levels of production, distribution, exchange and consumption are intertwined in a single national-economic complex for the country. Under these conditions, as never before, "to administer it is necessary to be competent, it is necessary completely and precisely to know all the conditions of production, it is necessary to know the technology of that production at its present level and it is necessary to have a certain amount of scientific education" (V.I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, vol 40, p 215). The success of the job greatly

depends on the extent to which the personnel are scientifically and technically trained, to which they possess modern methods of administration and to which they have deeply analyzed the objective natural laws and can predict the economic, social, ecological and other consequences of the decisions that are being made.

Mature socialist society carries out the transition to the chiefly intensive path of economic growth. Hence the party's stand on raising the effectiveness and quality of all work, on economizing and making more complete and efficient use of the national wealth, on modernization, remodeling, the technical re-equipping of existing enterprises, the creation and complete introduction of the latest technology and materials and the application of highly productive technological methods. Hence the need to improve the economic mechanism, the methods of administration and, consequently, the new demands that are being made on the personnel. They have been called on to fight more actively to guarantee the priority of state and nationwide interests and to oppose narrowly local, departmental and bureaucratic tendencies. It is the managerial personnel primarily who determine the efficient, scientifically substantiated choice of the organizational structures in the outlying areas, the opening up of the initiative and active participation of the worker collectives and the reinforcement of plan discipline.

Of no less importance with regard to raising the demands on personnel are the political factors--development and improvement of the mechanism of socialist democracy, the deepening of socialist democracy, the increasing of the role played by the local soviets in resolving the comprehensive problem of territorial planning and administration, the more precise interaction of all links in the political system, the reinforcement of legality and of law and order and the rise in the cultural level of administrative labor. As noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, we have to strive for "that work style in which there is an organic combination of the willingness to execute orders, a spirit of discipline and bold initiative and an enterprising attitude, the combining of practicality and a businesslike attitude with a striving for greater goals, and the combining of a critical attitude toward shortcomings with an unshakable confidence in the historic advantages of the path we have chosen."

There has also been an increase in the influence exerted by the factors of an ideological order--the level of awareness, of ideological spirit, of overall and political culture and the level of education of Soviet citizens. Their spiritual world is becoming increasingly richer and more varied, there has been an increase in the production and social activity rate, their self-awareness has been growing and their feeling of being masters of their own fate has been reinforced. Under these conditions, to successfully combine the functions of organizer and educator, the leaders must be well-trained and completely educated persons, who are able to penetrate deeply into the essence of the questions, to strengthen the ties with the broadest masses of the workers and to have excellent knowledge of their interests and demands, remembering the Leninist behest that the quality of leadership is determined "not by the force of power but by the force of authority, by the force of energy, by the greater degree of experience, by greater versatility, by greater talent" (Complete Collected Works, vol 7, p 14).

The demands on the personal qualities of the personnel, their ideological training, are also intensified by foreign policy factors. Our party and the Soviet state are fighting persistently for peace, detente, mutually advantageous cooperation and the prevention of a thermonuclear war. This is opposed by the course taken by the aggressive imperialistic circles, and primarily the United States--a course aimed at intensifying the arms race, a policy of threats and interference in other people's affairs, of suppressing liberation movements. Our personnel have been called on to understand profoundly the present international situation, to unmask the aggressive, imperialistic policy and the ideological subversion being carried out against our country and to defend consistently the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the fight against bourgeois, reformist and revisionist ideology.

Thus, under conditions of well-developed socialism, the complication of the processes that are occurring in the economy and in social-political and spiritual life continuously increases the demand that are made on the level of ideological-theoretical training, on professional competency and on the political and moral maturity of the personnel. This, naturally, finds expression in the personnel policy of the CPUS. An especially great deal was achieved in the job of improving the training and education of personnel after the October 1964 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which played an exceptionally important role in observing and developing the Leninist principles and norms of party life.

Thanks to the consistent carrying out of the Leninist principles of the personnel policy, the Communist Party and the Soviet state currently rest on a vast personnel potential. The country's national economy employs more than 28 million specialists who are party members and candidate members. In the Ukraine there are almost 5.4 million specialists, of whom approximately 2.3 million have higher education. More than 350,000 young specialists are sent into the republic's national economy every year. During the past 10 years, the total number of specialists has increased more than 1.6 times. Every third specialist is a member or candidate member of the party.

If one speaks of the personnel at party, soviet and economic agencies and their qualitative composition, one should note that at present in the Ukrainian SSR all the secretaries of oblast, city and rayon party committees, and all oblast, city and rayispolkom chairmen have higher education; 3/4 of them are specialists in industry and agriculture. Just 10 years ago that indicator was 55 percent. In all the city and rayon party committees, among the secretaries there are specialists of that branch of the national economy that is the leading one in the particular region. Practically all the managers of enterprises and associations in the leading branches of industry and construction, and sovkhos directors and kolkhoz chairmen, have higher or secondary special education.

As is well known, experienced personnel and young workers supplement each other well. Some have gone through the great school of life and have strong tempering and experience. Others are typified by energy, the burning desire to study and work. Therefore, it is important to guarantee the necessary combination of the experienced and the young personnel, their stability and succession.

Almost 2/3 of the secretaries and department heads of oblast committees, and the majority of the secretaries of the city and rayon party committees and rayon, city and oblispolkom chairmen in the republic have been working in their jobs for more than 3 years. At the same time, in recent years a large number of young, promising workers have been promoted to managerial position in party, soviet, economic and other agencies.

Improvement of work with personnel depends greatly on its precise organization. Lenin frequently directed attention to the need to "think over the work system" (Complete Collected Works, vol 44, p 364), issuing the call to learn how to "work systematically, using one's own experience, one's own practice!" (Complete Collected Works, vol 42, p 344). We are discussing primarily the need for studying the long-range and current need for personnel and the extent to which they are provided to absolutely all sectors of social and economic life. And, obviously, it is a matter not only of quantitative indicators but also, primarily, of the knowledge by party organizations of the political, on-the-job and moral qualities of people, analysis of the specific results that they have achieved and the complete checking of them in the practical environment. The checking both from the top and from the bottom is important. As has been attested to by life, the evaluation of workers without consideration of the collective's opinion is frequently one-sided. A good means of studying personnel is in preliminary discussion of the nominations that have been made for the filling of managerial positions, at primary party organizations and at meetings of worker collectives. This procedure has been becoming the rule at many organizations. It deepens democratic principles in carrying out the selection and placement of personnel.

In this regard, there has been an increase in the role played by the monitoring of the administration's activities by the primary party organizations. The meaning and purpose of this monitoring lie in attempting, without interfering in the operational-distributive functions and without taking the place of the economic managers, to increase their responsibility for the assigned job, to promptly reveal and eliminate any shortcomings and, in all respects, to protect the party-wide, state-wide interests. Every worker, irrespective of the position that he holds, is responsible for his own actions and deeds, primarily to the party organization and to his collective. With party members, obviously, the demands are especially strict. For violation of state discipline and even more so for violation of law and order, a communist answers doubly--both to the party and to the law. We strive to see that the party organizations observe this principle strictly.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine attempts to achieve a situation in which the work with personnel is carried out in a planned manner, and in which every party committee, ministry and department develops and carries out long-range plans that stipulate a series of measures for training specialists, for reinforcing the appropriate sectors of management and for raising the ideological-theoretical level and on-the-job proficiency of the workers. The resolution of the new tasks requires, as a rule, a new approach, and sometimes it also requires new executors, because it is no secret that one still encounters workers, including those in responsible positions, who take an old approach to the management of socioeconomic development. Instead of carrying out specific measures to increase the effectiveness of production and

use the reserves existing at the enterprise or in the branch, they strive to obtain additional capital investments, material-technical means and manpower. Those who, so to speak, have exhausted their operating reserve and who are living on the basis of old knowledge and have not been making any new contribution to the work, should be released from the positions that they hold and should be transferred to less responsible sectors. And, of course, the republic-level party committee is taking the most stringent measures with those managers who are unable to, or have no desire to, make a critical evaluation of the state of affairs, who have become reconciled to the shortcomings and who attempt to justify their poor work by making references to various "objective" difficulties.

In the activities of the party organizations in selecting, placing and educating personnel, factors that are taking on greater and greater importance are broad democratism, electivity and publicity.

The primary role in this process is played by the party meetings and the plenums of the party committees. At the reporting and election party meetings that were held in the republic on the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress, 97.6 percent of the participants were communists. Approximately a million communists spoke during the discussions. They evaluated in a demanding, well-principled manner the activities of the elected party agencies and managers and subjected the omissions and shortcomings to criticism. A large number of efficient recommendations was expressed. The development of democratism in work with personnel also finds its expression in the party's course, which is aimed at increasing the activity rate of the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations.

Our party has attached, and continues to attach, a great deal of importance to increasing the social and political activity rate of the workers, including their promotion to managerial positions. The following facts, for example, are not without interest. During the years of Soviet authority, the first secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, the chairmen of the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] and subsequently the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and chairmen of the republic's Council of Ministers included 18 persons who had begun their life as workers, 8 as peasants and 8 as employees (mostly professional revolutionaries and party workers). All 14 chairmen of the Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions had been workers in the past. Of course, the class approach in personnel policy is not exhausted by this. The chief thing is for the managerial personnel to conduct the proletarian line consistently, in close contact with the masses and for them to be utterly devoted to the cause of the working class and to the cause of communism.

In the well-developed socialist society, there has been a considerable expansion of the promoting of the best representatives of the working class to managerial positions. This has been influenced by the considerable quantitative growth of the working class and by the qualitative shifts in its structure, by the development of production and social activity.

Workers and kolkhoz members are broadly represented in the elected party agencies. At present, among the members and candidate members of rayon, city and

oblast committees of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, they constitute 43.5 percent. All told, more than 270,400 workers and kolkhoz members in the republic have been elected to managerial agencies in all links of party organizations, including primary ones. Workers and kolkhoz members are part of the bureaus in all city, rayon and oblast party committees. There they receive good political tempering and master the ability to conduct organizational and educational work. There has been a noticeable increase in the number of representatives of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry in the soviets and in the trade union and Komsomol agencies. More than half the workers in the oblast, city and rayon party committees, a considerable number of workers at soviet and trade union agencies and ministries and the majority of the managers of enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhoses began their working life as workers or kolkhoz members.

Workers and kolkhoz collectives have produced the first secretaries of Voroshilovgradskaya, Dnepropetrovskaya, Zhitomirskaya and Krymskaya obkoms and Khar'kov and Kiev gorkoms, the chairmen of Zaporozhskaya, Odesskaya, Ivanofrankovskaya and Chernigovskaya oblispolkoms and many others. That is typical of our managerial personnel. Equipment adjuster at the Serp i Molot Plant in Khar'kov nonparty member N.V. Mishchenko was elected deputy chairman of the republic's highest authority--the Supreme Soviet, lathe operator at the arsenal plant in Kiev V.P. Shcherbina was elected deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and combined-brigade leader at the Ilichevskiy ocean-going trade port, A.A. Baranovskiy; combined-brigade leader at the Donbassantratsit Association, Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast, A.A. Yeremenko; Fitter at the Lvov Motorbus Plant imeni 50-Letiye USSR N.I. Milyan; operator at the Shepetovka sugar combine, Khmel'nitskaya Oblast, G.A. Poveda; and link leader at the Mayak Kolkhoz, Poltavskaya Oblast, A.D. Yurchenko are members of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. Lathe operator Hero of Socialist Labor M.G. Vakhula and lathe operator G.A. Mikhaylov, the latter also a member of the CPSU Central Committee in 1971-1981, were elected secretaries of the Lvovskaya and Khar'kovskaya Oblast Councils of Trade Unions. For many years, Heroes of Socialist Labor furnace operator I.S. Tereshchenko, miner P.V. Negrutsa, installation worker V.V. Shatilova, garment worker T.V. Bychenok and many others have been successfully executing the duties of secretaries in trade union agencies. One could cite many similar examples. They convincingly attest to the fact that our personnel are people who have been moved forward by the people, who are inseparably linked with the people and who have devoted all their life to serving the people.

The actual state of affairs completely refutes the malicious statements being made by imperialist propaganda depicting the managerial personnel in our party as being some kind of "elite" and concerning the preferential material status of party, soviet and trade union workers as compared with ordinary laborers. It is appropriate to note that the wages of a secretary of a primary party organization or an instructor at a party committee at the rayon or city level are no higher than the average wages of a worker, and the earnings of a higher qualified worker exceed the wages of the secretary of a rayon or city party committee.

In the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th CPSU Congress, a problem that was mentioned as one of the important ones in the party's personnel policy was the more active promotion of women to managerial positions in party, soviet, economic and other work. This course has great fundamental and practical importance. The reserves for the broad filling of administrative assignments from the ranks of women are truly unlimited for us. More than half the people employed in the republic's national economy are women, and among specialists with higher or secondary special education, almost 60 percent are women. Women comprise more than 1/3 of the oblast, city and rayon committees of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and about 1/2 of the deputies of local soviets. They constitute more than 1/5 of the responsible workers in party committees. Women work actively in the republic's government. They head 150 kolkhozes and 33 sovkhoses and more than 1/2 of the factory-plant and local trade union committees. Party committees and soviet agencies strive to utilize even more fully the increased opportunities for promoting women to responsible positions.

Our constant concern in work with personnel is the consistent observance of the principle of proletarian internationalism, the prevention of any limitation in the use of workers of various nationalities, the taking into account of all of the processes of the internationalization of social life as a whole. As was emphasized by the 26th CPSU Congress, "all peoples have the right to proper representation in their party and state agencies. Obviously, this includes strict accounting of the on-the-job and ideological-moral qualities of each individual." The fact that this requirement is being steadily observed is attested to, in particular, by the composition of personnel in the Ukraine. Among managerial workers, 70.4 percent are Ukrainians, 27.1 percent are Russians and 2.5 percent are representatives of other nationalities. Representatives of 60 nationalities have been elected to the soviets.

An important task has always been, and continues to be, the creation of a reliable personnel reserve. This task exists at many levels. It includes not only the selection of people for a particular kind of activity but also various forms of working with them. At present, there are within the CPSU almost 18 million communists, including 3 million in the Ukrainian republic party organization. This is a tremendous force, a source of talented personnel who are selflessly working in the most varied sectors. In addition, we have tens of millions of nonparty activists. The party organizations strive to become aware of promptly and to evaluate objectively an individual's capabilities, to determine correctly the kind of work in which he will best be able to manifest himself and be of the greatest benefit.

The secretaries, department heads and other workers of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, working with the personnel reserve, regularly meet with those people, study their practical activities, ask them to prepare individual questions and documents and ask the party activists and the immediate managers and subordinates about their opinion of the individuals. The nominations of persons to serve as a reserve for managerial work are made, as a rule, by the party organizations and labor collectives.

Workers in the reserve are recommended for election to the party, soviet, Kom-somol and trade union agencies. That has considerably reduced the co-opting

of persons when filling vacant positions. Whereas during the period between the 24th and 25th party congresses 312 persons in the republic's party organization were co-opted to fill positions in the city and rayon party committees as secretaries, after the 25th party congress, 124 persons were so co-opted, with the majority of them being graduates of the Academy of Social Sciences, attached to the CPSU Central Committee or higher party schools. The Central Committee and the oblast committees of the Communist Party of the Ukraine have achieved a noticeable increase in the effectiveness of the reserve. Three-fourths of all the workers recently promoted were recommended from that reserve.

In educating personnel, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the other party committees in the republic attach great importance to mastery of the Leninist work style and the adoption of a political approach, to the development of criticism and self-criticism, to strict observance of the principles of the collective nature of management, to the precise organization of monitoring and the checking of execution and to the link with the masses. We strive for a situation in which the personnel are confidently oriented in the new phenomena of life, give a correct evaluation of them and make reliable practical conclusions.

The determining role in the training of highly qualified personnel is played by political and economic training, institutions of higher learning, secondary special educational institutions and the system of occupational and technical education. In training managerial personnel and in their ideological tempering, an important place belongs to the leading party scientific institutions--the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Social Sciences, attached to the CPSU Central Committee--as well as to the local party schools, institutes and refresher courses.

In the Ukraine there is in operation, under the oblast, city and rayon party committees, a broad network of theoretical seminars and schools for party and economic activists, which train approximately 60,000 persons. Active use is made of the Marxism-Leninism universities, republic-level schools of advanced experience and such time-tested form of scientific-propaganda work as conferences. A conference that was of great importance for further improving the work with personnel was the republic-level scientific-practical conference held in December 1978, "The Creative Development of the Leninist Principles of Personnel Policy in the Works of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, 'Little Land' ['Malay Zemlya'], 'Rebirth' ['Vozrozhdeniya'] and 'Virgin Land' ['Tselina']."

Every year a large detachment of managerial party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol workers attends the Refresher Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences, attached to the CPSU Central Committee; the Institute of Administration of the National Economy; the USSR Academy of the National Economy; and other union-level educational institutions. During the past 10 years, more than 9,000 party and soviet workers and journalists have been trained at the AON [Academy of Social Sciences], attached to the CPSU Central Committee, and at higher party schools. Almost 1,400 persons receive refresher training annually at the High Party School, attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and more than 20,000 at permanent oblast refresher courses and seminars.

To raise the proficiency level of the economic managers, specialists and scientific-pedagogic personnel, use is made of the republic's Institute of the Administration of the National Economy and tens of other institutes, hundreds of special courses and schools attached to ministries and departments, institutions of higher learning and technical schools, training-course combines and schools attached to secondary agricultural educational institutions.

The systematic training taken by personnel makes it possible for party, soviet and economic workers to gain a full awareness of the style and methods of party-organizational and ideological work, ways to improve the economic mechanism and vitally important foreign policy problems. This is all the more important since some of the secretaries of the oblast, city and rayon party committees, although having engineer-technical, economic or agricultural education, do not possess sufficient political experience. Some of these specialists sometimes made attempts to introduce into party agencies purely administrative methods. Therefore, the political training of the personnel is an object of our special concern.

We constantly take into consideration the fact that the education of personnel is not reduced simply to training. As was emphasized by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "to become a real party manager, it is not enough to have received instruction at a party school. It is necessary for the comrades who are being promoted to managerial party work, so to speak, to have been 'well-cooked' in the midst of the working masses; for them to know, not from documents but from their own experience, what the life of the workers, peasants and intellectuals in our country is like; to know their life and demands, their interests. It is necessary to strive for a situation in which precisely this kind of school, this school of life, this school of practical work with the masses has been attended, as a rule, by all of the communists whom we consider the reserve for promotion."

Newer and newer people are coming into management. Therefore, the political tempering of the personnel never loses its importance. When evaluating the work of managers and communist administrators, the party committees take into consideration not only the indicators pertaining to the fulfillment of the production plans but also the level of discipline, the moral-political climate in the collective, the working and everyday living conditions; they form in all the workers, but primarily in the managerial ones, the sense of high responsibility to the nation. The status of the manager, regardless of what position he holds, obliges him to assume a high measure of demandingness in his deeds and actions, to manifest modesty, to be accessible, sensitive, and attentive to people and always and in all respects to serve as a personal example of impeccable observance of party rules and socialist laws and morality.

The entire atmosphere of Soviet society encourages every manager to remember the trust that the nation and the party put in him, to take the most conscientious, most selfless attitude to the job at hand and to prevent any violations or abuses. Therein lies a reliable roadblock against those phenomena that are alien to socialism, such as bureaucratism and overcautiousness, narrowly local

or departmental interests, a conciliatory attitude toward violations of party and state discipline, intolerance toward criticism and the use of one's official position for selfish purposes.

The instillation in personnel of a sense of personal responsibility for the assigned job is inseparably linked with the constant and effective monitoring and checking of execution, with the intensification of demandingness. Obviously, high demandingness is incompatible with petty guardianship, with taking the place of the economic managers. This substitution can be momentarily successful, but it is inevitably followed by a reduced sense of responsibility, a loss of initiative in those whose functions are being carried out by others.

The attainment of a responsible attitude toward the job, of a spirit of discipline in work, is possible when there is a clear definition of who is specifically responsible for what. This is important at any level--from the primary party organization to the Central Committee. For example, at the present time six republic-level comprehensive scientific-technical and socioeconomic target programs have been developed. They have as their aim resolution of the most important problems in the field of power engineering, the coal and metallurgical industry and agriculture. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has deemed it necessary that for the current management of their implementation, within the corresponding areas of responsibility, they be assigned personally to the deputies of the Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

In carrying out the monitoring and organizing the fulfillment of the decisions, in reinforcing the discipline and responsibility of the personnel, an important role belongs to the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and of the party's oblast committees and to the departments of the party committees. The party workers have been called on to become thoroughly familiar with the state of affairs in the outlying areas, with the actual situation, and to exert a time-responsive influence in this respect. It is well known that communication with people enriches the party worker, reinforces his link with life and helps him to learn, so to speak, "from the horse's mouth" the thoughts, interests and needs of people.

Obviously, in the course of monitoring and checking execution, emphasis is also put on summarizing and disseminating advanced experience and on revealing any shortcomings. The most important thing is to provide prompt assistance for the manager to see his error, correct his mistake and correct his actions. We always provide all kinds of support to worthy, inventive workers who are capable of organizing effective work.

The worker's ability to analyze his activities objectively, to admit honestly and openly any shortcomings that he has and to eliminate them quickly, is an indicator of his principled attitude and his political maturity. That is why strict measures--up to and including removal from the position occupied and removal from the party--are applied to those who fail to react to justified critical comments or statements in the press, who disregard public opinion and attempt to suppress criticism. Although such instances are rare, they are still encountered. Sometimes it is necessary also to replace those managers who have

not compromised themselves in any way, but for whom, despite their industriousness, their spirit of discipline and their sense of responsibility, things are not going right--they simply are not "pulling their weight."

The party committees attempt to help personnel improve their work style. Obviously, this requires that the manager himself strive for this, work systematically to improve himself, attempt to master new management methods and study and introduce advanced experience and the achievements of science and technology. This also requires that he know how to organize, how to consolidate people and lead them. Every worker, every manager, no matter what position he occupies, must, from the point of view of his qualities and level of training, meet the requirements of the present stage in social development.

This is especially important today, when throughout the country, work that is vast in its scope and importance has been broadly extended to implement the tasks that were posed by the historic 26th CPSU Congress.

The workers of the Ukrainian SSR, like the rest of the Soviet citizens, have greeted with a sense of deep satisfaction and approval the decisions of the November 1981 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the principles and conclusions stated in the speech of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the plenum and the laws that were adopted at the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th convocation, which followed after the plenum. This constitutes convincing confirmation of the nationwide support provided to our party's domestic and foreign policy and the purposeful and fruitful activities of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee's Politburo, headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet demonstrated anew that all the concerns of our party, all the efforts of the Soviet state are invariably concentrated in two interconnected directions--the consistent carrying out of the tasks of communist construction and the consolidation of peace.

Our republic's workers see their highest civil and patriotic duty in working selflessly to assure the constant strengthening of the economic and defensive might of the Soviet motherland. The plans for the 1st year of the 11th Five-Year Plan for the sale of industrial output and the increase in labor productivity have been fulfilled. A large amount of housing, many schools, hospitals, polyclinics and structures intended for social, cultural and everyday purposes has been built. A number of enterprises in light industry has been activated ahead of schedule.

The rural workers have done a lot to overcome the difficulties of an arid year, have fulfilled their assignments and have loaded into the state's granaries 827 million poods of grain, that is, an amount that is approximately at the level of the average annual procurement of grain in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Socialist pledges for the sale of grain to the state were fulfilled by seven oblasts. For the republic as a whole, there was an increase in the purchases of potatoes, sunflower seeds, fruits and berries, grapes and eggs. The plan for the sowing of winter crops was fulfilled.

Thanks to the aid provided by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government and the mobilizing of all capabilities, it was possible to preserve the number of head of livestock, and this is very important not only for maintaining the gains in animal husbandry but also for creating the conditions for increasing the production and purchases of output, especially of meat and milk.

At the same time, it should be noted that, with regard to a number of planned indicators, tasks are not being fulfilled in complete volume. Analysis shows that there is a lag, as a rule, wherever the managers continue to be enslaved by old work methods and habits, wherever people talk about objective difficulties and the complexity of the plan but do not see any real reserves and wherever people reconcile themselves to shortcomings.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has completely and critically analyzed the results of its activities. Specific steps have been planned and are being carried out to improve the state of affairs in the decisive branches of the national economy--the coal industry, ferrous metallurgy, agriculture, capital construction and transportation. Labor collectives, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations; and economic managers are applying every effort to create a solid base for fruitful work and to promptly guarantee the tasks of the 5-year plan.

It is completely understandable that the tasks for the economic and social development of the USSR that were advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress require a further improvement of work with personnel--workers and kolkhoz members, engineers and technicians, physicians and teachers, scientists and artistic intellectuals, workers of party, soviet and economic agencies and public organizations, that is, with personnel at all levels and in all categories. The Communist Party of the Ukraine and its organizations are doing and will continue to do everything necessary for the personnel to grow in proportion to the growth of the demands that are made on them by the present-day conditions, and to see to it that their talent, initiative, the boldness of their creative minds and decisions, their inseparable link with the masses are embodied in concrete deeds, in new achievements of the labor collectives.

Personnel are the invaluable property of the nation and the party. Their selection, training, placement and education are one of the most essential aspects of party leadership. It is not only an organizing function but also a very important political function of the party. By steadily implementing the Leninist principles of work with personnel, the CPSU, on the basis of the analysis of its own practice and the practice of the fraternal parties, constantly enriches and develops them as applicable to the new conditions. The mastery of these principles and the experience of the personnel policy of the communist and workers parties is a very important condition for the further reinforcement of the unity and increase in the combat capability of the party ranks and for successful resolution of the tasks of the revolutionary transformation of society on communist principles.

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REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS AND THE SHAPING OF THE HIGHEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY

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[Article by Professor K. Gusev, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," which was approved by the 26th CPSU Congress, assigns to social scientists, among other tasks, a summation of the experience acquired in the revolutionary-transforming activity of the CPSU, that in work on the development of the political system of mature socialism. Part of this major problem is the question of the soviets, which constitute the political foundation of the USSR, and their place and role in the historical process of forming a higher type of democracy.

What shape will socialism assume in Russia after the proletarian revolution? In answering this most important question in creative Marxism, V. I. Lenin noted that it will not be a parliamentary republic, since returning to that following the soviets of workers deputies would be taking a step backward, but rather a republic of soviets (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 31, p 115). This was the theoretical foundation for the qualitatively new form of power which appeared in the course of the revolution. Here Lenin relied on the revolutionary practice of the masses which, in the course of the class battles in Russia, had produced a new and more advanced form of popular rule -- the state of workers and peasants.

In Russia, republican ideas had become widespread among the progressive representatives of the people as early as the time of the Decembrists movement. However, historical developments were such that our country never became a parliamentary republic or even a constitutional monarchy.

The establishment of the State Duma -- a primitive parliamentary surrogate -- was no more than a timid and uncertain step toward the transformation of a feudal monarchy into a bourgeois one. Like the other reforms which the autocratic regime was forced to make due to the pressure of the first Russian revolution, it did not in the least change the nature of the governmental system in Russia. However, even after the fall of the Romanov dynasty, neither a parliament nor any similar institution was formed.

All of this is recalled by the bourgeois ideologists who try to substantiate the thesis of the political immaturity of Russia, which had allegedly not matured enough for

true democracy. According to them, on the eve of the October Revolution our country was undergoing the "normal" process of democratizing the governmental system, which would have successfully evolved into a parliamentary bourgeois republic. Allegedly it was Lenin and the bolsheviks who shunted the country away from the general path of history with their slogan "All Power to the Soviets," for the Soviet system had not as yet reached the level of parliamentary democracy when the October Revolution interrupted the process of democratization in Russia. However, historical facts prove something different: the country did not stop at the parliamentary form of government but went further ahead. Bypassing bourgeois parliamentarianism, it moved on to a higher form of democracy -- proletarian democracy -- a step which was historically determined. It was precisely this that Lenin had in mind when he stated that a return to a parliamentary republic would be a step backward.

I

The fact that socialist democracy, represented by the soviets, was established in Russia relatively easily and quickly, reflected the characteristic features of the development of the revolutionary movement and revolutionary social thinking in the country.

One of the reasons for the quick and decisive victory of Soviet democracy was the fact that the initiative of the working people had not been paralyzed by the previously existing parliamentary institutions and norms which were firmly rooted in the minds of the people and which represented the legalized will of the ruling class -- the bourgeoisie. Another important feature was the fact that the soviets were totally unrelated to the old system, having appeared as the organs directly manifesting the will of the working people, and there were no intermediary institutions between them and the masses. The absolutizing of parliament had always been a concept alien to revolutionary Russia. Here revolutionary democratic trends were particularly strong both among the masses and among the best members of the intelligentsia thinking about the future of the country and its people. The violent peasant wars headed by Bolotnikov, Razin and Pugachev had shaken the country up in the 17th-18th centuries. Constitutional-democratic ideas developed in the 18th century, their literary expression being provided by A. N. Radishchev, the first revolutionary among the nobility, whom Catherine II described categorically as "a rebel worse than Pugachev." He described autocracy as "a condition most contrary to human nature," emphasizing that never had a "czar surrendered any part of his power voluntarily..." nor would this ever be likely. The shaping of this ideology into an expanded political program and the initial attempts to implement it were undertaken by the Decembrists in the first quarter of the 19th century.

Each one of these three stages in the history of the liberation movement in Russia had a model for its governmental system. In the first, that of the nobility, the Decembrists clearly intended to adopt as their model for the future governmental system a Western democracy, either in the form of a parliamentary republic or a constitutional monarchy.

In pointing out the similarity of revolutionary ideas, P. I. Pestel', the leader of the Decembrists' Southern Society, wrote: "This century is noted for its revolutionary ideas. The same thing can be seen from one end of Europe to the other, from Portugal to Russia, excluding not one country, even England and Turkey,

the two opposing powers. The same situation applies throughout America. A spirit of change is making minds everywhere bubble." He suggested in his plan for a future governmental system, after the overthrow of the "enraged power of evil" (the autocracy), that a parliamentary republic be established in Russia with a single-chamber parliament which would elect a five-member State Duma as its

executive organ. Let us note that, unlike many actual European constitutions, Pestel's plan called for no voting qualifications other than age.

Nikita Murav'yev, one of the leaders of the Northern Society, also proceeded on the basis of the characteristic parliamentary principle of the separation between the legislative and executive powers. In his plan, Russia was to become a constitutional monarchy in which the legislative power would be in the hands of a bicameral parliament -- the People's Veche -- while the executive power would be vested in a hereditary emperor as the "supreme official of the Russian State." Both the elected and the electors had to meet high property qualification standards. Other draft constitutions oriented toward a republican parliamentary rule had been suggested as well, although they have not come down to us.

The Decembrists marched in step with their century. Although the revolutionary nobility were far removed from the people, their uprising was a part of the general upsurge in the revolutionary struggle in Europe in the 1820s, and was even then considered by their contemporaries abroad as a link in the revolutionary liberation movement against reactionary monarchic regimes. Despite the defeat of the uprising in Senatskaya Square, the heroic traditions of the Decembrists left an ineradicable mark on the minds of subsequent generations of fighters. However, the forms of the future governmental system they suggested were not supported and disseminated in the subsequent stage of the liberation movement. Painfully surmounting their doubts and interpreting their failures, the progressive revolutionary thinkers were paving the way for a new society, relying on the experience of the revolutionary movement in Russia and the West.

Already A. I. Herzen, the last of the revolutionaries among the nobility who, in Lenin's words, were awakened by the Decembrists, had reached the conclusion that bourgeois parliamentarianism too was imperfect. However, Herzen proceeded from erroneous premises. His main error lay in his assumption that the peasant commune, which he saw as the starting nucleus for social progress in Russia, would clash with dying capitalism, although in fact it was capitalism itself that was developing. However, even Herzen believed that a republic must be marked by the rule of the working people and by deep social change.

While admitting Russia's backwardness, the revolutionary democrats who headed the second stage of the liberation movement, did not by any means idealize Western democracy. N. G. Chernyshevskiy, who sharply opposed serfdom, was also critical of the capitalist order. In Lenin's view, he was "a notably profound critic of capitalism." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 25, p 94). The debunking of the faults of the bourgeois society was one of the strong features of the revolutionary democrats, proving the development of Russian social philosophy in the direction of Marxism.

The attitude of the revolutionary democrats toward the institutions of the bourgeois state could not be explained simply by their rejection of capitalism or a failure to understand the progressive nature of the capitalist system as compared to the order

in Russia. Whereas Herzen idealized the commune, Chernyshevskiy soberly judged it as an indicator of Russia's economic backwardness of which there was nothing to be proud. However, since in his view, it was possible at that time that the country might develop along a noncapitalist path through a peasant revolution, which could eliminate estate and all other forms of exploitation, the rural commune was to be preserved and used in the transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist system.

The peasant socialism of the revolutionary democrats was petit bourgeois and utopian. However, Chernyshevskiy and his followers were aware not only of the backwardness of the feudal system and the shame of serfdom, but of the faults of capitalism and bourgeois parliamentary democracy as well. As N. A. Dobrolyubov put it properly, "Looking at the course of the development of the peoples of Western Europe and seeing its current condition, we can hope that our way will be better." This outstanding revolutionary democrat no longer shared the view that Russia's way to socialism had to be a separate one. He believed that the country should go through the same stages as other countries. However, he assumed that "civic development can somewhat speed up the stages which took so long in Western Europe. Above all," Dobrolyubov emphasized, "we can and must progress more decisively and firmly, for we are already armed with experience and knowledge..." He openly called for surmounting the limitations of a bourgeois republic and bourgeois parliamentarianism. Dobrolyubov was the first to see a compromise between the bourgeoisie and the feudal landowners in parliamentarianism. In all the coups which have taken place in Western Europe, he pointed out, the bourgeoisie has been conciliatory, and instead of inflicting a final defeat on the weakening party and uprooting the very principle on which it stood, it allowed it to gain strength on the basis of the pusillanimous fear that otherwise it would have to share its rights with the remaining popular masses. The result was that the bourgeois-democratic problems of the revolution remained unresolved.

The capitalist reality in Western Europe itself urged the ideologs of the peasant revolution to seek other means of social reorganization which would be more consistent with the interests of the people and would help to eliminate the exploitation of man by man. Although they were unable to resolve this problem, the influence of their ideas on the revolutionary-democratic movement and its leading social force -- the Raznochintsy intellectuals -- was substantial.

The bolsheviks thought very highly of the revolutionary democrats. They saw in them the predecessors of the new stage in the evolution of social thinking, when a truly scientific theory of the development of society was formulated and the working class assumed the leadership of the Russian liberation movement.

Revolutionary populism adopted a critical attitude toward the bourgeois system and faith in the possibility that a capitalist stage of development could be bypassed. However, its ideologs, who relied on the subjective method in sociology, were hardly able to understand the laws of history and the scientific concept of socialism.

In comparison with its predecessors, the "People's Will" ascribed a considerably greater role to the political struggle. However, the Narodovol'tsi themselves were very cautious in their discussions of a parliamentary system. "We believe," their program stated, "that the will of the people could be expressed and implemented quite adequately by a constituent assembly elected by a truly free and universal vote, with instructions issued by the electorate. Naturally, this is not by any

means an ideal form of manifestation of the popular will but it is the only practically possible one at present, for which reason we deem it precisely this form which must be adopted."

The Narodniks did not formulate any type of specific and substantiated system for a future social and governmental structure. They failed to see in the working class the main force of social progress; their theory about the originality of Russia was erroneous. We know, however, that in their oral and printed propaganda the revolutionary populists exposed the parliamentary form of government adopted in many Western European countries as the defender of the interests of the exploiters, and they deemed it unsuitable for a true democracy.

The moment it appeared in the political arena, the Russian working class, which had assumed the vanguard position in the liberation movement in its new, proletarian stage, displayed its revolutionary activeness. Speaking at one of the biggest political trials of the 19th century -- the "trial of the 50" (February-March 1877) -- Petr Alekseyev, the famous worker-revolutionary, said that one should not tolerate governmental rule "seized by force."

G. V. Plekhanov wrote that the "demand for political freedom was stipulated in the workers program earlier than in the programs of the revolutionary intelligentsia," as confirmed by the program of the "Northern Alliance of Russian Workers," which "stated openly that the workers consider winning political power to be a necessary prerequisite for the further success of their movement." In emphasizing the merit of the first workers associations, which called for a struggle for political freedom, despite the populist doctrines, Lenin pointed out that as early as the 1870s, the progressive members of the working class "had proved themselves to be the great leaders of a workers democracy..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 22, p 72). Stepan Khalturin, who was one of them, had founded the "Northern Alliance of Russian Workers." According to Plekhanov, he had made a study of European constitutions before drafting the alliance's program.

The existence of a relatively broad stratum of democratic intelligentsia with revolutionary traditions and frame of mind was one of the characteristics of the development of the revolutionary liberation movement in Russia. Raised in the principles of service to the people, the revolutionary intelligentsia turned to the works of Marx and Engels in its search for a suitable theory. In its thinking about the fate of the homeland, it saw in Marxism an effective theory of the revolutionary transformation of society. The activities of the revolutionary intelligentsia contributed to the rapid spread of Marxism in Russia and the merger of socialism with the workers movement.

This took place at a time when the ideology and practice of trade unionism, which was based on the principle of the inviolability of the capitalist production method and a denial of the existence of a radical conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie, were being developed.

V. I. Lenin classified trade unionism as the "bourgeois policy of the working class." Trade unionism reduced the struggle of the working class to an effort to improve the conditions for the sale of the workers' labor and the impact which "its" profession would have on the "labor market," and it was oriented toward the unification of highly skilled labor exclusively. The Russian counterpart of trade

unionism as a reformist movement in the workers movement was economism. After its appearance within the Russian social democratic movement of the 1890s, after the first workers and Marxist associations and organizations had already been created, it was debunked on the eve of the first Russian revolution, for which reason it was unable to exert any significant influence on the political struggle of the working class.

In relying on the experience in the struggle waged by the proletariat in Western Europe, and surmounting trade unionism, the Russian labor movement passed directly to the establishment of a political organization and the search for truly democratic forms of governmental structure. As we have been able to see, this was no sign of backward social development in our country, as is claimed by the bourgeois ideologs. Conversely, it meant that, taking into consideration the democratic achievements in this area in the West, progressive Russian philosophy looked farther ahead and outstripped them in its search for qualitatively new forms of popular rule.

II

Parliamentarianism played a progressive role during the ascending stage of capitalist development, when feudal relations were replaced by "free competition with its corresponding social and political system..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 429). The first program of the RSDWP, which called for overthrowing the czarist monarchy and replacing it with a democratic republic, demanded "popular autocracy, i.e., the focusing of supreme governmental rule in the hands of a legislative assembly consisting of representatives of the people, gathered in a single chamber." However, this did not mean any idealization by the party of the bourgeois constitutional regime which existed in many countries at that time. The bolsheviks proceeded from the fact that under the conditions which prevailed in Russia at that time, the creation of a parliamentary republic would constitute considerable progress. They saw the democratic republic as a step toward a higher type of government.

The class struggle under the conditions of the growing revolutionary situation in Russia urgently demanded a search for new types of authority which, having surmounted the shortcomings of parliamentary forms, could assume the task of leading the armed uprising against czarism. This problem was brilliantly resolved through the creativity of the masses themselves in the course of the first Russian revolution.

The soviets appeared when monopoly capital had replaced free competition, in the age of imperialism, which was characterized by the aggravation of the class struggle, the bourgeois offensive against democratic freedoms and the strengthening of the leading role of the executive branch, at the expense of weakened influence for the parliamentary system. At the time of the appearance of the soviets, there already existed the experience of the Paris commune -- a new type of governmental rule on the basis of which Marx reached the conclusion which Lenin developed further in his "The State and Revolution." "The commune must be not a parliamentary but a working corporation which legislates and executes the laws" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 17, p 342). This precisely was the principle on which the soviets were based.

The soviets appeared as the organs of the revolutionary democratic state which, in Lenin's definition, destroys all privilege by revolution and is not afraid of promulgating the fullest possible democracy through revolution (see "Poln. Sobr.

Soch.," Vol 34, p 191). They were a form of practical implementation of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, called upon to carry through to the end profound democratic change, to strengthen the unity between the working class and the nonproletarian working strata on the basis of the resolution of general democratic problems, and thus to prepare the favorable ground for the transition to a socialist revolution.

The nature of the activities of the soviets became particularly clear against the background of the sterile verbiage of the State Duma. Lacking essentially both legislative and executive power, it was a parliamentary screen which concealed absolutism behind the fig leaf of constitutional illusion. "In all three dumas," Lenin wrote, "Cadets and Octobrists vied with one another in assuring the 'authorities' and 'society' that what they wanted was little, modest, minimally European. The result were null!... Good wishes do not provide democracy with a solution but trick it with fraudulent hopes!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 22, p 108). However, whenever it became a question of the rights of the working people and the protection of their interests, the duma (like, in fact, the parliaments in the bourgeois countries) invariably took the side of the bourgeoisie and czarism, showing its full readiness to make a deal with the government. Its activities discredited, rather than strengthened, parliamentarianism in the eyes of the masses.

Nevertheless, even under those circumstances the bolsheviks did not reject the use of bourgeois parliamentarianism. Furthermore, Lenin was subsequently to emphasize that "The bolsheviks used it more successfully than any other party in the world...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 255). In his article "How the S. R. Sum Up the Results of the Revolution and How the Revolution Summed Up the Achievements of the Socialist-Revolutionaries," he sharply criticized the appeal of the S. R. for a boycott of the Third Duma on the grounds that it was reactionary and a "paper sword" in the hands of the autocracy, and their statement that in general it was necessary to concentrate exclusively on extraparliamentary means of struggle. He pointed out that this was nothing but adventurism and an inability to assess the tactics of the government and to counter them suitably. On the basis of the existing circumstances, the bolsheviks formulated their own parliamentary tactics which included, on the one hand, the use of the duma's rostrum in the struggle against autocracy and, on the other, the exposure of the duma-related constitutional illusions which were disseminated by the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois parties. A comparison between the soviets born in the flames of the revolution, and the duma created by the czarist government, offered convincing proof that "A single day of strike in October or an uprising in December is 100 times more important in the history of the struggle for freedom than the subservient speeches of the Cadets in the duma about the irresponsible monarch and the monarchic-constitutional system" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 16, p 26).

Despite the defeat of the revolution, the idea of the soviets became firmly embedded in the minds of the working people, and all it took was the outbreak of the second bourgeois-democratic revolution to bring about the comprehensive reappearance of soviets of workers, soldiers' and peasants' deputies, on a broader scale. The establishment of twin rule itself proved the attachment of the masses to the idea of soviets, which were far more popular with them than any other parliamentary-type institution. From the very beginning the bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, saw in the soviets the future form of rule by the working people, and a higher type of democracy than the parliamentary type.

During the period which preceded the February revolution, Lenin frequently emphasized that the soviets of workers deputies and other similar institutions should be considered the organs of revolutionary power. After the overthrow of the autocracy, he insistently argued that "The soviets of workers and soldiers' deputies will achieve autonomy for the popular masses faster and better than a parliamentary republic... They will be able to decide better, more practically and accurately what steps can be taken toward socialism and how to take them" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 143).

The bourgeois and petit-bourgeois parties took a different position. They immediately proclaimed themselves the supporters of parliamentarianism in its established forms.

The mensheviks took preconceived systems and similarities with Western European bourgeois democracy as their starting point. They depicted Russian history as the "Europeanization" of Russia and the history of Russian social thinking as a copy of the bourgeois ideology of the advanced countries. In their view, any country embarking upon the path of capitalist development would have to repeat the history of the countries which had already pursued that path, not only from the viewpoint of general laws but in almost every detail. Thus, the menshevik Potresov preached that "One must begin by enrolling in the preparatory grade of the civic school which Europe had attended for a century or even longer." Neither the specific historical conditions in Russia nor the features of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism were taken into consideration. The menshevik leadership dogmatically believed that Russia had not become sufficiently mature for a socialist revolution and that in a bourgeois democratic revolution, the leadership must remain in the hands of the capitalist class and its parties. The bourgeois parties were fully agreeable to having not just a parliamentary republic, but even a constitutional monarchy.

The petit bourgeois parties demonstrated their lack of understanding of the nature of soviet and proletarian democracy particularly clearly in the period of the growth of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist one. After gaining a majority in the soviets, the mensheviks and S. R. did everything possible to prevent full power from passing into the hands of the soviets. They justified their coalition with the bourgeoisie and its parties by the argument that the soviets should not seize power because of their class nature, for Russia was not as yet ready for a socialist revolution. They even claimed that socialism would fail if the proletariat attempted to run the government by itself. The leaders of the petit bourgeois parties could find no better way than to assign to the provisional government of the State Duma, headed by Rodzyanko, the formation of a government. Rodzyanko stated that he "had been made a revolutionary" against his will. Thus, attempts were made to turn Russia into the beaten track of Western democratic bourgeois parliamentarianism from the very beginning.

However, the establishment of the soviets proved that the revolution in Russia had gone considerably beyond the limits of a bourgeois democratic revolution in its development. It was historically legitimate that under the circumstances in which the center of the world revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia, and given the extraordinary intensification of the revolutionary process -- three revolutions in 12 years, a form of democracy -- democracy of the working people, which was superior to the bourgeois type, had developed. This more advanced form of democracy, which

was very popular with the peoples of Russia, reflected the attitude of the broad masses toward bourgeois democracy and parliamentarianism.

Curiously enough, the leaders of the petit bourgeois parties, who were trying to preserve their coalition with the bourgeoisie at all costs, were unable to create a parliamentary institution. After repeatedly postponing the convening of a constituent assembly, which was to settle the question of the form of government to be adopted, they also postponed the holding of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, scheduled for September 1917, fearing that they would be unable to control the majority of the votes. Instead, the so-called Democratic Conference was convened to resolve the problem of government, the composition of which totally failed to reflect the ratio of forces in the country. The "heroes of forgery," as Lenin called its sponsors, hoped through this maneuver to switch the country onto the track of bourgeois parliamentarianism, to stop the further development of the revolution and to create the appearance of participation by the masses in resolving the problem of the type of rule. These attempts, however, failed. Although the membership of the conference had been shuffled (it consisted of the appeasing menshevik and S. R. leadership exclusively), the S. R.-menshevik resolution approving a coalition with the Cadets garnered only 183 votes, while 813 votes were cast against it. In order to resolve the situation it was decided to constitute a preparliament consisting of people who were attending the conference (a Provisional Council of the Russian Republic). This was a useless and powerless advisory organ which the people mockingly nicknamed "the dressing room." The work of this preparliament proved that it was an anachronism at that stage of the revolution and that the soviets were the bearers of the truly democratic principles.

In describing the nature of the soviets as a form of state power during the period of preparations for the October armed uprising, Lenin emphasized in his works, the outstanding "The State and Revolution" in particular, that the struggle was now being waged to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and for "a republic of soviets of workers and soldiers' deputies and a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 118).

From the very moment they appeared, the soviets represented the future, for they were a form of democracy which was consistent to the highest degree with the specific historical conditions of the Russian revolution. The toiling masses strongly supported the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"

III

The Soviet system, which was born of the October Revolution, was able to endure under the most difficult conditions of foreign military intervention, civil war, dislocation and hunger mainly because it relied on the working people. In emphasizing this fact in a speech delivered to honor the memory of Ya. M. Sverdlov on 16 March 1920, Lenin said that the dictatorship of the proletariat "would have been totally impossible and internally senseless had its main motive force not been the unity of the working people, the type of unity which can attract the tremendous majority of the working population" ("Leninskiy Sbornik" [Leninist Collection] XXXIX, p 220). Under the conditions of the new system, for the first time in history the working people began to be drawn into steady, comprehensive and decisive participation in the administration of all governmental and social affairs.

In analyzing the experience of the Paris Commune and the two Russian revolutions and developing the problem of the forms of exercise of popular rule on that basis, Lenin stressed that it was not a question of eliminating elective positions or representative institutions but of converting the latter from word factories into "working" institutions in which the parliamentarians themselves must execute the laws they had passed, check the manner in which they were being executed and be directly answerable to their electorate. No democracy, socialist democracy included, can be exercised without representative institutions. However, socialist democracy was different in the sense that here there was no "parliamentarianism as a separate system in which legislative work is separate from executive work and in which the deputies enjoy a privileged status" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 48). Lenin considered as primary among the advantages of the Soviet system "the possibility of combining the advantages of parliamentarianism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy, i.e., the combination within the elected representatives of the people of the legislative and executive functions. Compared with bourgeois parliamentarianism, this is a step forward in the development of democracy of universal-historical significance" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, pp 304-305).

Naturally, the bolsheviks did not deny the importance of representative institutions and parliamentary forms of democracy, believing that socialist democracy should provide continuity with the historically progressive traditions of the preceding age. "In no case must we make it appear," Lenin stated at the Seventh Extraordinary Congress of the RKP(b), "that we have no appreciation whatever for bourgeois parliamentary institutions. They constitute a tremendous step forward compared with the past" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36 p 64). However, in speaking of Soviet democracy as a higher form of government compared with parliamentarianism, he asserted that the future belongs to the soviets.

Even bourgeois politicians in the counterrevolutionary camp such as Milyukov, the leader of the Cadets, were forced to acknowledge the authority and popularity of the soviets. They understood clearly that the strength of the soviets was due mainly to the leading role of the communist party. That is precisely why after the plans for overthrowing the power of the working people with the help of the interventionists and the White Guards failed, the counterrevolution tried to achieve its objectives through different means, concealing its true intentions behind slogans which called for the preservation of the Soviet system, such as "Soviets Without Communists" and "Power to the Soviets But Not to the Party," which were variations on the slogans demanding "pure democracy," which would legalize the restoration of capitalism.

The revolution affects the development of democracy in two different ways: on the one hand, it broadens some democratic norms and improves some of the democratic institutions of the old regime; on the other, it contributes to the appearance of new democratic forms and organs. By virtue of the specific historical characteristics of the development of the revolutionary movement we already mentioned, it was precisely the second direction that assumed a leading position in Russia. However, in other countries the rule of the working people was exercised also on the basis of a combination of the prerevolutionary forms of political organization and new ones born of the revolutionary creativity of the people. This means that regardless of the conditions under which the revolution developed, it led to a change in the functions and nature of the old governmental forms and subordinated them to the building of a socialist society. In all cases, the

breakdown of the old bureaucratic governmental machinery, its repressive-police apparatus above all, remains a general law of the socialist revolution.

The people's democratic revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries led to the organization of a new system of a revolutionary democratic nature, discovered by Lenin, which rallied together the proletariat, the peasantry, the petite bourgeoisie and a part of the middle bourgeoisie. Such a transitional form was consistent with the period of the growth of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist one. Socialist statehood became established within the framework of the existing constitutions and parliament. "...All the socialist countries," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "made their revolution in their own way, using the forms dictated by the ratio of class forces within the individual country, their national structure and the circumstances abroad." However, despite this wide variety of forms, the nature of the people's democratic organs was the same as in Russia, in which the soviets functioned as organs of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. In the stage of the building of socialism, despite the variety of forms, the power organs in the other socialist countries, in terms of their nature and type of activities, were similar to those of the organs under the Soviet system.

In our day, under the conditions of a general weakening of the positions of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the strengthening of those of the working class, which is using a variety of forms of struggle for the seizure of political power, even greater opportunities become available for the appearance of new forms of governmental rule by the working people. The working people have gained a certain amount of representation, quite substantial sometimes, in the contemporary bourgeois parliaments of many capitalist countries. The communists and left-wing democratic forces are using the electoral organs in the struggle for progressive change. There has been a noticeable energizing of the struggle waged by the democratic forces to gain increased influence in the legislative organs. Practical experience indicates that the decisive prerequisite for mounting a successful attack against the reaction is the vanguard role of the working class and its revolutionary party. Allied with the other democratic forces in parliament, the communists are defending the interests and democratic gains of the people. However, in itself the participation of leftist forces does not change the class nature of bourgeois parliamentarianism, for socialism alone offers broad scope for the development of true democracy.

The very first decrees of the young socialist state produced by the revolutionary creativity of the Russian proletariat, headed by the Leninist party, revealed the class nature and revolutionary-transforming role and democracy of the soviets, and the radical difference between them and bourgeois democracy, which only proclaims freedom and equality while leaving the principles of private ownership and the relations of exploitation and social inequality untouched.

The high legal status of the local authorities is the distinguishing feature of the soviets, which combine legislative with executive functions. In bourgeois parliamentarianism there is no organic tie between the parliament and the local authorities. The latter are frequently reduced to obeying the rules set by the central authorities. "...Any one of our soviets," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "is a particle of the supreme authority... It not only has the right to resolve all problems within its competence but also to act as the channel for the implementation of national decisions." This is an exceptionally important principle. Such unity

between higher and local organs and the reliance of the supreme authority on local initiative reflect the nature of the soviets and their unbreakable ties with the masses. The systematically observed principle of democratic centralism, on the basis of which all soviets participate in the solution of national problems, is one of the basic distinguishing features of Soviet socialist democracy. It offers the broadest possible opportunities for combining a single centralized management with the development of local creative initiative.

Lenin stipulated that "Socialism is not created by ukases from the top. Official bureaucratic automatism is alien to its spirit; Live and creative socialism is the creation of the people's masses themselves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 57). On this basis, from the very beginning, the communist party took the course of involving every working person in historical activities as a conscientious and initiative-minded participant aware of the meaning of his individual efforts as a builder of the new system. The soviets are the conduit for this basic principle of popular rule -- the involvement of the largest possible number of working people in the solution of social problems.

At the dawn of the Soviet system, Lenin wrote that "...We cannot even imagine accurately today....the nature of the forces concealed in, and which could develop under, a socialist social system. Our job is only to clear the way for all these forces" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 153). During more than 60 years of Soviet history, the party has paid prime attention to the development of the functions of the soviets and to expanding the democratic foundations of the Soviet governmental system. It has insisted on ensuring that at each individual historical stage, the forms of activity of the soviets as the organs of the governmental system, representing the practical embodiment of the principles of socialist democracy, remain consistent with the requirements of social development and reflect the trends of social progress.

Under the guidance of the Leninist party, in slightly more than 6 decades, the soviets completed the transition from organs of armed uprising to power organs of the state of the whole people. The Soviet constitutions were important landmarks along the way. The 1918 RSFSR Constitution -- the first constitution of the socialist state -- legislatively codified the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the power of the working people in the country. The first constitution of the USSR -- a multinational state of a new, socialist type -- was adopted in 1924. The 1936 Constitution codified the end of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism and marked the further advancement of Soviet democracy, consistent with the new historical age.

The 1977 Constitution of the mature socialist society inaugurated the latest stage in the history of the soviets. On the basis of the experience accumulated in the course of 6 decades of the country's progress along the Leninist way, it developed the democratic principles of soviet organization and activities further. The very fact that there was nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution, in which more than 140 million people participated, proves the democratic nature of our social and governmental system. The new constitution of the land of the soviets is the most complete and modern set of rights and obligations of the citizen of a socialist society and proof that socialism brings to the people real freedom, true democracy, peace, as the supreme principle of foreign policy, respect for the sovereignty of the nations and equal cooperation among them. It embodies the theory

of the developed socialist society, based on a profound study of the changes which have taken place in the life of the Soviet people.

Socialism is a society of real democracy and humanism, a society in which full power belongs to the people; it is a society of growing social homogeneity and of strengthening sociopolitical, ideological and internationalist unity of the Soviet people.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the essence of Soviet democracy is "interest in the common project and the development of production, comparison of views, frank and principle-minded criticism and self-criticism, and the enhanced sociopolitical activeness of every citizen." This predetermines the tremendous and inexhaustible opportunities of the Soviet rule by the people. Today the soviets of people's deputies are furthering the cause initiated with the October Revolution. The activities of the organs of our democracy embody the ideas of the great Lenin, who perspicaciously saw the tremendous advantages of the soviets and their truly inexhaustible possibilities as organs of true democracy and true rule by the working people.

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DOCTOR CHEMODANOV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 63-66

[article by Academician N. Druzhinin]

[Text] Prominent Soviet historian, Lenin Prize laureate, and Academician Nikolay Mikhaylovich Druzhinin sent the editorial office his recollections of one of the dramatic episodes of the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, which he was able to witness and take part in as a youth of twenty. Believing that these pages written by our venerable scientist are of intellectual interest, we bring them to the reader's attention.

It was summer, 1906. The times were turbulent, full of events and vivid impressions: in the cities, strikes and mass meetings never stopped, the rumble of the swelling peasant movement could be heard from the countryside, the first State Duma was in session, passionate party and factional controversies raged. As a Moscow Committee agitator, I continually took part in out-of-town rallies, plenary assemblies of trade unions, short demonstrations in front of plants and factories. But I also had to think of my personal income: after the legal social-democratic newspaper SVETICH was banned, I was left without material support and strove to find a way out of the situation. Someone advised me to get a job distributing M.M. Chemodanov's satirical postcards: it would mean respectable, easy wages, which would allow me to manipulate my schedule and continue the party work as before. They told Chemodanov about me and gave me his address. He lived with his family in a large house on Prechistenskiy Boulevard; his office was here (he was a medical doctor), and a well appointed waiting-room, where there were always many patients. Mikhail Mikhaylovich was very popular in Moscow intellectual circles, both as a doctor and as a person.

After waiting a time, I was invited into the office and saw before me a man of some 50 years, not very tall, with long graying hair, and a penetrating gaze. In appearance, he resembled not a rich fashionable doctor, but rather a radical Russian intellectual of the narodnik persuasion. His pale, inspired face with the stamp of a certain weariness, his soft, unhurried voice, and his modest gray suit created a definite and complete picture. Chemodanov asked me about my situation and possibilities, explained the duties and techniques of postcard distributing, and handed me the first batch.

Reproductions of Chemodanov's political caricatures were being distributed on behalf of political prisoners and exiles. The work was undertaken on his personal initia-

tive, in accordance with his own plan, and under his direct responsibility. While engaged in medical practice, Chemodanov had long used his artistic talent in the field of political caricature. The revolution of 1905 roused his creative energy, and he quickly and accurately responded to the exciting events with sharp, satirical drawings. These were for the most part, articles on the autocratic government, its higher and subordinate agents, repression, hypocritical reforms, the Black Hundred, and obscurantism. The drawings conveyed the artists's deep and sincere radical convictions; they were his way of serving the revolution. The distribution of the postcards served not only agitational-political ends, but also, organizational ones. They were printed in one of the best artistic photography studios in Moscow—that of D.I. Peschanskiy on B. Dmitrovka, across from the Solodovnikovskiy Theater (now the Operetta Theater), which served the Moscow theaters and was connected with social-democratic organizations. The prints were distributed by a vast network of volunteers from the student community. Each student or co-ed was given 10-15 envelopes containing collections of 20 postcards, with an inscription approximately as follows: "Received, 3 rubles for the benefit of political prisoners and exiles. Doctor M.M. Chemodanov." Along with the envelopes, they were given a list of addresses of liberal figures and those who were simply representatives of the "free professions"—lawyers, artists, physicians, teachers. Chemodanov's secretary copied out their addresses from the Suvorinskiy directory, "All Moscow," at, of course, a certain risk: the professions of the addressees still did not guarantee their sympathy to the revolution, and did not prevent the possibility of persecution by the Black Hundred.

After several days, having completed the assignment, the agent would again come to Chemodanov, turn the collected sum over to him, and receive a new batch of prints. For distributing the postcards, each agent was allotted a certain percentage, say, 20 kopeks per envelope. Mikhail Mikhaylovich himself, if I am not mistaken, passed along the collected sums directly to the political "Red Cross."

Chemodanov's drawings were done in a realistic manner; they touched on the burning events of political life, they were understandable and enjoyed great popularity. Certain of the more "censorable" ones were placed in illustrated journals and were well-known to the Moscow intelligentsia. I remember Mikhail Mikhaylovich showed me an issue of a British magazine (with an article, it seems, by journalist Stead, who had come from abroad to study the Russian revolution) in which many satirical postcards were reproduced.

With a briefcase stuffed with envelopes, I set about visiting all the addressees along a predetermined street route. Usually, I ascended the stairs after already "casing" the approach in each instance (anything might happen!), rang the bell, and in response to the question of the servant opening the door, asked for the master of the apartment. Then, I handed a prepared envelope to the addressee who appeared and suggested that he make a contribution on behalf of the suffering soldiers of the revolution. At that time, the revolution was still going on, the political mood was one of excitement, and the liberal intelligentsia manifested interest in events and willingly agreed to accept the collection. It is true that some of them did not express great willingness, but they considered it awkward to refuse. There were instances of refusal, however, whether casual or with a definite motivation;

sometimes they expressed bewilderment as to why Chemodanov personally was having the postcards distributed, but there were even more serious incidents. An addressee would turn out to be an active opponent to the revolution, and would fall upon the distributor, spewing thunder and lightning, demanding that he leave the apartment immediately, threatening to call the police, and promising all manner of unpleasantness. As far as I remember, it did not come to the point of arrest, and the distributors managed to get away safely.

M.M. Chemodanov had difficulty combining his medical practice with his drawing and his direct connections with all the agents. He had at his disposal up to 20-30 students and co-eds, who had a fairly high rate of "turnover." Since it took considerable time to distribute the envelopes and collect the money, he chose one of his volunteers, the most experienced, to handle the technical organization of the work and serve as an intermediary between him and his agents. He was a young man, an SR, if I remember correctly, who was deeply involved in "ex-ist" tactics. Before long, he was killed during one of the expropriations, and Mikhail Mikhaylovich asked me to take his place.

On certain days and at set times, at the secret rendezvous (we still had to maintain the conspiracy!), the postcard distributors gathered by turns. I received their reports and the money, kept accounts, and handed out the envelopes. When it was necessary to order more postcards, or to pick up the batches that were printed, I brought them from the Peschanskiy photo studio. Compiling the list of addressees required considerable work—it was necessary to take into account various signs to detect their political bent. Finally, at the appointed time, I would come to Mikhail Mikhaylovich, make a full report, and receive necessary instructions.

While serving as a secretary, I had the opportunity to become better acquainted with Chemodanov. Usually, I visited him at night, around 10 or 11, toward the close of his office hours. After talking about business, we would chat about political matters and discuss the subjects of new drawings. Sometimes, I gave Mikhail Mikhaylovich fresh political news, and he would tell me facts that did not make it into the press, (for example, the political unrest in Boys' Gymnasium No 3, which one of his sons attended). An extraordinarily lively and sincere interest in events, a youthful quality, and an almost boyish way of perceiving political happenings were his character traits. Mikhail Mikhaylovich frequently said that by drawing a new caricature, he released accumulated political energy, and that by the power of his pen and pencil, he was joined to the great movement of his time. I remember how, after the State Duma was disbanded, he made a drawing on the motif of a speech by British Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman, "The Duma is Dead, Long Live the Duma!" And when military field justice began to rage, and the pages of the newspapers bristled with the names of the convicted and the hanged, the agitated Chemodanov came out with the boldest of his political caricatures: a pitiful and drunken czar on a pile of skulls with a gallows in the background, dancing the can-can in flapping royal robes and with his crown knocked aslant*...

*There is another similar postcard, by an artist unknown to me, which has an additional drawing showing the czar on the gallows.

For Chemodanov, this caricature-protest was just as indignant a "cry from the heart" as "I Cannot Be Silent" was for L.N. Tolstoy, and "An Everyday Occurrence" was for V.G. Korolenko. But Mikhail Mikhaylovich approached government terror more like Korolenko than Tolstoy. A man of humane and gentle nature (he was a genuine intellectual of the olden days), Chemodanov was not distinguished by a "non-resistor's" passive moral code and did not dissociate himself from the storms of revolution. On the contrary, he was constantly drawn into active participation; he felt an inner bond with the struggle for liberation, and deeply admired the heroism of revolutionaries. He had no fixed socialist views, but his sympathy remained wholly and unconditionally on the side of the working masses and their revolutionary aspirations. He was a confirmed radical-democrat with an enormous fund of worldly idealism and the enduring influences of the narodnik world-view. In his caricatures, he was able not only to lash the government and unmask the Black Hundred, but also to nail to the pillory, those cowardly and hypocritical liberals who occupied a fence-sitting position.

In his private life, especially when socializing with close acquaintances and friends, he was a gentle and mild man who captured hearts with his affable and affectionate manner. One could establish good unpretentious relations with him quickly and easily, and one sensed in him a great inner culture and moral strength.

Toward autumn of 1906, political conditions changed sharply. Many strikes and agrarian riots were put down, the free press was smothered, the Duma was dissolved. Arrests were made, one after the other, the spy system became increasingly blatant and pointed. The liberal intelligentsia's spirits drooped. The first signs of public reaction appeared, and apoliticism most of all. Chemodanov's postcards no longer evoked their former attention and interest. Moreover, the representatives of the "free professions" began to fear the proffered collections, especially when they got a look at the "Apotheosis of Autocracy" in the form of Nikolay II, dancing the can-can. The students and co-eds returned a large part of their envelopes unused, complaining about the fruitless waste of time and reporting increasingly frequent clashes with the addressees.

On the other hand, disorganization became evident in the ranks of the young people who were distributing the caricatures. Some were arrested, some went into hiding and there were cases of withholding of the sums collected. I remember my unsuccessful attempts to convince one anarchist, an eccentric youth of rather gloomy appearance who went around barefoot in a black shirt, with an ordinary rope for a belt. Dressed in this far from conspiratorial outfit, he attracted the attention of all the passers-by. The young anarchist persistently failed to turn in reports and return his envelopes, saying that he had his own "exiles and prisoners." All my arguments about his firm "anarchistic" convictions came to nothing.

Distributing the postcards became a difficult and thankless task. A number of agents gave up the work and new volunteers could not be found to take their places. We detected ominous signs of police surveillance. Notes of uneasiness crept up in conversations with Chemodanov. In August or the beginning of September, I was caught at a propaganda meeting. Although I managed to get out safely and keep from being arrested, the police searched my apartment and made it the object of outside surveillance.

Sometime later, news of Chemodanov's arrest came to me. The autocratic government would not pardon his "subversive activity," in particular, the caricature of Nikolay II.

Through Chemodanov's family, I learned that he had been put in solitary confinement in Butyrskaya Prison. Then I heard that he had fallen ill and was in grave condition...

The postcard distribution effort was immediately halted: it was necessary to liquidate the network of built-up connections and cover the traces of "crime against the government."

I never got to see Mikhail Mikhaylovich again: he died soon after his release from prison-his health had been undermined by the arrest, the prison term, and the swift-developing illness. My bright memory of my brief, but close acquaintance with him remains inseparably bound up with the images of the first revolution, its strikes, rallies, publications, and political satire.

Twenty years later, having taken a job at the USSR Revolution Museum, I saw in its exposition halls, those familiar postcards signed with Chemodanov's pseudonym-"worm." From being a tool of current political agitation, they have turned into a monument of 1905, into one of the scientific and artistic courses for studying the events of those years. Mikhail Mikhaylovich did not live and work in vain. And a part of his creative energy is included in the great achievements of the revolution.

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ULLUBIY BUYNAKSKIY, A BOLSHEVIK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 67-71

[Text] The entire short life of Ullubiy Daniyalovich Buynakskiy, who died at the age of 29, serves as a memorable example of boundless loyalty to the communist party. As M.-S. I. Umakhanov, first secretary of the Dagestabskaya Oblast CPSU Committee wrote, Buynakskiy was a "revolutionary tribune and propagandist, a true Leninist and one of the best trained Marxists in the Caucasus" (DAGESTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 7 September 1980).

Ullubiy Buynakskiy was born on 27 August (8 September) 1890 in Ullu-Boynak Village, Temirkhanshurinskiy Okrug (today Ullubiy-aul, Leninskiy (rural) Rayon), Dagestanskaya Oblast, to the family of an impoverished bey. He went to high school in Stavropol' and in Tiflis. He graduated with a silver medal and enrolled in the School of Law at Moscow University in 1910. There he joined the prorevolutionary students and was active in the social democratic group. He was expelled from the university for participation in a student action against the autocracy in 1911, and was exiled from Moscow and forbidden to live in a city with a university. Buynakskiy lived in a state of semiclandestinity in Tiflis in 1913-1914, dedicating himself entirely to revolutionary work. He was able to return to Moscow in 1914 and to pursue his university studies. However, this revolutionary student did not lock himself up within the walls of the university. On assignment by the Moscow RSDWP Committee, he engaged in agitation and propaganda work among Moscow students and workers and among the soldiers on the Western Front. On the eve of the October Revolution, U. Buynakskiy returned to Dagestan. In November 1917, he took part in the establishment of the military-revolutionary committee in Petrovsk-Porte (today Makhachkala) and became its chairman. He became the head of the oblast military-revolutionary committee in April 1918. Following the temporary fall of the the Soviet system in Dagestan, he returned to Moscow and for a short while worked at the People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs. At the end of 1918, he was assigned by the party to Astrakhan, where he took part in the raising of the Dagestan Cavalry Regiment, whose commissar he became. Later, with the help of Astrakhan bolsheviks, Buynakskiy traveled secretly to Dagestan. The first oblast party organization there was convened under clandestine conditions. The clandestine Dagestanskaya Oblast RKP(b) Committee, headed by Buynakskiy, was elected at the conference. In the course of its preparations for the armed struggle and relying on the revolutionary aktiv, the otkom rapidly gained the support of the masses. As Sergo Ordzhonikidze wrote, the counterrevolutionary Gorskaya Republic government "began rapidly to lose its influence, while our comrades Buynakskiy and Korkmasov held the actual power" (G. K. Ordzhonikidze, Sta'i i Rechi" [Articles and Speeches].

In two volumes. Vol 1, Moscow, 1956, p 88). A military council was set up and detachments of the rebel Red Army were raised.

An unforeseen event took place on 13 May 1919. Betrayed by a traitor, Buynakskiy and other members attending a meeting of the party obkom were arrested, sentenced to death by firing squad by the military-religious court, and executed by Denikin's executioners in August 1919.

The documents which have been preserved on U. Buynakskiy's life and work -- about a dozen speeches and articles (in the periodical TANG CHOLPAN ("Morning Star") and the newspapers DAGESTANSKIY TRUZHENIK and IZVESTIYA VTSIK), 19 letters (two of them still unlocated) and the recollections of participants in the revolutionary movement -- show that Buynakskiy actively disseminated Leninist ideas in Dagestan. Only the bolsheviks, he emphasized, are the true revolutionaries and democrats, the opponents of imperialist war and social chauvinism. Only their ideals can combine true patriotism with internationalism. By proclaiming equality among all peoples and the right of each one of them to self-determination, and by favoring the voluntary and equal alliance among them, the bolsheviks act as true internationalists.

Buynakskiy passionately appealed to the farmers and workers to strengthen internationalist unity in the struggle against the exploiters, oppressors and reactionaries, regardless of national affiliation and religious beliefs. "Workers of the world, unite!" he wrote, "for there is strength in unity and in self-awareness. The Dagestani has already taken this road and no force can lead him astray" ("U. D. Buynakskiy. Sbornik Dokumentov, Statey, Pisem, Vospominaniy" [U. D. Buynakskiy. Collection of Documents, Articles, Letters and Reminiscences]. Makhachkala, 1975, p 211).

Buynakskiy paid great attention to the struggle against the erroneous and distorted views on socialism which appeared under the conditions which prevailed then in Dagestan or were spread by agents of the counterrevolution. He pointed out the errors in views according to which communism would be introduced immediately following the victory of the revolution. Communism, this Dagestani Marxist emphasized, could not be created in one day. It would require the lengthy development of a society free of the chains of exploitation, passing through a number of stages. "...Do not think at present," he pointed out, "that the struggle is being waged for the immediate founding and establishment of communism -- for this is not the case! The battle is for the possibility of creating the type of political situation in which nothing and no one can obstruct our path; we are fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, i. e., for political rule, for the rule of the worker and the farmhand, no longer hindered by any other class. Henceforth he will be the master and the promoter of what is new in life..."

Buynakskiy firmly rejected the petty idea of "national" communism. He claimed that views urging a "special" "Dagestani" communism were groundless and harmful. At the same time, however, he called for taking the historical and national characteristics of Dagestani development in the process of the building of socialism into consideration.

As we look at his articles published in the central and local press -- "Political Peace" (TANG CHOLPAN, No 4, 1917), "What Is Happening in Dagestan" (IZVESTIYA VTSIK,

31 October 1918) and others, and at his letters, we see what a profound understanding their author had of the characteristics of the sociopolitical and cultural development of the area and how skillfully he substantiated the proper tactical line to be followed in the struggle for the consolidation of the Soviet system in the area.

The revolutionary's letters, particularly those written in solitary confinement while awaiting execution, are documents which can not leave us cold even today. Though in chains, to the very last day of his life he remained loyal to the ideals of communism as an outstanding and unusual personality. In Buynakskiy's letters to Tatu Bulach¹, a Dagestani girl who was his friend and fellow worker, a noble feeling of love for her and comradely advice are combined with serious thoughts on the fate of the homeland and the further struggle for the victory of the Soviet system in Dagestan. The letters show the author's profound understanding of the complex relations between the individual and society and human interrelationships. They clearly reveal the harmony between Buynakskiy's moral views and sociopolitical ideals.

Ullubiy Daniyalovich Buynakskiy's name has been perpetuated in the names of the old capital of Dagestan, its rayon, his native village, a railroad station, workers and other settlements, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, schools, leading production collections and Pioneer units. The republic solemnly celebrated the 90th anniversary of the birth of the fiery revolutionary. Works of art and historical and philosophical studies deal with Buynakskiy's life, activities and sociopolitical views.²

The following are excerpts from materials on Buynakskiy's life and activities which were filed and published³ in a collection of documents, articles, letters and reminiscences about him. The materials were prepared for publication by M. A. Abdullayev.

"Henceforth, the fate of the population of Dagestan's gorges and rocks, of all of its toiling people, will be decided not by the czar's officials, the ministers in the provisional government, the sheiks or the rich, but by yourselves... In announcing to you the creation of the Petrovskiy Military-Revolutionary Committee and the establishment of a Soviet system in Dagestan, I call upon you to rally around it, and to give a joint rebuff to all the attempts of the enemies of the Soviet system and to help the working people to build a new life in accordance with their desires." From a speech delivered at a meeting on the creation of the Petrovskiy Military-Revolutionary Committee. End of November 1917.

"...Gortsy, your republic is in danger! The enemy is at the door. He is already invading the Terskaya Soviet Republic from the north. The advancing counter-revolutionary gangs are bringing with them murder, destruction, slavery, violence, excess, hunger and death. The Denikin and Krasnov gangs are bringing to you, Gortsy, a blood-stained horror. ...They want to restore the rule of the landowners and the rich. They are bringing to you the poison of national discord and hatred of man. They will revive the old oppression and lower status of the Gortsy under the autocracy...." From the 9 April 1919 appeal of the Dagestanskaya Oblast RKP(b) Committee to the Gortsy working people.

"...We see the single banner of the "Shariat," but also two opposite currents: in Temir-Khan-Shur the clerics and the beys were behind it, promoting the old way; in

Petrovsk, those rallying behind the same flag are the real farmers -- the power which will destroy the old." From the Ilyal manuscripts, USSR Academy of Sciences Dagestan Branch, archive 2, list 1, file 51, sheet 1.

"I know what awaits me because of my effort to participate in the solution of this problem but I will look my death boldly in the eye. I have condemned myself to this voluntarily, fully aware of my actions. I grew up in the mountain gorges and fully experienced the great hardships of the mountain peasant. From early childhood I dedicated my entire life to all the aggrieved masses, the people of Dagestan in particular. It is for them that I pursued my studies in order to become stronger in my struggle against you. You will execute me and thousands like me, but you will be unable to shoot or kill the idea which lives in our people. I will boldly face the executioners and I am firmly confident that retribution is close and that the rays of freedom will penetrate the mountain ravines of Dagestan after centuries of slavery. I beg for no mercy, for the liberated people will avenge all those who fell in this as yet uneven fight. I firmly believe in the victory of the Soviet system and the communist party and am ready to die so that they can triumph." U. D. Buynakski's last words at the main Shariat court, 13 July 1919.

"...To be prepared to suffer for all is splendid. Suffering becomes profoundly meaningful, for the one who suffers clearly knows and feels the purpose and the people for whom he is suffering. 'All' includes you, me, Akhmet the worker and Magomæ the peasant, Selim the bourgeois and this general or that. I can say that to you they should all be alike. I, for example, do not love all bourgeois, all generals, etc., but I love and am willing to suffer for the poor, the workers and the peasants. Such suffering is not like that of the repentant sinner, the religious person or the mystic. What matters to them mainly is the suffering. They must suffer in order to obtain something by prayer; they are suffering for the sake of forgiveness.

"I, however, find suffering entirely undesirable. I do not wish to suffer. But if a certain amount of suffering is necessary for the sake of my convictions and ideals, I shall consider this one of the inevitable episodes in my life and nothing more. I am neither a mystic nor a religious person, I do not need suffering in the least. However, I am ready to accept it with resignation if it proves to be inevitable. I do not think about suffering, it does not occupy my thoughts in the least, it is simply a possibility and nothing more.

"And so, Comrade Tatu, I do not think that (you) would like to suffer for the sake of suffering...." From a letter to Tatu Bulach, February 1919.

"...Flaming youth is indeed within you. No obstacle can stop it -- it sweeps away everything that stands in its way! Your silence, therefore would be most regrettable, for this would be the silence of one half of the Gori people, since our women stay very much in the background.

"...The work you are doing is needed and desirable and, if you wish, necessary: youth which remains silent in these times is not youth but decrepitude. Therefore, work. If you have any doubts or confusions, we shall talk and together we shall disperse all clouds! You must work the same as we do. Start with agitation! Be our first Goryanka agitator. All you need is clarity, daring and more daring.

"Let me tell you something. If you pull yourself together somewhat and cast your doubts aside, your views and thoughts will prove to be substantially sharper than those of many of our young and already active communists...." From a letter to Tatu Bulach, March 1919.

"...I also send greetings on the occasion of this Christian mythological day.⁵ Why not, the idea of resurrection is in itself amazing and beautiful. The vacillating spirit of man does not want to be destroyed or turn to dust. Being poorly armed, however, it has found no better way than to play a beautiful trick on itself. The human mind, urged on by a tireless spirit, creates amazingly captivating images. Let science prove that such resurrection neither does nor could exist. Being science, however, it always properly notes the existence of beauty. Therefore, down with all religious ways and delusions, long live the striving and restlessness of the human spirit!" From the 20 April 1919 letter to Tatu Bulach.

"...Tatu, you must not feel sorry that you are not a man, there is absolutely nothing reprehensible about being a woman. Today men and women have the same opportunities to fight and work. True, until now women either occupied a secondary position or if they stepped onto the proscenium, they were dollies. These are different times. There is a world and scope for all daring and searching souls and you, of this I am certain, have such a soul. ...One of my aspirations is coming true: politically, we shall win. As to the rest, it may happen also; I have never aspired for personal happiness and if dame fortune herself deems it unnecessary to grant it to me, so be it.

"You, Tatu, frequently speak of your love for your people. In such cases, if you recall, I have always told you that I do not believe that you have hated or in general disliked any other nation. Believe me, my great Tatu, there was a time when I spent many a sleepless night only because I loved, yes, I loved my people. I can assure you that my love for my people is first of all of the greatest and truthful purity...; secondly, its nature is exclusive. It not only does not harm the neighbors of my people but, conversely, helps them. I could not think otherwise. Nor are you against your neighbors...." From a letter to Tatu Bulach, April 1919.

"If you love you are out of your mind." A. K. Tolstoy.

"...Is this so? Is this the way it should be? I believe that today this needs to be changed.... Lose my mind for the sake of creating something which stems from my convictions and aspirations? No!

"Let me say clearly to you that love, however strong it may be, must be somewhat consistent with my outlook. ...When two people love each other, one of them must fall to some extent under the influence of the other; the opposite may then happen, but total equality is almost impossible to maintain. But is it so bad to fall under the influence of someone you love? Not at all, particularly when the outlook of that person is similar to yours, clear and precious!

"You love your people. You have frequently told me so. How do you love them, what do you wish for them and how do you intend to please them? That is what matters most. Also, do not forget that the people in a bourgeois society are not united, it contains antagonistic groups. The entire struggle of today is based on the antagonism between the poor and the rich. Naturally, you love in your people every

Magom and Akay but not people like Asel'der, Nukhbek and Khalilov.⁶ True? From this you must draw a conclusion. For you are almost a bolshevik, are you not?

"Now, if you come closer to communism you will be able to love the entire people, the entire people precisely!..." From the 17 July 1919 letter to Tatu Bulach.

"...Yesterday and today we received a mass of information from newspapers and notes. Everything is so pleasing that one begins to forget!

"Khar'kov has fallen and the battle for Yekaterinoslav is under way. Ashkhabad has fallen, and the offensive against Krasnovodsk is on; Kolchak is being defeated everywhere, retreating in disorder...and our forces are approaching Zlatoust'.

"A revolutionary movement has begun in Italy and France; the English workers have spoken out firmly against intervention in our Russian affairs. Can we not be pleased?

"Oh Tatu, darling, if you only knew how much I want to be free and work, work and work. How horrible it is to be away from it all in such a great moment!..." From the 18 July 1919 letter to Tatu Bulach.

"Dear Tatu!

"Allow me finally to address you in the familiar form. I have tried to live my short life as best I could. No one will say, no one will dare say that I have been dishonest, etc. No one will dare to abuse me. This is all I want. What kind of life did I have? Believe me, my childhood was not happy. Now, as my life wanes, I have found my sun, the clear bright sky has smiled at me, your smile...

"Be daring and firm as always. Remember that there is youth, a renovated life and a world struggle at its peak and that it is a big world! Be firm and march toward the bright future, keeping your beautiful head high...If you love me with all your heart shed not a single tear. Do not let the evil foe laugh at you. If you love me with all your thoughts, do not cast your eyes down. Let no foe notice your weakness. On the contrary, let them see the lightning in your eyes and let them tremble like criminals.

"The lawyer said that I can submit a petition. Dear Tatusha, I submit a petition? Never! You would not recognize your Ullubiy were he to do so. I am sorry for the other comrades, as they were wrongly linked with my actions...

"And so, darling, look forward and live for the good of our people whom you love so much. Do nothing stupid. Well, good bye, I kiss you all. In the words of an ancient poet

Walk along your way freely,
And live as wanted by your soul--
All this is very noble,
But it is hardly profitable....

Dear Tatu, love my way also..." From a letter to Tatu Bulach, beginning of August 1919.

"Dear Tatu!

"I am writing you from Petr(ovsk), at the station, in the car. I may be shot. I fear nothing. I love you. Ullubiy." 16 August 1919 letter to Tatu Bulach.

"...The figure of Buynakskiy, shot together with four Gortsy comrades, clearly stands out in the galaxy of fighters.

"Buynakskiy represents the dawn of Dagestan: he took the great doctrine of communism, the great path of human liberation to these barren and sandy mountains....

"He was well known in Moscow's student circles. He was known as a highly honest person, a serious, strong-willed and intelligent comrade.

"...A profound, firm and decisive fighter who did not flare up in passing enthusiasms, he began his tireless public work at the start of the 1917 revolution..." From an article in the newspaper PROLETARIY, organ of the Baku RKP(b) Committee, 23 August 1919.

FOOTNOTES

1. Tatu Bulach (1902-1980) was the first woman revolutionary among the Gortsy and one of the founders and leaders of the Komsomol movement in Dagestan. She held senior positions in the Soviet system and accomplished a great deal for the ideological-political and moral upbringing of the youth.

2. Magomed-Sultan Yakh'yayev. "Tri Solntsa. Povest' ob Ullubii Buynakskom" [Three Suns. The Story of Ullubiy Buynakskiy]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978; A. Takho-Godi. "Ullubiy Buynakskiy (1890-1919)." Makhachkala, 1957; S. M. Gadzhiyev. "Ullubiy Buynakskiy." Makhachkala, 1957; Sh. M. Magomedov. "Ullubiy Buynakskiy." Politizdat, Moscow, 1968, and others.

3. "U. D. Buynakskiy. Sbornik Dokumentov, Statey, Pisem, Vospominaniy." Sh. M. Magomedov, compiler, responsible editor and preface author. Makhachkala, 1975.

4. Refers to the struggle of the working people of Dagestan for the establishment of a Soviet system.

5. Easter.

6. Asel'der Kazanalilov, Nukhboek Tarkovskiy and Khalilov were the leaders of the counterrevolution in Dagestan.

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WITH LENIN IN THE HEART

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 72-75

[Article by F. Makharadze, director of the Tbilisi branch of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum]

[Text] In the history of every nation, there are facts and events which even time cannot swallow up. They do not march forever into history, they do not cover themselves with the ashes of oblivion. They are always with us—in our hearts, in our thoughts. Carefully, like a most priceless treasure, one generation bequeaths them to another. Every fact of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's life is such a treasure. And one such fact of Lenin's biography was the great leader's desire to come to Georgia. Our people hold this memory sacred. It is no accident that visitors to the Tbilisi branch of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum manifest unfailing interest in the documents connected with those long-gone days.

On 25 February, 1921, Soviet rule was proclaimed in Georgia. On 2 March, Lenin wrote to Sergo Ordzhonikidze: "Convey to the Georgian communists, and especially to all the members of the Georgian revkom, my warmest regards to Soviet Georgia ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42 p 367).

On 23 March, Georgian Revkom Chairman F.I. Makharadze sent Vladimir Il'ich a letter informing him of the situation in the republic in the first month of Soviet rule, ending with these words: "I hope that in the summer we will see you and Nadezhda Konstantinovna here in Tiflis, and we will show you wonderful places." ("Gruzinskiye Stranitsy Leniniyany" [Georgian Pages of Leniniana], Tbilisi, 1970, p 577.)

In spring of 1922, Vladimir Il'ich's health worsened. The doctors concluded that he was in need of rest and treatment. Medics advised him to go to Georgia. They made the same recommendations to Nadezhda Konstantinovna.

On 7 April 1922, Lenin wrote to Ordzhonikidze asking him to find a suitable place to vacation, and Ordzhonikidze immediately set to work. Their correspondence indicates that Sergo offered Vladimir Il'ich a choice between Abastumani and Borzhomi. Soon RSFSR People's Commissar of Health, N.A. Semashko arrived in Georgia and went to inspect Borzhomi, accompanied by Ordzhonikidze and specialists of the republic resort administration. Vladimir Il'ich settled on this resort as being more suitable for himself and Nadezhda Konstantinovna.

News of the great leader's proposed arrival in Georgia spread with lightning speed. Everyone impatiently awaited the meeting with Vladimir Il'ich. But his health suddenly took a turn for the worse, and so he was never able to visit our republic.

From time to time, white-haired old people visit the museum. They love to share reminiscences of the past. Many of them proudly relate how they participated in preparing the lodgings intended for Lenin's vacation in Borzhomi. And each of them sadly concludes his narration with these words: "And so Vladimir Il'ich was not able to come to Georgia, and the Georgian people never had the opportunity to receive the most dear, most beloved guest, and to show him genuine Georgian hospitality. And everyone had so wanted to see the man who had done more than anyone else for the simple people."

Vladimir Il'ich was personally acquainted with many Georgian revolutionaries and maintained friendly relations with them. Luckily, they lived, struggled, and became tempered in the fire of revolution under the guidance of Vladimir Il'ich; they developed as bolshevik-leninists. They often appealed to the leader on a variety of questions of the theory and practice of revolutionary work and always received wise advice and practical aid.

This correspondence is a veritable university of revolutionary science. Lenin's letters to Georgian revolutionaries, written at various times, are united by fervent faith in the future victory of communism.

Lenin never managed to get to Georgia, but the young Soviet republic continually felt his concern and attention to its needs. Lenin and the Soviet government he led gave Georgia priceless aid. On 21 May 1921, on the initiative of Vladimir Il'ich, the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars passed a decree to allocate 5 million rubles in gold for Soviet Georgia. Between March and October of 1921 alone, Georgia received 234,000 poods of grain, 15 rail cars of sugar, 720,000 arshins of textiles, 6000 pairs of shoes, and many other goods.

On 14 July 1921 PRAVDA GRUZII printed a telegram from Lenin, sent on 7 July, and addressed to the commissioner of the RSFSR People's Commissariat of food in Rostov: "Considering the grave food situation in Georgia, it is suggested that you send 100,000 poods of grain in July to the Georgian People's Commissariat of Food in Tiflis. Confirm receipt and execution." ("Ocherki Istorii Kommunisticheskoy Partii Gruzii. 1883-1970" [Studies in the History of the Georgian Communist Party, 1883-1970], Tbilisi, 1971, p 408.) How dear these lines are to us! In 1921-1922, Georgia received over 950,000 poods of grain. In 1921 on Vladimir Il'ich's initiative, Moscow sent equipment to the republic for a cloth mill which had been built in Kutaisi.

In response to this brotherly aid, the Georgian people in turn tried to help other nations in every way they could. Such was the case when famine occurred as a result of the 1921 drought along the Volga, the North Caucasus, and the southern Ukraine. Among us it was said: Without each other, we are the same as one hand without the other. And people forgot about themselves for their neighbor's sake. Thirty-three rail cars of food products worth over 5 million rubles were collected in the aid fund. Those days, Soviet Abkhazia alone donated 26,000 poods of tobacco to trade

for corn, which was sent on to the needy. Georgia took to her heart 1200 homeless children from the Volga region.

In August of 1921, a meeting of the party aktiv took place in Tbilisi. In his impassioned speech, Sergey Mironovich Kirov spoke of the grave situation in the Volga region. Donations began to come in immediately after his speech. On behalf of the starving, performances and concerts were organized which featured the finest artistic figures of the republic.

The workers of the Volga region voiced heartfelt thanks for the help. It is impossible to read these lines without emotion. For, as folk wisdom has it, joy shared is double joy; grief shared is grief halved.

Only with the active support of Vladimir Il'ich did it become possible to set about constructing the Zemo-Avchal'skaya GES--the first-born of Lenin's GOELRO [State Plan for the Electrification of Russia]. The RSFSR government issued a long-term loan for the construction of the GES. Some 4500 people took part in the first subbotnik on 10 September 1922, to lay the foundations for the power plant. The pick and shovel were the main tools of the victorious proletariat at that time, but the strong, capable workers' hands were not merely digging dirt. They were building a new life. Each one lived and worked with Lenin in his heart. The work was in full swing, literally every scrap of land was seized by a Bolshevik storm! And exultantly, they sang the "Internationale." Working beside them, with his sleeves rolled up, was Lenin's pupil and comrade-in-arms, the ardent Sergo Ordzhonikidze.

Thus, it was that on the soil of Soviet Georgia, Lenin's world-famous formula was brought to life: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole land." Brilliantly and simply, in one short, capacious phrase, the leader of the workers conveyed the essence of the future society.

On 2 June 1926, I.V. Stalin and A.I. Mikoyan inspected the Zemo-Avchal'skaya GES, and on 26 June 1927, it went into operation. Yes, it was the dawn of a new life. USSR Central Executive Committee Chairman Mikhail Ivanovich came down to celebrate the occasion. The workers were indebted to Lenin for the construction of the GES. That is why it bears his name. And on opening day, a monument to the great leader, fashioned after a design by sculptor I.D. Shadra was erected at the head structures of ZAGES in Mtskheta, the ancient capital of Georgia not far from Tbilisi.

Those days are legendary. Our days have become legendary too, since the construction of the unique Inguri GES in the mountains of the Caucasus. From here, from these high mountains, flows the undying light of Il'ich; here people are always the first to see the sun.

Let us mentally place these two stations next to each other, and we will be convinced of how farsighted Lenin was. Many things around have changed; one thing remains unchanged: both in the time when ZAGES was built and today, during the construction of the Inguri GES, Lenin has been in people's hearts. We have always won victories with Lenin in our hearts. So it was. So it is. So it will be.

Today, the old guard of the builders of the legendary ZAGES are taking a well-deserved rest. But the grayhaired veterans often come here, stand for a long time at the foot of the monument to the great leader, where there are always fresh flowers, and... return to their youth. They remember the past--so distant and yet so near. And they teach their grandsons how to build a new life, the ability to see a bright future, to be as strong and reliable as our life itself is.

Talking with the famous English author, Herbert Wells in October 1920, Vladimir Il'ich enthusiastically spoke of the plan to electrify our country, and at parting said: "Come again in 10 years and see what has been done in Russia during that time..." Wells then called Lenin, the "Kremlin dreamer."

At the end of July 1934, he again visited the Soviet Union. Lenin, Wells wrote, had kept his promise. He had left behind him a new Russia.

And if the famed fantasy writer could gaze today upon Inguri GES, he would call it "the eighth wonder of the world!"

Party and soviet workers in Georgia regularly informed Lenin of the state of affairs in the republic. On 16 September 1922, they reported to him: "In the last 7-8 months, work conditions in Georgia have significantly improved, and we have made comparatively very great progress in the fields of industry, agriculture, and so on. All the available data about all of this will be published for the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution..." Such a book--"Georgia in 1921-1922"--was published and sent to Vladimir Il'ich. We are proud that this book is preserved in the personal library of V.I. Lenin in the Kremlin.

But the greatest wealth which we possess is the immortal Leninist friendship of peoples. It is both the strength and the ornament of our life. "It is gratifying to note," said Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the celebrations dedicated to the 60th anniversary Georgian SSR and the Georgian Communist Party, "that an atmosphere of genuinely international friendship in Soviet Georgia, holds sway Georgians and Russians, Abkhazians and Ukrainians, Ossetians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Greeks and Kurds--laborers of more than 70 nationalities work side by side for the good of the republic and the entire Soviet people. The experience of your republic is yet another convincing affirmation of the correctness of our party's Leninist national policy. Your achievements are the result of the sustained labor of hundreds of thousands of the republic's workers. This is also the result of the organizational and political activity by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the Central Committee Buro led by Comrade Shevardnadze, whose energy, creative approach to things, and adherence to principles we all know and value."

Not without pride we may say: Lenin helped us always and in all things. The CPSU CC's decree on the Tbilisi Gorkom, which was passed on the personal initiative of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, we regard as the manifestation of a truly Leninist concern for our republic, for our party organization. After the fashion of Lenin, communists have boldly launched a resolute and uncompromising struggle with all the things

which run counter to Leninist norms of party, government, and social life. This struggle has indeed become a nation-wide affair.

And we are gladdened by the high evaluation given to the republic by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev: "Things are going well in Georgia. . ." They inspire our people to new labor accomplishments, to bring to life the great ideals which Lenin bequeathed to us.

In Georgia, one can often hear the words which are engraved on the heart: I never saw Lenin, but I never lived without him for even a day."

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FORCE OF INSPIRATION, DEPTH OF THOUGHT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 76-86

[Article by Vitaliy Ozerov written on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of A. A. Fadeyev's birth]

[Text] Our people are legitimately proud of the priceless wealth of centuries-old native literature. In interpreting more than 60 years of experience of post-October Revolution accomplishments, we can say with full justification that today we have Soviet classics. They are the continuation of the great tradition of their predecessors and raise these traditions to a high level. It is not merely a matter of the brilliant galaxy of names starting with Gor'kiy and Mayakovskiy. It is a matter of the scale, depth and power of their artistic discoveries.

The real masters of prose, who reflect the basic interests, aspirations and life of the people vividly and truthfully, legitimately become the chroniclers and participants in a unique history.

In his articles written between 1908 and 1910, proving that Leo Tolstoy had expressed "the features of our revolution as a peasant bourgeois revolution," V. I. Lenin reached a conclusion of basic importance: the period of preparations for revolution in Russia "represented, thanks to Tolstoy's brilliant interpretation, a step forward in the artistic development of all mankind" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 17, p 210; Vol 20, p 19).

The writers born of the Great October Revolution assumed the responsible mission of re-creating through art the characteristics, the course of the victorious proletarian revolution, the building of socialism and the unparalleled change in social relations and human mentality. As witnesses of the sharp turn in history, they reproduced the tempestuous events and described the enthusiasm of the Bolshevik reorganization of the world truthfully and from materialistic positions. It was thanks to this that Soviet literature, while reflecting the establishment of socialism in its best works, took a new step in the artistic development of mankind.

This enhances the importance of remembering, valuing and intensifying the creative experience of the artists who followed the high road of socialist realism. Everything that is best in contemporary literature grew, strengthened and blossomed on the basis of their revolutionary-patriotic traditions.

This makes it all the more important to reemphasize the need for a clear approach to our entire broad and many-faceted artistic heritage. We are quite pleased by

the fact that in recent years the readers have been given the opportunity to study the works of many writers of the 1920's and 1930's who, for a variety of reasons, had remained either totally or relatively unknown. What is wrong, however, is that some assessments of such works lack an accurate class position and conceal the ideological errors of the writers or serious contradictions in their works. Attempts to take works which were erroneous or which interpreted their period one-sidedly to the foreground of literary development, even at the expense of somewhat ignoring books by the originators of socialist realism, are totally inadmissible.

The guidelines of the literary movement of an age are inflexible. They are formulated in the course of the socioesthetic struggle waged by the followers of Gor'kiy and Miyakovskiy. Among them, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Fadeyev (1901-1956) holds a place of honor.

This is because his works have become part of the gold stock of Soviet classics, loyally serving the patriotic education of the youth and the strengthening of the spirit of courage and dedication.

It is also because he proved through his entire life the existence of a new type of writer: an artist to the marrow of his bones and a tireless social leader and organizer of the country's literary forces.

Finally, it is also because Fadeyev organically combined within himself the practice and theory of socialist esthetics unparalleled in Soviet art after Gor'kiy.

It is perhaps this latter circumstance of Fadeyev's life and work that should be mentioned first in explaining the nature of his outstanding talent. It was K. Fedin who gave the most accurate definition of the nature of Fadeyev's talent: "It is a sober, a clear and thinking talent. At the same time, it is an inspired, enhanced and melodious talent."

The same characteristics apply to Fadeyev's uniqueness as a personality and to his importance not only to his time but to subsequent periods of literary development. For the indivisibility of creative inspiration and conceptual armament is the source of creative victories for those who are about to gain a profound understanding and depict the complex world of today artistically and to build a civilization of a new type.

A. Fadeyev's creative credo was his great love for the working man, belief in the proud sound of this title and unquenchable thirst to describe the heroic accomplishments and thoughts of the people as the main result of their patriotic struggle of liberation under the banners of communism. The writer adopted this credo not on the basis of mere declarations and beautiful dreams but because of his knowledge of the life of the toiling masses and active participation in it.

A. Fadeyev was born on 24 December 1901 in Kimry (today Kalininskaya Oblast). It so happened that he was surrounded and raised by people with progressive revolutionary views. These people included his parents and friends (the family moved to the Far East in 1908), such as the brothers Sibirtsev, his instructors, Bolsheviks S. Lazo and M. Gubel'man, and many others.

A. Fadeyev's practical experience was acquired in the struggle for the Soviet system, for socialism. He joined the communist party at the age of 17. He fought in the

ranks of the Far Eastern partisans and became brigade commissar. He was sent to Moscow as delegate to the 10th RKP(b) Congress. He was wounded at Kronstadt and spent years in party and newspaper work in Krasnodar and Rostov-na-Donu. His first works--the story "Against the Current" and the novella "Razliv" [Flood] (1923-1924) -- were published and noticed. Fadeyev started writing full time in 1926. In 1933, thinking of his experiences, he could justifiably say that "I was a revolutionary before I became a writer, and when I took up writing I had already developed as a bolshevik. Unquestionably, that is why my work became revolutionary."

Yes, A. Fadeyev was among those who knew well what it meant to be a revolutionary, a changer of the world, what he represented and what he called upon the masses to accomplish. This obvious question continues to be interpreted differently throughout the world. It has always been a topic of excitement.

As they look at the new man, the people of good will acknowledge social progress. They see in social activeness a means for making everyone happy.

In preaching historical passivity and pessimism, the bourgeois propagandists depict the individual born of the revolution in a distorted light. At one point a stupid caricature appeared of the "portrait" of the Russian revolutionary: a dim-witted bearded man with a knife stuck between his teeth. Today's Sovietologists may be more refined but have not changed this obviously false image. They classify the characters in socialist literature--our contemporaries--into two polarized categories. They are urgently trying to prove that the "official" writer, who writes about the Soviet patriots, the working people and the defenders of the socialist homeland, finds his prototypes only among the sluggish executors of directives issued from above, mindless and morally squalid people. Conversely, the grumblers and members of the opposition, described by dissident hack writers, are presented as the best members of society, embodying a developed intellect and an independent mind.

Soviet literature has earned the trust of the readers with the truthfulness with which it depicts the shaping of a previously unknown type of person, in the real circumstances of the complex age.

The new man did not appear like a homunculus from the test tubes of the alchemist. The bolsheviks were followed by the masses raised under the old system. They were no longer willing to live as before. Their purpose was to establish the rule of the workers and peasants. However, they had as yet parted with the vestiges of the past and with rebellious and uncontrolled moods. The maturity of the writer's vision of the world was tested in the interpretation of this reality. It was gained by artists who did not ignore the spontaneous thrusts of the masses, which are most noticeable on the surface of historical cataclysms, artists who understood that the essence of development is determined not by such spontaneous thrusts but by the organizing will of the party and the communist ideals which captured the people's minds. As we know, not all writers and not immediately were able to detect the meaning and nature of events. Descriptions of anarchic-leaning "masses," which represented in the eyes of the authors the rebellious peasantry, appeared in the 1920's. Frequently, thoughtless and callous "leather jackets," whose voluntaristic actions were allegedly the only ones which could calm the elements, were poeticized. However, the tone was set by other works, whose authors, guided by the Marxist-Leninist approach to life, had learned from classical literature the most difficult mastery of the "study of man." It was precisely they who understood and showed the historical significance and humanistic objectives of the socialist revolution.

A. Fadeyev's book "Razgrom" [Defeat] came out in 1927, after Furmanov's "Chapayev" and A. Serafimovich's "Zheleznyy Potok" [The Iron Stream], almost simultaneously with M. Sholokhov's "Donskiye Rasskazamy" [Don Stories]. It immediately became part of the thoughts and feelings of the broad readers' masses. These masses wanted to learn the entire truth of the events and people of the civil war. The urgent need existed of finding out how life would go on and what those who were wrecking the old were capable of accomplishing. Despite the blatherings of the theoreticians of the Trotskyite "permanent revolution," the truthful pictures of recent events proved that after their victory in the civil war the free people could and would build socialism in a single country. This was not to be accomplished by the favor of a supercultured elite, for whose appearance, according to the opposition, decades would have to pass, but by those same workers and peasants who had been suppressed by capitalism but who had become tempered in the struggle against it, whose spirits had been raised by the revolution and who, under the party's guidance, were prepared for the implementation of their major constructive tasks. That is how the author of "Razgrom" saw and depicted the brave, firm and dedicated people, who could also be coarse and still illiterate.

"Razgrom" became an artistic discovery despite familiar situations and characters, for the author was able to describe the people "from within." He was able to trace the political and moral development of the courageous characters such as Morozka, Metelitsa and Baklanov.

The revolutionary--the future builder of socialism--stands out in the novel surrounded by the halo of his ideological and spiritual beauty. His character reflects historical optimism. His road to exploits is described without embellishments and simplifications. It presumes gains, failures and hesitations. A. Fadeyev was able to achieve his creative victory through the depth of the psychological analysis he had learned from Leo Tolstoy. The author of "War and Peace," "Resurrection" and "Anna Karenina" was as much his teacher as was Gor'kiy with his typical heroic concept of the world.

As the follower of the best realistic traditions, A. Fadeyev, the artist-innovator, was able to give an impressive interpretation of the main idea in "Razgrom:" a "tremendous remaking of the people" took place in the clash between the two worlds in Russia.

"Remaking...." The word implies a great deal: the ability to awaken the consciousness of the masses and to rally them, extensive organizational and educational work and confident leadership in the struggle, which presumes the development of social initiative and energy and requires the application of the strict principles of revolutionary discipline. "Razgrom" is a work which provides an artistic, most profound and accurate re-creation of the complex processes of reality as they appear through the actions and thoughts of the characters. Levinson wants the detachment to act efficiently and cohesively. He blocks even the slightest manifestations of lack of discipline. When the troops almost panic, finding themselves in a swamp, the panic is stopped by the terrible resolve of the man holding a Mauser, an insignificant-looking yet heroically daring person who reminds us at that point of Gor'kiy's legendary Danko. That same Levinson is a concerned educator of the guerrillas. He tirelessly works with Metelista, polishing his outstanding natural gifts, persistently developing in Morozka responsibility and endurance. A new character develops in the flames of the revolution--a unique individual combined with a convinced collectivist.

Yes, it is true that the "remaking" of human material cannot take place mechanically. It is always the result of the organizational art and educational skill of the communists. It is precisely they who take to the masses the ideas of Leninism, cementing the masses in an unbreakable monolith and mobilizing them in the struggle against counterrevolutionary elements.

This is the explanation for the invincibility of the partisan detachment. Heavily defeated, its spirit remains unbroken and its organization has not weakened. The concluding statement in the novel is striking in terms of its mobilizing power: "...One had to live and carry out his duty." These words sound like a behest to the new generations of fighters for social progress, peace and socialism. They also sound like a warning to those who forget that the obligation of the communists is to be always with the masses and to lead the masses, to educate them ideologically and to erect obstacles on the path of alien ideology which has tried and will try to corrupt the working class.

A. Fadeyev pitted the revolutionaries not only against their overt enemies but also against petty, false and cowardly people such as Mechik who, in the final account, proves to be a traitor. We see here the author's artistic perspicacity and depth of thought and his habit of analyzing social types in action. It was no accident that soon after Mechik, a similar type of social traitor appeared in Soviet literature. This time it was Samgin, the "intellectual" (M. Gor'kiy's epic "Zhizn' Klím Samgina" [The Life of Klím Samgin]). He too suffered a crushing defeat in his clash with Stepan Kutuzov and other Bolsheviki-Leninists. This was entirely natural! As the intrigues of right-wing elements in some countries in which the socialist system had to be defended with a fierce struggle, the Mechiks and Samgins are quite durable; they are nurtured by the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois fragments of the old society and by revisionists of various hues. Doomed by history, they do everything possible to promote anticommunist feelings. They plant the poisonous seeds of petit-bourgeois individualism, moral cynicism and the mentality of the social renegade.

It is no accident that the literary servants of imperialism are doing everything possible to refute the unity between the individual and the social and the spiritual integrity and wealth born of this unity. In a recent broadcast, a reactionary foreign "radio voice" claimed that Fadeyev had simply invented his young guards and described them in accordance with the "state myth" of heroes and exploits.

Was that an expected accidental slander? No, it was rather a link in the pernicious campaign aimed at compromising the heroic principle in Soviet life and literature.

However, reality cannot be refuted! Millions of Soviet patriots are motivated by combat and labor heroics. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's outstanding trilogy and his "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences] show how it is manifested in life in a variety of ways but without fail: in fierce battle, in the ability to take risks, and in the voluntary readiness to resolve the most difficult problems of the day. Also noteworthy is the fact that in his report at the ceremony on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of our victory in the Great Patriotic War, speaking of the workers in Soviet culture who earned the recognition of the people during the war with their work "which awakened in the people the flames of hatred of the aggressor, trained them in courage and tempered their will to fight," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev named Aleksandr Fadeyev among the first.

The heroic principle, which invariably imbues A. Fadeyev's and his fellow writers' books, has given them scope for the comprehensive depiction of the best features of the Soviet person, awakened and stimulated by the age. In the years which followed the publication of "Razgrom," works which presented a panoramic view of the age came to light (M. Sholokhov's "Tikhii Don" [And Quiet Flows the Don], A. Tolstoy's "Khozhdeniye po Mukam" [Purgatory], A. Tvardovskiy's "Muraviya Country," and others). They were based on the heroic accomplishments of the fighters for a new life. The same is found in "Kak Zakalyalas' Stal'" [How the Steel Was Tempered] by N. Ostrovskiy and many works on the Great Patriotic War.

A. Fadeyev's novels written after "Razgrom" are marked by their great attraction for full epic descriptions. Their heroic tonality remained unchanged. Not only the characters in "Razgrom" came from real life but also those of A. Fadeyev's other novel on the civil war—"Poslednego iz Udege" [The Last of the Udegs] (unfortunately, unfinished). We are also familiar with the prototypes of most personages in the novel "Molodaya Gvardiya" [The Young Guard]. The author based the novel on the clandestine struggle of the Krasnodon Komsomols against the fascist occupationists; his composite characters were based on them.

The characters in "Molodaya Gvardiya" are tested with the help of the only correct touchstone: their patriotic actions. This involves infinite love for the homeland and the socialist system, without which they cannot conceive of living and to which they owe everything best they have. Through its entire structure the novel confirms in the reader the belief which for many years the author himself developed and enhanced: while we are dreaming of the new man and guessing his features, he has already been born and has announced his existence through his noble actions, and the time has come to look at and sing of him.

It was such a "supertask," to use K. S. Stanislavskiy's expression, that A. Fadeyev set himself. However, he neither simplified it nor was moved by what he saw.

A. Fadeyev's articles and correspondence during the Great Patriotic War, when he covered hundreds of roads at the front, and his book "Leningrad v Dni Blokady" [Leningrad During the Blockade], described the heroics and hardships of the war: the joy of victory alternates with the sadness of losses, and sometimes there is cowardice side by side with courage....The very atmosphere in which the fatherland lived and struggled was imbued with a spirit of patriotism and loyalty to socialist moral norms. The writer reacted to this feeling more and more strongly. Arriving in Leningrad in 1942, and meeting people he had long known, Fadeyev was even somewhat amazed: "These were the very same people. They were the same yet different. Yes, there was something different in them. What? I could not detect it, understand it immediately."

After spending time in the trenches, aboard the Komsomolets submarine and on the ice tracks, finding out about the women who served in hospitals and at anti-aircraft battery stations, participating in a youth meeting and looking at the many-sided work of the city's party organization, Fadeyev found the answers to his questions: "Leningrad withstood the siege because, like our entire country, it was superior to its enemies in terms of economy and management;" the people of Leningrad did not surrender and will never surrender, for they are the "living new people," unknown in previous history.

The Komsomol Central Committee assigned Fadeyev to the liberated Krasnodon. After the writer learned details of the exploits of the "Young Guard" patriotic organization, he experienced a tremendous surge of emotion. Acknowledging that "such material could melt a stone," Fadeyev wrote his new novel with his heart.

The characters of the Young Guards will forever be a part of the gallery of the most legendary heroes in world literature. These were ordinary boys and girls. But when the hour of the decisive roll call came, it became clear that they were the best sons and daughters of the socialist fatherland, the true nobility of the spirit. Something else became irrefutable: the lofty words with which their ideological firmness, courage, spiritual nobility and moral beauty are described in the novel were dictated by life itself and fully justified artistically. With "Razgrom" Fadeyev categorically rejected far-fetched literary romanticism. The heroic thrusts of the fighters and the winners, triggered by reality, were familiar to him, and the romantic stream poured generously and freely in the pages of "Molodaya Gvardiya."

Oleg Koshevoy, Sergey Tyulenin, Lyubov' Shevtsova, Ul'yana Gromova, Ivan Zemlukhov and their comrades in battle, raised by the Leninist Komsomol, came from the same tribe of eagles. Yet every one of them was a unique individual. Ideological unity does not restrict, as our enemies claim, but on the contrary stimulates the variety of individuals and interests and does not turn out to be something static or "pre-programmed" in the least. Fadeyev also proved that the Soviet youth is intimately loyal to our revolutionary and patriotic traditions, which it develops and multiplies persistently.

"The seemingly most disparate features, such as dreaminess and effectiveness, flight of imagination and practicality, love for goodness and a merciless behavior, a big heart and sober consideration, and passionate love for earthly pleasures and self-restriction, were among the seemingly incompatible features which, put together, created the unique image of this generation."

A. Fadeyev strove to achieve artistic summations which would bring to light the nature of the socialist system. "Molodaya Gvardiya" was planned to be a novel which would reflect the fighting Soviet society which had raised a valorous youth--the main character in the novel. The author himself pointed this out frequently: "...My purpose was not to describe the history of the Young Guard but (to describe) the Soviet person under the occupation--as represented by the youth, through the youth, and also to describe a slice of this society and the youth as the future of this society, as the first indicator of its unquestionable triumph." To me, the important things were these adult clandestine fighters and the interrelationship among generations, the theme of the common man which I tried to present not only through the young people but through the adults, through their parents, their relations and their interrelationships."

While rewriting the first draft of the novel (as we know, the party's leadership of the youth was insufficiently described in it), A. Fadeyev enriched the work both ideologically and artistically. Impressive episodes, chapters and depictions of communists of the senior generation and their relations with the Young Guards were added. Quite important, the new scenes and figures became an organic part of the narration. They did not diminish the young characters in the least but made the theme even broader.

The reason for this review of the creative history of the novel is the fact that attempts were made to "revise" it. Some people "forgot" the unquestionable fact that Fadeyev undertook to rewrite his work after he was criticized, on the basis of his inner conviction, supported by documents which came to light only after the first edition was published.

"Molodaya Gvardiya" marked a new stage in Fadeyev's works. The blend of poetic intonation which is the vivid mark of his talent strengthened in the course of his tries and searching. This includes an enthusiastic description of the bright qualities of the Soviet person and his exploits and sober analysis, based on a clear outlook, of the hard road leading to social justice and to the spiritual blossoming of the individual.

The writer never lost track of the organizational foundations of our life. The main characters in his works are communists. As early as "Razgrom," Levinson, on whose biography the author had not yet concentrated, had become the acknowledged leader of the masses, for he combined the iron will of the organizer and the rare gift of the educator. In "Poslednem iz Udege" Fadeyev described an entire collective of communists with its ideological unity and human variety and the way in which the characters of the revolutionary fighters were molded. Petr Surkov, Alesha Malen'kiy, Senya Kudryavyy and others, who are quite different from one another and frequently argue on the subject of specific tactical problems, are a unit of like-minded people who are learning how to develop personal and social relations in a communist manner and how to raise the new people with care--the future Koshevs and Dyulenins. The penetration into the spiritual, the emotional world of the party member is the key to understanding in its completeness the character of the party member. Incidentally, the same method was used by the writer in "Molodaya Gvardiya." Let us recall the restrained and willful Protsenko and his profound thoughts and feelings! Let us recall the warm relationship between Ivan Fedorovich and his wife Yekaterina Pavlovna, long-time mates! Before their parting it is as though they become once again aware of the meaning of true love. "It is the eternal light of youth, a call to take the distant road, a call to the future. A happy person is he who has retained this in his heart...."

Yes, K. Fedin was profoundly right in noting the "brightness of youth" in A. Fadeyev's works. With an eternally youthful energy and daring the author of "Razgrom" and "Molodaya Gvardiya" undertook whatever task life dictated to him. He persistently implemented the party's policy in literature, making a great contribution to the reorganization of the writers' organization after the familiar 23 April 1932 Central Committee decree. From the very first days A. Fadeyev most actively participated in the activities of the organizational committee on the preparation and holding of the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers (1934). He held a leading position in the USSR Union of Writers to the very end of his life. He earned universal respect as a skillful organizer and a person enamored of literature, a person who had read a great deal and had launched many a subsequently famous writer. Fadeyev's name is mentioned with pride and love in all republics, krays and oblasts in the country. His tireless concern for national literatures and for strengthening the internationalism and fraternal friendship among nations is valued.

In recalling A. Fadeyev's biographical milestones, let us underscore yet once again the purposefulness with which he followed his chosen way. History can neither be improved nor worsened; Fadeyev's literary-critical works bear the imprint of the time. Occasionally, he found theoretical searching difficult and he himself had

to clarify and correct some of the views he had expressed. However, Fadeyev never abandoned the principles of party-mindedness and nationality in artistic work. He tirelessly called for strengthening the ties between the writer and the people's life. He considered party-mindedness not as a collection of given norms but as a passionate service to the people and participation in the people's affairs and concerns, dictated by the heart. He considered this the soul of art, ideologically enriching it and inspiring the work of the artist. He considered party-mindedness the richest arsenal of ideas and of organizational Marxist-Leninist principles.

Fadeyev's approach to a great variety of artistic phenomena was based on his profound and broad understanding of the most important problems of our esthetics. He accomplished a great deal in the development of the basic problems of socialist realism which he tirelessly defended in long discussions, rallying on this basis the progressive literary circles. In the course of the struggle for socialist realism, A. Fadeyev dealt tangible blows to the enemies of Marxist-Leninist esthetics which he creatively developed on the basis of the artistic experience of the new times. Controversial features may be found in some of his works such as "On Socialist Realism," "Learning From Life," "Literary Studies and Criticism," "The Depiction of Man at Work," "Confront Life and Love Life!," "Our Forthcoming Tasks" and "Notes on Literature," which are of equal interest to today's readership.

These works are of great methodological importance. Fadeyev teaches us intolerance of ideological enemies and of bourgeois and formalistic theories. He teaches us not to ignore the ideological-creative errors of fellow writers. He rejects sectarianism and group solidarity and teaches us how to achieve a profound theoretical formulation of specific professional problems which cannot be understood in their closed, strictly literary aspect.

Literary criticism owes to Fadeyev the reinterpretation of problems of the creative method and the outlook of the artist. Its erroneous interpretations led to the notorious argument between the "objectionists" and "gratefulists" of the end of the 1930's, who argued about the possibility of creating realistic artistic masterpieces irrespective of the writer's outlook. A. Fadeyev pointed out the scholastic nature of such arguments and during the last decade of his life considered with increasing frequency the generally erroneous system of pitting the writer's method against his outlook. He saw in Engels' familiar statement concerning Balzac, to which some estheticians referred, an indication not of the conflict between outlook and creativity but a contradiction between the political views of the author of "The Human Comedy" and what he had observed in real life. Fadeyev firmly rejected the "total" contraposition of two important categories and attempts to almost exclude style and artistic creativity from ideology. His objective was to find the dialectical interconnection between esthetics and philosophy in life and art.

"Pitting method against outlook, which was the starting premise of the esthetes," we read in his "Notes on Literature" (1955-1956), "means in fact a denial of the influence of the outlook of the writer on his work. This position is inconsistent with the real facts of the historical-literary process of the past and the present. Students of literature who have made an objective and profound study of the works of great writers of different ages, writers whose creativity was complex and contradictory, have invariably reached the same conclusion that there are no contradictions between method and outlook but that contradictions exist within the outlook itself."

In our time conceptual problems are assuming increasing urgency in literary theory and practice. The proper formulation contributes to the strengthening of the ideological armament and combat unity of the artist. This does not lead in the least to the equalization of talent but, on the contrary, provides a strong base for its development. We note this yet once again as we mark a noteworthy event--the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the CC CPSU decree "On Literary Artistic Criticism."

The Central Committee decree, which expressed the party's course in artistic creativity, armed the critics with a long-term work program. Its inspiring results are obvious. As G. Markov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, noted at the Seventh Congress of USSR Writers, "criticism has become more active and influential, not only in literature but in others areas of the spiritual life of society. The position of criticism and its status as a structural component of literature has increased and strengthened and its role in all artistic creativity has been enhanced." In assessing achievements objectively and exactly, the critics draw attention to unresolved problems and to the need to surmount existing essential shortcomings. They proceed from the fact that the prerequisite for any success is the ideological clarity of positions and loyalty to the class, the historical approach to past and present phenomena.

It is such an approach that distinguishes valuable works, regardless of style. The methods of socialist realism, which is interpreted by its opponents as allegedly being dogmatically monotonous, in fact ensure the free manifestation of artistic individuality and fruitful creative searches.

Fadeyev himself repeatedly spoke out in favor of the variety of such searches. He raised the question of competition not only among poetic individualities but currents as well. It is regrettable that so far there has been no discussion of this rather complex problem and that the results of sporadic debates have not been summed up. We hope that our estheticians will engage in such work. We are also confident that they will conduct it in Fadeyev's style: they will reject monopoly claims of any specific style or current in art as well as the "ambivalence" according to which anything "talented" is of equal value. According to Fadeyev the fruitfulness of any experiment is determined by reality. This tradition as well must be observed.

The test of life.... In this area, the writers who support socialist realism focus their attention on its basic laws and motive principles of social and individual activities. These principles cannot be replaced by abstract judgments, however fashionable they may seem. Topical in this connection are Fadeyev's views on topics pertinent to this day such as the "production novel," "life and way of life," and the depiction of man at work, in moral conflicts and in intimate circumstances. The writer was not able to develop his concept of the shaping of communist qualities in the process of creative toil in the novel "Ferrous Metallurgy" (of which only the first eight chapters and separate fragments were written). However, he proclaimed this concept in a number of articles and speeches between the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's. The nature of this concept is quite clear and integral.

A. Fadeyev, who ascribed a great importance to spiritual and moral factors and conflicts, frequently of an extreme nature, firmly believed that they could be interpreted accurately only on the basis of their indivisible links with the political positions of the people, the place of the individual in society and his attitude toward labor. He never accepted the "positive characters" who had some given

particularly attractive moral features and who were personally honest but who failed to use their gifts or support with their decency the struggle for good and against evil.

It was no accident that the all-union creative conference held in Vladivostok, which marked the beginning of the anniversary celebrations of the 80th birthday of the writer throughout the country, was held under the theme of "The Heroics of Struggle and Creation. The Revolutionary Patriotic Traditions in Soviet Literature and A. A. Fadeyev's Creative Legacy." The discussions were focused on the practical embodiment of the heroic motivations of the Soviet person.

These traditions were not discussed only from the rostrum but could be noted everywhere. For example, let us remember two totally unplanned events in Chuguyevka, the writer's native village, where a museum dedicated to him was inaugurated at that time. The bus which carried a delegation of writers was approached by a smartly dressed peasant woman of A. Fadeyev's age, who had worked in the local sovkhos until her retirement. Yelena Gordeyevna Mitsuk welcomed the guests on behalf of her valorous generation, with the Russian custom of offering them bread and salt. Somewhat later, at the spot where the people of Chuguyevka were to raise a monument to their native son, the first to be photographed together were war and labor veteran and bearer of the Order of Glory Ustin Filippovich Kilin and his granddaughter, the school student Lena. This was symbolic of Soviet life marching along a single way--militant, working and constructive!

Need we mention the impression which all of this made on the writers' delegation? Many such encounters took place in plants, kolkhozes, aboard ships of the Red Banner Pacific Ocean Fleet and in border posts....

The heroics which inspired our people everywhere were clearly seen here, in the inter-relationship among its various manifestations: the dedicated armed struggle for a new life and the tense daily toil. Stories of veterans of the civil war and the Great Patriotic War and production front rankers meshed with conference speeches. Reporters and speakers described the value of Fadeyev's experience in achieving the artistic mastery of contemporary life. With his works of art and literary-theoretical works the writer asserted the essentially important thought that the spiritual and moral possibilities of the Soviet person can be truly brought to life above all through labor, which has become the meaning of the life of the builders of communism. Unjustly, this idea is sometimes forgotten! As to Fadeyev, he opposed extremes, both when it came to depiction of machines instead of people and to blabberings about some "spirituality in general" instead of the description of the ideological and social impulses of workers and fighters.

"To this day," A. Fadeyev stated, "we need moral upbringing like we need to breathe. However, our socialist humanism states that to us a person who does not prove himself through his actions is not a person....We must depict man comprehensively, in his integrity, and we cannot depict man outside work."

Such final words may sound excessively categorical and there is no need to prescribe to every writer the area he should be writing about. However, essentially this statement does not limit in any way the depiction of life in all its manifestations. Creative toil is inspired toil, which ennobles man himself and his relations with others. The further blossoming of Soviet literature presumes a definitive debunking of the trend toward deheroization, petty topics and talks about abstract humanism, which

cannot replace the effective struggle for human happiness, spiritual growth and elimination of anything which hinders this growth. The instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress are programmatic in terms of our artistic development: human relations at work and in life, the complex inner world of the individual and his position in our restless world are an inexhaustible area of artistic searches. "The characters must not remain locked within the circle of petty matters but must live with the concerns of their country, leading a life filled with intensive toil and persistent struggle for the triumph of justice and goodness."

The heirs of the classics of Soviet literature must increase their accomplishments in the overall depiction of the creative man and the broad reproduction of the social and moral accomplishments of the socialist society and its role in the contemporary world. In dealing with many problems of the new creative method, Fadeyev paid particular attention to communist party-mindedness, the image of the positive character, revolutionary romanticism and the meaning of our daily actions. He emphasized the universal-historical role of Soviet literature. It is precisely this literature that is able to depict artistically the scale and significance of events on earth and to take an active part in the defense of peace and civilization. It is pleasing to note that what A. Fadeyev predicted is taking place, and is confirmed by the broad scale of events and global summations found in recent novels by G. Markov, Ch. Aytmatov, Yu. Bondarev, O. Gonchar, A. Chakovskiy, N. Dumbadze, A. Anan'yev and many other Soviet writers. Like Fadeyev, they live with the concerns and hopes of the contemporary world.

These were the concerns and hopes which Fadeyev, the communist writer, always felt. He studied profoundly the actions and concerns of his people from the position of a political, a governmental figure. He dedicated a great deal of energy to international affairs both as an artist and as vice president and member of the bureau of the World Peace Council.

Whatever Fadeyev wrote about or accomplished served the cause of the party and the party's slogan "The Work of the Soviet Literary Worker Will Be Meaningful Only When It Is Illuminated by the Great, the Universal Human Ideals of Our Century."

The main behest of the famous masters of Soviet literature to the new generations of writers--the makers of a communist culture--is to rise to highest horizon of the artistic vision of the world, to think like statesmen, and to struggle like the party for our principles and ideals.

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TRUTH ABOUT WORLD POLITICS

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[Text] Mankind is going through one of the tense and difficult periods in its contemporary history. The gravity of world circumstances is manifested more sharply than ever before and directly in the international arena, in the confrontation between the social forces clashing in it and in the solution of one of the basic problems of today's world politics -- the problem of war and peace.

What are the sources of this tension and gravity, what are their causes? How removable are they and what is then needed to accomplish this? Such problems cannot be ignored, for one way or another they affect everyone living on earth. The people must find clear and accurate answers to them. The truth about world politics must become a part of the mass consciousness of mankind.

Acting hand in hand with its closest fellow-workers -- the fraternal parties in the socialist countries -- our party is working and struggling to achieve this objective with its typical consistency and Leninist confidence in the power of conscious and consciously acting masses. This is necessary above all if we are discussing the present with understanding and a feeling of responsibility in the face of the danger threatening the world. "There are situations in politics," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his 23 November 1981 speech in the FRG, "when a single wrong step may be fatal. Such is the case now."

Yes, the communists are calling upon the peoples to show responsibility and to display the strictest possible vigilance. However, they are far from pessimistic, depicting reality in dark colors or artificially dramatizing it. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the reasons for and consequences of the development of the international situation, the communists clearly see the only sensible prospect and real possibilities of achieving it and the forces which can accomplish this. They see the specific means and methods for the struggle for peace and for ensuring this initial condition for social progress.

This is convincingly confirmed by the program of the struggle for peace and international security included in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties, the results of the 1981 Crimean meetings, the foreign policy initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries and the daily exercise of international politics as practiced by the members of the socialist comity.

The November conference on international and ideological problems for secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties in socialist countries, held this time in Moscow, was another confirmation of this constructive approach to problems of world politics.

The main results of the conference were accurately reflected and published in the press (see PRAVDA, 5 November 1981). They also state that conferences of secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties which deal with international and ideological problems hold a firm position in the widespread system of socialist internationalist cooperation. The Moscow meeting, the seventh since 1973, proved that in the current period of international life, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries are continuing to struggle confidently and with a feeling of total responsibility to secure peace and strengthen the positions of socialism and social progress further.

The communications on the work of the Moscow conference, like other party and state documents issued by the socialist countries of late, draw attention to the reasons for the aggravation of the international situation caused by imperialism, its plans for gaining military superiority over socialism and its attempts to surmount the crisis which is shaking up the capitalist system by means of foreign policy adventures and all kinds of military, political and ideological reactionary subversions.

The document issued at the Moscow conference also most clearly names the forces which must hinder the imperialist plans and protect the peace and independence of all peoples and countries. Along with the socialist comity, which is the main factor in the preservation of the peace and the strengthening of international security, they include the communist and workers parties in the nonsocialist part of the world; the nonalignment movement, which is actively promoting peaceful coexistence and national independence; and the antiwar movement, which is spreading and experiencing unparalleled upsurge and which includes members of all possible social strata and political currents, a movement which was born as the direct answer to the direct threat of war. By uniting, these forces can and must prevent the threat of war, the most important feature of which today is to put an end to the arms race and convert to taking specific steps toward disarmament, nuclear disarmament above all. The participants in the conference emphasized that the solution of this problem is inseparably linked with the problem of eliminating the hotbeds of military conflict as soon as possible and the preservation and steadfast consolidation of all gains made by the policy of detente.

Therefore, the Moscow conference convincingly proved that the fraternal parties in the socialist countries are pursuing and intend to pursue systematically and principle-mindedly a purposeful and active peace policy in opposition to the aggressive imperialist course. They intend to do everything possible to achieve a decisive turn toward peace, detente and equal international cooperation. Such is the strategic task which is the pivot of the foreign policy pursued by the socialist states.

The participants in the conference considered the most vital problems of world politics as indivisibly linked with the problems of the ideological struggle under way in the world.

The Marxists-Leninists have always considered the close links between these two important areas of social life to be beyond question. The CPSU and the fraternal parties in the socialist countries have always been guided by a full and clear understanding of the role which ideological confrontation plays in contemporary global developments. The ideological power, i.e., the content and strength of the ideological positions of the confronting sides, is an entirely real and full component of a general concept -- the "ratio of forces in the world arena." The longer the interconnection between world politics and ideological struggle lasts, the closer and the more important becomes the share of the ideological-moral factor in resolving problems of international life. This is a manifestation of the increasing role of the people's masses and the broader and deeper extent of their direct or indirect involvement in world politics. However, the larger the number of people who become involved in historical activity and the more active the role of the ideological component in such activity becomes, the more frequently do ideas serve as effective weapons or working tools, as they change and create historical reality.

In this respect, the decade of detente has yielded particularly revealing data. One of the outstanding achievements of detente, which has made its way by firmly relying on the strength of world public opinion and is participating in molding it, is precisely related to the fact that the broadest possible masses have been awakened to engage in the conscious formulation of a stand regarding problems of war and peace. The effectiveness of the ideas of peace, democracy and social progress, which have conquered the masses, was backed by the powerful economic, political and moral strength of the socialist comity, which laid its international reputation on the altar of humanistic ideals.

This experience was not ignored by the enemies of detente. Forced to draw the proper lessons from it, starting with the second half of the 1970s, they were forced to remove the false mask of "de-ideologization." Preparations for total ideological counterpressure against the forces of peace and social progress became a structural component of the imperialist course for undermining detente. Virtually the entire imperialist propaganda machine was converted to a state of psychological war. Its arsenal has no constructive political ideas -- they are replaced by concentrated pressure on the minds, shying at no possible means, or, to put it more accurately, relying on philistine consciousness, prejudices and base instincts. Whatever problems such activities may involve, their "psychological" task is to preserve ignorance, promote hatred of man and create feelings of pessimism and doom.

Naturally, the specific directions and targets of imperialist propaganda which are now in the foreground were closely considered by the participants in the Moscow conference.

In the course of the proceedings, the connection between current imperialist propaganda and the drastic intensification of aggressive imperialist policy and the global strategy of political and social revenge adopted by imperialism in opposition to the policy of detente and the objective course of social development was exposed. The real sources of the imperialist foreign policy course, i. e., the objective and subjective reasons for the current aggravation of the international situation, were revealed. They cannot be reduced at all to the occurrence of a more or less drastic change in the the deployment of forces in the ruling class itself or the imperialist

bourgeois groups. The change has been rather a reflection of objective processes in global development, such as crisis processes in the capitalist system and, in the world arena, the failure of the self-oriented hopes of imperialism to use the policy of detente for the purpose of "eroding" socialism, weakening the world liberation movement and broadening the sphere of its political and ideological domination.

Naturally, these changes hardly mean that the capitalist countries are objectively interested in "antidetente." Even among the politicians and ideologists of capitalism there are many who clearly realize that detente is a true imperative of the times and that in the realities of the "nuclear century," there are no acceptable alternatives to the policy of peaceful coexistence; they also understand that increased tension can only worsen rather than alleviate the economic difficulties experienced by capitalism.

Notwithstanding this realistic approach, today in imperialist policy, "power" hegemonistic and adventuristic trends have the upper hand. It is they that have determined the content and nature of the ideological efforts aimed at justifying this cynical foreign policy course, clearing the way to it and somehow reconciling it in the mass consciousness despite its antinational and antihumane line. It is not astounding that the means used to achieve this vicious objective are just as vicious.

How is this being accomplished today?

Since imperialism is accelerating the arms race and the entire system of preparations for war in order to regain and increase its former strategic superiority, imperialist propaganda relies mainly on inflating the myth of the "Soviet military threat," trying to depict the military balance which has been finally achieved as the gaining of military superiority by the USSR.

Since Europe, i.e., an area which has experienced the results of detente particularly clearly, is the focal point of the imperialist militaristic program, imperialist propaganda shamelessly distorts the truth about the ratio of strategic forces on the continent and the principled position of the Soviet Union, firmly rejects any prospect of turning Europe into a theater of nuclear war, and is convinced that the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe affects not only the future of the continent and the fate of the hundreds of millions of people inhabiting it, but the fate of universal peace. Those who preach a European nuclear conflict are doing everything possible so that the peoples will not be told of this truth and will become accustomed to the idea of a possible nuclear war, in which they will play the role of a target in the missile duel or neutron bombing which will turn the continent into an uninhabited, dead desert in the course of "just" a "limited nuclear war."

Since militaristic expansionism is not satisfied with Europe alone and is spreading throughout all so-called crisis areas, i.e., all parts of the globe in which imperialism is suppressing or intends to suppress the liberation movement of the peoples, its propaganda conceals this terrorist course, which, incidentally, includes direct support of terrorist, dictatorial, fascist and racist regimes and lies about fighting "international terrorism," identified with the national liberation movement and allegedly instigated by the Soviet Union.

Finally, since imperialism clearly sees the main source of opposition to its power, imperialist propaganda remains targeted on real socialism, designed above all to discredit and slander the socialist system itself. It is precisely in this connection that speculations based on the events in Poland have become a structural component of attempts to use them in the interests of global imperialist strategy, i.e., attempts to separate Poland from the socialist comity and to weaken socialism as a whole.

The methods used in the development of imperialist propaganda along all of these lines are consistent with the objectives. Their total groundlessness, however, does not eliminate the fact that this is poisoning the minds of broad population strata. That is why the exposure of the imperialist lie remains more topical than ever.

Let us go back, for example, to the speculations on the Polish events.

The great interest in these events is fully understandable: they have become the target of an extensive and sharp ideological struggle. The representatives of the PZPR and the other fraternal parties who attended the Moscow conference spoke with deep concern and alarm of the reasons for and nature of the crisis experienced by Poland, exchanged views and shared the experience acquired in difficult and critical situations. They emphasized the historical responsibility of the communist and workers parties for the fate of socialism and the peoples of the socialist countries. They pointed out the need for waging an irreconcilable struggle against forces hostile to the new system. In this connection, they drew attention to the efforts which imperialism has always made and is presently making to profit from such situations to further its subversive objectives. The role which the weapon of imperialist propaganda has been assigned in such diversionary actions is entirely obvious.

Its main idea in connection with the events in Poland is the "crisis in the Soviet model of socialism." This is a typical propaganda cliché intended to be swallowed without thinking and a typical "big lie" which is groundless but which leads a parasitical life on the durability of prejudices. What type of proof could be brought forth in general when all the difficulties currently experienced by socialist Poland without exception have been caused, conversely, by deviations from the laws governing the building of socialism, tested by reality! This applies to the economy as a whole, the nature of foreign economic relations, the political superstructure and ideology.

The same pattern is followed in the case of other anti-Polish and antisocialist speculations. For decades the imperialist West has been mercilessly exploiting dozens of countries with the help of foreign economic dependencies, financial ones included, while shedding crocodile tears on the subject of "unequal" economic relations within CEMA, and naturally failing to mention the aid still provided by the socialist countries to fraternal Poland, aid which is a real manifestation of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

Similarly, the efforts of the counterrevolutionary forces to take Poland away from the socialist comity are depicted as proof of the "inevitability" and "insolubility" of conflicts in the socialist world, although it is precisely imperialism that not only inspires but also directly supports forces hostile to socialism. This

insidious and hypocritical step, which exemplifies what it means to present a wish as reality, has, as we know, a sorry history which imperialism prefers to ignore.

However, the cynicism and hypocrisy of imperialist propaganda set a record with its efforts to inflate the myth of the "Soviet military threat," which sets the teeth on edge. Shameless though this demagogy may be, we cannot simply ignore it.

Let us begin with the fact that the myth of the "Soviet military threat" is not limited to the framework of the ideological struggle. It is a classical weapon of psychological warfare and ideological diversion. It has nothing in common with the facts, not to mention a conscientious comparison among facts. Even in the infrequent cases in which its promoters address themselves to the facts, they take them out of context shamelessly, and inevitably break down the natural interconnection of the events within whose context alone one fact or another can be understood. This is exemplified by the propaganda stir concerning the military superiority of the USSR in Europe, based on an estimate which excludes two thirds of Western nuclear armaments, not to mention other similar "double bookkeeping" methods, concealing the truth that it is precisely the West that has unleashed each new spiral in the arms race, and so on and so forth.

Strictly speaking, the myth of the "Soviet military threat" has no conceptual foundation at all, even in terms of the bourgeois way of thinking. What passes as a "conception" in this case begins and ends with the notorious "export of revolution," an idea which has long been discredited as a Jesuitic and hypocritical attempt to justify the imperialist export of counterrevolution, whose sole purpose is to frighten the petit bourgeois and squeeze within the petit bourgeois crowd those who are outside it. Beyond this falsification begins the swamp of impassable vulgarities, the most profound of which may be the attempt to depict the "Soviet threat" as the contemporary version of historically "traditional Russian expansionism." Naturally, the fact that such a geopolitical subtlety originated with Russia's imperialist competitors, who were hardly the supporters of strict historical truth, and most importantly the fact that the true criticism of the imperial policy of Russian czarism was made through word and action by Lenin and the bolsheviks, has been "forgotten."

The myth of the "Soviet military threat" cannot withstand even a simple confrontation with historical arguments. Born of the bourgeoisie's fear of the revolution in Russia, from the very start it was nothing but capitalism's reaction to the example set by the October Revolution, which was triggered and immediately put to work as the ideological weapon of counterrevolutionary intervention.

Nevertheless, the more unsubstantial this fabrication is, the more stubborn are the efforts being made to back it with the mechanics of propaganda and the malicious and dishonest manipulation of the awareness of the masses, ranging from lies such as the charge that the USSR is making preparations for aggression to bombastic appeals to "save" Christian civilization (i.e., the very same idea with which Churchill called for the waging of "cold war" in his infamous Fulton speech), and from the fantastic concept of worldwide "Soviet expansionism" to the falsehood of "authoritative" conferences at which serious discussions are held on subjects such as whether one province or another or one country or another bordering the USSR or distant from it could be able to withstand the pressure of the full Soviet military might and

whether such a province (or country or group of countries) would need military assistance from the United States or NATO or not.

The participants in the Moscow conference unanimously agreed that the need for a most consistent struggle against such a delirious myth and against any type of half-way action or concession in this matter is not dictated in the least by any sort of "strictly national" interests of the Soviet Union, which has steadfastly based its defense policy on the strictest possible objective requirements. This myth, directed against the USSR, is actually affecting all progressive and democratic forces and is concealing the actual threat to the very conditions governing global social progress. It is the coarsest weapon used in the propaganda war, which makes it one of the most dangerous international crimes of the present. This leaves no grounds for complacency based on the fact that sooner or later the truth will triumph. In the struggle against the threat of war "sooner or later" is one of the most crucial, essential problems.

Naturally, the frenzied imperialist propaganda, which corresponds to the range of imperialist political aggressiveness, includes, rather than excludes, more refined demagogic steps aimed at broadening its range of influence, finding ways of reaching the mass public and conceal its forgeries behind false objectivity. Thus, social forces exist which cannot be convinced that NATO and the United States are not "innocent" in the matter of increased international tension; some Western ideologs and politicians accept the thesis of "equal responsibility" of the United States and the USSR for the aggravation of the international situation or at least the "partial guilt" of the Soviet Union. Imperialism instigates and organizes provocations against Cuba and takes the stand of a fighter against fabricated Cuban intervention in the people's struggle in Central America. This argument can easily be extended to Afghanistan, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and to a large number of Middle Eastern and African countries such that the roles are shamelessly reversed or the oppressor and the fighter for freedom and the victim and the perpetrator of aggression are placed on an equal footing, to say the least. The popular antiwar movement which is developing in Europe is considered a "pacifistic menace" instigated by Moscow and those who are in a hurry to protect this movement from the imaginary "intervention" of Moscow are quickly eulogized. This entire seeming cacophony and apparent "pluralism" has a fully defined purpose and in all cases retains its antisocialist, antirevolutionary and antipeople's meaning.

The participants in the Moscow conference paid proper attention to these questions, emphasizing that the ideological struggle which the socialist countries and other progressive forces are waging in the international arena must take into consideration both the common objectives of imperialist propaganda and the conflicting nature of bourgeois political awareness and the trends which may change and predominate in it at a given time.

On that level the participants in the conference paid attention to the sharp turn to the right characteristic of many imperialist countries and to the neoconservative ideology as a whole, the galvanizing of which has been attempted in recent years, speculating on the weaknesses in bourgeois reformism under the conditions of the crisis of the 1970s. Matters are not restricted to arguments between two separate directions followed by supporters of the bourgeoisie, for the vices of state monopoly rule are maliciously presented as the inherent features of...socialism, with a view to discrediting both real socialism and the socialist ideal.

Actually, even this recent outbreak of neoconservatism has been sufficient to reveal its own groundlessness and essential disparity with the requirements of social progress. This urges the bourgeois ideologists to look for new and even more refined means for the treatment of capitalism, once again with reformist prescriptions, including the adoption of social-reformist ideas which can be used to block the path of revolutionary ideology.

This internal contradiction within bourgeois ideology and, in the propaganda area, the use of unprincipled and unscrupulous ideas and methods, lead to the important conclusion that the confrontation between the forces of peace and war has become intensified, forcing imperialism to operate all along the front. Consequently counteracting it requires the unification of all anti-imperialist forces, the full mobilization of all possibilities for such counteraction and a clear understanding of the role which each of these forces can play.

The characteristic feature of the Moscow conference was that it indicated the broad spectrum and reality of these possibilities and that it drew the attention of the world public to the specific means for the preservation of the peace under present circumstances once again. It expressed and substantiated a firm belief in the greatness and variety of the potential of the peace-loving forces and their high responsibility for mankind's present and future today. Imperialism cannot hope to implement its aggressive intentions without at least trying to neutralize the antiwar movement and turn its forces into passive marginal observers, "indifferent" to the fate of war and peace.

"Peace cannot be created only from the top down alone. Peace must be achieved from below." These simple and clear Leninist words ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 88), expressed as early as 1917, are once again recalled today when the mass antiwar movement is powerfully invading world politics and has become the "invisible third party" to any talk on arms limitation, particularly in Europe.

The idea that conditions are ripe for the creation of a broad antiwar coalition, in which every participant can make an original contribution to the general humanistic cause without surrendering his specific social, political, ideological, professional, cultural and national interests, was most firmly voiced at the Moscow conference. Furthermore, in the course of the conference, specific proof was proffered to the effect that the objective process of the formation of such a coalition was actually underway. Now it is a question of making those involved in it aware of this fact, thus giving it a powerful inspirational impulse.

The results of the conference left no doubt that the parties which attended it were ready to cooperate with anyone in favor of the continuation of detente and a termination of the arms race and that they were ready to prove in fact the indivisible unity between peace and socialism. It is precisely this idea -- the idea of the inseparable link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for strengthening real socialism -- that was singled out and emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, in the course of his meeting with the delegations representing the parties which participated in the Moscow conference.

"...Our entire policy and propuganda," Lenin wrote, "are designed not at all to inveigle nations into war, but to put an end to war" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 99). As time goes on, this Leninist thought is supported by further proof and acquires an even more comprehensive and deeper content. The results of the Moscow conference are yet another proof of this. The fraternal parties are creatively implementing this Leninist behest confidently and consistently in accordance with the specific requirements of changing international realities.

The development of world socialism itself, its interaction with the other major social and political forces of our time and the effective implementation of its unique role of ensuring durable international peace under contemporary conditions raise new theoretical and practical problems which demand close attention from the fraternal parties in the socialist countries. This is not only a matter of the traditions of the communist movement, which from its initial independent steps in the world political arena, assumed the function of providing a truly scientific interpretation of social development and its conflicting and motive forces. This is mandated mainly by their position as ruling parties which bear a great responsibility for the fate of their own countries and the socialist comity, and which therefore share the responsibility for the fate of peace. It is also mandated by the intensified ideological struggle which is being waged today between the forces of social progress and the reactionary forces on literally all problems affecting the present and the future of mankind.

Naturally, each Marxist-Leninist party autonomously formulates answers to the vital problems of domestic and international life. The materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and the most recent congresses of the communist and workers parties in the fraternal socialist countries convincingly prove how many original and creative solutions are born in the course of the process of formulating party policy. Nevertheless, we can speak of the essential similarity among the political courses charted by the fraternal parties with full justification. This similarity is based both on the objective laws governing the socialist society and those which stem from the common Marxist-Leninist ideology. It is a similarity strengthened by the numerous forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among fraternal parties.

Such cooperation, as indicated by reality, yields tangible benefits in all areas, for the reciprocal study of experience, the coordination of actions and the formulation of a common course of action are not simply useful but necessary and vitally important to the socialist comity as a whole and to each of its individual constituent countries. This fully applies to the foreign policy of the fraternal countries, for which reason they invariably pay prime attention to the coordination of their international activities. This is confirmed by all activities of the Warsaw Pact, its Political Consultative Committee and the committees of ministers of foreign affairs and defense. It is also confirmed by the regular exchange of views, mainly in the course of the already traditional Crimean meetings and the bilateral and multilateral talks among leaders of fraternal parties and states.

Another fruitful tradition is the regular conferences held by the secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties in the socialist countries on international and ideological problems. The party congresses recently held in these countries gave a high rating to these conferences, both on the level of the formulation of a common approach to foreign policy and ideological problems and the further reciprocal rapprochement among the socialist countries.

Under the conditions of the aggravated international situation and the increased pressure on the socialist comity from imperialism, pressure which is differentiated and includes the combined use of political, economic and ideological means, the task of strengthening the unity and solidarity among socialist countries becomes particularly important. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the meeting with the participants in the conference, internationalism is one of the main sources of the strength of socialism. By supporting one country or another, be it Cuba or Vietnam, we are thus strengthening the socialist comity and the cause of peace as a whole.

The task of strengthening our comity is comprehensive. Taking its nature into consideration, the conference dealt primarily with the topic of intensifying the approach of the fraternal countries to the problems of the contemporary ideological struggle in the international arena and joint rebuff of the attacks mounted by imperialist reaction.

For a number of years the imperialists have been trying to shift the main burden of the ideological struggle to the socialist countries and to make the nature of the development of real socialism itself, the methods of resolving economic and social problems, their consistency with the interests of the broad masses and the individual and the possibility to exercise of human rights and freedoms in the socialist society the targets of their criticism. The class enemy is actively using the vestiges of bourgeois nationalism, distorting history and speculating on problems inherited by socialism from the past. Anti-Sovietism and the desire to encourage nationalistic aspirations in the ideology and politics of some socialist countries continue to play the main role in the attacks on the unity among socialist countries. The imperialist maneuvers are aimed at undermining the socialist comity from within, introducing divisiveness in relations with the Soviet Union and subverting the leading role of the communist parties. It sometimes looks as though the class enemy is doing all of this solely out of concern for "improving" and "renovating" socialism. Naturally, such is not the case. It is only looking for "tender spots" in order to increase its pressure on the socialist society and to question the status of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

All of this presents the political and ideological education workers of the fraternal parties and their foreign policy propaganda with stricter requirements. "It is very important for propaganda not to avoid sensitive topics or fear to tackle so-called difficult problems," states the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th CPSU Congress. "Our party's policy is clear, and we are ready to answer any question asked by the Soviet people. We must do this more boldly, remembering that if we do not answer them the enemies of our country will use this fact to slander socialism."

The same approach is characteristic of the other fraternal parties. The effectiveness of ideological work directly depends on its acceptance of new events, its ability promptly to become aware of the contradictions which appear in the course of social progress and to find the means for their optimal resolution. That is why ideological work must at the very least be coordinated with the processes of life. Only thus can we defend the foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory and ensure its creative development.

In this connection, the conference paid particular attention to a more thorough reciprocal study of the experience acquired by the fraternal parties in resolving major economic problems and to a more profound interpretation of the practice of socialist economic integration, production cooperation and scientific and technical cooperation within CEMA and on a bilateral basis. It is economics precisely that is the main area in which the leading role of the fraternal parties is manifested. The economic situation increasingly determines the further satisfaction of the growing needs of society and the effectiveness of the ideological struggle against the class enemy. Hence the prime importance of the all-round utilization of internal resources and the advantages which the international socialist division of labor offers the fraternal countries. Life has confirmed that the socialist economy is not developing separately from the global economy. However, the development of socialist economic integration and the coordinated economic policy of the fraternal countries allow them to reduce the negative consequences of this influence to a substantial degree.

The transition to intensive economic management requires a corresponding reorganization of the economic mechanism and economic way of thinking and the abandonment of obsolete concepts. Realization of the vital importance of economic interactions among fraternal parties in the development of the national economy and ensuring the confident growth of the economic potential of the entire socialist comity must be effectively included in the process of this reorganization.

The political system of the socialist society, the leading role of the party, its interaction with the trade unions and the other social organizations and the nature and forms of socialist democracy are some of the basic targets of the ideological attacks mounted by our adversaries. The members of the socialist comity have acquired rich and varied experience in this area. However, this experience is still being insufficiently studied and analyzed.

Let us take as an example a most important social problem -- the manner in which party activities take into consideration and express the common interests of the entire people and the specific interests of the individual social groups within them. This presumes a steady and profound study of the full range of public opinion and social awareness, the growing requirements and needs of the people and their maximal reflection in the economic and social policy of the party and the state aimed at unifying the toiling classes and strata within the socialist society and strengthening the leading role of the working class.

The participants in the conference emphasized that in order to channel the will, energy and emotions of the masses toward one social target or another, serious ideological motivation is needed, and that today, and even more in the future, the masses can be led only by convincing them, comprehensively avoiding schematism and conscious or unconscious neglect of the real problems which face the people and which require an accurate and frank explanation. In their speeches, the representatives of the fraternal parties pointed out that the steady dialog with the citizens, including those whose position toward socialism based on trust, has not become sufficiently firm as yet, is of central significance in mass political work. The persuasiveness and topicality of ideological-political work are making it the most important instrument for the stability of socialism.

"As always, the development of the awareness of the masses remains the basis and the main content of our entire work," Lenin taught ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 13, p 376). Arming the working people with a Marxist-Leninist outlook and a clear understanding of the policy of the communist party remains the core of all its activity.

The communists have always proceeded from the fact that the victory of the progressive ideology requires its development into the living practice of the masses. This entirely applies to the ideological struggle waged in the international arena. In the socialist countries, the foreign policy of the party and the state is a matter for the entire party and people. This thought has been most forcefully and repeatedly developed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speeches.

There are at least three ranges of problems which can be singled out in bringing to light the main directions of the participation of the masses in international politics. First is the area of economics, in which the working people of the socialist countries are with their own hands laying the material foundations for all party and state foreign policy activities. It is obviously unnecessary to mention the importance of having a conscious attitude toward the international aspects of such activities. However, the attention they deserve is rarely paid to their importance and effectiveness from the viewpoint of improving the production process within the individual socialist countries. More specifically, this applies, for instance, to a problem such as assessing production activities not only on the basis of quantitative and qualitative indicators, but "international standards" as well, in comparison with the best worldwide models. Unquestionably, on this level, the increasing production cooperation among the members of the socialist comity has not only an economic but a tremendous ideological and political meaning.

The second range of problems has to do with the participation of the masses in international politics -- a rapidly expanding area of international contacts and relations among party, state and production organizations and establishments. The main feature here is that these forms of international interaction, above all in relations among the nations of the socialist countries themselves, are assuming ever more confidently a truly mass nature. Production relations, i.e., international socialist competition and the direct participation of labor collectives in internationally organized labor, are steadily increasing as time goes on. These are fruitful and promising forms of international politics, which are actually the embryos of the future type of international relations established by socialism, which await serious scientific and political study and theoretical summation. Furthermore, they already urgently require the close attention of the press, including that in republics, krays and oblasts, in which frequently far more practical work is being done in this respect than it would seem from the press coverage.

Finally, the third field is that of purely ideological work, which must make the working people aware of the international importance of their daily work, consistently describe the real ties between international problems and the work and life of the Soviet peoples and the peoples of all socialist countries, and develop a consistently internationalist approach to events in domestic and international life. The clarity and depth of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the masses of all international problems and events are unquestionably the most important criteria for all efforts in the international sector of the ideological work conducted by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties and a necessary and reliable prerequisite for the successful solution of the problems of socialist and communist construction.

The theoretical activities of the fraternal parties and the creative mastery and development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine under contemporary conditions constitute the starting point for all such work. Close attention was paid at the Moscow conference to the development of active joint effort in this direction. To the communists, theory has never been something abstract, separate from politics or from their practical actions. Today the practical political role of theory has increased even further. It provides the fraternal parties with an irreplaceable tool which enables them to act in the same direction on the basis of ideological-theoretical principles. These principles, which are closely linked with the specific problems of the ideological struggle, and which are shared by the fraternal parties in their approach to international affairs, are the guarantee that the truth about world politics will find its way to the broadest possible people's masses.

Under the present world circumstances, every step along the path toward these objectives is difficult and every success is gained through struggle. However, this makes each such success the more significant and fruitful.

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SOURCES OF AN UNINVENTED WAR THREAT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 99-109

[Article by G. Tsagolov, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] "The greatest threat to our state is not any kind of outside force but our internal militarism." This statement, which was once made from the rostrum of the American Congress by the noted political leader J. W. Fulbright, unwittingly comes to mind today, when the United States is in the throes of an unparalleled acute fit of militarism. Having unleashed an unrestrained arms race, the U.S. imperialist circles have openly charted a course aimed at gaining hegemony in world affairs.

The Reagan administration has adopted the largest and most expensive peacetime military construction program in U.S. history. It is planning to spend a total \$1.5 trillion on military projects over a 5-year period (from 1981 to 1986). The extent of this amount was clearly explained by no other than President Reagan himself. If it can be imagined in terms of thousand-dollar bills piled on top of each other, he said, the resulting stack would be 103.5 miles high (see TIME, 16 March 1981, p 20).

The sharp increase in the military budget is paralleled by an intensified arms race and the development and mass production of qualitatively new types of mass destruction weapons. On 6 August 1981--the day on which the victims of Hiroshima are commemorated--the U.S. president ordered the full-scale production of a particularly cruel nuclear weapon--the neutron bomb. In October the White House announced a new program for the further expansion of strategic nuclear arsenals. This confirms the clear aspiration to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. The Pentagon is asking for the creation of an entire fleet of combat satellites orbiting in outer space, equipped with laser systems.

Such record-setting military construction is broadened by abolishing restrictions on armament exports which, according to a highly placed Washington official, "will no longer be considered a kind of evil to be reduced" (U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 16 March 1981, p 35). Plans call for increasing the size of U.S. armed forces by almost one-quarter of a million men by 1986. Interventionist "rapid deployment forces" are being hastily strengthened. Washington is openly proclaiming strategic concepts which are actually acknowledging the "possibility" and "admissibility" of nuclear war, particularly on the European continent, and scenarios of surprise pre-emptive nuclear strikes are being drawn up. "President Reagan," the American press has noted with some alarm, "has replaced foreign policy with thoughtless militarism,

rattling weapons everywhere--from El Salvador to Saudi Arabia--and frightening our friends, starting with Japan and ending with West Germany (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 2 November 1981).

By provoking military crises abroad and inflating the myth of an external threat presented by the Soviet Union, the adventuristically thinking leaders in Washington are trying to draw the attention of the Americans away from sensitive domestic problems such as galloping inflation, mass unemployment and the energy crisis and, using the mass information media to manipulate public opinion, are exciting the nationalistic and chauvinistic passions of the petit bourgeois, appealing to him to get rid of the consequences of the "Vietnam shock." Such tactics are based on the hope that the Americans will forget the lessons of that most severe failure of the policy "from a position of strength." Such demagoguery was manifested particularly clearly during the presidential electoral campaign of 1980, when both candidates, radically distorting the nature of events in Iran and Afghanistan, were vying with one another to show their support of a "firm" course.

But that is not all. A powerful bloc of forces, which is profiting from the arms race and which is not only political but represents the most real financial capitalism--the military-industrial complex--exists in the United States. Its influence has substantially increased of late.

The largest monopoly corporations, which have specialized in arms production and the development of military technology constitute its very foundation. Although there are more than 120,000 companies and enterprises involved in the war business in the United States, the lion's share is in the hands of an insignificantly small number of firms. In recent decades no more than 100 companies have accounted for about two-thirds of the Pentagon's procurement orders in terms of value. Thirty of them account for 50 percent and 10 of them for about one third of all purchase orders. The leading group in the war industry is quite solid. During the past 20 years Lockheed, United Technologies, McDonnell Douglas, General Electric and General Dynamics have invariably been among the 10 biggest recipients of Pentagon contracts.

It would be interesting to look more closely at one of them, General Dynamics for example. Here Henry Crown is its leading figure. The son of a black marketeering merchant, he became a master at bribing local authorities in Chicago in the 1930's. Crown's capital expanded greatly during World War II, or rather, during a series of sinister and dirty machinations carried out during that period. He became the leading partner of the Hilton Hotel empire, took over two railroad companies and invested in sugar cane plantations, coal mines and real estate. In a single transaction for the lot on which the United Nations building currently rises, Crown "earned" \$600,000 in a matter of a few weeks. However, "publicity" came to Crown at the beginning of the 1960's, when he was able by hook or by crook to gain a controlling interest (20 percent of the stock) of General Dynamics, which had already become the Pentagon's largest supplier.

Under Crown, General Dynamics concentrated even further on the production of the latest weaponry systems. Its already strong connections with defense departments, banks and government agencies were strengthened further. D. Lewis, who was "snatched" from McDonnell Douglas, whose president he was, has held a high administrative position in the General Dynamics concern. Lewis is famous for his close contacts with high-ranking Pentagon officials. He is also one of the directors of the

Bank of America, the biggest bank in California and in the entire capitalist world. The General Dynamics executive committee includes many former employees of the Defense Department and military researchers. The company's payroll includes more than 200 retired generals, admirals and other high-ranking officers. During the past decade they have helped the company to receive very profitable orders for the production of the Trident nuclear submarines and F-16 fighter planes, with the help of which Israel bombed the peaceful atomic center in Iraq and substantial deliveries of which are also being made to NATO countries and Pakistan, among others. Furthermore, the company is the main contractor in the manufacturing of the Los Angeles-class nuclear submarines and is participating in the MX missile program. In 1978 alone, it obtained military orders totaling \$4.2 billion. Incidentally, when war had already broken out in Europe in 1940, the entire military budget of the United States was \$1.5 billion.

Crown's previous "accomplishments" fade in comparison with such extensive and guaranteed profits. He has become a type of military-industrial giant whom even Dreiser's Cowperwood would have envied. General Dynamics is gobbling up war industry enterprises with increasing energy both in the United States and abroad, almost literally observing one of Crown's dictums: "We must either swallow or be swallowed."

Crown's credo was expressed by E. Lefevre, the head of General Dynamics's Washington office, who declared in an interview granted to an American journalist that "people must believe in the existence of a long-term threat." Another leading corporate executive described the wave of militarism of the 1980's as follows: "Looked at from this angle, the world's situation does not appear very safe, for which reason the future of our industry appears quite good" (NEWSWEEK, 4 February 1980, p 39).

In an item entitled "Happy Days for Arms Manufacturers Once Again," the magazine FORTUNE describes the current impetus in the camp of the leading suppliers of military ordnance in the United States. The McDonnell Douglas Corporation is planning on getting rich from the production of 2,000 of the latest F/A-18 fighter planes ordered by the Air Force and the Navy. The Marines have ordered from the same company the vertical take-off Harrier airplane, and the Congress is likely to approve the increased production of the F-15 fighter bomber produced by McDonnell Douglas. The fleet of submarines and surface ships, which will be expanded under Reagan, will bring additional billions of dollars in profits to Litton Industries, General Dynamics and Tenneco. With the help of a contract for the production of 7,000 XM-1 tanks, at a cost of \$1.6 million each, the Chrysler Corporation is counting on high and stable income through 1990. The Boeing, Martin Marietta and Lockheed concerns are anticipating fat profits from programs for the development of the MX missile system (see FORTUNE, 26 January 1981, p 55).

Here is an example of the way the arms race is being whipped up today. The Carter administration rejected the production of B-1 strategic bombers in 1977. However, Rockwell International--the main contractor--not only did not terminate the project but increased its efforts toward the implementation of its favorite project tenfold. The myth of the "window of vulnerability," which would allegedly develop in the 1980's, when the strategic balance would be disturbed in favor of the Soviet Union, was put into circulation by proteges operating in military-political circles. The owners of Rockwell International celebrated their "victory day" on 2 October 1981, when President Reagan announced that the production of 100 missile bombers was to be undertaken by Rockwell International. The game was worth the candle. This project will enable the concern to earn a minimum of \$400 million in additional profits

over the next 7 years. Rockwell International stock immediately jumped by 33 percent (FORTUNE, 2 November 1981, pp 107-108).

The arms magnates are willing to slice each other's throats in the struggle for obtaining the most profitable military orders. However, this clan is amazingly united when it comes to the promotion of militarism.

The position of the war industry concerns strongly reinforces their close alliance with the Pentagon, whose budget is now close to one third of all federal expenditures and which has owned more than half of all the property of the U.S. federal government for some time.

The links between the military-industrial complex and the government consist above all of generals and admirals who are the chiefs of staff of the individual branches of the armed forces. Most of the present members of this group of high military officials were active participants in the wars which the United States waged in Korea and Vietnam. The leading nucleus of the American military caste is flesh of the flesh of the rich classes. Virtually all generals and admirals who were members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the 1970's are the offspring of big businessmen, landowners or professional military and government officials.

Let us take Gen D. Jones, the current chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as an example. He is the son of prosperous entrepreneurs and a graduate of the privileged Air Force Academy and the National War College. It was on his orders that 29 bombing raids were made on cities and settlements in North Korea and many attacks on Vietnam. By the way, the military career of A. Haig, the present secretary of state, is also "decorated" by the laurels of active participation in the dirty war in Vietnam: he carried out punitive operations against the patriots as battalion commander.

The need for one or another type of weapon is largely determined by the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and their deputies. The Pentagon's military caste is particularly zealous in whipping up the arms race and supports the maximal expansion of the military programs, for the sake of which it calls for neglecting economic matters "for the sake of the higher interest of the nation." Not the least significant reason for striving toward the steady increase in the purchase of new weapons systems is related to the desire of the military to gain favor with the masters of the military-industrial corporations in the hope of future careers in the arms business. Every year dozens of generals and colonels move from the Pentagon to the war industry.

The secretaries of the individual branches of the armed forces and their deputies and assistants, who are not usually members of the military, constitute another segment of the Pentagon's upper crust. Bureaucratic interests lead the civilian heads of the Defense Department to join forces with the military. The civilian upper crust of the department is usually the advocate of the military in its requests for higher military budgets and extended armed forces. According to THE WASHINGTON POST of 21 July 1981, "the new orders of Caspar Weinberger, the secretary of defense, call for a substantial expansion of the armed forces considerably exceeding the scale of already published measures....Whereas...8 percent of the gross national product was spent on the war in Vietnam...now Weinberger is recommending to the leadership of the armed forces a study of the steps which should be taken in case of war enabling industry to absorb funds reaching one half of the gross national

product." The Pentagon's civilian leadership is listening closely to the demands of the bosses of the arms monopolies who meet with its administrative personnel on a regular basis.

Actually, many civilian Pentagon officials need no persuasion, being representatives of the war business themselves. A survey of the careers of 100 high officials of the Department of Defense, conducted in the 1960's, revealed that 30 percent of them had come to the Pentagon from one of its 100 largest contractors and more than one half had simply moved back to their old positions.

The state-monopoly organizations, whose official purpose is to establish close "work" relations between the war industry and the military departments, are very important links between high Pentagon officials and the military-industrial oligarchy. One of them is the American Army Association. N. Augustine, its current president, was vice president of Martin Marietta, the military-industrial corporation, until 1980. Before joining the company he had been assistant secretary of the army. J. Dixon, chairman of the board of directors and president of the fast-growing I-Systems military industry company located in Texas, is the head of the trustees of this organization. A. Yarmolinsky, the well-known American student of the "military establishment," wrote that "each branch of the armed forces is connected with its main industrial procurers through a number of organizations it has set up, such as the American Army Association, the Navy League, the Marine League and the Air Force Association. These associations establish contacts between retired military and the most active reserve personnel with the financial support of the main military contractors. Not astoundingly, each of these organizations supports the overall expansionistic viewpoint of its alma mater" (A. Yarmolinsky, "The Military Establishment," New York, 1971, p 21).

The increased role of the military-governmental bureaucracy in the bourgeois society is an objective law of state-monopoly capitalism. In the United States, this trend was fully manifested after World War II. With the development of the military and technical revolution and the conversion of the United States into the main bulwark of global reaction and militarism, a powerful military-bureaucratic stratum developed. With the passage of time, the self-sufficient forces and selfish interests of the militarists themselves increasingly influenced the expansion of the Pentagon.

The Pentagon-monopoly alliance has never had such zealous representative as today in Washington's corridors of power. Many of the members of the present U.S. government come from the military-industrial complex itself or its immediate surroundings. For example, after his return from NATO's headquarters to the United States and through 1981, U.S. Secretary of State Haig was president of the United Technologies Corporation--the third largest arms manufacturer in America. The news of Haig's nomination as the head of the American foreign policy department elicited the following comment from the West German newspaper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU: "Haig's nomination is somewhat alarming. Is it not sufficient that generals in active service and retired generals operating in the arms industry are already enjoying great influence in the United States? Is it necessary for a general to determine henceforth the directions along which American diplomacy will operate?...Everything which benefits the military is good in America today."

The positions of the military-industrial complex have been strengthened not only in the executive branch, but in the legislative as well. J. Tower, the current chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Affairs Committee, who is a Republican senator

from Texas with a reputation for being a "superhawk" on Capitol Hill, maintains close ties with General Dynamics and other military contractors.

Many other "representatives" of the people in Congress belong to the corrupt military-industrial complex. Some of them are W. Magnuson, Democrat from the state of Washington and chairman of the Appropriations Committee and H. Jackson, member of the Armed Forces Affairs Committee, both of whom are known in the United States as Boeing senators. Furthermore, virtually all of the roughly 60 staff members and so-called consultants of the Armed Forces Affairs Committees in both chambers are direct agents of the military-industrial complex. The importance of these officials increases as military technology becomes more complex. According to the 27 March 1978 issue of BUSINESS WEEK, in recent years "they have begun to exert tremendous influence on the members of Congress and have become a relatively new and exceptionally important part of decision-making circles in Washington."

All these and many other proteges of the military concerns are doing everything possible to encourage militaristic moods. It is they who have created of late the general atmosphere which prevails in the Congress, which is assuming the initiative of increasing military expenditures more and more frequently.

The military-industrial complex is swelling its own political organizations at avalanche speed. One of them is the American Safety Council, which was founded in 1955 by R. Byron, the vice president of General Dynamics and R. Galvin, the owner of Motorola, the radio electronics arms company. In the 1970's more than 1,700 companies had become members of the council. Its administration included eight retired generals, six admirals and the obscurantist E. Teller, the nuclear arms physicist and "father" of the American hydrogen bomb. Its main task was to "mobilize American business under the circumstances of the continuing global war." The American Safety Council is conducting militaristic propaganda through 500 radio stations and on television. Several years ago, the organization produced two motion pictures on the "Soviet military threat." These color films insistently depicted Soviet officers pushing buttons which launched powerful missiles. The soundtracks included lugubrious music and warnings issued by high-ranking American military personnel. They have been shown on American television for the hundredth time, and more than 1,000 copies have been distributed free of charge among various institutions, touted as performing a "socially useful" function.

Many other promilitaristic organizations with firm financial backing have been set up in recent years. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, "the common feature of many of these groups, which frequently include the same people, is the fact that they maintain material, ideological or moral ties with the defense system" (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 6 April 1977).

Washington has treated the military-industrial complex very respectfully in the past as well. The new Republican administration, however, seems to be following the line of behavior dictated to it better than anyone else. Naturally, militarism is programmed into the class-exploitation nature of imperialism itself. As in the past, its aggressiveness today is triggered by the "needs" of the monopoly bourgeoisie, to whom reliance on military power is both a means for the preservation of its social system and for achieving its global expansionistic and hegemonistic objectives. At the turn of the century, militarism served the imperialist struggle for colonies, markets, raw material sources and capital investment areas. The wedge of contemporary militarism is aimed at the world's revolutionary forces, the

Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the national liberation revolutions in the developing countries and the workers and democratic movements in capitalist countries. That is why the present U.S. administration, in formulating and pursuing its militaristic course, is trying to prove that it is precisely this course that is consistent with American national interests. However, in this case the actual picture becomes obviously forged and distorted. Militarism is the tool of specific particularly reactionary and aggressive circles of the financial oligarchy; in today's world and under the conditions of the nuclear century and the reliable defense power of socialism, this weapon becomes unpromising and senseless even from the viewpoint of the narrowly selfish and essentially criminal objectives of the military-industrial complex itself, the more so since it can no longer be of use to any real national or social interest.

In addition to the clear danger it represents to the fate of all mankind, this "war game" is a factor in the aggravation of all types of contradictions which are tearing up American society, including its ruling class.

Let us take as an example the typical representatives of the living nucleus of American imperialism--the Rockefeller family--whose personal fortune is estimated at approximately \$10 billion, while the capital it controls is assessed at more than \$100 billion. The Rockefellers have stopped at nothing to increase and protect their wealth. In establishing his oil trust at the end of the 19th century, J. Rockefeller I (the grandfather of today's Rockefeller brothers) frequently hired criminals to blow up the enterprises of intractable competitors. J. Rockefeller II (their father) was famous for his savage dealings with strikers. Foreign capital investments by their multinational corporation are the foundation of the Rockefellers' imperial power today. Four fifths of all profits under their control from the Exxon Company, which is the biggest in the capitalist world, come from its Near and Middle Eastern branches and Latin America. "The imperialist circles," the 26th CPSU Congress stated, "think in terms of categories of rule and coercion of other countries and nations. The monopolies need foreign petroleum, uranium and nonferrous metals, as a result of which the Middle East, Africa and the Indian Ocean are declared areas of U.S. 'vital interest.' The U.S. military regime is actively penetrating these areas and is settling in for a long stay."

The official American version of Washington's "more intransigent" course usually cites the events in Iran and the capture of American diplomats as hostages as having made the "cup of national patience" run over. But who is to be blamed for such "grapes of wrath"? The "Iranian crisis" was directly related to the counterrevolutionary plan of the petroleum monopolies which was implemented 30 years ago with CIA help. At that time, the Iranian people had elected a government which had nationalized the country's petroleum resources. However, the oil industry and the CIA overthrew the Mossadek government and replaced it with the Shah, who remained in power with the SAVAK secret police, which were trained by the CIA. For one quarter of a century the U.S. petroleum magnates actually directed one of the most savage campaigns of murder and torture against anti-imperialist and progressive Iranians.

The Rockefeller Foundation has drafted papers for many American governments, the topic of which has been the recommendation to accelerate the nuclear missile race and even wage a "preventive" war on the USSR.

The Rockefellers' heavy capital investments in the armaments industry reinforce their militaristic aspirations. Martin Marietta--the main contractor for the production of the MX intercontinental cruise missiles and the Pershing-2 medium-range nuclear missiles which, according to plans, will be bristling up in Europe, is prospering under their supervision. The Rockefellers own 20 percent of the stock of McDonnell Douglas, the military concern. For example, when the Rockefellers were most active in pushing through Congress the "comprehensive sale" of military weapons to Saudi Arabia, Israel and Egypt, worth \$4.8 billion, in 1978, they were not concerned merely with their huge petroleum interests in that area, for it is McDonnell Douglas that was producing the main commodity in the "comprehensive deal"--the F-15 fighter bombers. Now the Rockefellers are protecting their Middle Eastern capital with the help of the weapons they produce as well (together with McDonnell).

We must also bear in mind that to the Rockefellers, Morgans and many other financial magnates in the northeastern United States, investments in the arms business are only one of the areas of capital investments, and by far not the most important one. Such investments become the main or one of the main sources of capital accumulation for the monopoly bourgeoisie groups which have developed in the western and southwestern United States. "Young money" laid a claim to "a place in the sun" in American politics quite a while back. B. Goldwater, the notorious senator of the extreme right, conducted his presidential campaign under their banner in 1964. Here is what Drew Pearson, the American observer, wrote at that time: "...There have been changes in the country's economy and in political power. Today it is not New York but California that is the biggest state in the union. Today it is the Bank of America in California rather than the Chase Manhattan in New York which is the biggest bank in the world. Texas, with its missile and electronic industries has gained tremendous economic importance. New banks and new enterprises have sprung up everywhere in the west and the southwest" (THE WASHINGTON POST, 18 July 1964).

The western and southwestern United States have strengthened their positions since that time. California alone accounts for nearly one quarter of all military orders placed by the Pentagon. The advent of new groups of the financial oligarchy to the proscenium of American political life is introducing additional elements of aggressiveness and adventurism in it. In this light, Reagan's "genealogical" administration cannot fail to put one on one's guard. The Reagan cabinet, THE WASHINGTON POST points out, consists of a small circle of millionaires and multi-millionaires.... It consists mainly of conservative Californians, who have not only known Reagan for many years but who have also "corrected" his political career. "Today Californians are everywhere in Washington," noted D. Dombrez, the Washington correspondent of the French newspaper LE MONDE.

All of these facts help us to understand somewhat the reasons for the shift, significant in terms of its importance and consequences, which has taken place in the ratio of forces in the ruling class, as a result of which the most reactionary group (which could be described in Lenin's words as the "war party") has crushed the moderate wing and has the upper hand.

The realities of today should have moderated somewhat the militaristic zeal of the imperialist oligarchy. A single volley fired by a modern submarine packs more power than the combined power of all the explosives used not only in World War II but in the entire history of mankind. The nuclear missile genie threatens to take mankind hostage. There is no sensible alternative to detente and to the policy of restraining the arms race. However, occasionally the imperialists lose their ability

to think soberly as the realm of their domination shrinks. As Comrade Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general, said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "profit-thirsty predators are fanning the fire under the devil's cauldron of war in the citadels of world imperialism....As seen through the distorted minds of some representatives of American imperialism, the successful building of real socialism, the continuing victories of the national liberation movement and the successes achieved in the struggle waged by the working class throughout the world are worse than nuclear war."

The path along which imperialism and its assault force--the military-industrial complex--are urging mankind is firmly rejected by the peoples. The Soviet Union, the members of the socialist comity, and the other peace-loving forces, whose influence has increased in recent years, are actively struggling for the preservation and intensification of detente.

Militarism in its extreme manifestations has many opponents among the ruling classes themselves. The antimilitaristic feelings of the realistically thinking segment of the American bourgeoisie were manifested quite extensively at the beginning of the 1970's, when the antiwar movement in the United States assumed unparalleled scope and depth. At that time the Pentagon's ambitions clashed with powerful opposition in Congress. The leading American press organs published data exposing the sway of the military in the United States. Influential members of the ruling class openly spoke of the danger posed by the unrestrained growth of military power and the thoughtless course toward achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union. Thus, R. Goodwin, President Kennedy's former assistant, addressing senators and members of the House of Representatives, reminded them of the following story. In 552 B.C. Croesus, the Lydian king, asked the Delphi Oracle: "Should Croesus send an army against the Persians?" The answer was the following: "If he sent an army against the Persians he would destroy a great kingdom." Croesus sent his troops and his own kingdom fell. R. Goodwin added that "our contemporary oracles--the Pentagon's computers--are supplying us with the same answer. This time, however, the answer is not equivocal. We can destroy our enemy but we are defenseless ourselves. Therefore, today's security depends on the ability to prevent a conflict rather than on the ability to win it" ("American Militarism 1970," New York, 1969, p 15).

G. Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to the USSR, presented similar ideas in his book "Threatening Clouds" and other writings of the end of the 1970's. In his criticism of the militaristic course charted by the Reagan administration and his appeal to it to take steps in the area of limiting strategic armaments, last May Kennan said: "In the past some may have stupefied themselves with dreams of some kind of 'victory.' Fortunately, we may have been deprived of such a tempting prospect. The use of nuclear weapons will mean a catastrophe for us all. This vicious circle must be broken. We have no other choice." For that reason, Kennan wrote subsequently, we must immediately shift from confrontation to cooperation with the Soviet Union (FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 24 October 1981). Noted American political figures such as F. Church, the former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, A. Harriman and T. Watson, former U.S. envoys to the USSR, and former U.S. secretary of state C. Vance have also sharply criticized the aggressive foreign policy course taken by the present Republican administration. In the June 1981 NBC Meet the Press telecast Vance pointed out that what is particularly bad is that the current administration has not formulated a positive approach to talks on the limitation of strategic armaments (SALT). "I know," he said, "that the Soviet Union is prepared to

use any opportunity for the initiation of such talks. Meanwhile, however, the Reagan administration has done nothing along this line. Furthermore, it is pursuing a policy of provocation toward the Russians...." Occasionally, even some Pentagon personalities speak out against the frenzied armament race. One of them is D. Ellsberg, former high-ranking official at the U.S. Department of Defense. In an interview published in the April 1981 issue of the American journal INQUIRY, Ellsberg directly stated that the purpose of the gigantic preparations for war being made in the United States is not "to strengthen defense" but to "threaten with attack or to attack." J. (LaRock) and J. Lee are pursuing active antimilitaristic efforts exposing the "defensive" nature of the neutron bomb and the shifting of the arms race to outer space, for war in outer space would inevitably end in war on earth. The noted American military specialist P. Gervasi recently emphasized in THE NEW YORK TIMES that the United States should put an end to the incentive to produce new types of weapons which are "making the world into an even more dangerous place to live" (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 8 December 1981).

Western Europe as well contains many members of the ruling circles who are not eager at all to turn their countries into launching pads for the new American missiles and the Western Europeans themselves into nuclear hostages of the Pentagon. Exposing the notorious "zero solution," which was formulated by the U.S. President in November 1981, Nino Pasti, an Italian general who has held high command positions in NATO, openly stated that Reagan's intention is to mount a propaganda trick, confident that his suggestion will be unacceptable to the USSR and, consequently, will be rejected, which will allow him to deploy his missiles without difficulty. However, it is the voice of the broad masses of these countries, who are demanding with increasing firmness an end to the nuclear ambitions of American imperialism, that is heard particularly loudly.

The course of confrontation and achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union has not brought any success to its makers and promoters in the past. The Soviet Union has neither sought nor is seeking military superiority. However, it will provide a proper answer to any challenge for the sake of preserving the attained balance. Attempts to "restore global military superiority" will not crown with laurels the present leadership in Washington. They are only increasing the danger threatening all mankind, including the American people. The fact that some members of the American ruling elite are conscious of this is making itself apparent. The logic of imperialism clashes with the logic of survival and the imperatives of détente, peaceful coexistence and restraining the arms race.

The critical attitude of some American bourgeois circles regarding the socioeconomic consequences of the influence of militarism is increasing as well. W. Leontief, the noted American economist and Nobel Prize winner, said in an interview published by U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT that "a gigantic leap in military expenditures will result in increased inflation, worsened balance of payments, a drop in productive capital investments, higher interest rates, higher taxes and an unstable rate of exchange and, in the long run, higher unemployment" (U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 16 March 1981, p 26). "The enemy which can really kill the economy is the military budget," Maine Senator E. Muskie believes. Congressman G. Savage sarcastically described Reagan's class-oriented economic policy, pointing out that "Reagan is a kind of Robin Hood in reverse. He steals from the poor and gives to the rich." Naturally, these and similar statements reflect the fact that the escalation of militarism is not bringing economic benefits to all bourgeois groups; at the same time, the soberly thinking segment of the bourgeoisie fears greatly the final outcome of the armament race.

Today America has reached a turning point in its development in a number of areas. This reflects extremely clearly Lenin's conclusion to the effect that "in general, political imperialism is a striving toward violence and reaction" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 27, p 388). The militaristic bacchanalia and hegemonistic ambitions in the policies of the American monopoly bourgeoisie are meeting with increasing opposition not only in the international arena but among the broad circles of the American people as well.

The basic interests of all the nations in the world call for intensifying the struggle against the adventuristic militaristic course of American imperialism. In the interview he granted to NBC, the American television company, L. I. Brezhnev expressed the confidence that "the main thing for all peoples on the planet is peace and confidence in the future." Today there is no more essential and more important problem for all nations than preserving the peace and guaranteeing the most important right of every person--the right to life.

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'TRIFLES OF LIFE'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 110-118

[Article by O. Kuprin]

[Text] The dust jacket of the book shows a very familiar face. A high forehead, slightly squinting eyes and a good smile. It also tells us in a few lines something about the author of the book: "Mike Davidow was born in Russia in 1913. He was 4 years old when his parents migrated to the United States...." Naturally, I know this person and have read his articles, as he spent a few years in Moscow as a correspondent for THE DAILY WORLD, the newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party. I know that Mike Davidow is the American interpretation of the Russian given and family name Mikhail Davydov. Although I had never met him, the photograph was familiar. I had the feeling that I had seen this man and seen him repeatedly. I was puzzled!

Actually, the puzzle was resolved by itself the moment I began to read the book, which was published last year by Izdatel'stvo Progress, as one of the series entitled "Foreign Authors. In the Soviet Union." Mike Davidow's "Moscow Diary" was followed by reportages on the Soviet school by the French journalist Georges Bouvar: "Grandsons of the First Teacher."

Mike Davidow describes in detail the Moscow district where he lived for nearly 6 years with his family. I am perfectly familiar with this district and know the house where the American journalist lived, having lived nearby for the past 25 years. We were no more than 300 meters apart. We came across each other frequently on the street, in stores and at the motion pictures club. In the store and the delicatessen we were served by the same clerks and in all likelihood we had the same district militiaman who, as M. Davidow writes, made him "believe that the word police need not be related to a feeling of fear."

Here is yet another excerpt from "Moscow Diary:" "I would like for this book to become a kind of 'new discovery' of the socialist way of life for the Soviet citizens as well. Naturally, they are familiar with and love their way of life. However, something is lost the moment we consider it self-evident. Obviously, it would be useful for my Soviet friends to look at their own life through the eyes of an American who has had the opportunity to live in both worlds."

That is precisely what I did. For 2 days I looked around my own house and went to the places named by Mike Davidow in his book, i.e., I made an effort to "discover" the socialist way of life in my district.

The sales clerks at the delicatessen were the same. The moment they glanced at the picture of the book's author they recognized him: "We remember. We remember him well. He always approached us with a smile." At the 63d militia precinct I was told that the precinct militiaman--Valentin Mikhaylovich Chumakov--had been transferred.

In a few colorful pages "Moscow Diary" described the Yamskiye Baths, which are no more than a 2-minute walk from my house. Their manager immediately understood that I did not belong to the great army of bath lovers and did not engage in details. I learned that over the past few years the baths had changed greatly. Capital repairs were made. Three saunas and massage and cosmetic rooms and other innovations had been added. The most important thing--a steam room--however, remained one of the best in Moscow and had even been improved, for some structural changes had been made to it which I, given my lack of knowledge in this area, failed to understand.

He read the description of the Yamskiye Baths in "Moscow Diary," but admitted to no particular discovery. "All of this is correct. However, since the bath is now of a higher grade, the entrance ticket costs 80 kopeks. I would like to know the current price in America. It says here that it is about \$20 per visit. Have prices not gone up?"

Both Soviet people abroad and our foreign guests begin their comparisons between the two ways of life with the differences in prices. I remember that Belgian tourists were amazed by carbonated water vending machines on Soviet city streets: one can quench one's thirst for 1 or 3 kopeks. In Brussels, to do this one must go to one of the many coffee shops and would spend 10 times that amount. They were amazed by the low prices of theater tickets and of our public transportation--one could spend a whole day traveling the subway for 5 kopeks!

However, this purely tourist view of things is a superficial disease: it is an inability to look behind the striking facts, to find their prime reasons. This disease is quite understandable when a person finds himself in an absolutely unfamiliar social system the nature of which he is either unfamiliar with or which is inconsistent with his ordinary concepts of life. How can a person raised under the conditions of a fierce market rivalry realize that in the USSR some prime necessity goods are sold at below cost prices? Even after he has been told that other goods, which are far from being of prime necessity, are sold at much higher prices, he finds it hard to believe that something could be sold at a loss.

Yes, this is difficult to understand, for such an understanding requires a basic knowledge of the economic and social nature of socialism. How could the simple American or Englishman acquire such knowledge? This fact is extensively used by bourgeois propaganda, for many of its attacks on the socialist way of life are based on consumerism. For example, estimates are made of the amount of time which the American and the Soviet worker spend to earn the price of a bar of soap, a kilogram of sugar or a car. Unfortunately, Soviet economists engage very little in the study of such comparisons. By ignoring bourgeois consumer propaganda we are offering it the opportunity to engage in falsifications, which it does zealously and regularly.

On one occasion Mike Davidow discussed American wages with a woman-construction worker, who shared a hospital room with his wife Gail. At first there were the usual surprises and exclamations, the "ohs" and "ahs" regarding the good earnings of a worker in the United States. "Then," Mike Davidow writes, "Gail and I dropped

the famous American wage from the clouds down to earth. We broke it down into its basic components: taxes, rent, the steadily growing cost of the living minimum, the cost of medical care and education and the cost of recreation and relaxation. Then, suddenly I asked the construction worker:

"'Would you trade your free medical care, peace of mind and feeling of security, your almost nonexistent rent, your free and subsidized education, rich cultural life and human life for a high American wage?'"

"'No, thank you!' she exclaimed.

"Others simply laughed at the suggestion. Unfortunately, the people in the Soviet Union are insufficiently familiar with American reality. This becomes apparent in conversations."

We can only agree with this. However, a comparison between what we know about the United States and what Americans know about the USSR would make the Soviet people seem tremendously erudite. There is nothing strange in this, for our children study in school in great detail world history and global economic geography, including that of the United States. Unlike the Americans, they have no trouble naming dozens of American cities and the country's main industrial centers. However, this is obviously insufficient for a comparison between the two ways of life.

"...I am convinced," points out M. Davidow, "that one cannot properly evaluate the advantages of the socialist way of life without a more profound understanding of the inhuman world of bourgeois society. I have in mind a better understanding of this society, for incidental trips and a superficial study are obviously insufficient. I have met with Soviet citizens (and citizens of other socialist countries) who have visited the West, including people who have lived in our country for a while. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that they had not acquired a profound understanding of the inhuman nature of the capitalist way of life...Every single day of my life in the USSR means living in two worlds. I realize that I cannot write without comparing them. I find this natural. Life in the epoch of transition to socialism on a global scale is a constant comparison."

And so, let us continue. Obviously, this is the most natural way to social knowledge today: if two opposite social systems exist on the planet, what are the differences? High school and higher education, lectures and articles in newspapers and periodicals give us an idea of the foundations of the economic and social contradictions between socialism and capitalism. However, we have known for quite some time that knowledge begins with specific facts. Is this not the reason for which to many of my compatriots capitalism remains an abstract concept embellished by various "voices" coming from the other side of the ocean, and why we are familiar with its economic mechanism, imperialist policy and so on, but have a poor idea of its inhuman nature? It is precisely a comparison between the two worlds that would help us to understand them better and more clearly. Today this is a natural process although a very difficult one.

What does it usually begin with? It begins with the study of specific facts, with petty matters. It is precisely they that are remembered and that strike us, and sometimes even subconsciously man begins with a comparison between them. Such comparison is based on personal experience, personal observations and experiences. Such comparisons are always emotional and the conclusions which are reached may be vivid but shallow, remaining on the lowest step of the hierarchy of generalizations.

In New York I was impressed by the steel chain bolted to the door of my hotel room. Why was it necessary? For safety's sake, the manager explained. The hotel was not among the best, it was not for millionaires, for which reason there was a chain. I immediately recalled a similar chain in a hotel in Astrakhan. There, too, I was puzzled as to its reason. Subsequently, however, I came to appreciate this simple invention.

It was the middle of summer, when daytime temperature hit 40°C. The evening brought no relief and during the night the doors of all rooms remained halfway open (with the help of those same chains), and there was a salutary draft flowing through the rooms. Alas, not all hotels in our southern cities have air conditioners, but then no one there is afraid of thieves in the night.

M. Davidow's first entry in his "Moscow Diary" deals with dogs. He points out that their number is increasing in both Moscow and New York. But what a difference between them! And what a difference in the attitude of the people toward them! In America the "increasing number of dogs reflects better than any statistical data the feverish fear which has paralyzed our city streets." "My Moscow neighbors," the American journalist went on to write, "love their favorite animals not because of their ferocity but for their tender loyalty."

Small things are the first step leading to a specific knowledge of the unknown world. Sometimes this knowledge ends with this single step.

A few years ago, a youth tourist group was visiting our country. The group included a young man and a young girl. They made a mass of discoveries in a world alien to them on the level of petty things, so to speak. Both were amazed and impressed by what they had seen. Incidentally, the program called for trips to areas which could hardly be called insignificant, such as the Piskarev Cemetery in Leningrad. At the end of the trip, the two young tourists answered the question "Have you become convinced of the peacefulness of the Soviet people?" in the negative. Why? Their arguments were literally the following: "Because the USSR is building missiles and there are soldiers everywhere;" and "because the Soviet Union is trying to rule the world."

It would be interesting to draw the social profile of these two young people whose exposure to the socialist way of life failed to destroy the old stereotypes. They were both 17 years old. Prior to their arrival in the USSR they had almost no objective knowledge about our country. They were unfamiliar with its history and with Russian and Soviet culture. One of them had never heard the name Pushkin, and neither of them knew who Yuriy Gagarin was. In this case bourgeois propaganda had accomplished its sinister purpose. However, let us add to this yet another very important component--the social unpreparedness of the Western man, particularly the young one, to perceive the basic, essential features of the socialist way of life.

In a comparison between individual facets of the two ways of life, these two young tourists openly acknowledged that socialism is superior in some areas. However, given their level of knowledge and outlook, such a comparison could not bring about any kind of social conclusion and remained merely a partial, superficial impression which did not affect the essential aspects of the differences between the two systems.

The puzzled question of one of the tourists was touching because of its sincerity: "I totally fail to understand how it is possible not to have the right to own a factory,

a store or land." It is incredibly difficult for a 17-year-old person, who was born and grew up in a bourgeois society, to understand this. He lacks both the practical and the social experience needed for such understanding, and it is not the small things in life, characteristic of the other world, that could convince him of something.

The small things in life may be unable to convince someone, but they could make him question the veracity of durable concepts developed by bourgeois propaganda. I have frequently had the occasion to meet with foreigners and quite frequently precisely with foreigners such as Mike Davidow--people who were born in our country--and to listen to their enthusiastic stories of meetings with Soviet people and their sharp criticism of some aspects of our life, particularly in the service industry. On such occasions I have always tried to understand the mechanism through which a person learned about an unfamiliar social system.

Several years ago I was given the opportunity to study this matter with the help of a perhaps unique example. I spent many hours in conversation with a man who was an officer on Vrangal's staff in 1920, a convinced opponent of the Soviet system, who had fought it arms in hand and who had become an equally convinced friend of our country, an active propagandist of Marxism-Leninism and of Soviet foreign and domestic policy abroad. He recently died in a Paris suburb. His name was Aleskey Petrovich Lashkarev.

The last time we met was in Leningrad, where he came almost every year to visit relatives. On that occasion, he told me something in which there was not a trace of posing or desire to please his interlocutor. "The only dream I was unable to realize was to become a member of the CPSU." This was denied to him because he lived in France and proudly carried a Soviet passport which he had gained soon after the end of World War II.

His views had undergone an interesting change. What specifically marked such a drastic change in outlook? Here is a brief description:

"In France I was forced to find a job immediately. I became an apprentice turner at Renault. Ten years later I had become a good turner, the best in the company. Initially I believed everything which the French press wrote about Soviet Russia. Having left my homeland in a most difficult condition, I could easily believe that it was suffering from hunger, total lack of culture and savagery.

"Strange though it might seem, the first fact which triggered a doubt in my mind was a soccer game between France and the USSR. The soccer players did not appear to be hungry or illiterate in the least. The smashing defeat they inflicted on the French team made me realize that I had been very wrong. Sports cannot play such a role in a hungry and uncultured country.

"Then the war came and the fascists entered Paris. I was exiled to Germany and worked in a German war plant. An exhibit of weapons captured on the Eastern Front was organized in the city where I lived. I took a close look at each item. I was impressed by the high machining standard. I looked at the exhibits through the eyes of a turner and easily realized that all this talk about Russia's incredible technical backwardness was a fabrication.

"Once several Soviet prisoners of war from the concentration camp were brought to the plant. Before the war they had been workers. They were all given an identical part and told that if they could machine a similar part in 2 hours they would be kept at the plant; otherwise, they would be sent back to the camp. One of the prisoners sharpened his cutter in a special manner and completed the work in slightly over 1 hour. While the others were admiring his skill, he destroyed his sharpened tool and told the Germans around him: 'Now let me tell you something: I will not work for you!' He was sent back to camp and executed.

"This made me finally realize that I was familiar neither with Russia nor with the Soviet people. Who, tell me, would have said this--a Frenchman, a German, an American, an Englishman?

"I had already tried to read Lenin without understanding very much and with a feeling of suspicion. After the war I undertook more seriously the study of Lenin's works, after which I read all of Marx and Engels...."

Lashkarev's case is quite rare, if not unique. However, it is sufficient to indicate how small things in life sometimes lead to serious thoughts, as a rule when they can be more or less clearly related to ordinary matters, to the economic and social nature of the way of life. Also, the adjective "petty" is quite arbitrary. Something which may not be worthy of attention to us will be most profoundly studied by the foreigner, and something which we consider commonplace may suddenly strike his imagination. Here is a typical example.

Grigoriy Svetlichnyy, a close acquaintance of mine, came to pay his first visit to the United States. He was under 40. He was a very energetic and practical man, a construction worker. He was born in China and now lives in Australia, where he has a small "business." In our terms he is a private professional worker. He is a broad specialist but most frequently does finishing work. In Sydney he is an acknowledged authority in this field and has no unemployment problems.

On the second day of his visit to Moscow we went to a concert at the cultural center of the Olympic Village. My companion liked both the lobby and the hall, although he would occasionally look around skeptically. What was the matter? Obviously, he was reluctant to embarrass me, but being a straightforward person he said:

"The more I look at the way you build the more I see that your workers lack many tools. That is why the quality is lower than at home. Look at the flooring."

I looked and found nothing wrong.

"Before buying the flooring I check its moisture with a special tool," Grigoriy explained. "If it is even slightly outside the norm I refuse it. Apparently, your construction workers have no such implement."

He pointed out to me a few other faults, mentioning in every case the type of instrument which would make it possible to avoid such shortcomings.

The concert ended before dark. It was a peaceful summer evening. We decided to walk to the subway, which was some 15 minutes away. We talked of this and that and, suddenly, my interlocutor became silent, looking around with astonishment. Some 5 minutes passed. Finally, he asked:

"Don't you notice anything?" I looked around and found nothing noticeable: on both sides of the street there were construction sites, frames of big buildings, ditches, unprepossessing temporary structures and dirt.

"I have never seen anything like it. Incredible!" Grigoriy seemed genuinely shaken up.

"What is incredible?"

"That so many big houses are being built in the same area!"

"Such places are plentiful here. Go to any new district. Are big buildings not constructed in Australia? You told me yourself that you were being offered a big contract in Sydney--the finishing work on a huge hospital."

"I declined it. With such a job you could lose your shirt. You sign a 2-year contract for the entire project. Meanwhile, the cost of material is rising beyond measure. Who knows what the price of flooring, for example, will be in 2 years? We find big projects dangerous and take on quick jobs only."

Such quick jobs could include a summer home, even a splendid one. As for a hospital or an apartment building, one must wait for better times. This is not Grisha Svetlichnyy's fault. How enviously he looked around! He sighed and added:

"I should not have mentioned the problem of tools. Your concerns are different...."

Like Lashkarev, Grigoriy Svetlichnyy began his discovery of an unfamiliar world with a small matter, a purely professional small matter. However, his biggest discoveries were in a different area, an area with which we are quite at home--human relations. Svetlichnyy found this pleasurable, pleasantly unexpected. There are people, however, to whom such discoveries are tragic.

For many years the American press has discussed the question of why people who have left the Soviet Union in recent years find it so difficult to adapt to the Western way of life. As a rule, no answer is given but the fact remains that such adaptation is exceptionally difficult.

I have frequently asked people who have come to the USSR from the capitalist world: "Is it difficult to adapt to Soviet conditions?" The usual answer is that it is. It is difficult to become accustomed to standing in line in the stores and garages, and it is difficult not to be angered by poor service. However, there are other difficulties as well, some of which Mike Davidow mentions: "For example, it took us some time to accept the idea that there were no private homeowners. At first, we were worried at the beginning of every month. Then we enjoyed the fact that the problem of excessively high and unstable monthly rents simply did not exist here. I must point out that gradually we forgot about it and, like our neighbors, we began to consider this a normal phenomenon."

After 3 years, M. Davidow unexpectedly discovered that he had become so completely accustomed to some phenomena of Soviet life that he had lost the ability to see their essential importance. First, he began to be astounded by the amazement of Americans who had come to the USSR on short visits.

It is said that habit is second nature. It is common for a person to be unaware of the features of his own character or neglect to consider them, particularly if he finds the same features in those around him. Mike Davidow notes quite aptly in this case that it is difficult for an American to adapt himself to life in a socialist society, particularly because here "the most important pronoun is not 'I' but 'we.' Self-love, individualism and mistrust of others are much stronger parts of our nature than we think."

In precisely the same fashion the Soviet people fail to notice how deeply collectivism has penetrated into their mentality. "The spirit of collectivism is in the blood of the Soviet people," Mike Davidow emphasizes.

The fact that articles and commentaries are published in our press criticizing someone's individualism, greed or mistrust of others is dictated above all by the fact that people become indignant when common norms, customs if you wish, are violated. Such phenomena become universally condemned.

A few years ago, I met in Boston young Soviet scientists who had come to the United States for training. By the time I met them they had lived there for nearly a year but were still totally unaccustomed to that life. To the question of what they missed the most, they answered "collectivism." They were convinced that it is egotism that prevents the development of American science and were amazed at how few people in the United States realized this, and that for some reason they had not sounded the alarm in the press.

I cannot imagine anyone being criticized for greed by the American press. Meanwhile, the reason for which we criticize is that generosity and goodness are in our blood and have become features of our character, which is another thing we fail to register. Mike Davidow discovered this universal Soviet quality in a field which bourgeois propaganda had cultivated with particular thoroughness.

The American journalist does admit that one of the reasons he came to the Soviet Union was the hope that the life of Bobby, his son, who was suffering from a severe form of epilepsy, could be prolonged. In America he would not have lasted even a single year because of the cruel and inhuman treatment of patients in mental hospitals such as Wassaik in New York State. "The nightmare of Wassaik and Pine Grove, the whippings administered by sadistic guards and the inhuman nature of a society which ignores people with physical or mental defects for which it punishes them were all a nightmare compared with Moscow's Psychiatric Hospital imeni Kashchenko. It was only gradually that Bobby became aware that this hospital was not a second Wassaik. How nice every display of goodness felt, he told us. Goodness! Is there a more precious word than this?...Goodness is the most important medicine which is abundantly available in the Soviet Union! To Bobby socialism was manifested above all in goodness!"

The efforts to save Bobby failed. Alas, medicine is still not omnipotent. However, the father is grateful to fate for the last 4 years of his son's life in Moscow, "for 4 years of goodness, 4 happy years of a truly human life."

All of this is directly related to the so-called problem of adaptability to a different way of life. It is difficult, it is impossible to adapt to inhumanity. It is far more simple to adapt to normal, to natural human relations.

In his book, Mike Davidow answers the same question I asked the young Soviet scientist in Boston. What did he miss most after returning from Moscow to the United States? "The absence of fear! The absence of fear of the streets, fear of losing one's job, fear of the high cost of medical treatment, fear of racism--the absence of fear today and tomorrow." When I asked him what had impressed him most of all in the Soviet Union, he answered: "Not what but who--the Soviet people!"

The American journalist discovered the Soviet character again through the petty events of daily life which, in his view, characterize human relations best. However, unlike many foreign journalists, Mike Davidow can and, which is even more important, honestly wants to understand the origin of such "petty" matters and their economic, social and political roots.

Petty matters lie on the surface and one may either fail to understand them or, if one really wishes (a wish which abounds among most bourgeois journalists), one may misinterpret them. It is by far simpler to lead uninformed people to very false conclusions by comparing petty matters instead of the social foundations of the two different ways of life. An American journalist demonstrated to me how easily this is done.

"I have visited Soviet people at home," he said, "and have noticed a world map hanging on a wall in virtually every home. This proves that the Soviet people are naturally aggressive. Americans do not hang maps of the world on their walls. This proves that Americans are a peace-loving nation."

"But could the reason be that the Soviet people are more interested in world affairs than the Americans?" I asked.

"Oh, yes! You are a highly politicized nation. In your country everyone has views on politics."

"Why?"

My interlocutor merely shrugged his shoulders.

He had noticed world maps hanging on the walls of Soviet homes but had ignored photographs of those who had not returned from the war. He must have skeptically grinned at seeing people laughing and crying on Victory Day. He is neither able nor willing to find out what peace means to the Soviet people and can hardly understand the great truth that love of peace is not only the foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet state but a feature of our national character, as are collectivism or goodness.

He was probably one of those "typical Americans" who keep track of the length of debates in the Senate on Capitol Hill and at the Hall of Sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin to compare American with Soviet democracy. Yes, precisely the length of time rather than the topic or the interest served. He would simply be uninterested in noting the badge of deputy on the jacket of a worker or kolkhoz member, a "minor detail" which Mike Davidow noted.

Mike Davidow also made the following discovery: "Homeland! What a special meaning the Soviet people invest in this word! They pronounce it with the tenderness of people in love. I have never come across another nation to whom life without a homeland would be so utterly inconceivable."

This, however, is no longer a petty matter but a very serious thing. We do not simply love one-sixth of the earth, rivers, forests or the cities and hamlets where we were born and grew up. We love the homeland which we inherited from our fathers and grandfathers. We love it for being the product of our own minds and hands—as the first country of developed socialism in the world. What we have and what lives within us may be found nowhere else. There is yet another character trait which distinguishes us from the people in the capitalist world, as described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Yes, the Soviet people look to the future with optimism. Their optimism, however, is not the self-confidence of the favorites of fortune. Our people know that everything they have has been created by their own toil and protected with their own blood. We are optimists because we believe in the power of labor, because we believe in our country and our people. We are optimists because we believe in our party and we know that the path it indicates is the only true path!"

...We indeed fail to notice many amazing petty matters of socialist life which impress foreigners. We have become accustomed to them. We have also become accustomed to being optimists.

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IN THE NAME OF MAN AND HIS GOOD

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[Review of the book by K. U. Chernenko, "KPSS i Prava Cheloveka" [The CPSU and Human Rights]. Izdatel'stvo Agentstva Pechati Novosti, Moscow, 1981, 208 pages]

[Text] "The more than 60 years of experience in the USSR convincingly proves that socialism and human rights are indivisible. Socialism is as inconceivable without human rights and freedoms as are true human rights and freedoms without socialism." These words quoted from the recently published book "KPSS i Prava Cheloveka" eloquently confirm the importance and topicality of the author's theme.

The book crowns a cycle of works by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, on the place and role of the ruling party in the political system of the developed socialist society. Previous books by him published by the same publishing house include "Sovetskaya Demokratiya: Printsipy i Praktika" [Soviet Democracy: Principles and Practice] and "Kommunisty v SSSR" [The Communists in the USSR]. Although their topics are different, they are closely combined and united by a single theme: the great and noble mission of Lenin's party in the struggle for the most precious thing on earth -- man -- and for his rights and freedoms in all areas of economic, political and spiritual life.

Our concept of rights and freedoms is extremely clear: a citizen can feel truly free and equal when he is free of exploitation and social oppression and when he is guaranteed the possibility of participating in the administration of governmental and public affairs. The truly free person must be confident of the future and that he will never be deprived of his means of existence. He must be confident also of the fact that the state is standing guard over his rights and freedoms, which rest on a firm material support. All of this becomes a reality only under the socialist economic system, which precludes acquisition of the results of someone else's labor and puts all material and spiritual values at the disposal of man.

It is precisely in this that the communists see the purpose and meaning of their tremendous efforts in the struggle for the people's good. It is precisely in this that the working people see the vanguard role of the communists. They trust the party, follow it and under its leadership implement the great plans for the country's economic and social development. K. U. Chernenko's book describes the problems which the CPSU has resolved and is resolving as it has implemented its policies in the area of human rights as a ruling party from October 1917 to the present.

The pleasant impression gained from reading the book comes from surprise that so much useful and necessary information on the Soviet socialist way of life can be contained and compressed in such a short work! The initial impression may be that it holds no particularly sensational discoveries for the Soviet reader, for the author deals with familiar matters, data and facts. Yes, we have become accustomed to considering great and broad accomplishments as ordinary and the rights and freedoms of the Soviet person as self-evident.

The value of the book lies in the fact that it changes our views on some seemingly ordinary phenomena. Through comparisons, the author has been able to show convincingly and clearly what we began with and the nature of our achievements, and to highlight the striking contrasts between the past and the present. The data cited in the book do not leave the reader uncaring. They help him to think and analyze. In the final account, give strength and passion to the author's publicistic effort.

The book emphasizes that the most important guarantee for the exercise of the rights of the working people in our country is the leading role of the communist party. From Lenin's documents drafted in the period of the establishment of the revolutionary party of the working class to the decisions of its congresses and recent CC CPSU decrees, concern for the good of man and the all-round and harmonious development of the individual have been the main content of the party's entire theoretical and practical activity, whether in foreign policy or the solution of a complex set of economic, sociopolitical and ideological-educational problems. It was precisely the party that initiated and organized the drafting of all the Soviet constitutions.

The development of the mature socialist society on its own base is one of its characteristic features. It is during this period that the constructive forces of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are revealed with increasing fullness. The working people are acquiring increasingly broad and full opportunities to benefit from the results of the great revolutionary changes.

We have attained such tremendous power that we can simultaneously build such giants as the Sayano-Shushen GES, the Kama Automotive Vehicles Plant, Atomash and others, while building the Baykal-Amur Mainline, doing extensive work in the Nonchernozem zone of the RSFSR and reconstructing thousands of enterprises, without deleting but conversely expanding programs aimed at improving the people's well-being. The economic power of our country is the solid material guarantee for the exercise of the socioeconomic rights of the Soviet people, such as the right to work and education, recreation and health care, social insurance and housing.

It would be difficult or even impossible to conceive of political freedoms outside of such fundamental human rights, the exercise of which ensures man's existence itself. For example, how is it possible to ignore the right to work when it is precisely the exercise of this right that results in the creation of material values and ensures well-being and true individual freedom? The right to work in accordance with one's profession or skill, which is guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, offers the possibility of working creatively, mastering the achievements of science, technology and progressive experience and actively participating in rationalizations and inventions while avoiding the tragedies of unemployment and lack of a secure social future. That is what the guaranteed right to work means to the Soviet people.

Why is it that the Western "fighters" for human rights remain shamefully silent when it becomes a question of the right to work? Is it not because there is chronic unemployment in the capitalist countries, where millions of healthy and able-bodied people are left to vegetate, with pitiful unemployment aid? Is it not because at the beginning of 1980 there were more than 25 million unemployed in 11 large capitalist countries alone? Finally, is it not because the bourgeois states and monopolies are cynically and frankly using unemployment, inflation and price increases to redistribute the national income in their favor and to the detriment of the toiling masses? That is precisely why! This is the basic difference between human rights under socialism and the proclaimed but totally unguaranteed rights which are extensively advertised in the capitalist countries.

Practical experience has confirmed, K. U. Chernenko writes, that unemployment can be eliminated completely and the real right to work secured only under socialism. Socialism and full employment, and capitalism and unemployment, are the characteristic features of the two social systems (see p 62).

Or again, let us consider one of the topical problems of our time -- housing. Is there anyone among the Western defenders of human rights to support the basic right to housing for everyone? Does the U. S. Constitution include the right of the working person to housing? Naturally, it does not!

In the Soviet Constitution, however, this right is codified. It is not only codified but is really guaranteed. It is the result of the tremendous program for housing construction implemented in our country, formulated by the communist party and carried out under its guidance under the Soviet system. What did we have to begin with? One cannot read the pages which describe the nature of the "housing problem" in prerevolutionary Russia without emotion and sadness.

"In Moscow in 1912," the author writes, "nearly 850,000 people, or 70 percent of the population lived in extremely crowded premises, in basements and sheds. According to incomplete data, there were 150,000 "corner" and "bed" occupants, 63,000 people lived in basements, and about two thirds of the single workers shared a cot in Petersburg... Nearly one half of the Donbass miners... lived in underground huts without floors or windows.... Czarist Russia led Europe in overpopulated workers housing, matching the level of the most backward colonial countries" (pp 92-93). In contrast with such hopeless poverty and lack of prospects, brief data on contemporary Soviet reality show that over the past 15 years the scale of housing construction has far exceeded the increase in the size of the urban population. During that period of time, housing in excess of 1.5 billion square meters, or more than the housing available in the entire country in 1965, was built. One out of every two citizens has improved his housing conditions. Today month the amount of housing completed in less than a month would be sufficient for a city with a population of half a million. Our country is in leading position in the world in the number of housing units completed. This precisely is the answer to the question as to what the right to housing of the working people in a developed socialist country means.

In each section and chapter of the book, the author engages in the same type of simple and convincing dialog with the reader.

Lenin's words to the effect that "political freedom means the freedom of the people to conduct their national and state affairs" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 7, p 134, are the theme of the various sections of the book. We know that our political system is a single organism which unites state with public organizations. The communist party is the nucleus, the energy which triggers this organism. Its most important principled line is aimed at using its influence as a ruling party for the sake of ensuring the type of conditions under which the largest possible number of people can be trained in administration.

The implementation of this policy began literally the day following the seizure of power by the bolsheviks. The obstacles they faced in the course of implementing the idea of participation by the workers in the administration of production and national affairs are worth mentioning. Along with conscientious and ideologically convinced people, there was a tremendous mass of illiterate, uneducated and forgotten people. This mass had to be awakened and reeducated. The bolsheviks made a tremendous effort to give the citizens of the land of the soviets the right to participate in administration and to convince them that they needed to exercise this right for their own good and to learn how to exercise it. The results of this great and painstaking work are obvious today.

Taking the participation of the working people in the activities of the soviets as an example, the author proves how successfully the system of political institutions which guarantees the Soviet people the opportunity to participate directly in the administration of all governmental and public affairs has passed the test of time. The very composition of the soviets eloquently proves the existence of real democracy in our country. Today they have almost 2.3 million elected deputies representing all social groups, nations and nationalities in the USSR. This is a "powerful collective mind of the Soviet system," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in referring to the deputies. More than one third of all deputies are workers and kolkhoz members and nearly one half of all deputies are women.

The author, who discusses in detail the practical activities of the people's deputies (precisely people's and not professional, as is the case in bourgeois parliaments), emphasizes the great vital force of the Leninist principle of unity between legislative and executive power. He writes that "The deputies not only discuss and pass laws and resolutions at soviet sessions but are engaged in daily practical administration of governmental and social affairs. They organize and control the implementation of the laws and resolutions adopted, check the work of enterprises, organizations and establishments, consider the complaints and petitions of the working people, implement the instructions of the voters, etc. Over the past 10 years, the soviets have approved for implementation 3,250,000 voters' instructions, 2,950,000 of which have been carried out" (p 163). These figures are but a few of those which characterize the extensive and active participation of the masses in the administration of governmental and social affairs, which has become the firm and permanent main line in the political development of Soviet society. "Our party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "has shown and will always show concern for ensuring that the working people not only have the opportunity granted by the constitution to participate in the administration of society, but actually and really participate in it actually and really."

The idea which runs through the book is the fact that ensuring the many rights and freedoms which are self-evident to the contemporary Soviet person has cost

the communist party and the Soviet state tremendous effort and has required a persistent struggle. This thought is confirmed once again in the chapter which deals with public education.

We are proud that one of the greatest gains of our revolution was the fact that the Soviet people have become one of the best educated peoples in the world. This is a fact, but let us recall what we began with. In czarist Russia nearly three quarters of the entire population between the ages of 9 and 49 were totally illiterate. Only 67 of every 1000 people went to school. This represented a catastrophically low level of literacy, unequalled by any other country in Europe at that time. Immediately after the revolution, the party called for the elimination of illiteracy as soon as possible.

In the eyes of many Western politicians, this was a paradox, a utopia: the country was in the throes of a terrible dislocation, and hunger and epidemics raged. The people lacked the most vital necessities while the party, the soviets and the public were worried about education. What was the matter? The matter was that, as V. I. Lenin emphasized, "The struggle against illiteracy is more important than other tasks," for "a communist society cannot be built in an illiterate country;" "an illiterate person does not get involved in politics" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 51, p 257; Vol 41, p 315; and Vol 44, p 174).

In implementing Lenin's strategic idea by eliminating illiteracy, the party not only strengthened the exercise of the rights of the Soviet people in culture but directed them toward the grandiose program of industrialization (the creation of a firm foundation for the exercise of socioeconomic rights), which could not be achieved by illiterate people.

Decades had to pass before the West realized and acknowledged that the efforts of the young Soviet state and the tremendous volume of centralized investments in public education for that period had a decisive impact on strengthening the power of the USSR.

Now that the right to education in our country, consistent with our constitution, provides for universal mandatory secondary education of the youth, and the USSR is in a leading position in the world in terms of the level of education of the population, the importance of this nationwide campaign for knowledge, which the party headed from the very start of the Soviet system, appears even more impressive.

We have briefly mentioned a few of the questions considered in K. U. Chernenko's book. Let us emphasize that its views and conclusions are directed against the imperialist circles which have of late been imposing on world public opinion the idea of the "struggle" for human rights, with alleged violations in the socialist countries, the USSR in particular. The organizers of this noisy campaign, the author notes, are apparently not bothered by the fact that the appeals for the "defense" of human rights come from countries in which the ulcers and vices of contemporary bourgeois society are manifested in their most hypertrophic and distorted form. This debate, which was imposed upon us by the defenders of capitalism, presents a good opportunity for comparing the socialist and bourgeois ways of life and the real rights and freedoms enjoyed by the working people in the Soviet Union and the United States. "In our country," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "there is no reason to avoid any serious conversation on the

subject of human rights. Our revolution and the victory of socialism in our country have not only proclaimed but really ensured the rights of the working man, whatever his nationality, and the rights of millions of toiling people, in a way unattainable by capitalism in any country in the world."

Yes, we are always ready to engage in a discussion on human rights. Our arguments are socialist reality itself, which is as difficult to refute as it is difficult to turn the wheel of history back.

The book "KPSS i Prava Cheloveka" is an example of profound, substantiated and object discussion with our ideological opponents. It can be described with full justification as a convincing, logically and factually strong work which promotes our socialist way of life. It is unquestionably of great interest to the Soviet reader, above all because it covers vitally important problems in the political, economic and social development of Soviet society in a strictly and maximally concentrated form, interpreting them from a new angle of its own. Such a presentation of seemingly ordinary facts and phenomena in Soviet reality will be a good aid to propagandists and students within the party training and Komsomol political education systems.

Regardless of their political orientation, many foreign readers as well will find a study of this work useful. They will learn a great deal about the rights and freedoms of man in our socialist meaning of the term and the peaks reached by the Soviet person -- a member of the society of liberated labor.

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COMMUNISTS IN ART

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 124-127

[Review by A. Tereshchenko of the book by A. V. Romanov "Kommunist v Sfere Iskusstva. Vremya. Lyudi. Knigi" [The Communist in the Sphere of Art. Time, People, Books]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 303 pages]

[Text] This book was written by Aleksey Romanov, the noted Soviet personality and journalist. Until recently, its topic had been discussed in art studies and artistic criticism in generalities only. Specific articles and essays on this subject were mainly published in periodicals. Therefore, the very existence of a work which resolves the problem on the basis of direct contacts between the author and noted Soviet cultural figures is bound to draw attention. This theme is particularly topical today, when our society must achieve not simply economic and cultural growth but the qualitative improvement of all sides of life in the developed socialist society, and when the molding of harmoniously developed persons is a current practical task. The mission of art in this area cannot be overestimated. Its social responsibility increases and the demands facing creative cadres become more exigent. This means also that the party member must play a more important role in art.

The author convincingly proves that the artistic depiction of reality is not self-seeking and that the problems resolved by art are inseparable from those of social progress as a whole. By enriching society with new spiritual values, it multiplies the spiritual potential of the people.

"As a citizen I am a servant of art!" This inspired 19th century statement has taken on new excitement today. It was well expressed by Sergey Yutkevich, as cited in the book: "...The feeling of oneness with the party, the class and the country gives birth to all the other qualities of the Soviet artist."

The essay on Yuriy Aleksandrovich Zavadskiy details the history of the article which the famous director wrote for SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in its first year of publication as a CC CPSU newspaper.

"I have considered your proposal," he said. "I will write for your newspaper an article on creative theater life. But this will be an article on my creative life as an artist and a communist.... I have been a party member since 1944. That is a long time. I believe that this gives me, a Soviet artist, the right to title my article "I Am a Communist." I want to discuss the problems of the theater precisely as a communist, which is a quality I consider most important..."(p 57).

"I am a communist." These words define not only the main aspect of the personality of the Soviet artist but also emphasize that our art, whatever its genre, is a party matter. This circumstance gives creative work particular dynamism and helps to achieve results which earn worldwide recognition.

"How can we fail to be proud of the fact that our art has always been regarded by the entire educated world as a university of morality, spirituality and struggle for social progress?" This question by Yu. Zavadskiy is like a formula which expresses the responsibility of the artist-party member to the people and the party. It is quite typical, for every worker in the field of Soviet art considers his work as of direct assistance to the party in its comprehensive work.

"I seem to have touched on a topic rarely discussed in public or in private," Zavadskiy said after the publication of his article. "Look at the nature and number of responses to it. Why is it that SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA does not have a permanent section on the topic "The Communist in the Sphere of Art"?" (p 58).

As we know, such a section did appear and the words we quoted are like a key to the meaning of the entire book.

F. Ermler, the famous movie director and party member, deemed it his party duty, his direct obligation, to create the characters of the type of people who would embody the lofty moral ideals of the new socialist era, the new moral foundations and principles and new ethical assessments of human affairs and actions. They included selflessness, honesty, purity of thought, great loyalty to the working people and the organic need for daily participation in the people's struggle for communism. "And I decided that in order to come even closer to the solution of the noble problem of artistic representation of the new man, I must speak of the struggle waged by the party for a new society..."(p 9).

This thought is the actual counterpoint to the essay "General Topic" in which the director is introduced as an artist of a new type whose main reason for creativity is the daily aspiration to contribute by every possible means to the building of a communist society. It is natural, therefore, that the director undertakes to work on the character of the worker progressing toward bolshevism, to depict the secretary of the party collective of a large enterprise fighting for the implementation of the counterplan (the motion picture "The Counterplan", codirected by S. Yutkevich), the presentation on the screen of the skillful and difficult work of the head of the political department in the countryside ("Peasants"), and the party's struggle against Trotskyism ("The Great Citizen"). In each of these films, political sharpness is combined with the truth of life. In all of his works Ermler seeks answers to the questions raised by revolutionary practice.

The essay on Ermler's life resembles a social microscopic section which describes the director's searching and achievements against the background of his steady contacts with the outstanding masters of the motion picture -- S. Eyzenshteyn, V. Pudovkin, I. Trauberg and many others.

Inherent in the best representatives of Soviet art, in the communist artists, are high professional skill, tireless search, creative activeness and continual concern for the development of socialist culture. They are also characterized by a profound understanding of the social base of creative work. Membership in the communist

party, which embodies the mind, honor and conscience of our age, permits them to see farther and hear better. Artistic talent, fructified by their affiliation with the proletarian vanguard, whose activities are scientifically guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and determined by class interests, becomes greater. This is the theme of the work.

It is precisely the socioeconomic changes in the country, political clashes, battles of ideas, the constructive aspiration of millions of people for a better life and their struggle to uproot social vestiges that have always excited the communist artist I. Pyr'yev, who directed the motion pictures "Party Card," "The Raykom Secretary," "The Rich Bride," "Tractor Drivers," "Swineherd and Shepherd" and others. Passionate and inflexible in the defense of his convictions, we see him as a major personality who spent a lifetime working in the "collective field." He set an example with his party-minded attitude toward his work at Mosfil'm, which he headed for many years, and in the management of the USSR Union of Cinematographers.

"Ivan Aleksandrovich's letters to me...never contained generalities... Thus, in a letter dated October 1963, he asked that work on the film "Lenin in Poland," directed by Sergey Yutkevich, be speeded up... In another, he asked for a discussion on the film "The Conspiracy of the Century," which was being contemplated by the association. In yet another he insisted on including in future Mosfil'm themes a screening of the novel "Materinskoye Pole" [Mother's Field] by Chingiz Aytmatov and Chekhov's "Seagull," with a detailed explanation of his reasons" (p 72).

The immortal Leninist topic has always been one of the most attractive and important in the Soviet cinema. M. Romm introduced it into our cinematography. His films "Lenin in October" and "Lenin in 1918" can be considered true exploits by a film director. It was precisely in them that for the first time, the image of the beloved leader of millions of working people, the most human of men, with his powerful and clear mind, inflexible will and titanic character, was presented on the screen with unusual depth and veracity.

In narrating the history of these films directed by M. Romm and describing the personality of the director, the author emphasizes that increased attention by the artist to the revolutionary ideas of the age and the leading trends which determine the historical development of mankind are the guarantee of success in the creation of significant contemporary works of art. It is no accident that in recent years Romm has addressed himself to the political film, using the means of political journalism and documentaries ("Ordinary Fascism"). Finally, another daring undertaking has been the creation of "The World Today," a new documentary-publicistic motion picture. The author's preface to the scenario reveals what precisely excited the artist and the type of general assignment he set for himself:

"Marx, Engels and Lenin have said that capitalism dehumanizes man...

"Today's world proves it. The dehumanizing of man has taken on new and more refined forms...

"...Capitalism is experiencing a profound and, I believe, mortal crisis. This makes attempts to hold back the inevitable course of history the more dangerous. Military and fascist dictatorships are coming to power in many countries. National discord is being fanned, and chauvinism is being cultivated. That is why it is

exceptionally important for our audience to receive truthful information on what is taking place in the capitalist world" (p 185).

These words sound particularly topical today, when the imperialist Western circles are urging the arms race on with new strength, threatening the world with the catastrophe of a nuclear war.

Equally topical is the section dealing with the communist and war veteran Yu. Ozerov, the creator of the motion picture epics "Liberation" and "Soldiers of Freedom." His films not only recreate the atmosphere of a heroic time when millions of people in different countries fought fascism to the death but point to the paths which mankind must follow in order to live in peace. Let us recall the scene in Prague's Hradcany in "Soldiers of Freedom" in which Soviet General L. I. Brezhnev meets with a Czech who lost his son in the war.

"What is this thing communism, that people are willing to die for it?" asks the old Czech, who has seen and experienced a great deal and who is looking for an answer to this question which troubles him endlessly.

"Communism," Leonid Il'ich answers, "is life without wars, without slavery. Communism is when all people on earth are equal..."

To build communism, to fight for peace on earth and to promote a "humane, healthy and strong art with a revolutionary soul," an art born "of socialist life itself," is the personal program, the bright and unextinguishable light which illumines the entire creative path of B. Prorokov, another outstanding Soviet artist. He valued "art which fights for man" more highly than anything. His widely known serials "Such Is America!" "For Peace and Freedom!" and "To My Son," his linotype engravings and the periodical POLUNDRA published under front-line conditions in the advanced positions and which artistically narrated the exploits of the heroes, were characterized by his active stand in life and their sharply topical content. They were also works which had a tremendous emotional impact on the masses.

The example which B. Prorokov set by his life convincingly proves his own thesis: "My time -- the time of imperialist wars, revolutions and the liberation movement -- is what has created the artist-fighters."

All of his thoughts were focused on the art of socialist realism. He believed that "the artist must be trained in regular and higher party schools. In other words, the art VUZ must be a party school," for before teaching others one must teach himself. He invested mainly a social, a political meaning in the concept of "learning creative work."

In referring the reader to B. Prorokov's art, his life of suffering (the physical pain resulting from shell shock at the front was always present), his diaries and his statements, the author emphasizes the most important conditions for creativity -- the personal integrity and high morality of the artist and the inseparable nature of his life and esthetic ideals.

The fact that the author was fortunate enough to meet, work and be friends with many outstanding artists makes the book particularly attractive and facilitates the reader's involvement with their spiritual world. One of the essays ("Clarity of

Objective. Thoughts on Konstantin Simonov's Letters") includes the author's personal correspondence, which makes the character of the outstanding Soviet writer who has done so much fruitful work in various art genres come alive. The author introduces us to the atmosphere of his creative aspirations and searching in the period of the planning and making of the films "Granada, Granada, My Granada...", "A Soldier Marched" and "You Can't Feel the Pain of Someone Else."

We feel particularly touched by the essay "Warm Heart." In speaking of B. Ryurikov, his fellow-worker at GOR'KOVSKAYA KOMMUNA, someone long known to the Soviet reader for his literary works, the author describes the life of this outstanding person who knew how to make someone else's sorrow and joy his own, and how he became a newspaperman in the hard year of the war. His frontline essays in GOR'KOVSKAYA KOMMUNA are still remembered in the city on the Volga. In all of his projects he went far beyond the call of duty, for a creative approach is the most important feature of the personality of the communist journalist.

About one of his essays he says: "This is an article which I must write." It appears that in his youth the author knew Nadya Leger, "a girl who liked to draw." During WW I she had moved with her family from Osetishi, a Belorussian village near Vitebsk, to Belev, the small ancient uyezd center. "At that time she was known to us high-school students, as Nadya Khodasevich, or more commonly, "Nad'ka the Refugee"... We met again 50 years later, at the inauguration of the Fernand Leger panel she had donated to the Central Motion Picture House in Moscow. We were infinitely amazed when we recognized each other" (pp 293-294). This sheds a very different light on everything that follows, such as Nadezhda Leger's search for the only true path in art -- serving the proletariat, her communist ideals, her participation in the French Resistance, her work as an active fighter for peace and for good relations between France and the USSR and the Soviet orders awarded to her.

Another feature of this book is that it offers a broad and convincing panorama of the lives and works of noted contemporary artists, their wanderings down the unknown paths of building the art of socialist realism and their social activities, without bypassing the phenomena which have hindered or are hindering their fruitful work or the occasional failures of deserving artistic collectives or individual masters. The road to art is not a path of roses only, but involves thorns and a struggle, with all its possible twists, gains and losses. The main result of honest service to the people, however, is their recognition of it. What makes this book particularly valuable is its close, exigent and sympathetic view of art and the artist.

In addition to the personalities discussed in the work, we come across essays on G. Roshal, N. Kryuchkov, Ye. Dzigan and Yu. Nagibin and on the books of B. Chirkov, S. Obraztsov, Ye. Surkov, S. Yutkevich and S. Khentova. All of them are efforts to provide a literary description of the character of the communist artist, which is an important gain of socialism. The extensive factual data and its good publicistic presentation, filled with profound thoughts, make this book, which is aimed mainly at the party and ideological activists and the workers in all realms of art, interesting to the broadest possible circle of readers as well.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEW

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 127-128

[Text] V. V. Grinin and A. B. Ladygina. "Iskusstvo: Dialektika Preyemstvennosti" [Art: The Dialectics of Continuity] Izdatel'stvo BGU imeni V. I. Lenin, Minsk, 1979, 216 pages. Reviewed by Professor V. Kairyan, doctor of philosophical sciences.

The study of phenomena, trends and patterns in the contemporary artistic process and the creative development of the principles of socialist realism on which Soviet art is based are among the most important tasks in the field of esthetics, as stipulated in party documents and the resolutions of the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses. The monograph by V. Grinin and A. Ladygina deals with the topical theoretical and methodological problems formulated in the current stage of the development of socialist spiritual, and above all artistic, culture.

The book provides an expanded characterization of the founding categories of Marxist-Leninist esthetics -- nationality, class- and party-mindedness and art contemporaneity, which are considered not separately but in a state of intercorrelation, interconnection, interdependence and intereffect. The authors have been able to find a new and original approach to such important problems, which allows us to analyze their dynamics. These categories are interpreted from a specific viewpoint -- on the level of the historical continuity in the development of artistic culture. In this manner, the problem of continuity in art becomes the central, the pivotal point in the book, the decisive link which reflects the dialectics of the class, universal, national, international, permanent and transient aspects of the artistic process.

The book offers a thorough study of this problem as interpreted in Soviet and foreign esthetic literature. The authors explain the reasons for the continuity of art and its material (empirical, according to Marx) foundation. They classify the types and forms of artistic continuity and define absolute and relative continuity.

The authors study not only progressive and positive but regressive continuity as well. This enables them to expose the historical roots of reactionary currents in artistic culture in general and in contemporary bourgeois art in particular. This substantially enhances the theoretical and practical significance of the work from the viewpoint of the sharp and uncompromising contemporary ideological struggle which also extends to the area of esthetics.

The clarification of the fundamental reasons for artistic continuity not only helps us to determine the nature of national, class and party orientation as esthetic categories and to identify the hidden motives for their interaction, but provides irrefutable scientific proof that it is precisely the communist socioeconomic system that is the continuator of everything valuable in universal spiritual culture.

The first chapter in the book is a study of continuity as one of the most important categories of the dialectical law of negation of the negation, as a specific law (both gnosiological and social) of the development of artistic culture and an objective, necessary and durable method for linking contemporary art with the artistic culture of the past.

The specific manifestations of continuity in the history of artistic culture are analyzed in the second and third chapters.

The authors have been able to bring to light many new features in the content of the category of nationality as manifestations of a variety of meaningful and formal relations between professional art and the people, and manifestations of the permanent basis of artistic creativity. They also draw attention to some difficulties encountered in recent creative practices and literary criticism (in particular in understanding the correlation between the people's and the national and the international, and the interaction between professional art and folk art).

The authors offer an interesting analysis of the class and party nature of art (defining the correlation among concepts such as "tendentiousness," "class-mindedness" and "party-mindedness," and a study of the dependency of the processes of relative continuity in art on the nature of party-mindedness and a substantiation of the reasons for the selective attitude of classes toward the artistic legacy).

The final chapter discusses the problem of contemporaneity in art as a basic condition for its existence and as the embodiment of the unity between tradition and innovation. In terms of the aspect of historical continuity in art, which interests the authors, and in the light of the clarification of the complex dialectics of its types and forms, which run throughout the history of artistic development, the category of contemporaneity determines the meaning and objective of all continuity and shows the results of and prospects for selective continuity and the dialectics of the growth of socialist into communist artistic culture.

The book is characterized by close unity between the philosophical-esthetic summations and professional art analysis. The authors have achieved proper mastery of the vast and very suitable factual data on artistic, including musical, creativity, and easily handle the data needed for logical proof regarding the various types and genres of art. They do not limit themselves, as is frequently the case in works on esthetics, merely to references to fiction and graphic art. This has enabled them clearly to outline many aspects of problems previously ignored by researchers.

The book contains many inaccuracies and omissions. For example, in listing the outstanding leaders of socialist culture, for some reason the authors fail to mention A. M. Gor'kiy, N. K. Krupskaya and K. Tsetkin.

They see in culture nothing but "material and cultural values." We know, however, that culture includes reactionary elements as well, expressed in terms such as "cultural regress," "imperialist culture," "mass culture" (as the opposite of people's culture), etc.

Vestiges of individual distorted phenomena hostile to socialism let themselves be known in our life as well, unfortunately, and the Leninist party and the entire Soviet people are waging an irreconcilable struggle against them. The materials of the most recent party congresses, the USSR Constitution, the CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" and other party documents particularly emphasize the importance of the struggle for the new man, the Soviet way of life and the shaping of an educated, cultured and comprehensively developed person, harmoniously combining spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection.

As a whole, this is a very topical book in terms of its content and will be of unquestionable interest to specialists and the readership at large.

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