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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 6, April 1984

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21 June 1984

USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 6, April 1984

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

CONTENTS

New Document by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin .....	1
More Alive Than All the Living .....	5
K. U. Chernenko Speech at 26 March 1984 All-Union Economic Conference on Problems of the Agroindustrial Complex .....	20
K. U. Chernenko's Address to a Delegation of the Municipality of the Italian City of Assisi and Representatives of the Franciscan Order, PRAVDA, 31 March 1984 .....	22
K. U. Chernenko Reply to the Appeal of Leading Figures of the Socialist International .....	24
K. U. Chernenko's Answers to Questions from the Newspaper PRAVDA .....	26
Information Report on the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee .....	30
Speech by K. U. Chernenko at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 10 April 1984 .....	31
On Further Improving the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies ....	41
Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools .....	43
Speech by M. S. Gorbachev .....	47
Speech by Deputy K. U. Chernenko on Election of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium .....	53
Deputy K. U. Chernenko's Speech on Appointing the USSR Council of Ministers .....	55

K. U. Chernenko's 13 April Address to Presidium .....	56
Unity, Organization and Discipline (Y. Bugayev) .....	60
Meeting That Illuminated An Entire Life (Rodolfo Ghioldi, M. Tikhon) .....	74
We Are Going to Lenin (V. Chikin) .....	81
Factor of Decisive Significance (A. Bachurin) .....	94
KOMMUNIST--Direct Predecessor of BOL'SHEVIK .....	106
Lenin's Swiss Friend (A. Latyshev) .....	122
Following Lenin's Addresses (V. Zhuravlev) .....	136
Report on the Road of the Genius of the Revolution (A. Fedorin) .....	144
Duty to the Party and the People (R. Vid) .....	152
Following KOMMUNIST Publications (V. Yelyutin) .....	159

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NEW DOCUMENT BY VLADIMIR IL'ICH LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 3-4

[Article reprinted from PRAVDA No 53, 30 June 1912]

[Text] Following is the article by V. I. Lenin "The Elections Are Near--Everyone To Work!"

This article was printed in PRAVDA, Issue No 53 of 30 June (13 July) 1912, unsigned. It was written at a time when Lenin and the bolsheviks had launched an electoral campaign for the Fourth State Duma. Almost daily PRAVDA, NEVSKAYA ZVEZDA and other newspapers carried articles by Lenin on the electoral campaign, such as "The Electoral Platform of the RSDWP," "The Electoral Campaign for the Fourth Duma and the Tasks of the Revolutionary Social Democrats," "The Importance of the Elections in Petersburg," "On the Eve of the Elections for the Fourth Duma" and others (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 21, pp 176-182, 247-251 and 375-379; vol 22, pp 5-9 and others).

The bolsheviks considered the propaganda of socialist ideas and the organization of the working class the main party task in the elections for the Fourth State Duma and the future party faction in the Duma itself. Our party, Lenin pointed out, is going to the Duma not for the sake of playing at "reforms" in it but in order from the rostrum of the duma to call upon the masses to struggle, to explain the doctrine of socialism, to expose all governmental and liberal fraud and to expose the monarchic prejudices of the backward popular strata and the class roots of the bourgeois parties in order to prepare the army of conscious fighters for a new Russian revolution (see op. cit., vol 21, 181).

Lenin paid great attention to explaining the positions held by the various classes in the electoral campaign and to expose the right-wing parties, the Black Hundredths and Octobrists and the counterrevolutionary nature of the liberal bourgeoisie--the party of the cadets--which hypocritically was in opposition).

The article "The Elections Are Near--Everyone To Work!" was a heated appeal to the worker democracy in Petersburg and to all those who sympathize with the social democrats most actively to participate in the forthcoming elections for the Fourth State Duma in the second city curia. It was precisely the elections in the capital in the second city curia that Lenin considered the central point of the entire electoral campaign for elections in the Duma (for the significance of the elections in Petersburg see *ibid.*, pp 375-379).

The document was prepared for publication in the "Leninskiy Sbornik" [Leninist Collection] No 40.

CPSU Central Committee  
Institute of Marxism-Leninism

### The Elections Are Near--Everyone To Work!

About 2 months separate us from the elections for the Fourth Duma.<sup>1</sup> Time is short. That is why anyone who sympathizes with worker democracy and who understands the interests and tasks of the working class must immediately plunge most energetically into preparations for the elections.

The legitimate rights of the workers and of all tenants must be used systematically and fully.

Tens of thousands of citizens of Petersburg will vote in the second category elections. They include many workers, employees, merchants and many people who are not rich and who unquestionably are democrats. We must see to it that not a single resident of Petersburg who is entitled to vote fails to do so.

So far Petersburg was "the dominion" of the cadets. Many people think that the very struggle against the cadets in Petersburg is hopeless, a view which greatly weakens the energy of the electoral campaign.

Such a view, however, is a profound error.

To begin with, the workers value the elections not in the least for the sake of gaining deputy seats alone. The elections are important to the workers as a means of political education and unification of the masses. Those who participate in the elections consider themselves citizens; they inevitably participate in political life, have a conscious attitude toward it, read their worker democratic newspaper with great understanding and interest, have a stricter attitude toward their duty to participate in activities of all worker societies, etc.

Secondly, in no way can we agree with the view that the struggle against the cadets in Petersburg for the second city curia is hopeless. This is wrong, a thousand times wrong!

The cadets have a preponderance thanks to the fact that the electoral right is not universal but restricted: only tenants have the right to vote, and the number of disenfranchised workers is immeasurably greater than among the liberal bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the cadets have a preponderance thanks to the fact that their associations and newspapers are being persecuted far less than are worker associations and worker newspapers.

Finally, the cadets are the party of the liberal bourgeoisie, the party of the rich who contribute for the elections greater amounts of money and who dedicate to the elections a great deal of their free time.

All of these advantages enjoyed by the liberal bourgeois, however, can and must be defeated at the elections by the force which has always been and will remain on the side of the workers, the force of the numbers: there are more workers and poor and there is only a handful of rich. There is also the strength of the loyalty to the worker cause.

It is this strength that the workers of Petersburg have already been able to pit against the cadets with tremendous success.

How was the cadet press created? How were the newspapers RECH'<sup>2</sup> and SOVREMENNOYE SLOVO organized?<sup>3</sup> With the help of hundreds of thousands of rubles.

How were the worker newspapers NEVSKAYA ZVEZDA<sup>4</sup> and PRAVDA<sup>5</sup> created? With the pennies contributed by the workers and collected from thousands and thousands of workers.

Thousands of workers, loyal to the interests of worker democracy and conscientiously defending their rights, accomplished that which no other party was able to accomplish without a huge capital.

In the elections as well the workers can win and will win if one and all go to work. Remember, comrades, that our friends and sympathizers are in the majority even among the second-category voters. The majority is in favor of democracy, whereas the liberals have only the strength of wealth, the strength of blind habit, the strength of underdevelopment and inactivity, the passiveness of many merchants and employees, and so on.

This force of custom, underdevelopment and passiveness we can crush and we must crush through our joint efforts.

Everyone to work! Let no single worker fail to dedicate during these 2 months his work and his efforts, his knowledge and concerns for the elections. Then the victory will go to worker democracy!

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The elections for the Fourth State Duma were held in the autumn of 1912.
2. RECH' was a daily newspaper and the central organ of the cadet party; it came out in Petersburg between 1906 and 1918.



3. SOVREMENNOYE SLOVO was a daily newspaper published by the cadets in Petersburg from 1907 to 1918.
4. NEVSKAYA ZVEZDA was a legal bolshevik newspaper. It was published in Petersburg from 26 February (10 March) to 5 (18) October 1912. A total of 27 issues were published.
5. PRAVDA was a daily legal bolshevik newspaper; its first issue came out in Petersburg on 22 April (5 May) 1912; it became the party's central organ in 1917.

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MORE ALIVE THAN ALL THE LIVING

AU041150 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84)  
pp 5-18

[Editorial. Capitalized passages printed in italics]

[Text] It has to be repeated again and again: it is always difficult to write about Lenin. And this is so not so much because hundreds and thousands of works about him--including quite a few works of great talent--have been written, as it is for the well-known reason that the titanic feats of his life do not lend themselves to ordinary measures and that the ecumenical range of his intellect is boundless and beyond the scope of anyone.

Lenin was a modest person to the point of self-denial. In the entire magnitude of his creative legacy he left virtually no explanation of why he had hoisted the entire mass of this world's sorrows on his personal conscience and why he had chosen his incredibly difficult life road. It may also be for this reason that he is seen as completely and indissolubly fused with the revolutionary cause from his first breath to his last. The selfless service in the interests of the oppressed and the exploited, the workers class, and the multimillion masses of the working people is the determining motive of the incomparably beautiful life of the greatest "leader of the proletariat," founder of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks, leader of the first triumphant socialist revolution, and founder of the first state of workers and peasants. He considered it as his very own duty as party member to "help the proletariat to advance through a DEMOCRATIC revolution to the COMMUNE...." Any other goals, Lenin used to add in this admission, so unusual for him, "I would not serve" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], vol 49, p 411).

This cannot be explained by any church Slavonic chants, nor did God order him: You are the chosen one!

It was with human steps, a worker's hands, and his own head that he traversed that road (V. V. Mayakovskiy).

Before he learns any other truths of revolutionary theory every communist masters the classically clear and comprehensive Leninist formula: "The main thing in Marx's teaching is the elucidation of the worldwide historical role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society" (op. cit., vol 23, p 1). THROUGHOUT the entire course of his activity, Lenin continued to comprehensively and tirelessly prove precisely this principal idea of Marxism.

And it is precisely this principal and comprehensive idea of Marxism-Leninism, together with its continuing and developing concept of the revolutionary party of the workers class as the working people's political vanguard in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism and for socialism and communism, that has been subjected for decades to the most persistent and malicious attacks of our class enemies.

Of course, Lenin in no way accepted the proletariat as an icon and he never closed his eyes to the still insufficient political maturity and even the plain ignorance of some of its representatives. At the same time he realized better than anyone else: THE WORKERS CLASS IS THE ONLY UNITED, AND AT THE SAME TIME GROWING, MASS THAT, BY THE VERY FACT OF CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION, TECHNOLOGY, ORGANIZATION, AND CULTURE OF MASS INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION LABOR SOLIDARITY, AND COLLECTIVIST-INTERNATIONALIST ATTITUDE, IS PLACED IN THE POSITION OF THE MAIN MOTIVE FORCE OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE LEADING FORCE OF ALL WORKING PEOPLE AND DEMOCRATIC STRATA OF SOCIETY. This idea, in its specific aspects, permeates Marxist-Leninist philosophy as well as the political economy and scientific communism.

It is wrong to consider the proof of this idea as the function of any of the three component parts of Marxism-Leninism because this proof is their common task. It is no accident that whenever a new wave of revisionism appeared, attempts were also made to separate these parts, to break them up eclectically, to tear asunder the organically whole Marxist-Leninist teaching by revising the dialectically materialist philosophy in the spirit of Kantianism of even positivism; by "retouching" Marx's political economy in the spirit of Proudhon-like apologia of small-scale Marx production operations or in the spirit of propaganda of "mixed" economy; by endeavoring to compel the adherents of the socialist transformation of society to be satisfied with the mere ethical arguments.

It is well-known that, at the beginning of the century, an aspect of the question was apparently underestimated by prominent bolsheviks. For instance, Lenin's clash with the empiricist critics and god-builders [bogostroitel] who tried to thrust the latest bourgeois subjectivist-idealist concepts on the workers class instead of dialectic materialism, might even have seemed to someone at the beginning as something of little value, as a "tempest in a teapot." A special kind of practicisism manifested itself in this connection which resulted from an insufficiently distinct understanding--perhaps because of the forced concentration on organizational work--of Marx's fundamental thesis. IN THE SAME WAY AS PHILOSOPHY FINDS ITS MATERIAL WEAPON IN THE PROLETARIAT, THE PROLETARIAT FINDS ITS SPIRITUAL WEAPON IN PHILOSOPHY (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 428). The economic substantiation of the worldwide historical mission of the workers class also must not be underestimated because it is only this substantiation that places this mission on an immovably solid material foundation and is then comprehensively developed and perfected in the theory and practice of scientific communism.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Soviet social scientists actively worked out various aspects of Lenin's teaching of the workers class, the hegemon of the contemporary era, initiated by the October Revolution. Lenin's analysis of the

role of the workers class as the builder of new society is still applied to the conditions of developed socialism and gradual transition to communism. In this connection significant attention has been devoted to debunking the insolvent nature of the attempts of Marxist renegades at falsely invoking the social consequences of the scientific-technical revolution and thereby at presenting not the workers class but rather the intelligentsia of the contemporary capitalist world as the era's dominant social factor disregarding this intelligentsia's deep internal differentiation and, what is more, emphasizing the upper stratum of the ruling monopoly that was bourgeois by its social function as well as by its position and its views.

At the same time, irresponsible assertions that it was supposedly possible for the workers' class to lose its role as the hegemon of revolution during periods when reactionaries temporarily gained the offensive were subjected to impartial criticism, as were snobbish reasonings that the contemporary workers class in the USSR was "unprepared" to fulfill its leading role in developed socialist society. As a result of a series of discussions and creative research our scientific literature has been reinforced with serious research elucidating the main points of Marxism-Leninism more extensively and fully.

"The duty of the communist party," emphasized K. U. Chernenko at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "lies in constantly collating its policy, its decisions and actions first and foremost with the ideas of the workers' class and with its great sociopolitical and class feeling. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin always highly appraised the directness, vital validity and clarity of the working man's opinions, listened carefully to his opinions and evaluations of events and people, and both sought and found answers to the most topical problems in these opinions and evaluations.

"Listening closely to what is said in the workers milieu and on the frontline of socialist construction and holding council with the working people today must also be the prime obligation and deep, inner need of every communist leader."

To Lenin the proletariat was not merely an object of observation and research, sympathy and compassion. It was his own class whose needs and interests, concerns and feelings, torments and joys touched the mind and heart of the leader. Lenin himself could be considered proletarian in the highest and most noble sense of this word, an inspired enthusiast in the struggle for the happiness of the working people, and one infinitely rich in spiritual values of the past, revolutionary Marxist teaching, and his own creative consummate ties and unity with hundreds of thousands of like-minded people and the millions of the masses. "Everything that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat--a fearless mind, an iron, inflexible, stubborn and all-surmounting will, a sacred hatred, a hatred to death of slavery and oppression, revolutionary passion which moves mountains, boundless faith in the creative force of the masses and a great genius of organization"--it was said in the address by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks, "To the Party. To All the Working People," of 22 January 1924, "all this is magnificently embodied in Lenin, whose name has become a symbol of the new world from the West to the East, and from the South to the North."

Marxism acquired in Lenin such a theoretician and political worker as was able to exhaustively assess the particular characteristics of the last, imperialist stage of capitalism and make conclusions ON THE REAL PROSPECTS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

Western social democratic dogmatists and revisionists with whom the Russian mensheviks and Trotskiyites expressed their solidarity, assessed possibilities for a transition to socialism only from the viewpoint of the development level of the national economy and culture in one or another country. Lenin opposed to them the viewpoint that he himself called INTERNATIONAL. He was the first to reveal the significance of the fact that, in the era of imperialism, capitalism would become an all-embracing world system "by bringing closer and closer together and mixing the nations already fully involved in the trade turnover, and would place the main emphasis on antagonism between the internationally blended capital and the international workers movement" (op. cit., vol 25, p 264). This means that, now, revolutions at times are predetermined no less by external conditions than by internal ones or, more correctly, they are invariably predetermined by a close combination of both. This then is why the initiative in breaking the chains of imperialism could be and actually was assumed by a country that, although not one of the most developed capitalist states, represented a focal point of all typical contradictions of contemporary capitalism and was able to compensate for its lagging by the greater maturity of its workers and liberation movement headed by an experienced revolutionary Marxist party as well as by the high intensity of socialist construction following the assumption of power by the workers class.

"As long as big industry exists on a worldwide scale," Lenin used to explain, "a direct transition to socialism is indisputably possible--and no one can refute this fact.... And if, under the conditions of backwardness under which we embarked on a revolution, we do not have the necessary industrial development in our country, shall we renounce this? And shall we lose heart? No. We will move on to difficult work because the path on which we stand is the right one" (op. cit., vol 44, p 310). These generalizations provided starting points in working out the scientific plan for building socialism and its production and economic foundations. On the basis of these generalizations, Lenin gave a powerful impetus to solving the question of the ways and methods of achieving the proletariat's main goal, the creation of a highly developed classless society.

Being a man of precise scientific thinking and effective social action, Lenin tolerated no fantasies of any kind about the future social structure. Following Marx, Lenin drew its essential traits "wholly and exclusively from the economic laws of progress of the contemporary society" (op. cit., vol 26, p 73). That is, the law that cleared the path through the debris of the various chances and contradictory trends but on the whole had a commanding, simple and definite effect in the direction of creating ever higher forms of collectivist tenor and the people's way of life.

According to Lenin, natural completion of the process of technological and organizational socialization of industrial labor taking place in thousands of forms in capitalist countries is served by the inevitable offensive of

The workers' class responded to Lenin with boundless trust and love. The Sormovsk worker, Petr Zalomov, (who once served as the prototype for the figure of the revolutionary Pavel Vlasov in M. Gorkiy's novel "Mother"), clearly expressed his vital perception of his unforgettable leader in a letter to N. K. Krupskaya. "We have buried all our old gods and never, never will we create new ones," he affirmed. "Deifying Comrade Lenin is far from our minds--we are his equal! We deserve such a leader, and he, worthy of us, is rightly proud of us.... Comrade Lenin is a part of our very selves. He is organically linked to us, and this link will grow stronger as we become more familiar with his works and his personality."

Observing reality and viewing it through the prism of the scientifically understood interests of the workers class is, in Lenin's opinion, worth immeasurably more than expressing the opinion of a certain social stratum. ASSUMING A PROLETARIAN CLASS POSITION IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF GRASPING THE TRUTH and, by being on the side of the main motivating force of contemporary history, means organically connecting this understanding with revolutionary practice. Consequently, it is hardly right that the terms "proletarian philosophy," "political economy of labor" (in contradistinction to the bourgeois political economy of ownership), and "proletarian socialism" have for some reason begun to be rarely encountered in our vocabulary. For Lenin, the proletariat's point of view was identical to that of contemporary social science, social justice, and truth. Vladimir Mayakovskiy has accurately expressed this approach in his own way:

The proletariat is inept and narrow-minded to those to whom communism is a snare.

For us this word is mighty music, enough to raise the dead to fight.

The crown of Lenin's creative work is the science on the paths of building socialism and communism, the science he created. In this way Lenin deepened and creatively developed the teaching of Marx and Engels on new society, enriched Marxism by working out principles of organization of the masses in the process of its practical implementation. "When the country embarked on the path of the greatest transformations," he said half a year after the October Revolution, "then, thanks to this country and the workers class party that triumphed in this country, we in all earnestness approached practical tasks which had previously been approached in an abstract and theoretical manner" (op. cit., vol 36, p 383). And the answer to the question TO WHOM PERSONALLY belongs the largest share in this service can be only one: to LENIN.

Whenever the party faced new complex and still unsolved questions of theory and practice, Lenin, despite the entire versatility of his genius, felt the need, as he himself used to say, to CONSULT MARX.

Is there any need at all to try especially to prove that to us, witnesses of the triumph of scientific socialism, it is vitally necessary constantly to re-read pages of Lenin's works, to CONSULT LENIN? Learning from Marx and Lenin, verifying their ideas against one's own experience in life and verifying one's own experience in life against their ideas--this means being communist in our time.

socialism, whose distinctive mark is in the revolutionary conversion of privately owned means of production into the property of the people.

"Socialism," he said, "presupposes work without any assistance from capitalists, social work under the strictest accounts, control and supervision by the organized vanguard, the advanced section of the working people and in this connection both the measure of work and its rewards must be determined" (op. cit., vol 40, p 33).

Lenin planned the two main paths for the economy's socialist transformation--the nationalization of industry and the organization's small-scale individual farms into cooperatives--in accordance with the level of production forces and of the technical-organizational socialization of labor in various spheres of the economy. In countries where even some sectors of production are still at the pre-industrial stage, the task of industrializing the national economy is urgent. The economic aspect of socialist construction and its foundation "can be safeguarded only when all threads of the great industrial machine, built on the foundations of contemporary technology, are really concentrated on--the proletarian state, and this means electrification, for which one must understand the basic conditions for using electricity and correspondingly understand both industry and agriculture" (op. cit., vol 42, p 31). All these Leninist tenets have been convincingly confirmed by the historical experience of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist community.

An essential feature of Lenin's teaching was that it scientifically confirmed the brightest hopes of the anti-imperialist, anticolonial and national liberation movement. Whereas opportunist leaders of the Second International, full of "civilized" arrogance, thought it possible to discuss socialism only when applied to the reality of the developed capitalist countries, the bolsheviks began reasonably to insist upon its being a reality also for peoples of countries that were still colonies or semicolonies. "Lenin was the first to understand and appraise the vast importance of drawing colonial peoples into the revolutionary movement," wrote Ho Chi Minh. "He was the first to point out that social revolution is unthinkable without their participation." The "thesis" once again advanced by Lenin, "that, with the aid of the advanced countries' proletariat, backward countries can make the transition to the Soviet system also via certain stages of development--to communism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development" (op. cit., vol 41, p 246) has been decisively and pivotally significant for many formerly dependent peoples.

The question of a socialist future is of principled significance for our era. Capitalism has reached the last boundaries in its evolution and, in parts of the world, has suffered complete bankruptcy. Many peoples and states at various stages of economic and cultural development have already embarked on the socialist path. **THERE IS NOT AND THERE CANNOT BE ANY OTHER PROSPECT FOR MANKIND.** The transition to socialism, and spiritual vegetation, social deprivation of rights and national inequality, answer the innermost aspirations of the majority of the population--the working people. As a rule, the potentially solid basis of socialist construction goes far beyond the bounds of its proletarian basis. Becoming broader and broader, this basis can encompass--in addition to the workers class--also the numerous nonproletarian

strata, including small property owners, the stratum that refuses to trust the authority of monopolistic capital.

Whereas all of the world's reactionaries took up arms against the "spectre of communism" in the time of Marx and Engels, in Lenin's lifetime the constantly increasing authority and popularity of the socialist idea compelled even some members of the bourgeoisie to pretend to advocate it. All anticommunist propaganda became more false and hypocritical. "Socialism" in general, as an abstract aim, as opposed to capitalism (or imperialism), wrote Lenin in the years of World War I, is now acknowledged not only by all kinds of opportunists "but also by many bourgeois social politicians."

But now it is not a question of the general opposition of the two social systems, but of the CONCRETE aim of a CONCRETE "revolutionary mass struggle" against a CONCRETE evil..." (op. cit., vol 30, p 214). In our day this evil is primarily the antinational, aggressive and antisocialist policy of the monopolies, imperialism--primarily American imperialism--that has declared a "crusade" against communism. The real or ostentatious revolutionary nature of some ideological-political trends or others in the workers movement is also determined by the attitude toward this policy.

Today communists-Leninists are waging a struggle against the influence of "socialism" of a reformist persuasion on the masses the "socialism" which, having renounced Marxism and declared itself a fervent enemy of Leninism, has acted and sometimes still acts simply as a semiconcealed form of anticommunism. Lenin's polemics against the pillars of this trend, Bernstein, Kautsky and others, are still topical. They contain devastating arguments against the ideological aims and tactics of parties which, calling themselves "socialist," have long since grown into the political system of bourgeois society and serve as something like a piquant sauce for the monopolies' profits.

The historical lesson that success in socialist construction and the growth of the international communist movement's influence are also attended by an increase in the frequency of attempts to substitute scientific communism with its petty bourgeois counterfeits must be firmly learned in one way or another. In the very first months after the October Revolution Lenin had to endure a battle against "left-wing communists"; then the disorganizing views and actions of the anarcho-syndicalists, who called themselves "the workers opposition," and the adventurist-bureaucratic methods of Trotskiyism threatened to wreck implementation of Lenin's plan to build socialism; and right-wing deviation was driving to delay socialist transformation...

The appearance of these and other similar opportunist tendencies is not accidental. It represents the reverse side of the basically positive phenomenon that, following and side by side with the workers class, gigantic peasant masses, the petite bourgeoisie in cities, a section of the middle-level bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and lumpen proletariat are becoming involved in the world revolutionary process. All of them make their own demands (naturally, at the first stages, different from the proletarian ones) on socialism, are guided in their attitudes toward it by their own traditions and habits, do



not accept it immediately in its entirety, and strive to get their own from it and frequently to adapt Marxism to the bourgeois nationalist interests of individual strata or groups. Suffering under the oppression of big capital, some of these elements take up socialism even though at times they are not ready for a consistent and difficult struggle and work. At times they hysterically demand it "all" today and not tomorrow and, not having obtained that "all," either embark on rash adventures or cool off and capitulate before the class enemy. They are really such "followers" of socialism who, in Lenin's works, under the force of the backward nature of socioeconomic conditions "assimilate only some aspects of Marxism, only certain parts of the new world outlook or individual slogans and demands because they cannot resolutely break with all traditions of bourgeois world outlook in particular" (op. cit., vol 20, p 65). In its diversions against the socialist countries, bourgeois propaganda stakes more and more on these elements.

These phenomena are nothing new for us communists, no matter in what strange and caricature forms they may appear from time to time. It is well-known that scientific socialism grew and strengthened itself in the principled struggle against all kinds of possible bourgeois and petit bourgeois pseudo-socialist concepts. This struggle was waged by Marx and Engels and it was tirelessly waged by Lenin and the bolsheviks. The Leninists find answers to the most fundamental and topical issues of the contemporary period in Marxist-Leninist ideas and in their creative development and in the study of the history and experience of socialist construction.

It is vitally important to correctly understand the essence of socialism and the unity of its economic, sociopolitical, ideological, and moral principles. It is precisely with the aim of falsifying these principles that a broad and well-planned undermining ideological campaign has been developed in the West and East, a campaign waged by the close front of the bourgeois mass information media and right and "left" revisionism. Expressing the interests of the doomed forces of old society, opponents of Marxism-Leninism are trying to keep up the fire on the monolithic bastion of scientific socialism with the buckshot of "socialisms" of the nationalist type, ranging from the liberalized "model" proposed by "Eurocommunists" to the barrack-type social-militarist variety most odiously manifested in Pol Potism.

Following the tradition dating back to the "Communist Party Manifesto" of Marx and Engels, we must, at every turn of history, see and study not only our overt ideological opponents but also those who want to dispute, under the guise of pseudosocialist slogans, the right of Marxist-Leninists to the leadership in building the new society and prevent the workers class and all working people from confidently advancing toward their historical goal by the shortest path. That was Lenin's teaching. It is impossible to successfully conduct communist education work and successfully wage the ideological struggle without being able to mercilessly unmask the imaginary socialists who are destroying the monistic and scientific concept of the socialist system with the acrid acid of "pluralism," and without being able to protect and defend foundations of the social organizations we have built.

Communists must learn unflinchingly to recognize the appearance of the rightist variety of revisionist "socialism" that denies the necessity of the

Marxist-Leninist parties' leadership in socialist construction and demands a replacement of socialist democracy with political liberalism of the bourgeois type and a wide dissemination of alien ideologies. Striving to reduce to naught the centralized planning and management of the national economy and counting on unleashing competition and uncontrolled market movements, this kind of "socialism" aims at actually surrendering precisely the socialist positions in the economy and is inclined to restore the bourgeois systems.

Leftism in its various branches acts as an imaginary opponent of right opportunism but in fact is an inveterate enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Offering to peoples in place of scientific socialism the reactionary utopia of the Ugryum-Burchayev type, preserving economic backwardness and poverty, isolating itself from the contemporary progressive liberation movements and instilling nationalist feeling in the population, leftism completely gives away its degeneration and objectively plays a counterrevolutionary role. Now it is already impossible to say that what is involved is "an infantile disorder of 'leftism'." It is more likely another, chronic, typical petty bourgeois disease of Bonapartism that this time, to be truthful, is particularly dreary and therefore easily shifts "from left" to right and thereby evokes the warmest emotions among its potential allies in the imperialist camp.

Of course, Marxist-Leninists do not deny an originality of methods and rate of progress of socialist construction under the various social, cultural and historical conditions of many countries. On the contrary, if this originality makes it possible to work towards an aim more quickly and with a greater economy of forces and resources, then it directly facilitates the choice of an optimum variation of development and is most desirable. It is not for this, but for ignoring the general laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism and for artificially slowing down this transition, that threatens to wreck it, to do great harm to the interests and progressive aspirations of the peoples, and, in some places, to also physically destroy the forces of democracy and progress, that Marxism-Leninism censure both right- and "left"-wing revisionism.

Like Marx, Lenin did not tie future revolutionaries' hands in the choice of concrete ways and means of building a new society.

Loyal to the spirit of creative Marxism, he never regarded socialism as a ready-made system with which mankind could supposedly be favored. At the same time, Lenin immediately rebuffed anyone who encroached upon the international principles by which socialism is called socialism. "We stand," he wrote, "firmly on the soil of Marx's theory: It has turned socialism from a utopia into a science for the first time, established the firm foundations of this science, and mapped out the path which must be followed in developing this science further and elaborating it in every detail" (op. cit., vol 4, p 182). In this, as in any other question, Lenin combined scientific strictness with uncompromising adherence to principle.

To the "firm foundations" of Marxist-Leninist teaching on socialism, which have been confirmed by the successful experience of socialist and communist construction, apply the following:

The dictatorship of the proletariat during the socialist transformation of the economy and other spheres of social life, the gradual expansion of the mass basis of socialist democracy, the predetermining formation of the all-people's statehood, and the perfecting of its form combined with the strengthening of the communist party's leading role;

Public ownership of the basic means of production, and primarily state and public ownership of large-scale industry;

Conducting the national economy in accordance with a unified plan with the aims of satisfying the working people's material and spiritual needs, eliminating unearned income, and implementing distribution according to the results of work with the continuous growth of labor productivity and improvement in the people's well-being;

The scientific organization of directing production and society on the basis of democratic central principles, this organization presupposes cultivating the management skills in ever broader strata of the working people and their fulfilling this function in practice;

Safeguarding the dominant position of scientific socialist ideology, the universal nature of education, unimpeded access to the achievements of technical and spiritual culture, a new attitude to work and a new standard of everyday living and the collectivist type of human relations.

Of course this enumeration far from exhausts the whole diversity of socialist social relations. But this is not what is required here--rather, the question is one of the main features to which a society must correspond if it is called socialist. Attempts to get by without one or another of these "parameters" and to arbitrarily doctor Marxist-Leninist socialist teaching betray either the naive utopianism or the ill intentions of the people who perpetrate this. Socialism cannot be based upon opposed and incompatible economic, sociopolitical and ideological principles. Attempts to "unite" socialism with bourgeois-liberal "freedoms" or to make it an instrument of great power-nationalist politics are contrary to the nature of the new system and are doomed to failure.

The general laws of building a new society, which have been tested on an international level, were first revealed in practice in the theory of socialist revolution and the plan for building socialism and in scientific programs for industrialization, cooperative organization, and cultural revolution elaborated by Lenin. Contemporary problems of socialist and communist construction and the objective logic of today's ideological-political struggle can be comprehended only if one realizes the connection between all the units and stages of revolution in this or that country and the world revolutionary process as a whole, and only if one stays on the firm ground of the consistent historical method of Marxist-Leninist science.

The principled difference between the socialist system and all preceding systems is the conscious and purposeful nature of the development of society. This is what our enemies are afraid of. **THEY STRIVE TO STRIKE A BLOW PRECISELY AT THE REASONABLE AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM:** At the leading

role of the party, at centralized, scientific planning, at democratic centralism, and at Marxist-Leninist teaching. One has to be very shortsighted to willingly exchange the trusty weapon of scientific socialism for the rattle of "pluralist" phraseology.

Lenin pointed out that without an aim set in advance and correctly defined, without the elaboration of an appropriate strategy for achieving this aim, and without a long-term plan, socialism will not move forward an inch. He instructed communists to form a program of action and methods for organizing the masses subject in the particular features of the concrete stages of "communism's economic maturity" (op. cit., vol 33, p 98). He considered it vitally important "not to lose one's way in the zigzags and sharp bends of history and to preserve a general perspective to be able to see the red thread that connects the whole of capitalism's development and the entire road leading to socialism, this road which--to us, naturally--seems straight, and we must conceive of it being straight so as to see the beginning, the continuation, and the end--but in life this road will never be straight, rather it will be incredibly complicated..." (op. cit., vol 36, p 47).

A passionate revolutionary romantic and a cool-headed politician, Lenin urged that the masses be set only carefully considered and feasible tasks. "Making strict distinctions between stages which are different in their nature and soberly researching the conditions of their transition," he pointed out, "certainly does not mean shelving the ultimate aim and certainly does not mean slackening one's pace in advance" (op. cit., vol 9, p 131).

Lenin was fully aware of the fact that only the transitional period from capitalism to socialism would begin with the workers class assuming power, and not socialism itself. Building the foundations of socialism would be a laborious and fairly protracted process. When completed, the new system would develop in the direction of ever greater maturity and would gradually reach that state which Lenin defined with the terms "developed socialist society," "completed socialism," "full socialism," "socialist society in its developed form" and "whole socialism." It is precisely developed socialist society in its initial stage that has been built in the Soviet Union. It will also be built in the other fraternal countries.

Lenin is the creator of a peace-loving foreign policy of the worker-peasant state, a policy aimed at ensuring the most favorable, that is, peaceful, conditions for socialist and communist construction and that envisages internationalist support for revolutionary-liberation forces, together with constant readiness to repel imperialist aggression and to suppress attempts to export counterrevolution. He substantiated the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different sociopolitical systems as a particular condition of the class struggle in the world arena, excluding the use of military force. Lenin's analysis of international relations of pre-October and post-October times is a real scientific discovery. He shows the revolutionary breaking of the system of domination and subordination in relations between states and peoples which had existed for centuries, brought about by qualitatively different relations of comradely cooperation and mutual help between the newly rising states of the dictatorship of the proletariat and by the general spreading of the general democratic principles of international relations which has been made possible only as a result of the victory of the October Revolution.

Lenin was uncompromising and inflexible in everything concerning his revolutionary convictions and principled scientific and political views. Free of any kind of dogmatism whatsoever and deeming it possible and necessary to amend some theoretical theses or others and, even more, tactical aims--if this is dictated by really changed circumstances--he at the same time rightfully mistrusted the irresponsible slogan "freedom of criticism" that opportunists utilized to soften Marxist views and class awareness of the proletariat. "There can be no strong socialist party," Lenin emphasized on the threshold of the 20th century, "if there is no revolutionary theory that unites all socialists, from which they draw all their beliefs, and which they apply to their methods of struggle and modes of activity; defending this theory, which in one's ultimate understanding one considers the truth, from unfounded attacks and from attempts to worsen it still certainly does not mean being the enemy of ANY criticism. We are far from regarding Marx's theory as something complete and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that this theory has placed on the cornerstones of that science which socialists MUST develop further in all directions if they do not wish to be left behind by life" (op. cit., vol 4, pp 183-184).

Lenin was distinguished by exceptional scientific honesty. He could allow neither himself nor anyone else to substitute this or that thesis of Marx and Engels with some other thesis on the spur of the moment and without a convincing explanation of the reasons for doing so. Whenever Lenin, while generalizing new phenomena, had to advance conclusions which had not been made by his mentors or to revise certain concrete historical evaluations, he definitely specified and proved the vital necessity of doing this. Lenin had a most tactful attitude toward the classical legacy even when he complemented it with his own contribution, be it in creating a more developed and harmonious reaching on the revolutionary workers party or extending Marx's "Das Kapital" with the analysis of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, or in revealing the possibilities for the victory of socialism in some separately considered country or such formerly unknown form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the republic of the soviets. He also demanded the same attitude toward the classical legacy of his comrades-in-arms and pupils.

Lenin treated with irony the "aspiration of the radically inclined personages to combine what was outlived and old with what was lifeless and fashionable" (op. cit., vol 2, p 440) and unflinchingly adhere to such reliable guidelines as materialist dialectics, the interests of the proletariat's class struggle, and demands of constantly developing social practice.

Having read Engels' work "On the Housing Question" at the beginning of 1917 and having in mind the opportunist grumbling about the alleged "obsolescence" of Marxism, Lenin wrote to I. F. Armand the following enthusiastic words: "Do you know? It is fascinating! I am still 'in love' with Marx and Engels and cannot take calmly any abuse of them. No, they are genuine people! One must learn from them. We must not move from this ground" (op. cit., vol 49, p 378).

Virtually all works of Lenin are sharply polemical. But it was simply inconceivable for him to use any discrepancies in logic or exaggerations of facts in his disputes with the ideological opponents or the individuals holding different views. Lenin was unable to distort the views of an opponent or to

arbitrarily attribute to him any deliberately vulnerable and easily destructible thesis. What Engels called the "code of honor" in the ideological struggle was immutable for him.

Lenin's theoretical and moral authority was unquestionable. This was not achieved with any kind of special efforts but it developed on its own. This was the result of the exceptional wholesomeness of Lenin's nature, its organic inclusion in the workers class, its inseparability from the revolutionary cause, and its great objective influence. "An unusual leader of people," American journalist John Reid wrote about Lenin, "a leader exclusively thanks to this intellect, alien to any kind of posturing, unamenable to moods, steadfast, inflexible, without any partialities for effect but possessing a great skill in revealing the most complex ideas in simple words and making a profound analysis of a concrete situation by combining a penetrating flexibility and a daring boldness of mind."

Bourgeois authors are unable in any way to reconcile in their minds the immutably passionate, militant and mercilessly combative tone of Lenin's works on the one hand and his kindness and sensitivity in his relations with his comrades and courtesy even toward the ideological opponents on the other. Of course, one does not envy the enemies of Leninism for that. They would find it easier to fence with some kind of "simple" fanatic and rebel and his semiliterate doctrine than to try to dispute an encyclopedically endowed revolutionary and a crystalline moral personality whose ideas represent the intellectual acme of the contemporary era.

Here is one of the numerous--and generally in agreement--observations made by his contemporaries on the impression Lenin made on the audience that did not often encounter a harmony of viewpoint and behavioral style. "I was struck by Vladimir Il'ich's swift and light gait," writer Galina Serebryakova, who attended the fourth Comintern Congress (in November 1922) says, "and by the liveliness of his gesticulation and facial expression. His smile in response to the joyful commotion around him was beautiful. Despite his recent illness, no one would have thought Lenin was 52. He appeared considerably younger and, thanks to his broad shoulders and well-proportioned build, he appeared taller than he actually was...."

"It was not only the expression and clear diction of this immortal orator but also the charm of his voice and gestures that were striking. As always, he unfailingly and immediately found that wavelength that could convey his thoughts and feelings to the audience in the best manner. Facts, thoughts and foresight captured the audience. The faces of the audience lit up. This was truly an intellectual feast."

And hundreds, thousands of people subjected themselves to this magnetic effect of Lenin's genius....

The bourgeoisie and its supporting voices have often unleashed against Lenin the dirty weapon of slander, which is customary for them, but they failed to achieve any solid or long-term success. At one time in one of those situations when the bourgeois press was especially zealous in the number of lies about the bolsheviks, that is, in the summer 1917, Lenin defined the communist party as the MIND, HONOR, AND CONSCIENCE OF OUR ERA" (op. cit., vol 34,

p 93). Naturally, this placed on every communist the highest responsibility for the moral state in the party as a whole and for observing communist ethics in internal party relations as well as for his personal behavior. Lenin made especially strict demands on party members after the October Revolution when our party became the ruling party and when the eyes of all working people were turned to it as the collective inspirer and organizer of defense of the socialist motherland and of socialist and communist construction. "...If we are honest in teaching discipline to the workers and peasants," he pointed out, "then we are obliged to begin with ourselves" (op. cit., vol 50, p 63). It is necessary to ensure, Lenin stressed, that the mass of nonparty people see communist party members assume obligations and not admit new people to their ranks to enable them to enjoy privileges connected with the position of the ruling party but to give them an example of truly communist work....

Gorkiy's comparison of Lenin to Socrates is well-known. But has anyone compared him to Solon? Meanwhile, both the activities and the utterances of the famous Athenian legislator, who is ranked among the seven legendary Greek wise men, provide sufficient grounds for this. "having being placed in power," suggested Solon, "do not take cunning people into your employ; because they will blame you, as their superior, for the sins they commit." This remarkable lesson in the skills of governing, which has reached us from a distance of thousands of years, seems to have gained its second wind under conditions of socialist democracy. "A political leader is not only responsible for the way he leads," said Lenin, "but also for what is done by those led by him. Sometimes he is aware of this, often he does not desire this, but the responsibility rests with him" (op. cit., vol 42, p 218). Such is one of the most important aspects of the principle of collective leadership which must always be borne in mind by the aware politician.

Lenin was a realist both in political and everyday matters. He was well aware of the value of both ideological and economic motives of human activity. This does not contradict the fact that COMMUNIST DISINTERESTEDNESS, in which inveterate individualists do not believe, but which is a reality engendered by our revolution and one which nourishes the spirit of selfless fighters for communism, was an essential feature of his way of life and moral makeup. While pondering ways of improving Soviet administrative apparatus in one of his last works, Lenin emphasized that "for this, the best elements in our social system, that is, precisely, first, the progressive workers and second, the truly enlightened elements one can guarantee will not take one single word on trust and will not say one word against their conscience, must not fear to admit any difficulty and must not fear any struggle to achieve the aim which they have seriously set themselves" (op. cit., vol 45, p 391-2).

The moral potential of Leninism is immense and its creative return is great. But one can hardly claim that Leninism has already been placed fully at the service of communism. Many of its energy reserves are still waiting to be discovered and developed, and those who are primarily called upon to do this are ideological workers--scientists and propagandists.

Lenin's distinguishing feature was his FEARLESSNESS IN FACE OF THE TRUTH--whatever it might be, heartening or bleak--and his ability to look truth in

the face without embellishing it and without hiding his head under the cover of ceremonial phrases. He believed that it is not the difficulties which the party, the workers class, and the working people are forced to overcome at every step that are dangerous; rather what is pernicious is delusion and self-deception. Lenin ranked the ability to openly admit one's mistakes and learn by them and to skillfully apply the weapon of criticism and self-criticism among the indispensable qualities of the communist-revolutionary.

Lenin bore the least resemblance of all to a cabinet thinker--he was always at the heart of the masses and at the helm of events. He immediately armed the party and the workers class with accumulated and generalized and theoretical conclusions, embodying new, fruitful ideas in living revolutionary practice. "...It is more pleasant and useful to perform the 'experience of revolution'," Lenin asserted, "than it is to write about it" (op. cit., vol 33, p 120).

The Leninist style of work engenders and feeds the spirit of collectiveness, comradeship, and mutual sensitivity and exactingness. Lenin was intolerant of the slightest manifestation of bureaucratism and of attempts to lead with the aid of peremptory shouts, pressure, and bare commanding. He did not permit the autocratic solution of principled problems of the utilization of his colossal influence for administrative repression. Lenin's authority within the party was the authority of intellect, knowledge, experience, unshakeable conviction, loyalty to his word, will, self-restraint, determination and irreproachable honesty. The atmosphere which surrounded him was an atmosphere of creative, collective activity, in which every individual felt himself to be Il'ich's comrade-in-arms and where the leader's authority did not stifle anybody's initiative and lively ideas--whoever he might be--but inspired and elevated everyone to independent search. Lenin did not proclaim his rightness but proved it, and he did not compel but convinced.

The name of Lenin is near and dear to working people the world over. He is forever imprinted on the memory of the peoples as the wisest and most energetic fighter for the interests of the working people, and as one infinitely devoted to his task, convinced of its rightness and inevitable victory.

Lenin's charm as a person lay in his amazing humane qualities, his harmonious cast of mind, his genuine humility, and his heartfelt generosity.

A politician and a tribune, a theorist and a practical worker, a scientist and an organizer, he was firm and unbending in the defense of revolutionary principles, strict and exacting toward himself and others, attentive and solicitous with like-minded people, happy and witty with his friends and devastatingly caustic with his enemies.

He was a hitherto unprecedented type of leader of the masses--the victorious working people, and a new type of man--a herald of the communist future living in the present.

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K. U. CHERNENKO SPEECH AT 26 MARCH 1984 ALL-UNION ECONOMIC CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF THE AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

LD261149 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 19-20

[Text] Comrades: The party Central Committee recognizes the need to hold an all-union economic conference on the problems of the agroindustrial complex. Its aim is to discuss pressing problems of our work in implementing the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the USSR Food Program.

The present-day tasks of party, administrative and economic bodies to further increase the efficiency of agriculture and other branches of this very important sector of the economy are to be defined specifically.

As is known, our party sees concern for the development of agriculture not only as an economic task, but as a paramount sociopolitical task.

We proceed from the premise that a highly developed, efficiently functioning agroindustrial complex is an essential condition for further increasing the material well-being of the people, and for a growth in the efficiency of the whole of the country's economy.

The party and the Soviet government continually bear in mind the problem of the development of agriculture and those branches of the economy linked with it. Immense capital investments and material resources of the country are allocated to this.

Great attention is being devoted to strengthening the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the social development of rural areas, and to improving the organization and labor incentives of the workers.

This is bringing its results. Production and delivery to the state of agricultural produce is increasing; the level and balance of consumption of food products is being enhanced.

In general, the Soviet people can see for themselves that the Food Program drafted by the party is being implemented stage by stage. But this is only the beginning. Ahead are many big and large-scale matters.

Today we are faced with the task of attaining higher levels in production of grain and industrial crops, and in supplying food products to the people, first and foremost meat, milk, fruit and vegetables.

The main path to achieve what has been mapped out is speeding up the transfer of agriculture to the intensive track of development, and a considerable increase in the returns on the potential that has been created at kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

This requires fresh approaches and a decisive improvement in the work of agroindustrial associations, an improvement in the level of all economic work, broad introduction of cost accounting and collective subcontracting and the use of other economic levers; in general, the improvement of everything we understand under management and the economic mechanism.

It is understandable that for this we need not only improve the organizational methods of leadership, but also enhance the level of economic thinking of our cadres.

Speaking frankly, there is very little time for such work, and it is important to resolve, on a compressed time-scale and persistently and consistently, the problems which arise in the development of the agroindustrial complex. This is just what people expect of us.

The CPSU Central Committee considers that profound, concerned and frank discussion of the whole range of these issues is an important stage in the work on fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the economic strategy it formulated for the 1980s.

Allow me, comrades, to wish you success in the work of the all-union conference and to announce its opening (applause).

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S ADDRESS TO A DELEGATION OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE ITALIAN CITY OF ASSISI AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER, 'PRAVDA,' 31 MARCH 1984

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 20-21

[Text] I studied your message in which you express a live and genuine concern for the fate of the world and the peaceful future of all mankind, with particular attention.

The Soviet and Italian peoples, the working people and the people of good will in all countries are united by the single aspiration of preventing the danger of a new war, rescuing mankind from thermonuclear catastrophe, preserving and developing modern civilization and making it, as you justifiably note in your message, a civilization of peace.

The people in the Soviet Union are familiar with the activities of the antiwar movement in Italy and the active participation in it of members of different social and political circles, including members of Catholic organizations and Catholic working people. Communists and Catholics, as is known, hold different philosophical views. But this does not prevent us from jointly struggling for peace when the world is threatened by serious danger.

The threat of nuclear war really grows as a result of the started deployment of new American missiles in Europe and the sharp increase in the activities of the forces of imperialism, which is openly seeking strategic military superiority over the USSR and world domination.

More and more people on earth today are coming to realize the danger of the present march of events, jeopardizing the very existence of mankind. They are not only coming to realize it but also trying vigorously to count it. This is a manifestation of the instinct of self-preservation, which is natural both in every person and in every nation. Today it is becoming embodied in concrete actions--the impressive protest movement involving millions of people. They are opposed to the reckless, shortsighted actions of those politicians who do not realize or do not want to realize how criminal their banking on the uncontrolled and continual buildup of means of exterminating people is.

This inspires the hope that the current situation in the world can be rectified. It can be rectified through the joint and united efforts of government authorities and citizens, regardless of their political, religious and philosophical views, social status or party affiliation. There is no higher

objective than that of safeguarding mankind. There is no more important task than seeing to it that the dreams of a lasting peace and prosperity and blossoming of the people does not remain a splendid utopia only. The road to this is not easy but obvious: it is that of renouncing confrontation, firmly embarking on the path of detente, cooperation and peaceful existence, and setting out radically to reduce armaments on the principles of equality and security.

As we have in the past, today as well we believe that no single opportunity or possibility should be lost for resuming the talks. The peoples of the European countries and the broad circles of public opinion are called upon to play an increasingly significant role in this matter.

I use this opportunity to ask you to tell the Italian people that the Soviet Union will continue to pursue a course of peace, detente and friendship among peoples and will actively struggle for putting an end to the arms race, to nuclear armaments above all.

I wish success to all participants in the Italian antiwar movement and its different components and in their activities aimed at preventing a nuclear threat and freeing Europe and our entire planet from the clouds of the nuclear threat.

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K. U. CHERNENKO REPLY TO THE APPEAL OF LEADING FIGURES OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

LD041353 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 21-22

[To President of the Socialist International Willy Brandt, the leaders of the socialist, social-democratic and labor parties comprising the Socialist International. Published in PRAVDA, 5 April 1984]

[Text] It was with great attention that I familiarized myself with your appeal. We quite understand the anxiety over the fact that the situation in Europe, and in the international affairs as a whole, has seriously deteriorated.

The arms race, including nuclear arms, is gathering momentum, becoming increasingly formidable. At the same time the process of negotiations on questions of nuclear arms limitations and reductions has been disorganized, and as facts indicate, deliberately so.

All this is the result of the well-known policy aimed at breaking the existing balance of forces and gaining a military strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. And no lulling statements alleging that nothing special is taking place and no ostensible peaceableness can hide all the harmfulness of such a policy.

We share the viewpoint, expressed in your appeal, that it is necessary to work for a change in a better direction. Yes, a dialogue is necessary including, of course, one between the Soviet Union and the United States. But a dialogue which is honest, businesslike, and aimed at working out agreements that would meet the principle of equality and equal security. The Soviet Union has both the will and the determination for such an approach to issues.

This, however, also calls for a corresponding readiness on the part of the United States. In the meantime however, the U.S. Administration, although lately it has been professing its desire for a dialogue with the USSR, is not backing it up with anything specific. Moreover, these professions are belied by practical actions. With each U.S. nuclear missile deployed on European soil, a new step is taken toward the dangerous line. Does this indicate a readiness for really businesslike negotiations, for resolving issues which are so important for the Europeans, for all the peoples?

From this it follows that the matter is not in talking or making statements about a readiness for talks, but rather in the readiness to clear the obstacles which were erected in the way of the talks on nuclear arms limitations and reductions.

It is precisely this approach that is advocated by the Soviet Union.

We have been and remain convinced champions of halting the arms race and reversing it. The whole set of proposals put forward by the Soviet Union is aimed at achieving this. To freeze forthwith all the nuclear arsenals, to limit and substantially reduce the strategic arms, to radically lower the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe, to prevent militarization of space, to prohibit and destroy chemical weapons--these and other measures aimed at removing the war menace are dictated by life. They are realistic and meet in equal degree the interests of all states and hopes of the peoples of the world.

This is also true with respect to our recently tabled proposal to agree on certain norms that would govern the relations between the powers possessing nuclear weapons, and be given an obligatory nature. It is important that all the nuclear powers put the tasks of preventing the nuclear war at the apex of their policy, and arrange their mutual relations accordingly.

Attainment of agreement on the issues mentioned could become the beginning of a veritable breakthrough in the entire international situation, as well as in Soviet-American relations. Through concerted efforts and given a political will, the situation can be changed for the better.

It is important to restore the atmosphere of international trust--there is an acute need for this. A useful role in this can also be played by the Stockholm conference. It is precisely proceeding from such an understanding of the significance and tasks of the conference that the Soviet Union advocates agreeing in the first place on large-scale measures--renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons and of the use of armed forces in general.

Of late various circles in the West, including the Socialist International and many socialist and social-democratic parties, have also produced for their part initiatives aimed at reducing the threat of nuclear war and lessening international tension. This shows that there exists a tendency for reactivating the process of detente.

But this will not happen on its own accord. Effective and urgent measures are needed to put the situation right.

The Soviet Union is prepared for large-scale and energetic cooperation with all states and all peace-loving public forces in the struggle for lessening the danger of war and strengthening peace. This holds true entirely for the parties comprising the Socialist International.

I want to state most definitely for my part that the Soviet Union will continue unswervingly to pursue the course of curbing the arms race, a return to detente and strengthening European and international security.

Respectfully, K. U. Chernenko

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS FROM THE NEWSPAPER 'PRAVDA'

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pp 23-26

[PRAVDA, 9 April 1984].

[Text] Question: What is your assessment of the situation in the world at the present moment? In particular, are there any signs of positive changes in the policy of the United States?

Answer: Alas, the situation in the world is not improving. It remains very dangerous. And this is explained by the U.S. Administration's continued reliance on military force, on the attainment of military superiority, on the imposition of its order of things on other peoples. This was confirmed once again by President Reagan's recent speech at Georgetown University.

Even if, sometimes, peace-loving rhetoric is heard from Washington, it is impossible, however hard one tries, to discern behind it even the slightest signs of readiness to back up these words with practical deeds. In other words, the introduction of new words does not mean a new policy.

Let us turn to such a cardinal problem as ending the nuclear arms race. Perhaps the people in the White House have realized the danger and hopelessness of this race and began to show restraint? Nothing of the sort. On the contrary, the fulfillment of ever new programs of creating and deploying nuclear weapons is being accelerated in the United States. The deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe is continuing as well. All this is being done to break, one way or another, the existing parity of forces.

Such actions do not tally in any way with the task of ending the arms race. And it is not at all by chance that the United States has deliberately frustrated the very process of limiting and reducing nuclear arms and thwarted the talks both on strategic arms and on nuclear arms in Europe.

Our contacts with the American side also show that no positive changes have taken place in the position of the United States on these cardinal questions.

While persisting in its former line that has brought about the breakdown of the talks in Geneva and continuing to deploy its missiles in Western Europe, Washington holds forth about its readiness for a resumption of the talks. But, one may ask, talks on what? Talks on how many, and specifically what, missiles targeted against the Soviet Union and our allies can the United States deploy in Europe? Such talks are not for us.

There is no need to convince us about the usefulness of dialogue, the usefulness of talks. The moment the United States and the other NATO countries who are acting at one with it take measures for the restoration of the situation that existed before the deployment of the new American missiles in Western Europe was started, the Soviet Union will not be found wanting. This is the real road to talks.

Question: How is the situation shaping up in the other fields of arms limitation and disarmament?

Answer: Advance in other questions is also being blocked by the United States. I will dwell on two or three problems.

First of all, space. It is not the first year that the Soviet Union is pressing for an accord directed toward preventing the arms race from spreading to outer space. We constantly raise this question with the leadership of the United States. We do this because we clearly realize the formidable consequences that the militarization of outer space would lead to.

However, in the meantime the American President officially informed the United States Congress a few days ago that the government is starting the fulfillment of a broad arms race program in outer space and has no intention of reaching agreement with the Soviet Union on preventing the militarization of space, supposedly because of the difficulties of verification.

Bluntly and frankly, they do not want to reach an agreement. But going so far as to make a mockery of common sense, they express readiness to talk with us with the sole aim of agreeing that accord on this issue is impossible. It is thus that the people in Washington understand political dialogue and talks in general.

Let us take another key issue, the prohibition of chemical weapons.

As early as 1972 the USSR and other socialist countries proposed at the Geneva Disarmament Committee, by way of an initiative, the conclusion of a convention prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction. It was also then that they submitted a draft of such a convention.

Subsequently, we returned to this matter more than once, specifying our proposals and making them more detailed. But all these years the United States impeded the conclusion of a convention on the total prohibition of chemical weapons. It simply engaged in obstruction.

In Washington they have now decided to pose as champions of a ban on chemical weapons. For several months the American leaders have been promising to submit some proposals in Geneva on this score. But they remain no more than promises--no one has any idea what form they will take--while meantime, as follows from the President's remarks, a program of building and renovating chemical weapons, which are deployed on American territory and outside it, is being accelerated in the United States.



Yet another example. Two Soviet-American treaties on limitations on underground nuclear explosions have not been put into effect so far. They were signed almost 10 years ago and we have repeatedly suggested to the United States to ratify them. But to this day it refuses to do so.

And what subterfuges they are resorting to in this! At first they said that the ratification of these treaties supposedly will hinder the talks on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. Then, when these talks were also frustrated, references began to be made to difficulties of verification.

Of course the matter here has nothing to do with verification; the signed treaties contain most thoroughly worked out provisions on this score. The matter lies in something else, in Washington's refusal to tie its hands with any limitations whatsoever that would impede the building up and perfection of nuclear arms.

I touched on the question of verification also because the United States drags it out whenever it does not want an agreement. When there is a real desire to reach agreement on measures of arms reduction and disarmament, verification has not been and cannot be an obstacle. This is borne out by past experience as well.

Incidentally, considering the policy and practice of the United States, we are interested not less but probably more than it in reliable verification, in adequate and specific measures of arms limitation and disarmament.

Question: It is said sometimes in the West that the Soviet Union purportedly does not wish to have accords with the United States at this time because the USSR is waiting for the outcome of the president elections there. How would you comment on this?

Answer: I will say this. Those who circulate such ideas either do not know or, most probably, deliberately distort our policy. It is a principled policy and is not subject to transient vacillations.

Throughout the history of Soviet-American relations we have dealt with various administrations in Washington. In those cases when realism and a responsible approach to relations with the Soviet Union were shown on the part of the U.S. leadership, matters, it can be said, proceeded normally. This had a favorable effect on the general situation in the world as well but in the absence of such a realistic approach our relations worsened accordingly.

Today, too, we are in favor of having normal, stable relations with the United States, relations based on equality, identical security and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

It now appears that hints about some sort of calculations on our part in connection with the elections in the United States are an attempt by someone to conceal his own reluctance to reach agreements with the Soviet Union on questions that demand their solution. As to the state of affairs on this account, an idea is provided by a comparison of the positions of the two sides if only on the questions that I have just mentioned.

Questions: What in your opinion is necessary for people to stop living in a state of constant fear for peace?

Answer: First of all it is necessary for the policy of states, especially of those possessing necessary weapons, to be oriented at eliminating military danger, at consolidating peace.

Efforts should be directed first of all at stopping and rolling back the arms race. It is time to move from generalities about the usefulness of talks to eliminating the serious obstacles that have been erected in the way of the limitation and reduction of armaments, the development of trust and mutually advantageous cooperation.

I have already mentioned a number of the Soviet Union's far-reaching proposals on concrete questions in these fields. There are also other major questions requiring concrete efforts.

Thus there is no doubt that a resolute turn for the better in the world would have been facilitated by an undertaking by all nuclear states not to be the first to use nuclear arms and also on the quantitative and qualitative freezing of nuclear arsenals. This does not require complex negotiations. Political resolve should be displayed here. The result, no doubt, would be a weighty one in every respect. The main thing is that there would be a clear demonstration of readiness to give up attempts to achieve military superiority over others. Our country does not strive for such superiority but neither will it allow such a superiority over itself.

It is extremely important in general for certain norms pursuing aims of peace to be introduced in relations between states possessing nuclear weapons. I have had occasion to speak about this in detail before.

The task to create an atmosphere of trust in international relations is an urgent one. This requires a responsible and balanced policy on the part of all states and also the adoption of relevant practical measures leading in this direction. The combination of large-scale steps of a political and international-legal order with measures of a military-technical nature, which is advocated by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, would make it possible to ensure the success of the Stockholm conference, make its results a major contribution to the strengthening of European and international security.

The most vigorous efforts must be made to liquidate the existing hotbeds of tension and military conflict in various parts of the world and to prevent the appearance of new ones.

In other words, there are quite numerous possibilities for facilitating by concrete deeds the strengthening of peace and international security.

The Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all states in the attainment of these aims.

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INFORMATION REPORT ON THE PLENUM OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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p 27

[Text] A regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on 10 April 1984.

The plenum examined and approved CPSU Central Committee Politburo proposals on organizational matters and other issues relative to the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation.

Then the plenum discussed the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools. A report on this item was made by Comrade M. V. Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary. Taking part in the debate on the report were Comrades I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; P. S. Fedirko, first secretary of Krasnoyarsk Kraykom; R. F. Dementyeva, second secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; A. P. Aleksandrov, president of USSR Academy of Sciences; and V. A. Petrov, Hero of Socialist Labor and turner at the Zavod imeni Malysheva Production Association in Kharkov.

A major speech at the plenum was made by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum adopted the decrees "On Further Improving the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies" and "On Principal Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." K. U. Chernenko's speech and the plenum decision will be published in the press.

With that the CPSU Central Committee plenum completed its work.

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SPEECH BY K. U. CHERNENKO AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ON 10 APRIL  
1984

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[Text] Comrades, the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR will open tomorrow. We in the Politburo of the Central Committee have thoroughly evaluated the results of the latest elections. They demonstrated the complete approval of and universal support for the party's political course by the working people. The indubitable growth of the prestige of the Soviet form of government was confirmed by the opinion of the more than 180 million voters. It is possible to go ahead confidently with our work on the strength of the trust expressed by the people.

Guidelines for that work were laid down by the 26th CPSU Congress. They were developed and made more specific by subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee. The point at issue is a strategy of advance towards communism which has no room at all either for tardiness in action or for bypassing historically necessitated stages of development. On the road to the party's supreme goals, we are yet to accomplish quite a few major complex tasks which belong to the first phase of communist formation from the point of view of their origin and nature. This basically is the main content of today's large-scale and intensive work to improve developed socialism.

Naturally, this work cannot be done without the large-scale development of the initiative and creative activity of the mass of people and without their most energetic involvement in resolving the key problems of the social life. It is this goal that we have been working for in taking measures to accelerate our economic growth, in directing the party's efforts at drastically improving ideological work. And it is this line that we will continue to pursue in the future.

The very nature of the issues raised at the plenary meeting today gives us an excellent opportunity to sort out thoroughly how better to use the reserves for energizing the mass of people that are latent in the further improvement of socialist democracy and the entire political system of society, first and foremost in improving the activities of the soviets, the political base of the USSR and a potent tool of socialist construction.

Incidentally, shortly after the October Revolution V. I. Lenin formulated the task of making the soviets into bodies of state leadership which would work

not only for the working people but also through the working people (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 170). Today we have every right to say that this task has generally been accomplished. It is through 2.3 million deputies, representatives of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, working people of all nations and nationalities and through tens of millions of activists that the affairs of the state are being run in our country.

Particularly since the adoption of the Soviet Constitution, we have been constantly extending the powers of the soviets at all levels. This has been helping better to embody in their activity the Leninist principle of the unity of legislation, administration and control.

We must admit, comrades, however, that the vast potentialities of the soviets are nevertheless made use of insufficiently. Here is one example. We have had a number of resolutions aimed at enhancing the role of the local soviets in the construction of economic and cultural projects. We hoped--and rightly --that this will help to ensure the comprehensive development of local economies, raise a stronger barrier to parochialism and make it possible better to meet the diverse needs of the population and to improve services to it.

In short, the decisions are good, but they are being fulfilled slowly, and only half-way. Many ministries are still trying to circumvent the local soviets. Concentrating their activity on the construction and modernization of industrial projects, they often do not pay proper attention to housing construction and to social, communal and cultural facilities. Moreover, the soviets themselves, alas, do not always display proper perseverance in exercising their rights. As a result, housing, hospitals and child-care centers fail to go into operation on time every now and then. Uncompleted projects are sometimes accepted as finished and regulations on environmental control are violated.

There also are other problems in the solution of which the soviets should be more active. For instance, can people's deputies reconcile themselves to such facts, about which working people often write to the central bodies, as cold in apartments, unsanitary conditions in a city of community, drawbacks in the operation of transportation, poor street lighting or hooliganism in public places?

Generally speaking, there is a certain contradiction, a discrepancy between the greatest potentialities of the soviets and the way in which they are used in practice. One cannot help recalling here Lenin's idea that it is not enough "to proclaim in formal decrees" the sovereignty of the soviets but that they "must also be practically organized and tested in the course of the regular, everyday work of administration" (op. cit., vol 30, p 278).

The conclusions from all this are obvious. It is necessary to use every method of party influence on the activities of the soviets so as to raise their efficiency and to remove every manifestation of formalism. This is the demand of the day. It faces all the party committees and, of course, the communist deputies, through whom the party is exercising its leading role in

the soviets. What is important here is their example, their responsible attitude to their duties as a deputy. They are called upon to introduce to the work of the soviets the basic element of organization, to rally around themselves all the representatives chosen by the people and to encourage and direct their creative initiative.

It is this, comrades, that constitutes today our main task, facing the party as a whole, in guiding the soviets. We must work to ensure that their sovereignty, formalized in the Constitution, manifests itself constantly and everywhere both in the content and in the style of their work.

Let us take the selfsame work of the sessions. It is here that the essence of the soviets, as organs of real power of the people expressing the interests and collective experience of the people, is revealed most fully. The sessions also play a great role in our economic affairs. They regularly consider and approve plans and reports on their fulfillment. Here arise serious questions of the development of our economy. By the logic of things they should arouse an equally serious, lively exchange of opinions. This, however, happens far from always.

But this is not the only point. Economic work, just as effective control over it, call for concreteness and efficiency. And this, understandably, is difficult to achieve if we turn to it only at sessions, however active they may be.

Every soviet has standing commissions. So it is necessary for these commissions to keep their finger permanently on the pulse of our economic life. This means that they should quickly respond to the needs of the national economy and help find well-motivated economic decisions by the soviets and their executive bodies, and systematically check on the implementation of these decisions. We do have experience in this respect, but the time requires this experience to be considerably enriched.

We have reached an exceedingly important stage in our five-year plan when it is months that we count. But this is not a situation when we can do without further increasing the intensity of our economic work. This is also shown by the results of the first quarter. There are certain successes achieved. At the same time lagging sections are to be clearly seen.

At the next meeting of the Politburo we shall specially examine the progress of implementation of the national economic plan and map out concrete measures for improving the state of affairs. But already now it is clear that it would be only right if all of us, every one of us, do not allow ourselves to relax our efforts. Worry or even concern for the state plan should not leave us for a single minute. So let us agree that one will be asked with greater strictness than ever before to account for any failure, for any work left unfinished this year. Our party position cannot be a different one.

The communist deputies are expected to help assert such an approach to work in the soviets, too. Our economy will gain a great deal if the soviets make it a rule for themselves to assess exactly and objectively the work of economic executives at all levels.

At the Supreme Soviet session we are to approve the composition of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. In this connection I should like to call the attention of our ministers and leading officials of departments to the fact that their role and responsibility in tackling national economic problems is exceedingly great and multifaceted. This is personal creative initiative work. This is the ability and capacity to organize efficient cooperative work of enterprises and organizations in their charge. This is efficient interaction and deciding questions together with allied organizations. And this is, of course, constant concern and attention shown for the needs and requirements of the working people. How successfully a particular leader works, we shall judge not only by the full and timely fulfillment of planned assignments and contractual commitments, but also by the actual efforts made to improve people's living and working conditions.

We have not begun improving all aspects of the system of management of the national economy and we are looking for new forms and structures of economic activity. But the necessary quests for the new must not be allowed, of course, to distract us from a more effective use of the existing institutions of management. In the first place, soviet organs. There is no need here to create new capacities. It is sufficient to use fully the existing ones.

While we are on the subject of management, I cannot but mention the problem of reduction of the administrative apparatus. The work of reducing managerial staffs should be carried on not only at lower and middle levels of management but also at its summits, so to speak. Whether people like it or not, such is the need. The more so that the example of the center is worth a great deal.

We are all aware that this is a serious matter. And it should be dealt with in party style. First, it is necessary to leave aside subjective considerations. And second, to realize that this is not a temporary campaign. Our objective is to achieve an optimum correlation in the numbers of people engaged in production and in management. Transferring people from one office to another is not the way to deal with the problem. It is necessary to remove the causative factors behind the swelling of the administrative apparatus, to constantly improve the organization and technical equipment of managerial work. And of course, to create conditions under which people themselves would be interested in moving, to put it figuratively, from the office desk to the machine tool. It is clear what problems arise in this connection. And these should be dealt with in earnest by state and planning bodies and certainly the supreme and local soviets.

We, comrades, remember Lenin's demand that the soviets should organize their work "with a view to giving prime place to effective control for actual fulfillment of the decisions of the central authorities and of local institutions..." (op. cit., vol 37, p 366). This has in general been achieved. Many soviets make fruitful use of their right to control the activities of the agencies and officials accountable to them, and of the organizations and enterprises located in their territories. But the communist deputies, the party groups in the soviets still have to do more in this respect.

There is, for example, quite an effective form of control known as a deputy's official request for information. I queried whether it is used often. It turned out that over recent years in all soviets there has been on the average one such filed request per some 30 deputies. Taken by itself, the figure maybe says little. But compare it with the flow of letters from working people to the Central Committee, the newspapers and also to the soviets of all levels. Many letters raise major issues of our life, which worry people. I am sure that the people's deputies both know well these concerns of the working people and share them. It appears, however, that not all know how to express them in the soviets and submit them to public discussion.

The soviets' role ought evidently to be raised also in control over compliance with all their decisions and all Soviet laws. Nobody in this country is allowed either to break laws or to circumvent them. I am speaking about what is common knowledge. But I am speaking about it because, alas, not all draw the necessary practical conclusion from it.

There is no need to go far for examples. Many of us have encountered the following situation on more than one occasion. A five-year or a yearly plan has just been discussed and unanimously endorsed. It has therefore acquired the force of law. And what happens next? It is a fact that representatives of this or another department, of this or another region frequently demand, for no valid reason, additional materials and funds in excess of what has already been allocated to them under the plan. This, to speak bluntly, is our old trouble. Some comrades have become so accustomed to it that they regard it nearly as a norm of life. Moreover, somebody apparently believes that "the thrust of a go-getter" in wrangling extra funds is the best proof of an instinct for business.

This, of course, is not correct. True business instinct is needed in drawing up plans, in discussing them in the commissions and at the soviets' sessions. This is where one should argue, defend the interests of the constituents, expressed in their instructions to deputies, and stock up for one's opinion. But once the plan has become a law, it must be respected, abided by and strictly fulfilled. This is not only a question of economic discipline. This is also a question of party, political responsibility. If it is not us communists, and communists in official posts at that, that should first of all show concern for heightening the authority of the laws of soviet government, then who should?

It is not said for nothing that laws are strict but fair. We have strict laws indeed. And they should be observed just as strictly. Otherwise, all efforts to enhance order, organization and socialist legality will be wasted. But it is of course not to contain people's initiative, squeeze their lives into a "vise," as it is claimed in the West, that we are showing so much concern for this. No. What is important to us in a law is not only its strictness but also its fairness, and fairness interpreted most widely at that-- fairness both in that all are equal before law and in that our legal norms, our legislation are directed at protecting the interests of the working people and at encouraging them to become more active in work and public life.



This was the thrust of the large amount of legislative work done by the Supreme Soviet, 10th convocation. Let me mention, for example, the Law on Labor Collectives that it passed. The USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the constituent republics will certainly continue following this line also in the future. The main thing is to make sure that both the existing laws and the new laws, which will be adopted, shall serve the flowering of socialist democracy and the interested involvement of ever broader masses in running production, the state and society.

Comrades! In a country such as ours the tasks of perfecting relations between nationalities, naturally, may not be removed from the agenda. The soviets, which have played an outstanding role in eliminating national strife and fostering fraternal friendship between different peoples, should seriously delve into the contents of the nationalities question also in the form it takes in conditions of developed socialism, for this is the sphere where fruitful work cannot be conducted but on a collectivist, internationalist basis, by taking into account all the fine points of the matter.

Both the structure and the activities of our soviets, in the first place the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, strikingly embody the unity of the international and the national. This served and serves well the strengthening of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At the same time we do not see relations between nationalities, which have taken shape in our state, as something set and unalterable, which is not subject to the influence of new circumstances and time. This means that, while developing the existing organizational forms and methods of work, which have justified the flourishing of nations and their coming still closer to one another. I think that this question, posed by the course of life itself, deserves the attention of both the members of the Central Committee and the deputies serving on the Supreme Soviet.

The soviets, first of all the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, make a tangible contribution also to intensive day-to-day work aimed at achieving our foreign policy tasks. We all know well how complicated the present-day international situation is. The CPSU and the Soviet state are exerting tremendous efforts to avert nuclear war and to preserve and consolidate peace on earth. With consistency and initiative, we are working to defuse tension in world politics, curb the arms race and reliably ensure the country's security. Consolidating the international positions of socialism and strengthening solidarity with the liberation movements are also among our daily concerns.

The standing commissions for foreign affairs of the Supreme Soviet's chambers do much to develop our links with the outside world and represent the country at important international meetings, in what are sometimes difficult talks. But so far only a comparatively narrow circle of deputies have been active in this responsible work. For others the fulfillment of their parliamentary duties has often been reduced mostly to participation in protocol functions. This is hardly justified.

The foreign affairs commissions could do more to coordinate and supervise the activities of departments and organizations concerned with international affairs, and to hear at their meetings representatives of those bodies more

often. In other words, the need has arisen to broaden the framework for the activities of the deputies participating in those commissions.

I want to say a few words specifically about the work of the soviets in further strengthening the defense capability of our homeland. The present-day situation demands from us constant and comprehensive efforts to ensure the security of the country and to protect dependably the peaceful labor of the Soviet people. The soviets should make their contribution towards the accomplishment of that task.

In sum, comrades, the communist deputies, the party committees and the party as a whole should work to ensure that the soviets display at all times an active concern for everything which makes up the life of the people and the country.

The attention of Soviet people is now riveted on the school reform. It is a question of major general political importance, which as a matter of fact has prompted us to raise it at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

Every new generation must attain a higher level of education and general culture, occupational and professional skills and civic activity for Soviet society to advance to our lofty goals confidently. This, we can say, is the law of social progress.

Under conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the avalanche-like growth of information, this law is making unprecedentedly high demands both on those who study and on those who teach, from an ordinary teacher to the minister. The reform is called upon precisely to provide every necessary precondition for meeting these demands and, naturally, for removing all the existing shortcomings in education, in particular, in the administration of education.

Now that a nationwide discussion has taken place, the draft of the party Central Committee on the school reform has been enriched with the collective reason and practical experience of millions. I would like to join those comrades who have proposed that it should be approved and submitted for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet.

Now we should give thought to ensuring that the ideas of the reform are fully introduced in practice rather than remain on paper. The main thing here is to put the entire work of transforming the school on a solid material and organizational basis. It is necessary to take care of many things, from restructuring the academic process, organizing the work of schoolchildren and streamlining foster homes and boarding schools to improving the living conditions of teachers.

I can say, incidentally, that salaries for teachers and other workers to public education will begin to be raised stage by stage, by an average of 30 to 35 percent already beginning September 1. This measure will be extended to 6 million people. It will take about 3.5 billion rubles a year. It is not easy to find such a sum in the state budget. But we think that it is a very correct, efficient investment of public money.

The school reform is not a one-time undertaking and the point here is not only that it is planned to spread over two five-year periods. When it comes to people, let alone children, you cannot plan every detail. Practice will undoubtedly adjust some of our targets and plans and we should not fear this. What is important is not to lose sight of our strategic goal, namely the formation of the comprehensively developed individual.

It is also important to have a clear idea of the character and scope of those problems which are arising in connection with the reform but which go beyond its boundaries in many respects. For instance, it is planned to set aside or create several million workplaces with modern equipment in different sectors of the economy in order to organize the productive work of senior schoolchildren. This is precisely how the task is formulated, comrades. So the State Planning Committee is to harmoniously fit this great undertaking into guidelines for the economic and social development of the country for the 12th Five-Year Plan and up to the year 2000.

The closer we bring the school and production together, the greater effect we will get from the reform.

It will be both an educational and a political effect. As they enter independent life, Soviet young people must have high cultural and educational standards and be industrious. Whatever our children may become--workers or agronomists, scientists or engineers--they should be educated in class consciousness in work collectives. It is necessary to make efforts to ensure that their introduction to production yields precisely that educational effect which we need.

We also expect from the reform an effect in terms of the economy: manpower. Every job created for senior schoolchildren should generate for society a practical result--let it be small but it must be real. And after secondary school millions of graduates of general and vocational technical schools, equipped with sound knowledge and essential work skills, will come to work in the national economy.

I should like to stress that the emphasis we are putting now on the education of schoolchildren through productive work, which they are able to do, though being of principled importance, does not cancel out the truth that the main work for children is, of course, studying, the gaining of sound knowledge in the fundamentals of science. Hence, the demand for improving the teaching of all general-education subjects, including of course humanities, at school. Without this it is impossible to staff reliably today, and especially in perspective, all sections of communist construction with people who know their work well and who are able to continuously mature professionally and intellectually.

All the teaching process today should become, in much greater measure than before, a vehicle of ideological content. While removing excessive stuff from school programs and creating new, intelligible textbooks we must not lighten them ideologically or lower the scientific standard of teaching. It is the mission of the school to mold a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in the

pupils, an ability to think independently and creatively, to develop an awareness of their responsibility for the destinies of the socialist homeland. And of course, to cultivate in them a strong immunity to the views and mores alien to us.

It is necessary that subjects of communist ethics should not only be discussed in schools, but also that children be taught to behave in accordance with this set of ethics. It is for this purpose that the principles of self-administration should be developed more actively in school collectives. Naturally this should be done with clever assistance from the teachers. There should be no formalism or boredom in the work of young Pioneer squads and Komsomol organizations at school.

But for all its great role, the school is not bringing up the young person alone. The fundamental traits of character and basic life-building principles are laid in the family. And no good can be expected in cases when the school teaches the youngster one thing and the family something quite different. No party and Komsomol organizations or work collectives have the right to ignore such cases.

The reform creates conditions for the coordinated development of the entire public education system. Including, of course, the higher school which is exerting a considerable influence on the rates of our economic, social and spiritual progress as well as on the defense capacity of the country. It is here that human prerequisites are created for what is our primary concern--to assure an organic combination of the socialist system of economic management and the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

The 26th Party Congress and the June Central Committee Plenum pointed to considerable shortcomings in the work of the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR. But the tasks set before high school have not been accomplished. This is evidently due to the force of inertia and old habits, though there are also some objective difficulties involved here. It is necessary to find out what is what and to correct the state of affairs.

Generally speaking, comrades, it is necessary to see how the decisions of the 26th Congress in all fields are carried out. A new party congress is to be held soon and we must be preparing for it already now.

For us communists, preparations for a congress are a period of appraisal and summing up of what has been achieved, a period of active consolidation of all the positive things we have achieved. It is also a time for drawing lessons from the mistakes made, for a self-critical analysis of shortcomings, for finding ways of overcoming them and, what is important, for outlining ways of solving new great tasks.

The fulfillment of these tasks in a decisive measure depends on the cadres. The cadres are indeed the golden fund of the party and the state. And it needs constant replenishment, a steady influx of fresh forces. Besides, as the report-and-election campaign in the party organizations has shown, not all communists in elected posts justify the trust placed in them. An efficient, thought-out system is important in work with the cadres like nowhere

else. Neither their frequent replacements nor any ossification of the cadres' composition are admissible. As it stands, all our party committees have reserves for promotion. But why is it, comrades, that when it is needed to find a capable person to fill a responsible office, this is sometimes very difficult to do? It appears that the reserves often are just on paper. Full clarity should be introduced in this most important field of work. With this aim in mind, we are going to thoroughly examine in the Politburo the questions of the present-day policy concerning the cadres.

Comrades, in summing up the work done, we should constantly and carefully analyze the progress of the implementation of all our major social and economic programs such as the Food and the Energy Programs.

Special attention is now demanded by the elaboration of the 12th Five-Year Plan. It is no less important to determine the key problems and prospects of the country's development in the next few decades, since we are going to submit for discussion at the 27th Party Congress a new edition of the party program. It is needed not only to furnish the party program with a solid theoretical foundation but also to integrate it organically with well-grounded economic plans and forecasts. This will allow us to draw an objective, realistic picture of perfecting developed socialism and ensuring gradual progress to communism.

So, as the 27th Party Congress is approaching we need to lay a substantial ideological foundation for it in advance. The best in this work can be provided by Lenin's words that "we are now doubly in need of such a more general, broader, and more far-reaching outlook..." (op. cit., vol 38, p 41).

Yes, we should markedly intensify the party's collective thinking, and not only theoretical thinking but also political thinking. Theory, enriched with new experience, and experience, creatively interpreted in light of the Marxist-Leninist theory, has always been and is the most important source of strength to our party.

Comrades, the plenum today discussed questions which concern every communist, every Soviet citizen. We are adopting correct decisions. High responsibility for their destiny is going to rest on all the participants in the plenum. Now we all together need to persistently translate them into reality by the joint effort of the entire party and all people.

(The speech was heard with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by prolonged applause).

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ON FURTHER IMPROVING THE WORK OF THE SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

PM111019 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84)  
pp 36-37

[CPSU Central Committee Decree of 10 April 1984]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee decrees:

1. To fully approve the propositions and conclusions put forward by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech at the Central Committee plenum on the main avenues for further improving the work of the soviets of people's deputies and enhancing their role in implementing the communist party's socioeconomic policy and improving the state of the whole people and socialist democracy.

2. Union republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms, guided by the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, must adopt the necessary measures to enhance the level of party leadership of soviet organs, seeking to ensure that each soviet of people's deputies persistently improves the content and style of its activity and effectively realizes its potential and the powers laid down by the USSR Constitution.

The soviets' role in economic building, in the fulfillment of state plans, in enhancing the efficiency of socialist production, and in ensuring a comprehensive approach to economic and social development and the correct combination of territorial and sector principles in management is to be consistently increased. The soviets' responsibility for the fuller satisfaction of the working people's needs, the supply of foodstuffs to the population, the expansion of the production and improvement of the quality of consumer goods, the fulfillment of plans for building housing and sociocultural facilities and the all-around improvement of the service sphere and all aspects of Soviet people's life and living conditions, is to be stepped up.

The soviets' political education and mass cultural work among the population is to be improved, channeling it into enhancing the level of Soviet people's education, labor and social activeness. Working people are also to be educated in the spirit of mutual respect and friendship among all the country's nations and ethnic groups, love for the Soviet motherland, and readiness to defend socialism's great gains.

The effectiveness of the soviets' monitoring of management organs' work is to be increased. It is necessary to strive to ensure that the soviets exactly and objectively assess the activity of officials and economic leaders at all levels and devote more attention to the fulfillment of voters' instructions, the improvement and reduction of the administrative apparatus, the strengthening of law and order, and the enhancement of the authority of the laws of soviet power.

It is necessary to improve the practice of preparing and conducting soviet sessions, sessions of executive committees and standing commissions and to make fuller use of them to uncover existing reserves, criticize shortcomings and elaborate comprehensively substantiated decisions. Deputies' inquiries [zaprosy] must be used more widely. Instances of formalism must be persistently eradicated and the soviets' ties with the masses strengthened in every way.

3. Party committees must improve the selection, placing and education of soviet cadres and ensure the clear-cut delimitation of the functions of party and soviet organs. Exactingness toward communists who are elected soviet deputies must be increased. Communists are called upon to set an example in fulfilling their deputies' duties and displaying attentiveness toward the working people's requirements, to rally all the people's elected representatives around them and to encourage and direct their creative initiative. The activeness of party groups and party organizations within soviets and their executive organs must persistently be developed.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum considers the development of all aspects of the activity of supreme and local soviets of people's deputies, their strict implementation of the Leninist principle of the unity of legislation, management and control and the wide involvement of millions of working people in the committed management of state affairs to be a most important task for the whole party.

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## BASIC DIRECTIONS OF THE REFORM OF GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 37-40

[CPSU Central Committee Plenum Decree of 10 April 1984]

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report submitted by Comrade M. V. Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, the CPSU Central Committee notes the great political, socioeconomic and ideological significance of the reform of general education and vocational schools as a major component of the planned and comprehensive advancement of developed socialist society.

The CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools" provides a scientific concept for the training and education of young people and their preparation for life and work under contemporary conditions. It is a further development of Lenin's ideas of the single labor polytechnical school. It earmarks the party's strategic line in the area of public education in accordance with the stipulations of the 26th Congress and the June 1983 and February 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The purpose of the reform is to enhance the work of general education and vocational schools to a qualitatively new level, to eliminate shortcomings in its activities, to ensure the profound mastery of the foundations of science by the students and to develop in them firm communist beliefs, industriousness and moral purity and to educate them in a spirit of love for our socialist multinational homeland, readiness to defend it and a spirit of proletarian internationalism. The implementation of the reform will enable us radically to improve the labor training and vocational guidance of the students on the basis of combining training with productive labor, to train skilled worker cadres in vocational-technical schools and to expand the general secondary education of young people with general vocational training.

The Central Committee draft met with unanimous approval and support in the course of a nationwide discussion. Discussion meetings were attended by 120 million people and 7 million spoke. Extensive materials on the school reform were published in the press. The party and soviet bodies received thousands of letters from the working people on this matter. The discussion of the draft proved with renewed strength the truly democratic nature of the socialist system and the inviolable unity between party and people.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses its profound gratitude to workers, kolkhoz members, specialists, scientists, educators and students, to all



Soviet people who actively participated in the discussion of the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools, supported the CPSU Central Committee draft and submitted their specific suggestions and remarks.

The CPSU Central Committee decrees:

1. To approve on the whole the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools, further elaborated on the basis of suggestions and remarks received in the course of the nationwide discussion.

To give its full support to the programmatic stipulations and conclusions on problems of development of public education contained in the speech of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the plenum and to consider them the foundation of activities of party, soviet and economic bodies, public organizations and labor collectives. To proceed in this work from the fact that upgrading the education and culture of the people is the most important prerequisite for the comprehensive strengthening of the country's ideological-political, economic and defense potential, the development of socialist democracy and the successful advance of Soviet society toward communism.

2. To submit the question of the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools for consideration by the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation.

3. The central committees of union republics and the party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, the ministries and departments and the soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol bodies must develop extensive organizational and mass political work for the implementation of the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools.

The basic measures of the school reform must be carried out step by step in accordance with national characteristics and local conditions in the course of the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans (1984-1990). Plenums of respective party committees and sessions of soviets of people's deputies must draft and approve for each republic, kray, oblast, city and rayon specific plans for the implementation of the reform. This very year real steps must be taken to improve the school education process and the labor training and vocational guidance of the students. A gradual conversion to the education of children as of the age of 6 must be suitably prepared and organizedly carried out starting with 1986.

The party committees must ensure the coordinated activities of all soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol bodies, schools and labor collectives for the implementation of the reforms; they must enhance the level of management of school establishments by party organizations and skillfully resolve the problems which exist in the development of education. Greater attention must be paid to the social and family upbringing of the growing generation.

The Central Committee plenum emphasizes that concern for schools and people's teachers is a most important party and state task. The CPSU Central Committee deems necessary a substantial increase in the wages of teachers and other personnel in public education.

4. The USSR Ministry of Education, USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education must draft and implement comprehensive measures aimed at the implementation of the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools. The narrow departmental approach to the matter and manifestations of formalism and bureaucratism in the management of public education must be decisively eliminated and the workstyle must be improved. Greater initiative, persistence and practicality must be shown in resolving all vital problems related to school activities. Particular attention must be paid to work with school and vocational and technical school principals. The level of training of pedagogical cadres must be enhanced and the system for upgrading the skills and certification of teachers must be perfected.

Interdepartmental public education commissions must be set up under the USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of kray, oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies with a view to improving the management of general education and vocational schools and executing a unified state policy in the education and upbringing of the young generations. The USSR Council of Ministers must draft a regulation on the commissions within a 3-month period.

5. The councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies must upgrade the level of management of public education. The material base of education must be strengthened and the timely implementation of plans for the building of schools and vocational technical schools, repair of school buildings and equipment must be ensured; the supplying of schools with the necessary equipment and visual training aids must be improved. Steady concern must be shown for education cadres and for improving their working and living conditions.

A base enterprise, organization or establishment must be assigned to each school and vocational-technical school with a view to improving the organization of labor training and upbringing and student vocational guidance.

6. USSR and union republic ministries and departments must create the necessary conditions for the labor training of the students at their subordinate enterprises, organizations and establishments. To this effect they must allocate equipment, workplaces, skilled cadres and raw and other materials and ensure the efficient organization of student work. Together with the school principals the managers of the base enterprises will be personally responsible for the labor training of students and the safety of their work.

7. The Komsomol Central Committee and local bodies must take steps radically to improve the activities of Komsomol organizations in general education and vocational-technical schools and tekhnikums. The center of gravity of organizational and educational work must be shifted directly to the schools and

classrooms. Teachers must be helped in their training and education work and the work of school Komsomol organizations must be structured on the basis of initiative. All efforts must be concentrated on educating convinced fighters for communism, patriots and internationalists. Lofty civic and moral qualities, collectivism, industriousness, a responsible attitude toward training and intolerance of views and tastes alien to our way of life must be instilled in the students. Students must be better prepared for joining the Komsomol.

The Komsomol committees must pay greater attention to the Octobrist and Pioneer organizations. They must participate more actively in the organization of educational work in extracurricular establishments and at places of residence of children and adolescents. They must support useful initiatives and undertakings of the students. Work with young teachers and Pioneer leaders must be improved.

8. The AUCCTU, the trade union central committees and the local trade union bodies must comprehensively improve the work of trade union organizations in schools. They must enhance their role in the development of the creative initiative and activeness of pedagogical collectives and assist in the dissemination of progressive experience. They must concern themselves with improving the working and recreation conditions, cultural services and sanatorium treatment of educators. The activities of Pioneer camps, labor and rest camps and labor associations of students must be improved. More efficient use must be made of existing material facilities for work with children, such as palaces of culture, clubs, libraries, and sports equipment.

9. The editorial boards of the central, republic and local newspapers and periodicals, the television and the radio must extensively explain to the working people the lofty objectives and humanistic meaning of the reform. They must show its importance to the comprehensive progress of our society. They must systematically cover the work of party and soviet bodies for the implementation of the reform of general education and vocational schools. They must disseminate the best experience of school party organizations and collectives and the dedicated efforts of Soviet teachers.

The creative unions, writers, painters, composers, theater and motion picture workers and workers in cultural institutions must extensively help the schools in the communist upbringing of student youth.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum expresses its firm confidence that the implementation of the reform of general education and vocational schools will be adopted by the entire party and people as their own and will contribute to the further improvement of the training and communist upbringing of the growing generations and the accelerated economic and social progress of our society.

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SPEECH BY M. S. GORBACHEV

LD111406 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84)  
pp 41-42

[Text] Comrade deputies:

On the instruction of the CPSU Central Committee I submit for your consideration a proposal supported by the party group of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Elders of the chambers for electing Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (tempestuous and sustained applause. Everybody stands up).

This issue was examined at the CPSU Central Committee plenum yesterday. Relying on the experience of party and state construction in the past years and proceeding from the supreme interests of the Soviet society and state, the Central Committee plenum unanimously found it necessary that the general secretary of our party Central Committee, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, should concurrently hold the position of chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (sustained applause).

This decision is inseparably linked with the guiding role of the communist party in our society, endorsed in the Constitution of the USSR, with the fact that the party has determined and is determining the main directions in the activity of all elements of the political system, above all of the Soviet state. Practice over many years has convincingly proved that realization of the party policy in state activity has been and remains a major condition for resolving successfully social and economic tasks, perfecting developed socialism, enhancing the role and authority of soviets of people's deputies at all levels and broadening and deepening socialist democracy.

Simultaneous performance by the general secretary of CPSU Central Committee of the functions of chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is of tremendous importance for pursuing the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The representation of our supreme state interests by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in the international arena convincingly reflects the fact that the Soviet Union foreign policy is inseparable from the course of the communist party, whose fundamental principles were formulated in the Peace Program formulated at the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses and at subsequent party Central Committee plenums.

Communists and all Soviet people know Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko as a steadfast fighter for communism and peace and tested leader of the Leninist type, possessing remarkable political and organizational abilities and vast life experience.

For many years, taking a direct part in shaping and putting into life the political course of our party, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko has been giving all his energy and knowledge to promoting the country's economic and defensive might and improving the people's well-being. He knows well from his own experience the sphere of activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, work of deputies, the specifics of the development of the system of soviets and development of legislation. He has made a considerable contribution to elaborating the theory and practice of socialist democracy, perfecting the state apparatus and strengthening ties of party and local government bodies with the working masses.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko headed the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet which has energetically pursued under his leadership the foreign policy course of our party and state. The tremendous work being done by the CPSU to lessen international tension, to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear war and to promote world peace is connected in a most direct manner with his activity.

The speeches by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko at the February and yesterday's CPSU Central Committee plenum and his address to the electorate of Moscow's Kuybyshev District contain an extensive constructive program for the socioeconomic and political development of our country and for improving the international situation. That program is wholeheartedly supported by the Soviet people and by the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries. It has been highly appreciated by the world public.

All this, comrade deputies, makes it possible to express the firm confidence that the election of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the position of chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet will greatly promote the common cause and the accomplishment of those colossal tasks which are facing us today, and make it possible effectively to pursue the foreign and domestic policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state (sustained applause).

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USSR SUPREME SOVIET DECREE ON ELECTION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 43-45

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics decrees:

The following are elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, Kuybyshev Electoral District, Moscow City, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Vasiliy Vasilyevich Kuznetsov, deputy of the Volgograd Electoral District, RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member.

Deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Mikhail Alekseyevich Yasnov, deputy from the Irkutsk Electoral District, RSFSR, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Aleksey Fedoseyevich Vatchenko, deputy from the Sinelnikovo Electoral District, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Ivan Yevteyevich Polyakov, deputy from the Minsk Rural Electoral District, Minsk Oblast, Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Akil Umurzakovich Salimov, deputy from the Chartak Electoral District, Namangan Oblast, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Bayken Ashimovich Ashimov, deputy from the Karaganda-Kirov Electoral District, Karaganda Oblast, Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Pavel Georgiyevich Gilashvili, deputy from the Gegechkori Electoral District, Georgian SSR, Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Kurban Ali ogly Khalilov, deputy from the Baku-Shaumyan Electoral District, Azerbaijan SSR, Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Antanas Stasevich Barkauskas, deputy from the Panevezhis Electoral District, Lithuanian SSR, Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Ivan Petrovich Kalin, deputy from the Ungeny Electoral District, Moldavian SSR, Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Petr Yakubovich Strautmanis, deputy from the Valmiyera Electoral District, Latvian SSR, Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Temirbek Khudaybergenovich Koshoyev, deputy from the Osh Electoral District, Kirghiz SSR, Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Gaibnazar Pallayev, deputy from the Vakhsh Electoral District, Tajik SSR, Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Babken Yesayevich Sarkisov, deputy from the Sevan Electoral District, Armenian SSR, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Bally Yazkuliyeu, deputy from the Tashauz Electoral District, Turkmen SSR, Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman;

Arnold Feodorovich Ryuytel, deputy from the Vilyandi Electoral District, Estonian SSR, Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Tengiz Nikolayevich Menteshashvili, deputy from the Mtskheta Electoral District, Georgian SSR.

Members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Nikolay Gennadiyevich Basov, deputy from the Sevastopol Electoral District, Moscow City, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences P. N. Lebedev Physics Institute and All-Union Znaniye Society Board chairman;

Rimma Aleksandrovna Gavrilova, deputy from the Kovrov Electoral District, Vladimir Oblast, weaver at the Vyazniki Industrial Linen Textiles Production Association;

Rasul Gamzatovich Gamzatov, deputy from the Oktyabrskiy Electoral District, Dagestan ASSR, writer, Dagestan ASSR Writers Union Board chairman and USSR Writers Union Board secretary;

Aleksandr Vasilyevich Gitalov, deputy from Kirovograd Electoral District, Ukrainian SSR, tractor team leader on the XX Syezd KPSS Kolkhoz in Kirovograd Oblast's Novoukrainskiy Rayon;

Viktor Vasilyevich Grishin, deputy from the Perovskiy Electoral District, Moscow City, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Moscow CPSU Gorkom first secretary;

Georgiy Mikhaylovich Yegorov, deputy from the Kamenets-Podolsk Electoral District, Khmel'nitskiy Oblast, All-Union DOSAAF Central Committee chairman;

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, deputy from the Serov Electoral District, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom first secretary;

Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov, deputy from the Moskovskiy Electoral District, Leningrad City, Leningrad CPSU Obkom first secretary;

Nikolay Anatolyevich Zlobin, deputy from the Tushinskiy Electoral District, Moscow City, comprehensive team leader at the No 111 Construction Administration of the Zelenogradstroy Construction and Installation Production Association;

Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev, deputy from the Alma-Ata-Leninskiy Electoral District, Alma-Ata Oblast, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee first secretary;

Viktor Maksimovich Mishin, deputy from the Nefteyugansk Electoral District, Tyumen Oblast, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary;

Nadezhda Pavlovna Otke, deputy from the Chukotskiy Electoral District, Chukotsk Okrug Ispolkom chairman;

Nina Nikolayevna Ryzhova, deputy from the Podolsk Electoral District, Moscow Oblast, electric welder at the Podolsk Ordzhonikidze Machine-Building Plant;

Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov, deputy from the Minsk-Sovetskiy Electoral District, Minsk Oblast, Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary;

Rudolf Nikolayevich Stakheyev, deputy from the Kemerovo Electoral District, RSFSR, extraction [ochistnaya] team leader at the "Nagornaya" Mine of the Gidrougol Production Association, Novokuznetsk;

Valentina Vladimirovna Tereshkova, deputy from the Leninskiy Electoral District, Yaroslavl Oblast, Soviet Women's Committee chairman;

Gumer Ismagilovich Usmanov, deputy from the Buinskiy Electoral District, Tatar ASSR, Tatar CPSU Obkom first secretary;

Inamzhon Buzrukovich Usmankhodzhayev, deputy from the Tashkent-Oktyabrskiy Electoral District, Uzbek SSR, Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee first secretary;

Midkhat Zakirovich Shakirov, deputy from the Kumertau Electoral District, Bashkir ASSR, Bashkir CPSU Obkom first secretary;

Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, deputy from the Inta Electoral District, Komi ASSR, AUCCTU chairman;



Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy, deputy from the Leninskiy Electoral District, Kiev City, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary.

K. Chernenko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

T. Menteshashvili, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary.

Moscow, the Kremlin, 11 April 1984.

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5003

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SPEECH BY DEPUTY K. U. CHERNENKO ON ELECTION OF USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 46-47

[Text] Dear comrades:

I believe that I am expressing the feelings of the entire membership of the just-elected USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by sincerely thanking the CPSU Central Committee and all of you, comrade deputies, for the high trust placed in us (applause).

We well realize that this trust makes it incumbent upon us to dedicate all our forces, knowledge and experience to serving our party, the Soviet people and our socialist homeland.

Allow me to express to you my most profound gratitude for the high honor bestowed on me--my election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (applause). I fully realize the tremendous responsibility which the implementation of such obligations entails at the present time. More than ever before today we need major and thoroughly weighed decisions and extensive organizational work in order significantly to enhance the efficiency of the economy and, on this basis, steadily to improve the living conditions of all Soviet people.

Foreign policy requires constant activeness, firmness and consistency in the search for ways to achieve sensible agreements. It is aimed at eliminating international tension and ensuring safety and our state interests in the international arena and defending peace the world over.

The USSR Supreme Soviet, its Presidium and its standing commissions play a tremendous role in all of our actions aimed at improving developed socialism. They are doing extensive work in the areas of economic and sociocultural construction, the development of legislation and foreign policy.

I believe that today the guidance of soviets on all levels and increasing control over the implementation of decisions and the activities of management bodies and the struggle for upgrading discipline, organization and responsibility in all sectors must assume a special role in their activities. This is a broad area for upgrading the activeness and initiative of every deputy.

Those elected by the people concentrate within themselves the experience, wisdom and creative energy of the people. Their general and individual

contributions determine the pulse beat of the work of our supreme power body and its effectiveness and efficiency.

Therefore, let us all together work in such a way that this pulse beats smoothly and efficiently, ensuring the successful solution of the problems related to our domestic development and the struggle for peace and international security.

The labor and social activeness of the masses has increased noticeably of late. This is the direct result of the work we undertook in the fields of economics and ideological-political upbringing.

All aspects of soviet activities and efforts aimed at the further advancement of socialist democracy and the entire political system of our society must actively serve this purpose.

As was noted at yesterday's Central Committee plenum, many unused reserves remain in the work of the soviets. We must do all we can to activate them.

Particular attention should be paid to the role which the soviets could and should play in our economic affairs and in perfecting the economic management system.

It is important for the soviets to implement their control functions even more energetically and to display greater exigency toward organizations and officials accountable to them.

The legislative, executive and monitoring activities of the soviets should serve the organization and the development of the energy of the masses. This also demands paying greater attention to the real interests and requirements of the working people and the systematic uprooting of features of formalism and red tape which, unfortunately, still exists in the work of the soviets.

I believe that it would be suitable to set ourselves the following basic tasks for the immediate future, guided by the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums:

Persistently to see to it that the constitutional rights of the soviets are exercised to the fullest extent and that the bodies of our popular rule in fact ensure the most active, conscious and interested participation of the working people in managing the national economy and all affairs of society and the state.

In conclusion, allow me to thank you once again, comrades, for your high trust and to express the confidence that in the forthcoming period the party and the entire Soviet people will achieve new successes in the development of the economy and the enhancement of the culture and well-being of the Soviet people and in strengthening universal peace on earth (tempestuous, sustained applause. All stand up).

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5003  
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DEPUTY K. U. CHERNENKO'S SPEECH ON APPOINTING THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
CHAIRMAN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 47-48

[Text] Comrade deputies:

We must resolve the problem of appointing a USSR Council of Ministers chairman.

Allow me, on the instruction of the party's Central Committee, to present for your consideration the motion of the party group in the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Elders to reappoint to the position of USSR Council of Ministers chairman Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member (sustained applause).

If this motion is adopted, comrade deputies, we could instruct Comrade Tikhonov to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet a motion concerning the membership of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Today your government, which is to be approved at this session, faces major and serious tasks.

It is a question, above all, of successfully completing the five-year plan.

The 11th Five-Year Plan has currently reached an exceptionally important level in the implementation of the broad comprehensive programs which determine the growth of our homeland's economic and defense power and the enhancement of the material and spiritual standards of the Soviet people.

At the same time, we must as of now engage in most energetic work on drafting the new 12th Five-Year Plan.

While systematically implementing the firm conversion of public production to intensive development, it is a question of paying steady attention to the further improvement of planning and management and to the advancement of our entire economic mechanism.

Finally, it is a question of pursuing an active foreign policy aimed at ensuring favorable living and working conditions for the Soviet people and the fraternal socialist countries and relieving mankind from the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe and strengthening peace and international security (sustained applause).

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S 13 APRIL ADDRESS TO PRESIDIUM

LD131202 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84)  
pp 49-51

[Text] Opening the meeting, Comrade K. U. Chernenko warmly congratulated the members of the Presidium on the election to membership of this permanently operating organ of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and expressed the confidence that all members of the Presidium will spare no effort or energy in order to rise to the responsibility placed on them by the party and the Supreme Soviet.

We, he said, are now at a responsible stage in the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is important that the work rates that have been achieved in recent years should be not only consolidated but also further developed. The soviets of people's deputies are to play an important role in the solution of these tasks.

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum clearly defined the basic directions for their development at the present stage. The essence of this is that each soviet should fully exercise its rights and duties, should operate actively and effectively, should base itself constantly on the masses and should attract an increasing number of working people into managing the affairs of society and the state.

The USSR Supreme Soviet is an integral part of the whole system of soviets of our country and at the same time their highest element. There is no doubt that since the establishment of the new Constitution the Supreme Soviet has begun to exercise its broad powers much more consistently. The questions that are discussed at its session are now more varied. A large program of legislation has been carried out. The supervisory activity of the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium and standing commissions is being increased.

At the same time, the Politburo considers that more progress should be made in conducting the policy of broadening the range of problems that come within the purview of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For this purpose, it is necessary more often to submit for discussion at its sessions questions on the state of affairs of various branches of economic or sociocultural constructions, on foreign policy and on the work of soviets of people's deputies.

One of the most important tasks of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko said, is to develop and improve legislation. Much has been

done here in recent years. A whole range of major legislative acts stemming from the USSR Constitution has been adopted, and we are approaching the conclusion of work on the code of laws.

But it cannot be said that everything has been completed in this sphere. By its very essence, the legislative process requires constant improvement and entails systematic work. An important role in performing this task should be played by working out a plan of preparation of legislative acts for the next five-year period--1986-1990--and up to 2000 inclusively.

Experience shows that such planning of legislative work as a whole should be integrated more closely with planning the country's economic and social development. It is exceptionally important, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko stressed, that our laws should define clearly and precisely the rights and obligations of every organ, official and citizen so that they should not be guilty of the sin of abstraction, which Lenin repeatedly criticized.

Such an approach to law-making is one of the necessary conditions for raising responsibility, the level of organization and discipline, which are of particular significance in perfecting mature socialism. This in turn requires a serious increase in control over the implementation of our plans and decisions, so that every letter of Soviet law may be strictly fulfilled.

Supreme control is destined to be one of the main aspects of the day-to-day activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this connection, at the Supreme Soviet sessions and the sittings of its Presidium there should be more frequent examination which gets to the core rather than just treating formalistically reports by the government, ministries, departments, people's control committees, the Supreme Court and prosecutor general.

There should be systematic discussion at the Supreme Soviet sessions of deputies' inquiries to the government and other organs accountable to it.

The standing commissions are called upon to make an ever greater contribution to stepping up the work of the Supreme Soviet, since during the period between sessions they continue the work of the supreme organ of power. In the process, the commissions certainly should not duplicate the work of industrial ministries and departments. The principal sphere of their work is at the junction between industries, where the questions of the integrated development of our economy are tackled, and where overall state interests are defended against all narrow departmental and parochial tendencies.

The standing commissions are called upon to supervise the work of ministries and departments still more deeply and specifically. Taking the results of this supervision as a yardstick, the commissions could be given the right not just to assess the work of administrative bodies but to make appropriate and specific proposals where necessary.

In recent years, Comrade Chernenko continued, the USSR Supreme Court has occupied itself increasingly actively with foreign policy problems. It responds rapidly to the most acute questions of ensuring the security and

peaceful cooperation of the peoples and of the struggle against the arms race. There is no doubt that the key features of the international situation, economic and cultural cooperation with other countries and the development of interparliamentary ties will remain at the center of attention of our supreme organ of power, its foreign affairs commissions and the USSR Parliamentary Group.

Our democratic form of work should be persistently perfected. They should be filled out with specific political content. Greater publicity should be given to the work of the Supreme Soviet. In particular, greater coverage could be given in the press, on radio and television to the discussion of questions in the standing commissions and to the work of deputies in local areas. In the process, the tone in this matter should of course be set by the newspaper IZVESTIYA and the journal SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV.

A real increase of the role of the soviets in economic and cultural construction and the intensification of their responsibility for the solution of social questions and fuller satisfaction of the working people's requirements should be a matter of mutual concern. The short- and long-term tasks of all soviets of people's deputies of our country were fixed at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum. But clearly it will be correct for soviets at their coming sessions to discuss the results of the April Plenum and to work out specific measures to fulfill its decisions.

The rights of the soviets are wide. One needs only to use them appropriately, to uproot formalism, to shake off indifference, to take an active, creative stance in all business.

Here it is especially important, Comrade K. U. Cherenenko further remarked, to be aware of the precise requirements of the local population and to implement them persistently. This is shown to the greatest extent in the work of soviets in fulfilling electors' mandates. Therefore it should be taken as a rule that a mandate adopted for fulfillment by a soviet must obligatorily be included in the plan, so that specific material resources are allocated to fulfill electors' mandates.

The soviets must do a great deal to see that consumer services, polyclinics, schools and local transportation work well, in a word, so that Soviet people everywhere are aware of the constant concern of people's power. At the same time, the work of the soviets was never limited solely to local affairs, for today any local business depends more than ever on how successfully our general state affairs are progressing. For this reason every local soviet must always be a careful channel for general state interests and constantly keep within its sights the fulfillment of such general state programs as the Energy and Food Programs, the production of consumer goods and general and vocational education reform.

In this connection the significance of the management of work of all representative people's power bodies by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, the dissemination of the experience of soviets and the spread of everything good in this experience is multiplying. In particular deputies' open days,

which are held in a number of republics and oblasts, have proved a very good idea, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko noted. In this respect it is essential to work much better and with much more initiative. It is in these same directions that the activity of the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics should develop. Most important, just as in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, there should be not only questions of discussing plans and budgets and improving legislation, checking on the fulfillment of state decisions, but also increasingly active guidance of the activity of the local soviets of people's deputies.

The draft plan for the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet for the forthcoming period, Comrade Chernenko said in conclusion, sufficiently fully reflects the issues on which the Supreme Soviet should work. The basic guidelines have also been precisely selected for this work: To raise the efficiency of the national economy, to improve its qualitative indices, to implement the social measures outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress, to raise the welfare of the people, to further deepen socialist democracy and to strengthen law and order. The USSR Supreme Soviet will continue consistently and purposefully to conduct a policy of peace, curbing the arms race, and mutually advantageous cooperation with all peoples of the world.

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## UNITY, ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE

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pp 52-64

[Article by Y. Bugayev, doctor of historical sciences on the 80th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." Capitalized words printed in italics in the original]

[Text] The book by V. I. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" is one of those works that are prized assets of the theory of party construction, this theory acting as scientific guidance for any truly communist party.

At first glance this book only scrupulously analyzes the proceedings of the Second RSDWP Congress, tracing the course of internal party disputes at the congress and, after it, among those who subsequently became known as bolsheviks and mensheviks. But these battles, seemingly of local significance, when interpreted by Lenin's genius appear before us as thoroughly scientific analysis of the objective logic of struggle between truly proletarian revolutionaries and opportunists who willingly or unwillingly represent agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement.

It is precisely the disclosure of the logic of internal party struggle and the split between dissidents and the union of like-minded communists on a strictly principled basis that is the quintessence of the content of the book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." From this point of view the modest subtitle, "The Crisis Within Our Party," that Lenin has given this book looks like a well-founded generalization, since the proletarian-revolutionary and opportunist trends in the workers movement have just as objective an existence as the movement itself.

In his preface to the book, Lenin immediately turns attention to the fact that differences between bolsheviks and mensheviks "are of indubitable historical significance..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 8, p 187).\* The book comprehensively substantiates the organizational principles of party construction upon which the party is also based today, while enriching these principles with new experience under different historical conditions. These principles are unity, organization and discipline.

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\* Henceforth, references to V. I. Lenin's "Poln. Sobr. Soch." will indicate only the volume and page number.

Every revolutionary in any country--large or small, with Marxist-Leninist parties in power, imperialist or developing--will find even now, 80 years later, when epochal changes for which Lenin lived and fought have taken place in the world, much that is didactic in this book, if, of course, he wishes to learn how to form a revolutionary party of the workers class and how and on what foundations to preserve and strengthen its unity. The facts and actual people described in the book are historically transient but the ideas it contains live on and will continue to do so as long as the workers class exists. And, until the complete fulfillment of its ideal--the building of communism--it will need a political party.

How the unity of the bolshevik party took shape, at what cost this unity was achieved, and what lessons the party gleaned from the struggle--all this is impossible to understand without having studied Lenin's book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," written on the eve of the first people's revolution in the imperialist era which stirred all the classes and parties in Russia and showed them in ACTION, having aroused the strongest possible response throughout the world.

Excursions into history, especially detailed ones, at times burden an account of the significance of this or that even without justification. In this case, however, they are simply essential for understanding from which seemingly commonplace facts Lenin drew his immortal conclusions.

The objectively greatest ability of the workers class--compared to all the classes known to history--for organization, is one quality without which it cannot count upon success in the struggle for its class interests which, in their main and fundamental aspects, coincide with the interests of all the working people. But the organization of the workers class and its unity are subjected to constant attacks from the bourgeoisie which justifiably regards this unity as a mortal threat to its dominant position, and that is why it uses every means from bribing and forming "legal and capital obedient" "workers" parties to infiltrating genuine workers parties with "their own people" and corrupting them from within, not forgetting such means as the police, the courts, prisons and other organs of repression. The unity of the proletariat is "impossible without the unity of ITS party..." (vol 22, p 256). This truth is confirmed by the whole history of the workers movement, which has suffered heavy defeat and gained brilliant victories.

While citing examples of the successful struggle for an 8-hour working day in certain U.S. states, K. Marx wrote in "The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Fellowship of Workers": "This fact shows that even under the most favorable political conditions any serious success of the workers class depends upon the maturity of organization, which cultivates and concentrates its forces.

"And even the organization of the workers class on a national scale is threatened with defeat due to its insufficient organization in other countries..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 16, p 336).\*

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\* Henceforth, references to "Soch." by K. Marx and F. Engels will indicate only the volume and page number.

To become convinced of the indisputable truth of this idea it is sufficient to recall the lessons of the Paris Commune and the bloody suppression of the revolutions during 1918-1919 in Germany, Hungary, Slovakia and Finland with the assistance, if not through the direct instructions, of the leaders of social democracy.

V. I. Lenin also foresaw such a turn of events when, on 9 October 1918, 1 month before receiving news of the revolution in Germany, he wrote: "Europe's greatest problem and danger is that it has no revolutionary party. There are parties of traitors, like the Sheydemane, the Renodels, the Hendersons and the Webbs and Co. or lackeys like Kautsky. But there is no revolutionary party.

"Of course, a powerful revolutionary movement of the masses can correct this shortcoming, but it is still a great problem and a great danger" (vol 37, pp 109-110).

Unfortunately, subsequent history provides considerable confirmation of the fact that the struggle for the unity of the workers class both in many of its national detachments and also on an international level is far from always waged successfully. This unity is ensured by ITS (the workers class') parties. Consequently, they themselves must be models of unity of ideas an organization, word and deed, which requires a great deal of sometimes thankless and imperceptible but constant work. Even once this unity has been achieved, it must vigilantly protect the party and keep it in fighting condition. F. Engels, for example, considered opportunists "either novices who still have a lot to learn or the most malevolent enemies of the workers, wolves in sheep's clothing" (vol 22, p 227). The first, that is, those who still have a lot to learn, have been and will continue to be in all parties and they must be taught and educated; the second are agents of the bourgeoisie and they must be exposed and banished.

Our party's monolithic ideological and organizational unity is one of the most important conditions of its leading role in Soviet society, and it has been forced and tempered over the decades. This unity does not signify immobility and does not deny the struggle of opposites that are a source of the development and self-propelled movement of any phenomenon of social life. The political leadership art of society and of the party itself also consists of revealing contradictions and directing their solution to strengthening the party and to the good of society. Examining the course of the ideological struggle in the German workers movement, which in 1875 culminated in both great and small opportunists joining forces with revolutionary elements under one and the same roof of the Socialist Workers Party on the basis of the sadly famous Gotha Program, Marx's criticism of which has not lost its keen topicality even today, Engels wrote: "Obviously, ANY workers party in a large country can develop only in internal struggle in full accordance with the laws of dialectical development in general. The German party became what it is in the struggle between the adherents of the Eisenach group and the Lassalle supporters, where the fight itself played an important role. Unification became possible only when the gang of scoundrels deliberately cultivated by Lassalle to be his tool had already become outdated, and then our adherents were too hasty in working for this unification" (vol 35, p 312).

Our party was no exception to this general law. However, in contradistinction to the Gotha Congress of German Social Democrats, which Marx and Engels could not attend, but their warnings of the danger of unifying everyone and everything on the ideologically shaky platform of an indefinite and inconsistent program went unheeded, the second RSDWP Congress, which had formed the bolshevik party, was prepared by Lenin's ISKRA. The party took into account the experience of Western social democracy and of the Russian workers movement, this experience having been analyzed in Lenin's book "What Is To Be Done?" It went to the congress fully armed with Lenin's ideas. It remembered Engels' warning to A. Bebel in 1873, long before the Gotha Congress: "One cannot allow oneself to be confused by cries for 'unification.' It is precisely those who make more of this slogan than anyone who are the main instigators of discord.... Inveterate sectarians and the greatest trouble-makers and rogues at certain moments shout about unification louder than anyone" (vol 33, p 494). Our party did not allow the overwhelming majority of "scoundrels," "trouble-makers and rogues" who had donned the garb of democrats, into its congress and ISKRA opponents (Bundists and Rabocheye Delo supporters) who were at the congress comprised an insignificant minority.

Of course, organizational unity is definitely preceded by unity of convictions, which Lenin always successfully struggled for. Unity of thought and ideological unity have been achieved by Russian Marxists thanks to the gigantic work done by Lenin and Lenin's ISKRA, which was also helped to a considerable extent by G. V. Plekhanov's group affiliated with its editorial office. The victory of Lenin's ISKRA trend was also consolidated by the second RSDWP Congress, despite the fact that the "little opportunists" ("soft" ISKRA supporters and Martov followers, who only received nine votes), who were immediately joined by "medium opportunists" (the center, or "dead wood") and "big opportunists" (Bundists and "economists"--ISKRA opponents), were able to gain the upper hand in the voting on the first paragraph of the Party Statute. This was their only success.

The unity of ACTION also requires unity in ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS. Regardless of the damage caused by the adoption of Martov's formulation of the first paragraph of the statute, the congress decisions provided the possibility for and ensured the necessity of harmonious work under the leadership of the Central Committee and the central organ of the party, and ISKRA was recognized as the central organ. In both central institutions, two of every three members were bolsheviks. The council of the party, which consisted of two members each of the Central Committee and the central organ, and Plekhanov, who was elected by the congress as the council's fifth member, also ensured the bolshevik leadership.

However, having suffered a defeat in the elections and bearing a grudge, menshevik representatives united after the congress with other opportunists and raised the banner of "uprising against Leninism" (the words in quotation marks are those of Martov. See V. I. Lenin, vol 8, p 395).

"Revolutionary" phrases did not appear for the first time at the Second RSDWP Congress and they will not disappear tomorrow. Already Marx wrote that "the IDEAS of communism are quite sufficient to destroy the IDEA of private

property. But REAL communist action is needed to destroy private property in reality" (vol 42, p 136).

V. I. Lenin demonstrated the whole perniciousness of opportunism in organizational questions which, similarly to opportunism in relation to the program and tactics, subjects the workers movement to the bourgeoisie's influence.

In what way is the party's unity of action ensured when the action program is clear?

First, through the composition of the party;

Second, by the maturity, endurance and unity of its leadership and its ability and possibility to quickly change the front of the struggle in accordance with its concrete conditions; and

Third, by unified discipline at all levels.

And all this marks the level and quality of ORGANIZATION.

And it was these questions that became central in Lenin's work. The Marxist teaching on the party and especially on the organizational principles of its structure were further developed in this work.

The split of the ISKRA followers into the revolutionary and opportunist wings, the majority and the minority, took place during the consideration of the first paragraph of the Party Statute which determined who could be a member of the party.

As is known, at the Second Congress Lenin proposed the following formulation: "Anyone recognizing the party's program and supporting the party both materially and through his participation in one of the party organizations is considered a member of the party" (vol 8, p 227). Martov's formulation was the following: "Anyone accepting the party's program, supporting the party materially, and rendering the party his regular personal assistance under the leadership of one of its organizations is considered a member of the RSDWP" ("CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums," vol 1, 1898-1917. Ninth Edition, Supplemented and Corrected, Moscow, Politizdat, 1983, p 67). And the difference was really not great. It only amounted to substituting "personal participation in one of the party organizations" with the "regular personal assistance." And Lenin himself thought at the beginning that Martov's error was not really that dangerous. However, the seemingly harmless "inaccuracy" (from the viewpoint of the ISKRA-type organizational policy) was backed by a special system of views on the party borrowed from the West and supported by leaders of the Second International at the Amsterdam Congress (in 1904). Lenin characterized the essence of his views concerning all the main foundations of the party's organizational structure AS OPPORTUNISM IN ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS.

Lenin saw the workers class party as the force indispensable for "accomplishing the political revolution" (vol 6, p 111) and for this reason he demanded that every member of the party should be a member of one of its organizations.

It was only in this way that the party could assume the responsibility for each of its members and that each member could be responsible for the party's work. Party organizations formed at workplaces and residences, united by party committees confirmed by and subordinated to the Central Committee, made up the party as one whole, a party that acted according to a unified plan and in an organized and disciplined way. Lenin's formulation aimed at protecting the party from the influx of all kinds of fellow travelers who would have a dissolving effect on the party and would assume no responsibility for their own actions or for the firmness and purity of principles and political course. "Our task is to protect the firmness, steadfastness and purity of our party," Lenin said. "We must strive to raise the name and the meaning of the party member to higher, higher and higher levels..." (vol 7, pp 290-291). Following the adoption of Martov's formulation with the aid of the votes of all opportunists, Lenin launched an energetic struggle, in his words, to "tie together the broken vessel as tightly as possible with a double knot" (vol 8, p 49) and to plug even "the smallest chink" (ibid., p 240) made in it by the efforts of all opportunists headed by Martov. And he carried out that struggle so successfully that even Martov himself had to admit: "The importance of this defeat for Lenin, however, was negated by the adoption of other points of the Statute." It was precisely for this reason that the only thing left to mensheviks were squabbles, scandals and acts of usurpation which turned central party institutions elected by the congress into an instrument of struggle against it.

Lenin came down on opportunism in organizational matters with all the force of his knowledge, logic and arguments. These arguments are just as relevant today as they were then, since the many-sided forms of opportunism can become no less dangerous.

The Marxist party is the party of revolutionaries and the foremost detachment of the workers class. It is a part of this class, one that is impermissible to lump together with the whole class, which is what the Martov followers did in their alliance with the Martynov and Akimov supporters. "If I say that the party must be the SUM (and not a simple arithmetical sum, but a complex) of ORGANIZATIONS," wrote Lenin, "...I thus express my desire and my demand completely clearly and precisely that the party, as the class's foremost detachment, should represent something as ORGANIZED as possible and that the party should accept in its ranks only those elements that PERMIT AT LEAST A MINIMUM OF ORGANIZATION (ibid., pp 241-242). It is precisely this strictness in accepting people into the party in conjunction with the firm link between committee members working in secrecy and a broad circle of aware workers that has given party work its stability and continuity. For example, during the years of reaction (1907-10), workers from the Petersburg party organizations were subjected to mass arrests 15 times, all the members of the capital's committee were arrested six times, and the Moscow committee and the Moscow district committee were arrested 11 times, but they came back again and again and did not stop working.

Of course every striker can declare himself a member of the party, but the fact of the matter is that the party--the flower of the workers class and not only its foremost and aware but also its organized detachment united by will

and action--should raise all strikers and the working masses to its level by "encompassing" nonparty organizations with workers close to the party and helping it. "To be a social democratic PARTY, it is necessary to gain the SUPPORT of precisely the CLASS," Lenin pointed out (ibid., p 248). He also regarded the party as the highest form of workers class organization, called upon to lead the struggle of the whole class and of all its organizations.

Under the flag of the champions of the "broad proletarian struggle," "advocates of BOURGEOIS-INTELLIGENTSIA INDIVIDUALISM came into conflict with the advocates of PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE" in the question of party membership, wrote Lenin (ibid., p 254).

The Leninist tradition of selecting people who are ideologically sound, stable, aware and organized is inviolable in our party.

Both during the years of underground struggle and in the revolutionary period the party protected the firmness and purity of its ranks by ridding itself of all elements that were indefinite and vague ideologically and which violated party discipline, and by ruthlessly driving out opportunists of the right and "of the left," opportunists in ideology, policy and organization.

This was particularly apparent after the victory of the October Revolution, when the party became the ruling one and there was no shortage of people wishing to "get hold of" a party membership card for the sake of their career.

Twice, under exceptional circumstances, there was an appeal for mass enrollment in the party. The first time was in 1919, when Denikin's hordes were approaching Tula, Yudenich was marching on Petrograd, Kolchak was lording it over Siberia and the Soviet republic's position was desperate. Those entering the party then were warned what to expect. "Join the party, comrades, nonparty workers and working peasants!," appealed Lenin. "We promise you no advantage in this, rather we call you to hard work, to the work of state construction" (vol 39, p 226). In the days of the party week more than 200,000 people joined the party in 38 provinces of the RSFSR, and of them approximately 70,000 were from the Red Army. The second occasion was the Lenin enrollment of 1924, when more than 240,000 workers from the workbench, who had been recommended over and above the requirements of the statute by meetings of nonparty workers from their factory-plant collectives, joined the party to fill the breach made by the passing on of its founder and leader. The party consists of the best representatives of the workers class and of other social strata that have adopted its class positions and accepted its world outlook.

However, even a numerically large party made up of real fighters can turn out to be weak if it is poorly organized. Consequently, Lenin was firmly convinced that "first, a firm ideological union must be developed.... And second, organization must likewise be developed...." (vol 4, p 347). Organization increases forces tenfold. Lenin waged a furious struggle against the disorganizing actions of the mensheviks. And this is also a Marxist tradition. Marx and Engels called communists to organization on a national and on

an international scale. In 1850, in "Address of the Central Committee to the Union of Communists," they warned: "...The workers party must be as organized as possible, as unanimous as possible, and as independent as possible, if it does not wish to be exploited by the bourgeoisie once again and to drag itself behind it, which is what happened in 1848" (vol 7, p 258).

The question of authority of the leading centers also was not new. In 1872, Marx said that The Hague congress of the International considered it necessary to "strengthen the authority of its General Council and centralize the activity for the coming struggle, activity which any disconnectedness would make futile. And in whom except in our enemies would the authority of the General Council instill fear?" (vol 18, p 154). In his turn, F. Engels noted the misgivings about the General Council's authority (it was merely moral authority) and wrote in this connection: "Whatever your misgivings may be regarding the greater responsibility assumed by the General Council, the council will always remain true to the banner the defense of which has been entrusted to it by workers of the entire civilized world for 7 years now....As long as the supreme leadership of the Comradeship is entrusted to it, it will see to it that the character of the movement that has made the International what it is now will not be distorted and will adhere to the resolution of the conference until a congress adopts other decisions" (vol 33, p 286). Marx demanded a system in which "General Council members will have to represent the principles of the International Comradeship of Workers and not the views and interests of some or another corporation" (vol 17, p 467).

Two conclusions are outlined by these arguments: first, the party must have a single, fully authorized center; and second, the composition of this center must be determined in a way which ensures that persons joining it as its members will steadfastly carry out the policy determined by the congress and that no personal qualities of one or another active member of the center could become a source of discord or even schism, and that the party will control its leaders, and the practical workers will have a decisive influence on the formation of the party leadership and its stability. Proceeding from the fact that ISKRA organizations in Russia have ensured the victory of the bolshevik orientation in the party, Lenin wrote: "...Therefore we HAD to let comrades who had carried on their shoulders the entire work of spreading the ideas of ISKRA and preparing its transformation into a party, we had to let THEM THEMSELVES solve the question of the most suitable candidates for the new party institution" (vol 8, p 296).

Following the Third RSDWP Congress, which abolished the "three-center system" and formed a single leading center, the Central Committee, that then appointed all other party organs, this became the rule, even though the persons who "were introducing" dissension, the disagreements among whom threatened party unity in view of the insufficient control over them by the small collegium, also continued to be in the party after the October Revolution victory. It is enough to recall that in his "Letter to the Congress" Lenin proposed to sharply increase Central Committee membership by bringing workers into it to ensure that any such circumstances as mutual relations between its individual members could not influence its political line. "The strength and power of the Central Committee and the firmness and purity of the party--this is the essential thing," he wrote (vol 7, p 430).



Lenin considered ELECTIVENESS the most important condition for a democratic nature of work within which "all party affairs are conducted by all party members directly or through their representatives and on the basis of their equal rights and without exclusions; and in this connection all officials, all leading collegiums and all party institutions are elective, accountable and replaceable" (vol 14, p 252). However, for this purpose party members must have the opportunity to discuss party affairs and the persons elected to the leadership and to know them. Lenin noted that, under democratic conditions, the political activity of party workers is as open as a theater stage before an audience. "Everyone knows that this or that political worker began from this or that place, that he has passed through this or that evolution, he has such and such qualities and therefore, naturally ALL members of the party can knowledgeably elect or not elect such a worker to a certain party position" (vol 6, p 139). However, in Russia at that time it was not even possible to think of that. Even at the congress most of the delegates appeared under party nicknames. And without the public nature of work, it was not possible to think about genuinely democratic elections of party collegiums and party officials. It was Lenin's ISKRA that ensured the public nature of work under underground conditions. Lenin strived for it and achieved it by demanding publication of the protocols of the 2nd Party Congress and their dissemination among all party committees.

Much time has passed since then. Sometimes one and then again the other aspect of democratic centralism has moved to the forefront under various conditions. Of course, under conditions of illegal activity, centralism moved to the forefront but even at that time all opportunities were used for democratic discussion of party problems, including--at the very first opportunity (in 1905)--of the organizational structure of the party. As early as at the time of the Fourth RSDWP Congress, congress delegates were elected by public vote on the basis of the proportional representative principle. "In our press we always defend internal party democracy," Lenin wrote. "But we never declare ourselves against the centralization of the party. We are for democratic centralism" (vol 27, p 72). Democratic centralism, first formulated as a statutory principle at the Tammerform Bolshevik conference in 1905, even now represents the leading principle of the party's organizational structure (see paragraph 19 of the CPSU Statute). The role of the Central Committee and of leading party organs in the field, formed by the party on a democratic basis, is exceptionally great in the life of the party. "The inexhaustible force of the Soviet communists," Comrade K. U. Chernenko points out, "lies in the cohesion of their ranks. This force is fully revealed when, to quote Lenin, "we ALL, members of the party, ACT AS ONE MAN" (vol 14, p 128). It is precisely in such concord and unity that the Leninist CPSU Central Committee and its leading core, the Central Committee Politburo, act. This makes it possible to adopt well-adjusted and comprehensively considered decisions leading to strengthening of the union of the workers class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia and of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR."

Opportunists both big and small at the congress and also after the congress, having united in the bosom of menshevism-social reformism, regarded the unity, organization and discipline and the authority of the Central Committee

as mere bureaucratism and formality hindering the freedom of action (or inaction) of the anarchic member of the intelligentsia wishing to call himself a party member, and sniffed scornfully at organizational forms, refusing to understand their mutual link with content. "Lack of development and instability of form make it impossible to take further serious steps in the development of content," wrote Lenin, "cause shameful stagnation, and lead to the plundering of forces and to a disparity between word and deed" (vol 8, p 378). This suited the opportunists, but Lenin and the bolsheviks waged a battle against it.

Concluding his analysis of debates at the congress and of the postcongress antiparty activities of the mensheviks, Lenin draws the conclusion that "THE MINORITY WAS MADE UP OF THOSE MEMBERS OF OUR PARTY MOST DRAWN TOWARD OPPORTUNISM. The minority was made up of those elements of the party LEAST STABLE from a theoretical point of view and LEAST CONSISTENT IN MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE. The minority had formed precisely from the party's RIGHT WING. The division into the majority and the minority is a direct and inevitable continuation of that division of social democracy into the revolutionary and the opportunist, into the Montagnards and the Girondists, a division that appeared not only yesterday in just one Russian workers party and that will certainly not disappear tomorrow" (ibid., p 330).

A struggle of SHADES of opinions within the party is INEVITABLE AND NECESSARY, Lenin claimed, if it is waged within the framework of party spirit (ibid., p 333), but the struggle for positions and against the leadership elected by the party congress must not be permitted. "A refusal to submit to the leadership of the centers is equal to a refusal to be in the party, and is equal to the destruction of the party; it is not a measure of conviction, but a measure of DESTRUCTION" (ibid., p 351).

This Leninist idea is also very relevant now. One can frequently encounter assertions that the party has only moral authority. This is true of the party only in relation to the masses since it is a free union of like-minded communists into which no one is drawn by force, and the obligations of the party member are not placed on anyone against his will. In internal party relations (as incidentally, in all social relations in our country) there is also the authority of power. The fact of the matter is only that, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko has noted, "the strength of a leader lies in his ability to merge official and personal authority into one," that is, to combine the authority of power with the moral authority of those who implement this power.

Analyzing the phenomena of internal party struggle in other workers parties (especially in the German Social Democratic Party, which was the strongest at that time), Lenin arrives at two very noteworthy, important and highly topical conclusions. First, noting that the principled meaning of the mensheviks' new ISKRA policy in organizational matters is opportunism, he writes: "This conclusion is confirmed both by the whole analysis of our party congress, which was divided into the revolutionary and the opportunist wings, and by the example of ALL European social democratic parties in which opportunism in organization is expressed in the same trends, in the same accusations, and nearly always in the very same petty words.

Of course, the national peculiarities of the different parties and the dissimilarities of political conditions in different countries leave their mark, making German opportunism quite unlike French opportunism, French different from Italian, and Italian different from Russian. But uniformity of the basic division of all these parties into the revolutionary and opportunist wings, and uniformity of the course of opportunist ideas and trends in organizational matters are clearly seen, despite all the aforementioned differences in conditions" (ibid., pp 391-2). Second, Lenin had already noticed then that the characteristic feature of opportunism in each and every sphere was its uncertainty, vagueness and elusiveness (ibid., p 393).

How often, reading contemporary foreign publications written by individuals who undoubtedly do not consider themselves opportunists, and disputing their confused (at best) judgments, we recall Lenin's words: "It is by his very nature that an opportunist always shuns a definite and irrevocable statement of any issue, always seeks a middle ground, writhes like a grass snake between the two mutually exclusive viewpoints, striving to 'be in agreement' with both and reducing his own disagreements to small corrections and doubts, to mild and innocent wishes and so forth and so on" (ibid., p 393).

Concluding his work with the famous chapter "Something About Dialectics. Two Revolutions," Lenin briefly sums up how the struggle of ISKRA resulted in the congress that founded the party and ended the circle period of "disorder and vacillation." The whirlwind of the struggle that swept away the circle type of activity proved to be strong and it "raised all the dregs from the bottom of our party stream and those dregs moved to a revanche. The old hardened circle attitude overpowered the still young party spirit" (ibid., p 402). This did not last long and could not last long. For, as Lenin wrote, "the proletariat has no other weapons but organization in the struggle for power.

...Proletariat can become and inevitably becomes an invincible force only thanks to the fact that it reinforces its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism with the material unity of the organization that unites millions of working people into an army of the workers class. Neither the decrepit power of the Russian autocracy nor the increasingly decrepit power of international capital can resist the army. This army will continue to close its ranks more and more closely regardless of any twists and retrogressions, regardless of the opportunist phrases of the Girondists of the contemporary social democracy, regardless of any self-complacent eulogies of backward circle groups and regardless of the sparkles and noise of the INTELLECTUAL anarchism" (ibid., pp 403-404).

Strengthening the unity and raising the level of organization and discipline of party ranks represent an important demand emanating from the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the party. Marx concerned himself with this and wrote, for instance, to Engels: "We must now unfailingly maintain party discipline because otherwise everything will turn to dust" (vol 29, p 350). Already the Provisional Statute of the International Comradship of Workers stated that the Comradship recognizes: "There can be no rights without obligations and there are no obligations without rights" (vol 16, p 13). Lenin's book comprehensively supports this thesis with sound arguments. Lenin's provided precisely for the combination of rights and obligations. The opportunists stood up against this principle at the congress by abusing the concept of determining obligations by calling it "serfdom" and other similar epithets.

"Lagging behind IN ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS is a natural and inevitable product of the psychology of an ANARCHIC INDIVIDUALIST when this latter begins to introduce his own (at the beginning perhaps accidental) anarchist inclinations into the SYSTEM OF VIEWS and into special PRINCIPLED DISAGREEMENTS" (see V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 8, p 378).

V. I. Lenin proceeded from the fact that, without the strictest discipline, the most democratic party decisions can turn into Manilovism, paperwork and empty talk, something of which some party organizations are also guilty today. Of course, there is a difference between discipline and discipline.

Lenin likened the adopted decision to the word of honor mutually given to the comrades in party, the word of honor from which no deviation can be made without harming the dignity of communists. And in this connection he did not defend simply organization and discipline but rather "Marxist organization" and "Marxist discipline" (vol 24, p 4). In most difficult times he allowed neither himself nor his comrades in party to weaken, he encouraged them with his personal example, and demanded that each communist provide an example to be imitated by nonparty comrades in the struggle and construction and not to shirk difficulties. When Vera Zasulich tried to actually justify panic-stricken liquidationists after the defeat of the 1905-1907 revolution by saying that it has become more difficult to work than in the past, Lenin angrily objected: "The work of Marxists is ALWAYS difficult and they distinguish themselves from liberals precisely by the fact that they do not proclaim what is difficult or impossible. ...The difficult work compels the Marxists to strive for a tighter cohesion of the best elements in order to overcome the difficulties" (ibid., p 24).

The most important characteristic of party discipline is the fact that it is based on the discipline of the workers class which begot it and that it is a conscious discipline. The party is a voluntary association. The most severe punishment it can apply is expulsion from its ranks and release from the obligation to adhere to the norms of the party ethics. But this is a terrible punishment for any individual who joined the party out of conviction and for that reason it is applied on in extreme cases when an individual has disgraced the name of communist. In such cases, Lenin demanded the strictest measures and tolerated no liberalism. And the higher the post the party member concerned held, the more strictly Lenin demanded of him to account for any slovenliness and neglect of work.

One example:

"I issue a strict reprimand with the warning that, if repeated, those guilty will be prosecuted:

"To Comrades Shpektorov (the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs), Voykov (the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade), and Goltsman (AUCCTU) for failure to appear at the meeting of which the Commission of the Council of Labor and Defense on 23 April at 1000 hours about which Commission they were informed on 22 April before 1000 hours either personally or by telephone by the Secretariat of the Council of the People's Commissars.

"Also to Comrade Kritsman, who was informed by Comrade Goltsman.

"Also to Groman, chairman of the Transport and Materials Department, for the fact that no one was on duty in his department, thus making it impossible to inform him of the meeting of the Commission" (vol 52, p 161). Signed, the chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars, V. Ulyanov (Lenin).

To some, perhaps, this will appear overly strict. But Lenin educated the party in the spirit of constant dissatisfaction with what had been achieved, emphasized that "a communist should be expected to pay greater attention to the tasks of tomorrow than to those of yesterday" (vol 36, p 313) and considered the party obliged to "actively engage in self-criticism and ruthless exposure of personal shortcomings" (vol 8, p 190), without being bothered by the gloating sniggers of enemies and the whispers of philistines. Incidentally, communists have not provided so many grounds for these sniggers and whispers, which also explains the successes they have achieved. It is sufficient to recall the civil war and the foreign intervention, when a destroyed, starving and almost unarmed country totally defeated the repeated campaigns of the numerous and excellently armed and supplied troops. This was considered a miracle. But realistically minded politicians even then did not believe in miracles, although they were unable to explain what had happened. Lenin explained: "...Only because the party was on guard, because it was most strictly disciplined, and because the party's authority united all departments and institutions and, in line with the slogan advanced by the Central Committee, tens, hundreds, thousands and ultimately millions marched as one man, and only because unheard-of sacrifices were made--only because of all this the miracle which happened could happen" (vol 40, p 240). And were not the country's restoration from ruins, the creation of a fundamentally new, socialist civilization, the utter defeat of the Hitlerite hordes, post-war construction, the building of developed socialism and the education of the new man also such miracles?

Always and everywhere, in the most difficult spheres of life, in battle and in work, communists have been and are still in the front ranks. They are looked up to, they are followed and they have particular demands made upon them, especially the leaders.

As Comrade K. U. Chernenko wrote, "The party makes three demands on communists: continuous ideological-political tempering; great moral purity; and party and civic activeness, creative initiative, fervent participation in the work of their organization and in the country."

The Leninist party has always cleansed its ranks both of elements hostile to it--factionalists and schismatics, and of hangers-on who hang on for in their own selfish interests and who--like barnacles on the bottom of a ship--slow down the party's movement and reduce its maneuverability and hence also of its combat ability. The CPSU Central Committee very firmly sets the problem of strengthening organization and order in all spheres of the life of society. Comrade K. U. Chernenko said in his speech to voters on 2 March 1984: "As you know, the party and the state have intensified the struggle against such disgraceful phenomena as squandering state resources, eyewash and abuse of one's official position, embezzlement and bribe-taking. This is not a short-lived campaign. This is a policy which will be pursued constantly and rigorously. Leniency is not and will not be shown to anyone in this respect. No one should harbor illusions on this score." Here communists must show the

greatest responsibility and the greatest exactingness. And this primarily concerns those communists who have been entrusted with leading positions.

Any kind of abuse multiplied by the rumors of a hundred tongues throws a shadow on the party organization that has in its ranks an individual who has lost the ethical character of a communist and, indirectly, also on the name of the communist in general.

And it is incomprehensible how strongly the name of the party member is valued by those organizations and committees that limit themselves to meting out only the usual penalties even in relation to communists who have been called to answer before the court for their criminally punishable actions.

The recent accountability reports and elections in the basic, rayon, city, okrug, oblast and kray party organizations clearly demonstrated an increased irreconcilability of communists toward facts of this kind.

In conditions under which all strata of Soviet society represent the sources of complementing party ranks it is especially necessary to be strictly selective in nominating candidates for admission to the party to prevent its dissolution into masses and to preserve and strengthen its vanguard and leading role. In its recent resolution entitled "On the Basic Results of Accountability Reports and Elections in the Party and the Tasks of Party Organizations" the CPSU Central Committee demanded that "no forcing of admissions of new members should be allowed and that a careful selection of truly progressive individuals, primarily from among the workers class, for admission to the CPSU, should be ensured. Constant care must be devoted to educating young communists in the spirit of high ideological standing, strictest adherence to the CPSU Statute and the norms and traditions of party life."

This is precisely what ensures the authority of the name of communist, unites the party into a unified organism able to quickly reorganize its ranks and, according to need, apply new forms and methods to fulfill in a new way both old and unsolved tasks as well as tasks that life daily places before the party.

Expressing himself directly in common with the ideas advanced by Lenin's book "One Step Forward and Two Steps Back," Comrade K. U. Chernenko has written: "Not ideological and organizational amorphism but ideological-political unity, the foundation of which is provided by loyalty to the principles of Marxism and scientific communism, this is what Lenin regarded as an inalienable trait of the party of the new type. This is what, according to his conviction, provides the best guarantee that the party will always stand out as a truly leading, organized and organizing force in the struggle for socialism. Our party has never deviated from this behest of Lenin even by a single iota."

The ideas on the need to constantly instill and strengthen the unity, organization and discipline set out in Lenin's work continue to live in the acts of our communist party and in the accomplishment of the Soviet people led to it.

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## MEETING THAT ILLUMINATED AN ENTIRE LIFE

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[Interview granted by Rodolfo Ghioldi, member of the Communist Party of Argentina Central Committee Political Commission and veteran of the international communist and worker movements, to KOMMUNIST representative M. Tikhon]

[Text] Rodolfo Ghioldi was 21 years old in January 1918, when he and a group of like-minded people founded the Communist Party of Argentina. In many respects his long and outstanding life is typical of the generation of revolutionaries of that time. Inspired by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, unhesitatingly, they once and forever chose the path of struggle for the implementation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist reorganization of society.

Ghioldi was a very young man when he assumed the management of the newspaper INTERNACIONAL, the then-central organ of the Communist Party of Argentina. In the mid-1920s he was elected member of the South American Bureau of the Comintern Executive Committee (IKKI) and, subsequently, member of the IKKI. He was repeatedly arrested, exiled or jailed as one of the permanent leaders of the party of the Argentine communists and the author of a large number of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with problems of the worker and communist movements.

Ghioldi considers his meeting with Vladimir Il'ich Lenin in Moscow in 1921 the most outstanding event in his biography, which illumined the rest of his life.

Quite recently Comrade Ghioldi visited the Soviet capital once again. On the request of the journal's editors he was interviewed by M. Tikhon.

Question: Comrade Rodolfo Ghioldi, you are known in our country as a firm and consistent revolutionary-internationalist. Would you describe your life for us in greater detail?

Answer: It is difficult to speak of everything, if we bear in mind that I entered the revolutionary struggle in World War I, initially participating in

the activities of the organization of socialist youth and subsequently, only 60 days after the victory of the October Revolution, in the creation of the Communist Party of Argentina.<sup>1</sup> It is no simple matter to resurrect in my memory events which took place in the course of such a long and difficult life which included a large number of favorable and not so favorable features.

I come from a family which was under the influence of socialist ideas even before World War I. Therefore, I was involved with the international socialist movement from an early age. Our exposure to Lenin's doctrine caused a tremendous change in our lives. To us, young people who were only earmarking the main directions in the activities of the Socialist Youth Federation, before the Communist Party of Argentina had been established, this marked a real change in our minds. I mention the youth movement because it was one of the predecessors of the Communist Party of Argentina and because its activities should be taken into consideration in defining the party's historical roots.

Its other predecessor was the consistent and logical development of the Marxist internationalist movement, which began to make its way within the socialist party even before the outbreak of World War I.<sup>2</sup> Let me name among the leaders of that time the widely known names of Victorio Codovilla,<sup>3</sup> Miguel Contreras and Francisco Munos Diaz.<sup>4</sup> All of them took part in the development of the internationalist trend within the socialist party even before our party was organized.

The Congress of the Socialist Youth, which was held in 1915, directly preceded the founding of the Communist Party. Its participants assumed a firm internationalist and antiwar position entirely based on a Marxist platform. Thanks to the efforts of this movement the famous manifestos which were adopted at the international socialist conferences in Zimmerwald and Kienthal became popular in Argentina. For a long period of time the reformists ignored them because of their antiwar trends. The task of disseminating them in Argentina fell on the Socialist Youth Federation and the supporters of Marxist positions within the socialist party.

Such is the past which must be recalled in order better to understand the history of the founding of our party. We joined the communist movement with already established internationalist and antiwar traditions and although we supported Marxist views we were still distant from Leninism. Despite Lenin's active participation in the congresses held by the Second International, his ideas began extensively to penetrate within our country only as of 1917.

Question: Tell us about your meeting with Lenin.

Answer: I had the good luck to see Lenin in 1921, at the Third Comintern Congress.

As we know, this was a year of major change both within the land of the soviets and the world communist movement. In Soviet Russia the change was caused by its conversion from "war communism" to the new economic policy in



order subsequently to make a leap in building socialism. In the international area it was because 1921 marked a turn in the development of the world labor movement from frontal attack on the bourgeois order to a lengthy siege.

Leninism made a very major contribution to the development of the international worker movement. It raised in an entirely new fashion the problems of the state, dictatorship of the proletariat, transitional period and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry not only in the individual capitalist countries but on an international scale, as well as the problem of including within the global revolutionary process the forces of national liberation in colonial, semicolonial and dependent countries as one of its very important components. Lenin must be credited with the development of the very concept of imperialist dependency. Let us recall in this connection that in his famous work "Imperialism As the Highest Stage of Capitalism," he mentioned specifically Argentina as an example of a dependent country. Therefore, in creating the party we had at our disposal an extensive historical legacy which enabled the communist party to be properly guided during the elaboration of the program for its political activities.

The year 1921 was one of significant changes in the international situation and in the situation within the land of the soviets itself. Until then the global communist movement acted under the slogan of immediate world revolution. But Lenin, who had the ability to "hear the grass grow," assessed the new situation which prevailed in 1921. He made a turn in the tactics of the global communist and worker movements, proving that it was no longer possible to continue to speak of an immediate world revolution. During that period capitalism had turned to a temporary and partial stabilization despite major revolutionary upheavals, for in the aftermath of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia socialist revolutions broke out in Hungary and Bavaria, and bourgeois democratic revolutions had taken place in Germany and Austria. A powerful movement of solidarity with the land of the soviets had spread in a number of European countries under the slogan "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" In other words, there were revolutionary upheavals which fully justified the faith of the people in the possibility of an imminent global revolutionary explosion.

However, Lenin, who had the unique ability to see the new and accurately to assess the situation and the ratio of forces, proved that the time for a decisive storming had not arrived yet and that the main thing now was to win the masses over and to involve them in the struggle. Since the reformists had cornered the trade unions, the task of the communists was to work persistently among the masses. Somewhat earlier, Vladimir Il'ich had written the book "Left-Wing Communism--An Infantile Disorder," which called upon the communists to struggle inside the reformist and reactionary trade unions and always to remain in the thick of the masses, however complex and difficult this might be.

At the Third Comintern Congress Lenin spoke on several basic problems on the agenda and had a decisive influence on the turn which was made in the international worker movement under the initiative of the Bolshevik Party. Starting with the Third Congress the main Comintern line was expressed in the

slogan "To the Masses!" This was also the slogan of the Third Congress. This line helped all detachments within the communist movement to reorganize within the new conditions on the basis of a deeper revolutionary awareness. This was one of the greatest contributions made by Lenin to the international worker movement.

Question: A person who, as you say, "had the luck" of seeing Lenin is of tremendous interest to every communist. Could you, therefore, describe in greater detail your meeting with Vladimir Il'ich at the Third Comintern Congress?

Answer: I participated in the work of the congress as representative of the Communist Party of Argentina. Lenin spoke on several basic problems. I heard his speeches.

During one of the breaks, three or four delegates, including myself and the Mexican comrade, went out in the hall to exchange views. It was then that, accompanied by a Soviet comrade, Lenin passed by. It was precisely this comrade, I remember his gesture well, who pointed out to Lenin the Mexican delegate among us, whom he had identified by his suntanned face. Lenin came to us, greeted us and asked the Mexican comrade something about the ejido system.<sup>5</sup> The point was that the Mexican bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1910-1917 had created in its more or less completed feature the ejido system which subsequently began increasingly to trigger the development of capitalist relations in the countryside. Lenin had turned to the Mexican comrade precisely for an interpretation of this problem.

His stop with us was very brief, after which he returned to the congress which was just about to resume its proceedings. At the congress itself we were some 5-6 meters away from Lenin and heard his speech and those of Clara Zetkin and other noted major leaders.

Question: You saw Lenin and heard his voice. How did all of this affect your life and what do you recall after so many years?

Answer: I was particularly impressed by Lenin's arguments. They were lively, simple and very direct. Lenin's arguments applied to everyone, convincing him of the irrefutable nature of what he was saying and the fact that nothing else could be added. That is how I reacted to Lenin's speeches, and I realized that this was a common impression, after talking with other comrades who had attended the congress.

Lenin spoke quite simply but passionately. He held a small piece of paper with brief notes in his hands and paced the stage. His was a complete system of arguments which attracted and conquered the people, and one could no longer ignore Lenin's reasoning. Indeed, there was nothing else to add. Everything had been said. I repeat, this was not my own subjective opinion only. I spoke about this with the French and other comrades and their impression was precisely the same.

The power of Lenin's arguments and his style made him the unquestionable harbinger of new ideas. His clear, direct and accurate language was closely

tied to the striking power of his arguments. As a result, the listener was immediately and entirely imbued with Lenin's convictions and developed a sensation of a very strong spiritual satisfaction.

I was very young at that time but I remember all of this as one of the most important moments in my life, the life of a party soldier. I think that to a certain extent this could be described as my advantage. I do not know how many people are left in the world who could say "I saw Lenin." To me this is an exceptional advantage and I am proud of belonging to the group of people who have it and this makes me feel quite happy.

Question: You witnessed the first steps in building socialism in our country. You saw the birth and building of a socialist society. During those years you visited the land of the soviets frequently and participated in a number of Leninist party congresses and communist subbotniks. What features and characteristics in building the new society in the Soviet Union have drawn and are drawing your attention?

Answer: We, communists, speak of real socialism in the USSR. Why? Because in Western European countries, for example, socialist governments have repeatedly been in power. However, in those countries society invariably remained bourgeois and monopolies are dominating them to this day. This is precisely the case throughout the West. The social structures of Great Britain, France or Sweden have not changed in the least as a result of the fact that the power may have been held by the British Labor Party, the French socialists or the Swedish social democrats. The true power in these countries has always remained in the hands of the monopolies. Not even a hint of socialism has existed or exists in those countries.

That is why we are fully justified in speaking of real socialism. The point is that real socialism in the countries belonging to the world socialist system, the Soviet Union above all, pointed the way which must be followed by all others, naturally taking into consideration the characteristics of the individual countries based on the level of their social development, culture, traditions and degree of organization of the working class.

The Soviet path is in no way a "model." It merely indicates the general direction followed in the development of the revolution. This path proves that what is necessary is a firm worker government, headed by the communist party which, based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes, would carry out all that must be done to complete the democratic revolution and, in the course of its development, the transition to the socialist stage of the revolution, while always guaranteeing the firmness of this alliance. Such an alliance has always been the basic element of the revolutionary tactics of the world communist movement. Let us consider, for example, the new economic policy in Soviet Russia. A most important task was to ensure the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. At that time this was the main problem. In the course of the October Revolution, had the alliance between workers and peasants not been strengthened, a backlash movement could have developed with the revolution itself and very great difficulties may have appeared. The protection of the revolution, its consolidation and the prerequisites for its subsequent development were

secured through the strong alliance between workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat headed by the Bolshevik Party. From my viewpoint, this is the basic lesson which all communist parties in the world must draw as applicable to the specific situation in their own countries.

It is precisely this that constitutes the importance of real socialism. It is this assessment that separates the communists from the international social democratic movement. However, this should not be a hindrance whenever it becomes necessary to concentrate the fire on imperialism and ensure a mutual understanding with the broad social democratic strata and other political trends in the struggle against imperialism and war and for peace.

Question: How would you assess the role currently played by the CPSU?

Answer: I believe that this role is obvious to the entire world. Had there not been a Soviet Union with its peace-loving foreign policy, in all likelihood we would have long been involved in a third world war. The fact that mankind is not in the mire of a world war is owed mainly to the world socialist system, the Soviet Union above all, and the global labor movement in the defense of peace, democracy and freedom. The policy of the CPSU has become a high guarantee for preserving the peace.

Let us note the following: the interval between the end of World War I in 1918 and the outbreak of World War II in 1939 lasted 21 years. Slightly under 40 years have passed since the end of World War II. We owe this mainly, not entirely but mainly, to the accurate, sensible and principle-minded policy of the Soviet state and the CPSU in defense of peace on earth, supplemented by the peace movement in all corners of the globe. The active and fruitful participation of the Soviet Union in international forums is a major factor in safeguarding the peace. Thus, the activities of the USSR in the United Nations is an example of diplomacy of a new type, contributing to the good of all mankind and the cause of peace, steadily yielding positive results.

We, communists, are not supporters of catastrophe. We do not say like the anarchists that the worse it gets the better. We operate quite well under conditions of peace and, the assertions of our ideological opponents notwithstanding, we do not need any war at all in order to accelerate the development of the revolutionary movement.

But for the policy of the Soviet Union, which is based on its full might, the development of events in the world could have taken an entirely different direction and been used by the international reaction, which is trying to unleash a third world war, to promote its interests.

Question: Comrade Ghioldi, currently many young people in different countries are joining the communist parties. What could you recommend to these new fighters for the communist cause?

Answer: I could simply express the viewpoint of an old communist rather than give advice. The young people should study the sources of the unsurpassed and very rich experience of bolshevism. They must master the political and

ideological heights of Leninism. They must master them thoroughly, not as dogmas but as a scientific method for the revolutionary study of reality and for managing the tactics of the labor movement.

I have no right to advise anyone. However, if I could wish something, based on my life's experience, it would be for the young people who are now joining the revolutionary struggle to study and master profoundly the priceless historical experience of the CPSU and the contribution of the entire world revolutionary worker movement.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Argentine Marxists founded the International Socialist Party (ISP) on 5-6 January 1918; it took the name of Communist Party of Argentina (CPA) in December 1920.
2. The Socialist Party of Argentina was created in 1896. During World War I its leadership was taken over by opportunistic and social-chauvinistic elements.
3. V. Codovilla (1894-1970) was a noted leader of the Argentine and international communist and worker movements; he became chairman of the Communist Party of Argentina in 1963.
4. M. Contreras and F. Munos Diaz were leaders of the Argentine labor and communist movements.
5. The ejido system (Spanish: public field) is a particular form of communal land ownership which developed in Mexico in the course of the 1915 agrarian reform. The ejido sector rallied essentially the poorest population strata. When an ejido is established the land is given to the peasants free of charge for joint possession while ownership is retained by the state. Its sale, purchase or leasing or the use of hired labor to cultivate it are banned. As capitalism develops in Mexican agriculture, the ejido breaks down. A group of prosperous farms appears, ejido land is leased or purchased and the use of hired labor increases.

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## WE ARE GOING TO LENIN

AU101000 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84)  
pp 70-80

[Article by V. Chikin. Capitalized words printed in italics in the original]

[Text] The journal BOLSHEVIK-KOMMUNIST can rightly be called a partyfighter of the Lenin Appeal [Prizyv]. As is well-known, its publication was decided upon in the November days of 1923, when Vladimir Il'ich's medical treatment in Gorkiy gave rise to a considerable amount of hope. But in the spring, when the first issue appeared, the dark grey cube of the first mausoleum was already towering on Red Square. BOLSHEVIK arose among the revolutionary columns just at a time when, overcoming the pain of irreplaceable loss, the communist party took everything honest and firm in the working people and joined it into a united monolith serving the selfless struggle to embody Lenin's ideas.

We are going to Lenin.... Slow is our step along the pavement--familiar from childhood--of the Historic Passage and Red Square. With every step the flaming pyramid of the mausoleum, girded with mournful labradorite, seems to grow before us. For 6 decades--it seems an eternity!--the human stream has flowed up to the Kremlin hill. The stream is before us--the stream is behind us. Here it is impossible to be either the first or the last, just as it is impossible to be the first or the last drop in the flow of the Volga. Solemnly and agitatedly, lit with concentrated attention, each second we tread the marble pedestal. Up to 15,000 each day, and as many as 2.5 million each year. After the millions--millions more.... But each millionth party is a whole world of someone's "I", of someone making contact with Lenin's world in his own way during these minutes. You step under the canopy of the Kremlin's grey walls and become aware of everyday thoughts and voices subsiding within you, and only one thought remains and fills everything--the thought of him. All things terrestrial are to be found in the great Lenin, and he is infinitely close to every individual and warms the heart with his wise truth, vital discovery, and example of courage and fortitude.... Attention to his last days is indispensable and natural: One wishes to catch and appreciate the train of his thoughts, to hear and understand his intentions, and to trace his opinions.

...Two hundred and fifty days in Gorkiy--from the middle of May 1923 until the fateful Monday the following January--the last battle for Lenin's life. It could also be called the bridling of disease. Uneasy warnings were still being given at a consultation of luminaries in May, but 7 or 8 weeks later the doctors were no longer constantly on duty. Good signs of recovery, which medicine had timidly planned to take months, were achieved in a matter of weeks.

Vladimir Il'ich directly demonstrated his successful recovery. One had to see how he walked about Gorkiy Park with a sunny smile on his face, looking out for clumps of mushrooms, and sometimes even whistling his favorite tunes. With what confidence he regained the firmness of step he had lost--not so long ago he could get up only by leaning on the solicitous arm of a doctor, and now he was walking around with a stick in his left hand and managing to get up the stairs to the second floor. How cordially he received his relatives and all his visiting friends, whether they be his brother and family, old comrades-in-arms on a visit, or a workers delegation--six people from Glukhov turned up unexpectedly one evening bringing cherry saplings from Klyazma na Pakhru--how many happy words and tears and embraces. Or else he himself would manage to go on a visit, and not just for a day, to an old acquaintance--for example, a former Alakayevka neighbor and thinker with whom he had spent many "happy evenings" about 30 years before debating the fate of the peasantry and of Russia itself, now Aleksey Andreyevich Preobrazhenskiy is once again in the neighborhood and once again on business--in his 60, he is manager of the Gorkiy Sovkhoz....

Following doctors' orders to the letter, Vladimir Il'ich more and more clearly dispensed with any kind of care and avoided all comforts, preferring to harden himself in spartan surroundings. His cheerfulness encouraged and gave hope to even the most restrained of optimists in Gorkiy--Nadezhda Konstantinovna. Words of suppressed joy began to be fleetingly glimpsed in her letters: "I begin to hope that recovery is not ruled out"; "with every day he makes some new gain."

Only Vladimir Il'ich himself was really fully aware of the incredible complexity the process of regaining his strength still involved. He gratified himself neither with his feeling of well-being after his long walks in the woods, nor with the success of his "high ascents" to the second floor. He craved a response from every cell of his organism exhausted with disease--how far off still the moment when he would be able to tackle the work awaiting him with his former readiness; would this moment come at all...? He was prepared to drive himself to this with the whips of his iron will. He wanted to regain his speech, his writing skills, and his rapid reading ability as quickly and as firmly as possible. He literally, as Nadezhda Konstantinovna noted, "seized upon the tasks" suggested to him by the domestics. The best of teachers, the most patient of nurses, and the most solicitous of solicitous friends, she started lessons of last hope, lessons with the "pupil" from whom all mankind aspiring to revolution was already learning. If one is thoroughly acquainted with Il'ich's nature and aware of the extraordinary facts of the situation, one can imagine all the tension of these Gorkiy lessons. Nadezhda Konstantinovna admits in her confidential lines to the elder

daughter of Inessa Armand: "...Now I spend whole days with V., who is rapidly improving, but in the evenings I go mad..."

The impressive results compelled the authoritative neuropathologists Ferster and Dobrogayev to admit: Now it is certainly a matter of rehabilitation. And, apparently, recalling the last creative feat of Vladimir Il'ich in the wintry Kremlin, Nadezhda Konstantinovna confessed with restrained rejoicing: "...I have already asked to be his personal secretary and am preparing to learn shorthand." And Vladimir Il'ich himself is straining to get hold of the pen. His right hand does not obey him, and he writes letters with his left hand. He asks for slates. And he asks for writing accessories. And suddenly for both reports and writing paper.... How very much he wants to work. Every day he comes to the library where to some extent he can feel like he is behind a working desk. He busies himself with something, he leans back in the armchair, and the Russian village appears before his eyes spread on a hill as on the palm of his hand. Of course, it is not the expressiveness of the landscape that attracts the eye, however comforting it may be to the thoughts on your mind, when you constantly have before your eyes the plain picture of Russian reality, for the happy renewal of which you have devoted all your days.

He sorely misses information about events--newspapers have been pronounced inadvisable. Strange people these doctors, and they invent strange contraindications, as though a politician could not be upset by a lack of information.... Having established that he can easily read without any strain, he begins to request newspapers. And at a certain time the servants of Hippocrates moved: Following careful consultations with professors, newspapers were allowed. How the word suddenly and intensely appeared alive again on the winds of alarm. Vladimir Il'ich sees the familiar Berlin streets where brave proletarians, having come to honor the memory of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, are fighting the police detachments. Unrest continues in the much suffering Poland; profascists are creeping out of the dark shadows of nationalism. A new dramatic plot is warming up in the British Parliament with the changing of the conservative-labor scenery. Now it is necessary to imagine: Somewhere on the opposite side of the world--in Carolina or Texas in America--incurably ill Victor Pavlovich Nogin, head of the All-Russian Trade Union of Textile Workers, is enlightening cotton industry workers, who have been infected by lies, on the true goals of the Soviets.

The United States is intensifying propaganda against the USSR. It is amidst the noise of this propaganda that the dexterous American diplomat Sherman tries to convince Sun Yat-sen of America's friendly disposition toward China. The Chinese leader gives a worthy answer in his speech at a meeting in Canton: "Russia has taught us," he says, "how we should fight for our liberation. We have understood this."

Every piece of news is a grain for thought by Vladimir Il'ich, a sketch of the future picture of the world infinitely dear to him. But now all questions and thoughts, all dreams and hopes are concentrated at one pole of his existence, the party. Not long ago, Richard Pettigrew, an elderly enthusiastic American, trying to give compliments, expressed in a letter some kind of



grandiloquent sacramentalism [sakramentalnost]. He considers Lenin "the greatest of all men who have ever lived on earth, and this is why: This is the only time in history that one man was made the leader of an entire great nation as a result of a revolution." As though there had been no assiduous gatherings of party forces in the preceding 3 decades. As though everything had not been engendered by the revolutionary springs of the mighty bolshevist current that broke through in the October Revolution and pierced the thick walls of the tsarist fortresses and the thievery of the patriarchal tenor of life. To him, Lenin, it is clearer than clear that in the real revolution, the true leader of a great nation can only be the party that masters the historical perspective and selflessly serves the people, that is, a monolithic Marxist party. And for Vladimir Il'ich there is no more urgent and unfinished task than that of strengthening this party, multiplying its forces, tempering its will, sharpening its mind, and raising its honor.

Of all newspaper materials that come to Vladimir Il'ich's attention, Nadezhda Konstantinovna is frightened most by reports on party discussions. He had found the last crisis, the factional statements and actions, and the threat of a split such a hard experience, and he had placed such high hopes on the resolution "On Party Unity." And now once again the irresponsible politicians--one can use no milder term in referring to them--are pulling the party into an exhaustive crush of discussions and clearly hindering everyday political work. How soon will they be seen in the field in the next deviationist acts and what convincing correlation of forces will be brought about for the next 13th party conference? Vladimir Il'ich does not follow the discussion in all details and limits himself only to the main documents and certain characteristic traits. But the nearer the day of final reckoning is, the deeper is his interest.

What is most distressing of all is the vast amount of human effort expended on elucidating what should already be clear but has been deliberately confused by people persisting in their mistakes. It is good that working people cannot be unsettled by artificially imposed debates. Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin relates in PRAVDA how, visiting the cells of higher education institutes and of workers, he clearly understood: where interest in practical matters has been lost, one finds boundless verbiage, firmly entrenched opportunism and party Pinkertonism [pinkertonovshchina]. Unable to endure the empty chatter in the lecture hall at a repairmen's club on the Kazan railway, Mikhail Ivanovich walked about the halls and rooms and was pleasantly surprised by how many businesslike people were gathered there; here a choir was rehearsing, there a literary circle was gathered, here a Komsomol meeting was in session, there people were learning to read and write... Everywhere people were doing something, learning something, while the debaters were growing more stupid from the "sensations" and "revelations" communicated to one another: "Our party has grown numb...." The workers straightened these people out by saying, "stick to work."

Grigoriy Ivanovich Petrovskiy returned from a trip through the Donbass with the same impression of discussions. The Donetsk workers discussed the subject of party democracy plainly: While things are difficult for the republic one could not "indulge in any mincing" [razzyuzulivat], but the firmest discipline is needed instead.

They favored fearlessly revealing all abscesses and applying merciless communist treatment. A bold, just and objective approach to every problem, even the most complex, and to every comrade, even the most responsible, was required, thereby proving that party interests were far above all personal attachments and group obligations. With this kind of approach by worker party members, the opposition's defeat in the mines and at the plants was inevitable.

On the threshold of the 13th party conference it was becoming clear: The Central Committee's policy was supported by the overwhelming majority of organizations, and all the opposition's platforms had collapsed with a crash. Only one thing was surprising--the inspirers of discussion did not grieve, rather they took great relish in phrases about a "democratic spring" in December 1923. Everything pointed to the fact that even though they had no hope of success, they were spoiling for a fight. This meant that they openly wished to slow down work and were undermining the decisions of the 10th Congress. Members of the opposition were becoming professionals, and as professionals they excelled in tactical strategems.

The opposition insidiously turned the slogan of struggle against bureaucratism and against stagnation of the old apparatus and the aim to scrupulously restructure realistically operating systems of socialist administration against the "apparatchiks," that is the party apparatuses of oblast, province and district committees of which nine-tenths were elected by the party. Speaking of the regeneration of party cadres and drawing far-fetched parallels with German social democracy meant burning strongly with evil feelings for one's party, hazardously kindling passion, and exacerbating its internal state to the maximum.

Whoever constantly imposes a "shakeup" and flaunts the word "regeneration" logically also needs a special "barometer" to seek a more comfortable atmosphere: it is not worth his while at all to play to the public: "Youth is the Most Reliable Barometer." A demagogic slogan, to put it mildly. Nadezhda Konstantinovna spoke rightly about this in her discussion in PRAVDA.

"Until now our party has not been divided into old and young ones, and until now age has been disregarded in our party. This division would perhaps make sense if the old ones had come out of touch with their work and were mere 'icons,' but our older generation has been at the very center of struggle and work and has no less revolutionary and postrevolutionary experience than new party members. Also, the old members have good Marxist training that makes it possible for them to soundly interpret the experience they have lived through, and they hold the old party traditions. The young people themselves also understood this as well as anyone, being well aware of party responsibility. The slogan advocating orientation toward youth...is fundamentally wrong, and that is why it is easily used demagogically...."

In Lenin's case the effect would probably have been sharper. In fact, it was sharper. He entered an immediate struggle with his bold words. In the very heat of discussion a collection appeared entitled "Lenin on Party Construction in the Space of 20 Years." Finding out about this from newspaper reports, he inquired about the book. The collection's compilers had read many

of his works with a fresh eye, from "What Is To Be Done?" to "How Can We Reorganize the Workers and Peasants Inspection," and skillfully put together a monologue of more than 500 pages in defense of the basic principles of the Marxist party. In this book, as the preface summed up, were answers to almost all the burning questions currently discussed. Vladimir Il'ich would not have generalized in this way himself, but certainly would have advised the especially bold polemicists and any jockeying theoreticians: Get a strong grip on the fundamental problem of all of organization's vital activity--the problem of party discipline and democracy. This runs through the pages of the collection like a red thread.

...For a long time to come the world will continue to be amazed by the unprecedented strength of our party ranks and seek explanation for it in the national character, in Eastern fanaticism and in anything convenient. False hypotheses! "Only the history of bolshevism for its entire existence can satisfactorily explain why it has been able to establish and maintain iron discipline under the most difficult conditions...." Just as Russia itself gained Marxism through a half century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice and incredible energy and heroism, Russian bolshevism achieved unity of will and purity of principles by passing all trials and withstanding all the attacks of enemies and treacheries of false brothers.

Whereas "discipline" is written on one side of the red banner in the hands of the revolution's standard bearer, you read the word "democracy" on the other side of the banner. It had been proclaimed from the time of the first revolution: "Unity of action, freedom of discussion and criticism--this is our determination. This discipline alone is worthy of the democratic party of the leading class." However, the concept of democracy itself has many meanings. At one time we heard loud calls for "broad democratism" and have also known advocates of "democracy to the point of loss of consciousness." Party democracy is the very sister of discipline because it provides no room for any sentimental and emotional talk of the Hyde Park type and ensures a real public nature of work, electivity, and accountability--that is, a free nature of organization indispensable for conscious unity of practical actions.

How many personal losses Vladimir Il'ich himself experienced because comrades could not and did not want to stay within the limits of party democracy. He never tired of saying to one or another or a third one.... You cannot get the upper hand with your factional self-esteem--wait with conclusions, take a close look at what has been acquired in practice. You are suffering from a wild imagination--do not rush in with concepts and "models"; let us divide your dream among a score of minds. You are eager to show your nature--this is good when the nature is endowed--but consider this: We will watch to ensure that the nature will manifest itself usefully.... No one should hinder our general political work. What we need is an ever greater cohesion, and certainly not a formal cohesion at that; what is important is united, friendly work.... To all who want to develop democracy, strengthen discipline, and implement the party program, Vladimir Il'ich can say one thing: What is needed is real execution and not talk, and the party must be helped with deeds--this is the most desirable help....

From the moment when the party discussion entered its final stage, Vladimir Il'ich, totally mobilized as though before a general fight, wanted to know everything without exception. Nadezhda Konstantinovna begins to read in several consecutive sessions the many pages of PRAVDA reports, never for a moment losing sight of Il'ich's reaction: Polemics have become extremely sharp, arguments are categorical, the tone is impartial, and appeals to Lenin himself are quite frequent. The agitation that gripped Il'ich toward the end could be removed only in one way, that is, by telling him that the resolution has been adopted unanimously.... But here he now demands that the resolutions be read to the last letter. "We spent Saturday and Sunday reading the resolutions," Nadezhda Konstantinovna later recalled.

... They sit, the two of them alone, in a small room on the second floor-- Il'ich with his eyes directed to Gorkinskiye Kholmy and Nadezhda Konstantinovna with a newspaper in her hand--and they interpret and experience the lines of the party document as particularly important news from an infinitely dear being. Il'ich wants with all his heart to gauge both the loftiness of ideas and the reality of the goals of those who have inherited the important cause, as well as the firmness of their filial devotion and their courageous readiness to take on their shoulders the inconceivable enormous responsibility before the working people, the much-suffering motherland, and the great open page of history.... To his last day, Vladimir Il'ich had no other all-absorbing thoughts than thoughts of the party.

...No one in the world knew that Il'ich's last Gorkiy week was running out. As late as Saturday, delegates of the 11th All-Russian Congress of the Soviets greeted with ovations the announcement by Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin that the great specialists treating Lenin expressed hopes for his return to state and political activities. But on Sunday Vladimir Il'ich did not come out for breakfast; he did not feel well, and complained about his eyes. Having come later for consultations, Professor Averbakh found no change in his eyes, and he had a creeping fear that the old ailment was once again showing its insidious effects. Close to midnight, Vladimir Il'ich left the professor and stepped across the threshold of his last day.

The fatal stroke came at half past five in the evening; the state of health sharply deteriorated. And half an hour later Mariya Ilinichna telephoned the Kremlin from Gorkiy and announced the most terrible news....

WE ARE GOING TO LENIN.... Everyone in his turn, of his own accord, according to the insistent call of his mind. I do not recall myself being in the human stream moving toward the mausoleum any other time than in January. And every time one unwittingly is carried away by one's thoughts to that harshest and saddest January in the first columns of farewell. The severe cold is biting, everything is wrapped in the bitter smoke of Moscow streets, and one is drawn by the seemingly muffled talk of the columns that appear dark red in the light from the night fires. How hard it was for those walking in front to endure the great loss, for those who could not imagine their life without Lenin, any of them, be he a celebrated people's commissar or an ordinary worker from Presnya, an unknown Russian peasant or an intellectual of the new type.

...Already immediately after the tragic announcement, people's commissars and Central Committee members, associates and pupils are gathering in Gorkiy around the deceased leader to share the most difficult minutes of sorrow with his kin. And every one of them passed the entire voyage alone with thoughts of Il'ich against the background tapping noise of wheels as well as of the four-verst trip to the Gorkiy House from the station, where the special government train had arrived. Everyone felt a strong need to recall well and think about everything which had escaped the mind in the fervor of work. What was he, our Il'ich, as a person? What should we be..." And each of them would later share what they had thought over during their Gorkiy voyage.

...Now, we will be able to better discover for ourselves what a wonder Vladimir Il'ich was. One did not actually feel this way in the everyday bustle and in his presence, and even he himself, fusing with every one of us, "prevented" any view of him as a great wonder--and yet he was precisely a wonder.

What compelled that man to burn himself during his entire life in the crucible of struggle and what moved him, since he was free of all ambition and aspirations to power and it would be ridiculous even to speak of any aspirations to surround himself with material wealth? It was love, selfless and true love for the working people and all the oppressed. Everything he did for workers was not only prompted by his Marxist intellect but also dictated by his great human heart. He discerned the finest shades of social justice and was selfless in the proletarian way in everything that concerned the reconstruction of life.

During his entire life he remained the man standing at his post under fire. He needed a special armor of inaccessibility, but he went out to meet all and was always accessible to everyone, open to all; he never showed pain and healed his wounds himself.

He was infinitely kind, but his was not the kindness of forgiving all, a kindness cherished by ordinary men, but a kindness of justice. The struggle often turned in the most cruel directions, and Lenin boldly accepted its inevitable conditions; he understood better than anyone else that mankind's victories are also won in blood. And at the same time, he could never abandon a man needing his kindness.

Being with him always produced a feeling of unusual simplicity and equality. He could also order, strictly demand, or threaten punishment, but in all this there was no grain of any commanding approach. He demanded that you fulfill your sacred obligation and he was in this connection a comrade who loved you like a brother and who himself was doing a hundred times more. And he was always ready to hear your objections, understand your difficulties and correct a mistake if it had been made.

It seemed that the personal "I" did not exist for that man, that is, the personal "I" in the sense of egotistic self-importance, self-promotion, or any kind of pretentiousness. Everywhere and side by side, one meets at the levels of power those who make a great deal of their own persons and seem to check their standing by thermometers. How am I regarded now? But he was

marked by the most complete lack of concern about his personality. Of course he knew--and all saw it--that his shoulders were stronger and could carry the weight of many. But he never prided himself in or boasted about his genius. He was simply busy with work.

...In the very days of the parting, PRAVDA gave an account of the following episode. A small muzhik in a sheepskin three-flap cap tirelessly wanders around the front and back of the human columns covered with frost and keeps asking in a pleading voice: "Comrades, will you accept me among yourselves in union?" Silent disagreement drives him further. At the end he places himself by the smoldering fire and is recognized by a Red Army soldier:

"Old man, were you not also here yesterday?"

"Exactly, that is true," the muzhik says with excitement. "I was here yesterday and will also come tomorrow and in general as long as people do not prevent me...."

"And why? Did they not admit you?"

"Why would they not admit me; they admitted me all right but the access is only for a minute, and a minute is not enough to get a proper feeling...;" and after a considerable pause he seems to have hardened himself and adds: "I am presenting myself to the dear deceased one as an acquaintance."

Calmly putting up with the smiles of mistrust on the gloomy faces, he tells his story, obviously for the umpteenth time. Three winters ago he arrived in the capital from the backwoods of Bryansk to petition for the erection of a public mill--without it the countryside was living in poverty. One day, 2 days, a week, a month, he went from department to department and office to office without any result. He walked until he had worn down his felt boots and worn out the best shoes he had brought as a reserve. From then on the village envoy began to add a request for boots to his efforts on behalf of a mill. They completely refused to understand him. They advised him familiarly. There will be a meeting here in the rayon, they said: Comrade Lenin himself will come, none other, old man--so you must try to tell him about your peasant affairs. He's your kind of man; he'll understand. At first, the muzhik was overcome with doubt--Lenin's a very great man, goodness knows how many mills there are in Russia, and the state only has one pair of hands. But he did not belittle himself, and went to the club. He waited by the exit and addressed the chairman of the Soviet People's Committee with a bow: Be indulgent, esteemed one, he said, to our peasant needs.... Vladimir Il'ich studied the peasant documents for a long time in the smoky room, went carefully into the inscriptions in the corners, and shook his head: Ah, our departments.... Then he began to ask questions himself: Is the countryside very poverty-stricken? How much grain is left, according to the assessments? What is the winter field like? What does the countryside need most at the moment?...

On hearing about the adventures with the boots, he laughed and wrote a little memorandum about them: "To the administration. Dear Comrades, you must set him up with a pair of boots. V. I. Lenin." Noticing that the grateful

muzhik was once again beginning to bow and apologize, the chairman of the Soviet People's Committee stopped him:

"Don't apologize, Comrade, we are bound to go into every matter, your petition is correct."

Carefully rolling the valuable little shred of paper into his tobacco pouch--the only evidence of his acquaintance with Lenin--the Bryansk muzhik looks around those gathered at the fire with dignity and asks himself: Has everyone understood the meaning of Lenin's words, and will these words be heeded now without him? Konstantin Paustovskiy, then a little-known associate on the editorial staff of NA VAKHTE, joined the line at 2 in the morning, somewhere near the Kursk railway station, to get into the Hall of Columns to the coffin placed high up among the flowers and scarlet banners. He was later to leave the fiery lines of confession of a witness of history in his "Tale of Life," a witness who had come face to face with a grief shared by all people and experienced by himself as the deepest personal pain. "...There was not a single person in the country," the writer reasons, "whose life was not affected by Lenin's existence, and no one who did not feel the strength of his will. He changed life. This change was comparable to a gigantic geological fault which shook Russia to its very depth.... And this man, who had swiftly reshaped the world, was dead. Every one of us was wondering what would now become of us."

Endless streams of people flow into the Hall of Columns in fresh waves, flow round the red coffin, which is like a high cliff, and rush on further--into life, now without their wise helmsman. As if standing guard near the cliff, one sees the guard of honor--Lenin's comrades in arms, the bolshevik guards and the best sons of the workers class. The names of the workers who have come from the machine tool benches are alongside the names of members of the Central Committee and the government in the newspaper reports.

...Five minutes at the head of Lenin's bed--how much that is concealed do they reveal to the Krasnopresensk worker, and how much strength do they instill in him.... One's eyes are riveted on Lenin's brow; while beyond him people's faces swim into vision, draw near and blaze up; with every minute more and more new faces appear. These faces are an open book of the people's soul: sorrow and unity, hope and firmness. If you are a party member life's burden is now a lot heavier; if you are a nonparty proletarian your heart calls you to the cohort of the Leninist appeal. "We are all Il'ich's pupils," people were saying in those days in the Moscow plants, "and we must, in the end, say directly that a worker at the bench cannot be outside of the party, outside of the family which our Il'ich created." No, we are not afraid for the future. It is not true that we have been orphaned--Il'ich is among us. He is in our breasts, our hearts, our thoughts and in the muscles of millions.... We will go to the Kremlin wall in our thousands and share our sorrow and joy with Il'ich. Boldly and brightly forward!--Lenin always called to us. We will be the victors--it is inevitable!

"...The breath of revolution was in the air. Precisely the year 1919," Nadezhda Konstantintovna was later to note in a personal letter. "I think that Il'ich's death will unite the party and elevate work...work must now be done."

We will be the victors! How many times this fighting call of the revolutionaries was heard to come with inspiration from Il'ich's mouth and now, in the mournful days of January, was loudly heard on all meridians, elevating the oppressed to struggle for human justice.

In the cold mist of the Paris squares 300 red banners bowed before the bust of Lenin as if taking an oath--the sons of the communards expressed their gratitude and loyalty to the main heir of the commune.

At the other end of the earth in the Western hemisphere, a decree is published in the tiniest Cuban municipality in accordance with which every inhabitant of Regla is called upon to express the highest esteem for the Great Citizen of the World, Nikolas Lenin, in whose memory an olive tree will be planted on the highest hill. In the equatorial East Indies on the island of Java, the police discover portraits of Lenin and his works, already translated into Malay, with astonishment and fear. In the southern hemisphere on the long-suffering shore of the Pacific Ocean, the 30-year-old Chilean, Vicente Uedobro, composes his "Elegy on the Death of Lenin" in what is a far from elegiac tone:

It is very simple--a man walked the earth  
And left his descendants an ardent heart  
You rose like a herald of the future  
You sowed the future with the seeds of your words  
And now thousands of hands raise the sickles  
And thousands of hands raise the hammers  
And, crossed, they shine above our heads  
And we hear your voice  
And we hear how resonantly  
Beats your heart beyond the threshold of death  
And how your pulse seethes in the aorta of the earth.

WE ARE GOING TO LENIN. A natural path and one to which we are accustomed. And it is scarcely possible to imagine the core of the heart of our motherland without this short path of ascent. Meanwhile, 60 years ago, in a country tormented by wounds, hunger and hardship, this path had to be inaugurated. The honor of inauguration belongs to the revolutionary people.

Still Il'ich is in the Hall of Columns. Still the bolsheviks, changing guard, are ready to believe in a miracle: He will suddenly wake up, get up and flash his intelligent and beautiful smile at the whole world.... Trains are still arriving with funeral delegations. Telegrams are already flowing in from all over the country: Il'ich's body must not be committed to the earth.... He must be preserved for all eternity.... Let the workers of future ages see the leader of the proletariat.... In the cool quiet of the night the Russian architect, the "artist in stone," Aleksey Shchusev, stands in the middle of Red Square and is already mentally adding Lenin's Mausoleum to the unique ensemble on the Kremlin Hill. Workers and craftsmen will follow in his wake--from Kaluga, Ryazan, Suzdal--and they will begin to warm the unassailable earth with fires, almost with their bare palms, so as to lay the first stones. They will be joined by builders from Volkhov and by envoys from other building sites. Hungarians and Poles, Austrians and Finns will come. Just before the military escort of the funeral procession steps onto



the square, the builders will complete their work. With a radio signal, a moan of horns, a farewell salute and a courageous hymn, Moscow and the whole country will proclaim: "Lenin is dead--Leninism lives!"

It was both a farewell and the beginning of mankind's perpetual movement toward Lenin.

...The French workers are in the first columns approaching the mausoleum. They hold a valuable relic in their hands--a torn banner from the last barricade of the Commune. A striking and symbolic journey: From the 19th century into the 20th, from Montmartre to Red Square, from the hands of the communards to the head of Lenin's bed. History entrusts the Banner of Struggle to the great leader: The cause of the Commune lives on in Leninism. A poet and fighter and one of the founders of the French Communist Party, Paul Vayyan-Couturier, then uttered elevated and true words about Lenin: "...This man retained his amazing ability to feel and think both like a Chinese coolie and a black porter to the end of his conscious life. An oppressed Annamite or Hindu were just as understandable to him and just as much an open book as a Petrograd metalworker, a Parisian textile worker or a miner from New Virginia. Lenin is a complete image of the new man; he was for us the prototype of the man of the future."

Behind the Parisian communards come the communards of the October Revolution, the communards of the Soviet five-year plans. Lenin is approached by those who erected the Dnepr Hydroelectric Power Plant, built Magnitka, built the Turkestan-Siberian railway, created the city of youth on the Amur River, set the tractor giant on the Volga in operation, set records for extracting or fusing.... They come not only to say: We are building a socialist home from your blueprints, Il'ich, but also to learn a new lesson of life and struggle. In the words of their contemporary Ilya Korobov, a representative of the dynasty of steel workers, they wish to learn from Lenin "how to strive every day and every hour for great efficiency, specificity and exactingness toward themselves and how to be unassuming in their everyday lives and attentive and kind to people."

Even the darkness of cruel war hanging over our motherland and over the whole of Europe will not stop the perpetual flow but will only interrupt it; it will not break the traditions of the Leninist October Revolution but will only increase their force, reveal their significance, and intensify the feelings of the patriot. Going into battle directly from the October parade, any of its participants, if the feeling in every individual were to take the form of a sentence, could exclaim like the combat commander Vasilii Nozdrev: "There are various kinds of parades, but this one is a feat of difficult days. And we vow, if need be, to protect the mausoleum with our bodies...."

They will close the approaches to the capital with their chests. Panfilov's soldiers go to the Dubosekovo station from Lenin's Mausoleum and rise to meet the enemy with all of their gigantic stature. The fascist hordes were stopped, repelled and dispersed. And at another parade, the victory parade, the heroic sons of Il'ich brought 200 fascist banners as their trophies and, to the sound of the drum signals of punishment, threw them down at the pedestal of the Mausoleum.

Among those moving across the square, there are often, in the words of the American, Williams, individuals of heroic destiny who come to this greatest reception hall of the world, the individuals who know: We face the most difficult test tomorrow, and perhaps it will be necessary to make the last decision.... But before that, it is important to come here. Stopping for a few minutes before the Mausoleum, our frame of mind is willingly or unwillingly filled with thoughts about the connection between the finite and infinite; the dialectics of life and the purpose of life are recognized especially distinctly, and we seem as though we are touching eternity. A man, preparing himself for a heroic deed naturally cannot but think about that. It was precisely here to the Mausoleum that Yuriy Gagarin, then still an unknown flier, arrived on a certain April day. Having subsequently returned from space as a great explorer and stood before the festive human sea twice as long as the time of his orbital flight, he descended from the honor stand of the Mausoleum to the tomb vault--so imperative was the need to stand in the silence of Lenin's rest, the silence which makes one wiser.

The human stream continues to flow and flow. Generations of reformers follow one another. They need innovative daring and maturity of decisions, the scale of dreams and the feeling of their reality. They want to be kind to the emaciated land and discover new sources of food in the taiga, irrigate the deserts, build unique electric power plants, and build the main highway lines of the century and the cities of the future. They want to build themselves. They see in Lenin's features not only the face of the great strategist of the revolution but also, as Lenin's comrades in arms predicted, the perfect standard of a communist personality.

...WE ARE GOING TO LENIN. Ever further and deeper to the very core of his intellectual and spiritual world.

At one time, it sufficed for Petrograd workers, Tambov Oblast peasants, Dzerzhinskiy's Chekists, of Budennyy's cavalry to hear Lenin's catching slogans, speeches at meetings or an instantly made decree. Now we have a reliable consultation with Il'ich. It is necessary to consider his work over and over, read the concise lines of his wise writings and listen to his exciting words and discussion rejoinders: It is necessary to "compute" the idea addressed precisely to this day and "project" it to this situation. Lenin's volumes are not only a temple of Lenin's thoughts but also a treasury of our thoughts. It is impossible to become a real communist without passing along the roads of his searches. The entire teaching of Lenin is applicable to the individual person, to every one of us, and his theoretical concepts, political principles and his social-moral principles encompass one concept that is living and active in us every minute, the party spirit.

...We have passed across the square. Nearly unknown to each other but intimately linked in this living stream by the similarity of thoughts, the closeness of feelings, the united aspirations and especially an excited anticipation of the meeting.... We quietly tread along the marble pedestal. Eighty seconds near Il'ich. Eighty seconds--that is 100 beats of my heart. And hundreds of thousands of beats of another thousand hearts. The human heart beats forever in the Mausoleum....

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## FACTOR OF DECISIVE SIGNIFICANCE

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[Article by Prof A. Bachurin, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] Soon after the victory of the October Revolution, in defining the next tasks of the Soviet system, V. I. Lenin noted the exceptional importance of labor productivity. "...Socialism," he wrote, "requires a conscious mass movement toward a higher labor productivity compared to capitalism and on the basis of what capitalism has achieved socialism must accomplish this progress in its own way, through its own means, which must be specifically Soviet" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 178). Among the various means or conditions for a growth in labor productivity Lenin singled out the development of the material and technical base of large-scale industry, the educational and cultural upsurge of population masses, increased working people discipline and work skills and improved organization of labor and development of the competition. He also pointed out the need to correlate "earnings with general production output or exploitation results in rail and water transportation, and so on and so forth" (ibid., p 189).

In calling for taking from capitalism anything valuable in the advances made by science and technology, Lenin formulated the conclusion that "the achievements of socialism will be defined precisely by our successes in combining the Soviet system and Soviet organization of management with the latest progress achieved by capitalism" (ibid., p 190). He brilliantly foresaw that combining socialist production organization with the most advanced achievements of scientific and technical progress would become a decisive prerequisite for reaching the highest possible level of labor productivity.

### I

Guided by Lenin's theory of the decisive importance of labor productivity in the victory of the new social system, the communist party pays great attention to ensuring its steady growth. Compared to 1940, in 1983 social labor productivity was higher by a factor of 11.9. This played a determining part in increasing the gross national product within that period by a factor of 15 and the national income by a factor of 15.8.

However, despite such a high pace, which greatly outstrips the growth of labor productivity in economically developed capitalist countries, in terms of this indicator our country remains behind said countries in industry and

agriculture. This has largely been the result of the weakening of the attention paid by a number of ministries and many enterprises to problems of technical retooling of operating production facilities and the use of new progressive technologies and highly productive equipment. An insufficient number of effective steps were taken to improve the use of working time and equipment and the application of progressive methods for labor organization and wages. As a result, many enterprises, including newly built ones, failed to reach their planned labor productivity and tried to fulfill their plans by increasing the number of workers, frequently allowing a faster growth of average wages compared to higher labor productivity. This practice conflicts with the production intensification course charted by the 26th CPSU Congress. It became necessary radically to change the attitude of economic managers and all labor collectives regarding labor productivity. Exceptionally important in this case are the stipulations and conclusions found in Yu. V. Andropov's speech at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "In the economic area," he said, "the key task is achieving radical improvement in labor productivity. In this area we must achieve the highest world standard.... Today, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, this task has become particularly important in terms of our domestic construction and on the international level."

In the national economy a radical increase in labor productivity is a pivotal problem in converting the economy to a primarily intensive development and achieving higher economic and social efficiency in public production. The solution of this problem will enable us to accelerate the growth rates of the public product and the national income and to allocate greater resources for improving the well-being of the people while maintaining on the optimally necessary level the scales and growth rates of accumulations.

Specific decisions aimed at the implementation of the party's task relate to radically upgrading labor productivity. By this we mean decrees on strengthening labor discipline, steps to accelerate scientific and technical progress in the national economy, the development of the brigade form of labor organization, the observance of contractual obligations for commodity procurements, engaging in extensive experimentation in a number of sectors to improve the economic mechanism and others. In addition to enhancing the level of organizational work and strengthening the orientation of party, soviet and economic organs toward improving end results in the activities of industrial enterprises, construction projects, transportation organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, these decisions yielded substantial positive results as early as 1983. Compared with the first 2 years of the five-year plan the growth rates of industrial and agricultural output were accelerated. Work quality indicators improved noticeably. Increased production efficiency has been the main positive change. In industry labor productivity increased by 3.5 percent compared to 2.1 percent in 1982 and 2.9 percent as planned for 1983. Labor productivity increased by 3.0 percent in construction and 6.0 percent in agriculture (public production). Social labor productivity increased by 3.5 percent.

The results of the first 3 months of 1984 indicate that many industrial sectors are continuing to increase their growth rates of labor productivity.

The intensified level of organization, initiative and responsibility of cadres and the adoption of the Law on Labor Collectives and the Development of their Creative Activeness plays a major role in this area. However, the results achieved in 1983 and the first months of 1984 should be considered merely as the beginning of a major turn toward a radical enhancement of labor productivity. The most important thing today, the December 1983 and February 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums noted, is to maintain the established pace and the overall positive feeling in this matter and actively to develop positive processes. A clear example of this is provided by the movement which has spread throughout the country for the overfulfillment of the 1984 plan for labor productivity by 1 percent and reducing production costs by 0.5 percent. These two indicators are interrelated and, combined, reflect the growth of live and materialized labor productivity. Their importance under the conditions of public production intensification increases greatly and it is no accident that they have become the main fund-forming indicators of the new economic mechanism.

The following question arises: do industry, agriculture, construction and transportation have reserves and possibilities for a further acceleration of the growth rates of labor productivity? The only possible answer here is a positive one.

"The new five-year plan," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said, "must above all become the beginning of profound quality changes in production. It must become a five-year plan of decisive upturn in the intensification of all of our national economic sectors. The contemporary material and technical base and management system must acquire new and higher qualities." This upturn must take place above all in the pace of technical progress and the quality indicators of enterprise work and, therefore, the dynamics in the growth of production efficiency. All the necessary production-technical, economic and social prerequisites to this effect are available.

The Soviet Union has a tremendous production and technical potential, a powerful basic and applied science and a multimillion-strong army of skilled engineers and specialists who can accelerate scientific and technical progress. We have major opportunities for accelerating technical progress and applying the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. In recent years industry and other national economic sectors have acquired substantial positive experience in improving the organization of labor and production management, the skillful use of which will be one of the important factors in the growth of labor productivity. Unquestionably, the CPSU Central Committee line of comprehensive improvements along the entire system of national economic management will play a tremendous positive role.

## II

At all stages the communist party has followed Lenin's instruction of "looking ahead, toward technological progress..." (op. cit., vol 5, p 137). Lenin considered as one of the programmatic party requirements taking steps "aimed at the development of science and bringing it closer to production..." (op. cit., vol 38, p 437). Now, when profound quality changes in production

forces have not only matured but become inevitable, the role of scientific and technical progress in the country's economic and social development has increased immeasurably. Scientific and technical progress and the mastery of the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution are of decisive importance in increasing growth rates and achieving a high level of social labor productivity. It is on this basis that the party's economic and scientific and technical policy stipulates the accelerated application of new progressive technologies, which are the most efficient trends of scientific and technical progress, in all national economic sectors.

Suffice it to say that outlays for the use of new technologies will be recovered on an average within approximately 3 years. This applies above all to essentially new technologies resting on basic research and major discoveries, which enable us to upgrade labor productivity severalfold and, in some cases, dozens of times. Progressive technological processes not only significantly accelerate the growth of labor productivity but, as a rule, save on materials and energy and greatly reduce production losses and waste. They are characterized by low-operational and continuous production processes and their chemization. This is quite important in accelerating the replacement of goods and reducing their production costs. Thus, the use of powder metallurgy yields major economic results. In the manufacturing of parts made of powder, 1 ton of powder is the equivalent of 1.5-2 tons of rolled ferrous or nonferrous metals and relieves as many as 80 metal-cutting machine tools and about 190 skilled workers. Lining made of metal powders increases the strength and durability of the products and substantially reduces metal losses caused by corrosion.

The state plans call for intensifying the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes. Whereas in the past reconstruction and modernization of production facilities were frequently reduced to the mechanization or automation of individual sectors, of so-called bottlenecks, now the emphasis is on comprehensive mechanization and automation involving the use of robots and modern computers. In terms of their importance to production intensification, such technical decisions are similar to the application of new progressive technologies. Production intensification based on comprehensive mechanization and automation significantly increases both economic and social efficiency and contributes to reducing the share of manual labor, of difficult operations above all.

The recruitment of workers for auxiliary sectors where manual labor is used is becoming increasingly difficult. This intensifies equalization in wages of workers with different skill levels. Difficulties arise in maintaining the production rhythm and in making the necessary repairs and engaging in other auxiliary operations. This adversely affects the growth rates of labor productivity. Therefore, intensifying the process of mechanization and automation in auxiliary production will be one of the crucial problems of scientific and technical progress in the immediate future.

Enhancing the technical standard and quality of machines, equipment, instruments and consumer goods and, respectively, improving the quality of raw and construction materials, is of major national economic importance. This is

the greatest reserve for the growth of labor productivity and the conservation of all kinds of resources. For example, it has been estimated that increasing the reliability and durability of machines used in the national economy by no more than 10 percent would enable us, by reducing outlays for current and capital repairs (including additional investments for upgrading the durability of the goods) to increase the national income by 3 billion rubles and to release some 400,000 workers. We should also take into consideration the socioeconomic benefit of the better satisfaction of the needs of society for higher quality goods. The 1983 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures To Accelerate Scientific and Technical Progress in the National Economy" instructs the Gosplan, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the Gosstroy, the USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics, associations, enterprises and organizations to proceed in their activities from the fact that in the next few years industry must ensure the production of goods distinguished by indicators superior to contemporary models and to apply progressive technological processes and, on this basis, to ensure a substantially increased labor productivity in all economic sectors.

The growth of labor productivity is assisted by intensified production specialization and cooperation. To this effect the central economic departments have been instructed to formulate the basic directions for the further expansion and intensification of intersectorial production specialization and cooperation in machine building between 1986 and 1990 and the period through the year 2000. This will include maximal standardization of assemblies and parts using new equipment and technologies. The purpose will be to optimize the dimensions of machines, equipment and instruments and to create standardized block-modular and base structures. This will enable us substantially to increase the output and improve the quality of standardized items and considerably to reduce repair labor outlays.

In order to accelerate the replacement of currently produced machines, equipment and instruments, differentiated norms governing their renovation (updating) periods are being drafted. On their basis, starting with 1986, the state five-year and annual plans will include assignments on creating and mastering the production of new and updating existing models of machines, equipment and instruments and terminating the production of obsolete goods.

Let us point out that a major step forward was taken in 1983 in accelerating the process of renovating the output. A total of 395 assignments relative to the application of progressive technological processes and means for production mechanization and automation are to be carried out in 1984; 1,215 assignments have been set on mastering the production of new types of equipment. As a whole (including ministry and department plans) the production of 3,900 new varieties of machines, equipment, instruments and materials will be mastered. Industry will end the production of 2,200 obsolete commodity models and replace backward technological processes.

Increasing the efficiency of a unified scientific and technical policy is particularly important in the field of capital construction, which is characterized by tremendous potential opportunities for accelerating technical

progress in the entire national economy. The construction workers are creating new production capacities, installing progressive equipment and engaging in a tremendous volume of reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises. In order for capital construction maximally to assist the intensification of public production, we must steadily improve the technological structure of capital investments, to reduce the time needed for building and making operational new enterprises and projects and promptly supply the construction projects with equipment with high technical and quality parameters consistent with the latest domestic and global achievements. Substantial progressive changes are taking place in this direction. Thanks to the measures which were taken, in recent years increases in the amount of unfinished construction have stopped and the above-norm amount of such construction is being reduced.

The task now is to consolidate the positive trends and to develop them further on the basis of improved capital construction planning and organization. Equipment outlays will account for 42 percent of state capital investments in the 1984 state plan compared to 39 percent as stipulated in the five-year plan for 1984. Another important feature is that an increasing share of the equipment is used for technical retooling and reconstruction of operating enterprises. Thus, equipment will be energetically updated at the Magnitogorsk and Karaganda metallurgical combines, the Novokrivoyrog Ore Mining-Concentration Combine imeni Lenin, the Berezniki Azot Association and many other large enterprises throughout the country. The 1984 amount of funds allocated for reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises will exceed the five-year assignment for the same year by 2.3 billion rubles.

Naturally, actual possibilities and resources must always be taken into consideration. However, regardless of how limited they may be, priority must be given to the most efficient trends in production reconstruction and modernization. It is expedient for large-scale production reconstruction and retooling steps to be taken in accordance with the state plan with far greater returns than has frequently been the case so far. Enterprise production capacity must not only be increased on the basis of reconstruction and technical retooling, which has most frequently taken place so far, but a significant acceleration in the growth of labor productivity must be achieved and substantial economy of raw materials, materials and fuel and energy must be reached.

As to production modernization, elimination of bottlenecks and urging on lagging sectors, this can best be achieved by the enterprises themselves which, in accordance with the conditions of the experiment under way, will have the necessary financial and material resources to this effect.

Strengthening the interconnection between science and production is an important prerequisite in accelerating the growth of labor productivity. It was to this purpose that scientific-production and production associations were created and must improve their work and organizational structure. At the same time, a number of academic institutions such as, for instance, the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, are broadening their contacts with sectorial scientific research institutes and design bureaus and directly with



enterprises. However, even with the extensive academic and particularly developed sectorial science in the country, in a number of sectors technical progress remains slow. This is manifested in resolving problems such as increasing continuous steel casting, developing powder metallurgy and creating one-of-a-kind DC transmission cables or else the creation of modern grain-harvesting combines aimed at bountiful crops, which has obviously been delayed. The same could be said about the production of some types of rolled metal goods and equipment for the light and food industries, which is lagging behind modern requirements in terms of technical parameters. All of this means that the organization of scientific research and development and the methods used to implement a unified scientific and technical policy are still not fully consistent with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and with its latest stage which promises, as was pointed out at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a technological upheaval in many production areas.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the growth of labor productivity require the concentration of major scientific forces and facilities on the most progressive and decisive trends of scientific and technical progress, a closer rapprochement between basic research and the development of applied science and production facilities and the organic combination between most sectorial scientific institutes and production facilities through the creation of new scientific-production and production associations and the consolidation of many existing ones. Large technological centers and scientific-production associations, which ensure the development and utilization of new and progressive technologies, have proved themselves and will obviously be developed further. Ensuring priority in the development of the most promising basic and applied scientific institutions, paralleled by the consolidation of small or closing down futureless scientific organizations, will be of major importance.

### III

Lenin directly related achieving the highest level of labor productivity to improving the organization and management of the work. He considered as one of the tasks the need "to test and recognize as cautiously and patiently as possible the true organizers, people with a sober mind and gumption, people who combine loyalty to socialism with the ability quietly (and despite confusion and noise) to organize the firm and united joint work by a large number of people within the framework of the soviet organization" (op. cit., vol 36, p 193). The accuracy of this statement was fully confirmed in subsequent years, in choosing the leaders of enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses! The observance of this requirement is of tremendous importance today in appointing brigade leaders and organizers of productive joint work by the primary unit of the labor collective!

The practical experience of frontranking brigades in industry, agriculture and construction indicates that it is only through better organization and cohesion and strengthening conscious discipline that labor productivity can be increased by 20-30 percent or, in frequent cases, even more. Particularly promising is the method of improving the brigade form of labor organization

with the development of cost accounting and wages based on end results. This method, which has proved its advantages, is being developed in all economic sectors and, properly applied, yields good economic and social results. In the course of the consistent development and improvement of the brigade method of labor organization and wages its advantages, such as collectivism and comradeship, mutual aid, a concerned and thrifty attitude toward public property, participation in production management and development of a conscious labor discipline are clearly manifested and are positively influencing labor productivity. Very instructive in our view, in this connection, is the experience of the Kaluzhskiy Turbinnyy Zavod, Avto VAZ and Uralmash production associations. Very positive results have been achieved by many sovkhoses and kolkhoses which have applied the brigade method of labor organization and incentive. In turn, the improvement of this method requires the improved organization of management and planning at enterprises and associations. Thus, the principle of wages based on end results becomes very effective when it is applied at all enterprises levels, including management.

One of the major reserves for increasing labor productivity is related to improving the organizational structure and the level of the work of production associations (enterprises). Optimizing enterprise structure and size is of major importance, and so are intensifying the processes of specialization and cooperation and combination of production facilities; proper combination of centralized with decentralized management principles; and intensifying the influence of economic levers and cost accounting on the efficiency of the labor collective. The new type of large socialist enterprise which was developed on the basis of production concentration--the production of scientific-production association--contributes, if properly organized, to the acceleration of technical progress and the growth of labor productivity. However, these advantages do not appear automatically. A thorough study must be made of each individual sector, in accordance with its characteristics, as to the type of concentration and dimensions of enterprises which are most consistent with the laws of production intensification and efficiency. This problem is of major importance also because during the stage of the mass organization of associations, along with the creation of efficient and well-working associations (Svetlana, LOMO, ZIL, Kirovskiy Zavod and many others), associations were created which were insufficiently well-planned or, speaking frankly, which were poorly organized.

We must take into consideration that not all large enterprises, including those which develop on the basis of concentration, offers real advantages. In analyzing the processes of production concentration, Lenin pointed out that "in industry as well, the law that a large production facility is superior is by far not so absolute and simple as it is sometimes believed to be; here as well only the equality of 'other conditions' (which is hardly always the case in reality) can ensure the full applicability of the law" (op. cit., vol 4, p 110).

In a number of cases the building of huge plants does not yield economic advantages and frequently their production capacity remains underutilized due to raw material and manpower shortages. At the same time, average-size and small enterprises may be quite advantageous under certain circumstances and

particularly in the service industry. Therefore one of the factors in improving the work of enterprises is to optimize their size and internal production structure.

Naturally, the creation of small enterprises does not invalidate in the least the legitimacy of concentration and specialization, which accelerate the growth rates of labor productivity. Specialization shortens the time for mastering the production of new and complex items; it ensures the fuller utilization of production capacities whereas "despecialization," which is frequently the result of departmental trends, lowers production efficiency indicators. Ignoring the specialization requirement, some economic managers begin to develop "their own" production facilities and "their own" services, considering this to be "more reliable," for they are frequently let down by related enterprises. This trend, which became quite widespread in recent years because of existing shortcomings in management and the economic mechanism, inevitably leads to increased labor and material outlays per unit of useful results. Enterprises which have taken this path begin to acquire unnecessary equipment, manpower and repair and other services which could be used much more profitably if included in larger and specialized enterprises.

The 25th CPSU Congress condemned such departmental aspirations shown by many managers to develop a "barter economy." Such trends are frequently justified by citing shortages of raw and other materials and equipment. A radical solution to this situation should be sought in the development of specialized production facilities, including small ones, which can produce high-quality items with minimal outlays.

Accelerating the growth rates of labor productivity largely depends on upgrading the skill of worker cadres and the level of their economic thinking. A multimillion-strong army of skilled workers, engineering and technical personnel and specialists were trained and acquired work tempering in recent years. However, this does not eliminate the problem of further upgrading cadre skills, for production intensification is related to mastering complex and highly efficient equipment and revolutionary changes in production technology. The installation of complex automated systems, robots and micro-processors requires not only highly skilled engineers and technicians but workers as well. Upgrading the quality of the work in all production sectors is particularly important. Without this we cannot produce goods the technical parameters and consumer qualities of which would be consistent with superior world or domestic achievements. All of this raises new requirements concerning the quality of secondary and higher education, which makes the adoption of the Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools timely. Improving the quality of specialist training in higher educational institutions will be of equal significance.

#### IV

Improved planning plays an important part in ensuring the steady growth of labor productivity. This work sector requires close attention, for it is not merely a matter of accurately defining assignments relative to the growth of labor productivity but, more importantly, creating the necessary production-technical, organizational-structural, economic and social prerequisites for

their strict implementation. This means that the labor plan must play an active role in determining the trends in scientific and technical, structural and organizational policy. In machine building, for example, in the years to come we must develop faster facilities for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes in order to achieve considerable savings in labor outlays in the entire national economy. In the area of capital investments we must steadily pursue a line of upgrading the share of outlays related to the reconstruction and technical retooling of operating enterprises.

The use of the normative approach is more necessary in planning labor and its productivity compared to the other parts of the plan. The slow application of progressive norms delays the growth of labor productivity and frequently leads to an unjustified increase in the wage fund. The labor productivity plan must be based on the various factors which determine its growth: structural changes in the production process, the enhancement of its technical standards and improvements in the organization of labor and management. As the scale of public production expands, along with factors of sectorial importance national economic factors appear, such as improving ratios in the national economy and the location of production forces, balancing long-term with current plans, applying progressive wage systems, etc.

Three methods for measuring labor productivity are being applied: labor, physical (conventional-physical) and value. The labor productivity indicator expressed in terms of hours of working time spent per unit of output characterizes its labor intensiveness and offers major advantages. However, the extensive application of labor methods, which is very promising on the enterprise level, will be restrained for a long time to come by existing substantial differences in the quality of labor.

The method based on physical indicators calls for determining labor productivity by dividing the physical volume of performed work (in tons, cubic or square meters, etc.) by the number of man/days used or dividing the time spent by the volume of work performed. On the surface physical indicators enable us to measure labor productivity with absolute accuracy. However, this is not the case in the least, for goods expressed in physical terms are correlated only with labor outlays, although the volume depends on outlays of labor and materials and sometimes could increase only as a result of material outlays (when semifinished goods are received from an outside source, for example).

The value indicators of labor productivity are used more widely. However, planning labor productivity on the basis of gross or commodity output suffers from a number of major shortcomings, particularly in the processing industry and construction. For example, labor outlays per cubic meter of earth removal and assembling one cubic meter of reinforced concrete overlap panels are almost identical. However, the cost per cubic meter of assembled reinforced concrete is 20 times higher than for a cubic meter of groundwork. This has created in construction the problem of "profitable" and "unprofitable" work, which frequently has an adverse affect on the planned sequence of operations and actual construction costs.

In order to eliminate the distorting influence of material intensiveness of output, for a number of years labor productivity in industry and construction has been computed on the basis of the net (conventional-net) output. In this case we must distinguish between the so-called estimated net output and normative net output (NChP). The indicator of the estimated net (conventional-net) output in planning labor productivity is not free of shortcomings. This was confirmed in the course of an experiment which was conducted toward the end of the 1960s at 130 industrial enterprises. The dynamics of said indicator largely depends on the growth of actual profits and differentiated profitability. This makes the enterprises interested in reaching higher volumes of highly profitable output, which frequently clashes with the satisfaction of social requirements. Structural changes have a major influence on the dynamics of the estimated net output. In practical terms the estimated net output should be determined for each enterprise by subtracting from the wholesale price the cost of material outlays, something which is also rather complex and difficult to monitor. Bearing these circumstances in mind, based on initiative from below, at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, a number of industrial enterprises began to use the net output in terms of normative wages and profits per unit of output. Gradually, other industrial sectors began to use this indicator, machine building above all. Planning labor productivity and wages on the basis of normative conventional-net output is becoming popular in construction.

Regardless of the importance of plan indicators, however, in the final account the growth rates of labor productivity and the fulfillment of the state plan do not depend on them. Decisively important in this case are the acceleration of technical progress (up to 70 percent of the entire increase in labor productivity) and improvement in the organization of labor and management. The Svetlana collective increased its labor productivity by nearly 33 percent between 1981 and 1983. This increase was achieved as a result of the use of new technologies--more than 22 percent; mechanization and automation (reduction of manual labor)--47 percent; and improved organization of labor and management--approximately 30 percent. It has long become the rule at the association to achieve the entire growth of output through higher labor productivity. This is helped by the organic unification of scientific and technical subunits with production facilities, the comprehensive solution of production, social and education tasks, the enhanced level of long-term planning and the utilization of the latest scientific and technical achievements.

Many other enterprises are also achieving major results. Along with improving planning and encouraging labor productivity, they are extensively applying new equipment and improving production organization and management. This is confirmed by the experience of the Andropov Motor-Building Production Association, the Elektrosila Association in Leningrad and a number of leading enterprises in Moscow and other cities.

An important factor in the growth of labor productivity under contemporary conditions is the use of the principle according to which the average wage of the personnel is increased in accordance with the reduced number of workers and employees as stipulated in the plan, within the range of the established

stable norm of planned wage outlays per ruble of output. This procedure yields substantial results in applying substantiated labor outlay norms. It enables us to broaden the practice of combining skills and service areas and provides for special supplements for work quality and professional skill. Wage supplements for combining skills and reaching the stipulated volume of work with a lesser number of workers have been raised to 50 percent of the wage rate; a special bonus is paid for high professional skills and for high qualification of engineering and technical personnel and employees.

An experiment is under way in a number of Leningrad associations, according to which production associations are given the right to award, within the limits of stipulated wage funds for design and technological organizations and subunits, supplements to the salaries of designers and technologists directly engaged in the development of new, highly efficient equipment and technologies, based on their individual contribution, and to equalize the salaries of engineers-technologists with those of design engineers of corresponding categories. The wage rates and salaries of engineering and technical personnel in such organizations and subunits will be set regardless of the average wage rate salaries and ratios among the individual worker categories. The purpose of the experiment is to enhance responsibility and interest in reaching high technical standards and quality in design and technological solutions and obviously it will become quite widespread.

Increasing incentives for the growth of labor productivity is closely related to improving wage planning on a normative basis. This is done purposefully, for the main objective is to ensure the maximal interest of the entire labor collective in increasing labor productivity. Therefore, not only the material incentive but the entire wage fund and its increase must be earned by the labor collective.

Issuing to the enterprises stable wage fund norms makes it possible to establish a direct correlation between this fund and the increased volume of output and labor productivity, as a result of which enterprises which work well will obtain real economic advantages. Since such norms are set for the five-year period, in the course of drafting the annual plans the enterprises become economically interested in adopting intensified production and labor productivity assignments.

However, this is not to say that the normative planning of the wage fund is free of difficulties or problems. They exist and should be taken into consideration in the formulation of the next five-year plan. One of them is observing the stability of stipulated norms. "... Once the plan has become the law," Comrade K. U. Chernenko points out, "it must be respected, observed and strictly implemented. This is not only a matter of economic discipline. It is a matter of party and political responsibility." In practice ministries and enterprises frequently request changes in the established norms, citing a variety of reasons. However, frequent changes in the norms deprives them of their advantages. In order not to change planned norms wage fund reserves must be set up, the use of which should be strictly regulated.

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105

## KOMMUNIST--DIRECT PREDECESSOR OF 'BOL'SHEVIK'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 92-102

[Text] The party press has played a special, one could say exceptional, role in the history of the appearance and development of bolshevism. ISKRA (1900-1903) which, in the words of V. I. Lenin, created the Bolshevik Party, VPERED (December 1904-May 1905), PROLETARIY (May-November 1905, August 1906-November 1909), NOVAYA ZHIZN' (October-December 1905), VOLNA, VPERED and EKHO (spring and summer of 1906), PRAVDA (1912-1914) and SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT (1908-1917), which ensured under most difficult circumstances the victory of the Leninist trend in the Russian labor movement, have become forever part of the chronicles of the class struggle of the domestic and the entire international proletariat as the harbingers of a new age--the age of liberation of mankind from the yoke of capitalism. We recall their titles as the names of tested fighters against autocracy and exploitation, as tireless propagandists of revolutionary Marxism and political organizers of the worker masses and as important stages in the life and activities of the founder of our party and the Soviet state. Along with the newspapers--the central bolshevik organs--ZARYA, MYSL', PROSVESHCHENIYE and SBORNIK 'SOTSIAL-DEMOKRATA', which were the party's theoretical journals, published under Lenin's direct guidance, hold an equally worthy position. It was precisely in these journals that Lenin's classical works were published, such as "The Agrarian Program of the Russian Social Democrats," "On Statistics of Russian Strikes," "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism," "Critical Notes on the National Problem," "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," "On the 'Disarmament' Slogan" and many others.

As we celebrate the 60th anniversary of the first issue of BOL'SHEVIK (April 1924), we would like to draw attention to a relatively unknown page in the history of our party press: the creation by Lenin of KOMMUNIST, the theoretical journal of the bolsheviks, in 1915. Its short (only one double issue was published) and dramatic history is a vivid event in the struggle waged by the party against social chauvinism and opportunism in Russia and in the international arena and for the unification of all revolutionary internationalist forces.

World War I broke out in August 1914. It exposed the predatory and aggressive nature of imperialism and also led to the collapse of the Second International, prepared by the treacherous activities of the right-wing opportunist leadership of most social democratic parties. The leaders of the Second International called for the defense of their bourgeois fatherlands. It was only the bolsheviks, led by Lenin, who assumed from the very

beginning of the war consistent internationalist positions. Lenin, who was in Switzerland, formulated the tactics for the revolutionary struggle under the new circumstances.

At the beginning of 1915 it had become clear that the hopes of the main imperialist groups for a quick victory were unjustified. The belligerents were suffering unparalleled losses and the war was leading to the impoverishment of the toiling masses. The wave of chauvinism, which had been triggered by the bourgeoisie and spread over a significant share of the workers, began to abate. The influence of the right-wing opportunistic leaders was catastrophically dropping among the masses in all European countries. The prestige of the bolsheviks was increasing both within the country and abroad. In order to preserve its ideological domination and stop the growth of the labor movement, international capitalism was now essentially relying on the centrists, who were led by Kautsky in Germany, and L. D. Trotskiy in Russia. Hiding behind internationalist phraseology and verbally condemning the war, the centrists were doing everything possible to draw the masses away from revolutionary action, to justify the treason of the social chauvinists and to prevent the unification of leftist forces on an international scale.

Such were the circumstances in the spring of 1915 when Lenin suggested the creation of a new theoretical organ of the bolsheviks. Its task according to Lenin, was "to rally everyone against social chauvinism and Kautskyism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27, p 280).

The new journal was to be published under Lenin's guidance by the editors of the party's central organ--the newspaper SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT.

The name KOMMUNIST, chosen by Lenin, was hardly a random decision. As early as 5 December 1914, in the article "One German Voice on the War," which exposed the treachery of Kautsky, Plekhanov and others, Lenin had written that "Yes, if such 'social democrats' would like to be part of the majority and constitute the official 'International' (Alliance for the International Justification of National Chauvinism), would it not be better to abandon the name 'Social Democrat,' which they have sullied and demeaned, and to return to the old Marxist name of communist?" (op. cit., vol 26, p 95).

The time for the practical formulation of this problem had not yet come: the name of the party could be changed only by a congress or by an all-Russian party conference, which could not be convened at that time. It was only at the beginning of 1917, in the fifth and final draft of "Letter From Afar" and subsequently in his April Theses that Lenin was to raise this question on the practical level. Meanwhile, as party historians have noted, he increased the popularity of the word "communist," thus preparing the party's opinion for the need to change the party's name (K. I. Suvorov, "Nazvaniye Nashey Partii" [Our Party's Name], Moscow, 1973, p 23).

Naturally, in this case an important (if not the main) role was to be played by the new party journal. The invitation which the editors of SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT addressed to M. N. Pokrovskiy to contribute to the new journal read: "We (together with a group of comrades recently arrived from Russia), are



undertaking to publish the theoretical journal (abroad) KOMMUNIST (we wish with this title to emphasize our support of the old Marxism of Marx and Engels as opposed to the debased quasi-Marxism of Plekhanov and Kautsky" (CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archives --TsPA IML, f. [folio] 147, op. [list] 1, d. [file] 62, 1. [sheet] 4).

Characteristically, the epigraph, which preceded the editorial in the first issue, and which was borrowed from Marx's and Engels' "Communist Party Manifesto," was a definition of the communist party. In the editorial itself the terms "Marx's revolutionary communism," and the pitting of Marx's and Engels' "communist doctrine" against the social-patriotic and national-liberal "Marxism" of the opportunists were the leitmotifs.

Preparations for the publication of the journal KOMMUNIST were started at the end of April 1915 (see "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya Khronika" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle]. Volume 3, Moscow, 1972, p 337). In order to draw attention to the future publication and to rally around the journal all true revolutionaries-internationalists, it was decided to make public the political platform of the editors in advance, prior to the publication of the first issue. To this effect, the journal's editorial entitled "From the Editors," was printed on a separate sheet, dated 20 May, and distributed through secret means in Russia, among the emigre centers and the left-wing socialists in the European countries as putative authors. It was entitled "Notification of the Publication of the Journal KOMMUNIST." The article was small. In party history literature it is occasionally referred to as a "Preface" (see "Bol'shevistskaya Pechat'. Kratkiye Ocherki Istorii. 1894-1917 gg." [The Bolshevik Press. Short Historical Outline. 1894-1917]. Moscow, 1962, p 406). However, the editors themselves referred to this document in their correspondence as the "leading article." The article "From the Editors" was obviously written with Lenin's direct participation (see op. cit., vol 49, p 501, note 102).

The editorial began with an assessment of the monopoly stage in the development of capitalism. Although it appeared 1 year prior to Lenin's book "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism," the article "From the Editors" nevertheless provided an overall picture of the current stage. Although lacking the refined and completed form of Lenin's classical work, it essentially mentioned three of the five features of imperialism: "Huge production concentration, centralization of capital by monopoly associations," close ties between banks and industry, leading to the omnipotence of financial capital, division of the world among few "great" powers and the bloody struggle among them for the tastiest parts of the spoils.

Also characteristic are the very assessment of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalist development, the conclusion that objective prerequisites had been created for a socialist revolution and the definition of the new age as an age of social upheavals, mass economic and political strikes, revolutions and military conflicts. It was an age which raised for the working class "with merciless inevitability the question of the struggle for power, the overthrow of bourgeois rule and the making of a socialist revolution." The editorial further presented Lenin's assessments of the situation within

the social democratic movements in Russia and Western Europe and the treasonable role of centrism. These were assessments extensively developed by Lenin in KOMMUNIST in his article "The Failure of the Second International." In formulating the tasks of the new party publication, the editorial emphasized that "may our journal...help to explain the truth of Marx's communist doctrine and contribute to a better understanding of the tasks which the age of revolutionary struggle assigns to the proletariat..."

N. K. Krupskaya undertook the distribution of the article-notification on 22 May. Obviously, Lenin himself participated in this project. In a letter from Zorenberg he asked I. F. Armand to bring him 15-20 copies of the KOMMUNIST "notification" (see op. cit., vol 49, p 79). The "notification" was sent to many dozens of different addresses.... In a letter dated 12 June 1915 N. Ratov informed Armand of having received the "notification" in the United States (TsPA IML, f. 351, op. 2, d. 88, l. 1). In June 1915 the notification of the publication of the journal KOMMUNIST was received by G. Serrati, the director of AVANTI!, the Italian socialist newspaper. "Your cooperation," the editors of the future journal wrote to him, "...would be particularly desirable to us mainly bearing in mind the heroic role which the Italian social democrats played in the age of bankruptcy of the worst segment of the official party" (P. Seccia, "The Influence of the October Revolution in Italy," "Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya i Mirovoye Osvoboditel'noye Dvizheniye" [The Great October Revolution and the World Liberation Movement]. Volume 2, Moscow, 1958, p 256).

The Ukrainian bolshevik A. Lola (V. Stepanyuk), who lived in Spain, sent to Krupskaya a translation of the "notification" in Spanish, made in Madrid by the local socialist newspaper (TsPA IML, f. 17, op. 1, d. 1,685, l. 2).

Along with the dissemination of the "notification," the KOMMUNIST editors went on with their choice of authors. In May Lenin turned to A. M. Kollontay with an invitation to participate in the journal (the letter has not been found) (see "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya Khronika," vol 3, p 341).

In sending the "notification" of the publication of KOMMUNIST to Kollontay, Krupskaya described the journal to be published. "I would very much like for you to become a contributor to KOMMUNIST," Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote. "... I believe that this would benefit the journal" (TsPA IML, f. 17, op. 1, d. 1642, l. 1). After receiving Kollontay's agreement to participate in the journal, Krupskaya wrote to her the following: "We were very pleased by your acceptance to contribute to KOMMUNIST." She writes further on of the possibility of recruiting the author Høglund as a contributor. Krupskaya asked who among the British could be asked to explain the position held by Rothstein and Askew (see *ibid.*, d. 1650, l. 1, reverse). F. Rothstein became a KOMMUNIST contributor.

Invitations to contribute were addressed to F. Mehring, R. Luxembourg, K. Liebkecht, D. Blagoev and A. Pannekuk.

In calling for the unification of all internationalist forces, the KOMMUNIST editors appealed in the editorial for "waging the struggle for the foundations of Marx's revolutionary communism by all consistently internationalist

elements, regardless of faction or shade." This approach, however, did not mean in the least a rejection of principled positions. Lenin sharply opposed suggestions to ask Trotsky to contribute to the journal. Despite that, however, an invitation was nevertheless issued and Trotsky used the opportunity for engaging in fierce attacks on the bolsheviks, accusing them and the still-unpublished KOMMUNIST of engaging in factional activities (NASHE SLOVO, 4 June 1915). After that, again and again Lenin emphasized the need "to be supercautious" in the choice of authors (see op. cit., vol 49, p 78). As a whole, despite a few failures, the practice of extensive recruitment of new authors supporting an international platform proved to be accurate. Thus, Kollontay, who had been asked to participate, fully converted to bolshevik positions as of then. The organization of contacts with a number of foreign social democrats, many of whom subsequently became Lenin's fellow workers, after he assumed the leadership of the Zimmerwald left-wing faction, was of even greater importance.

Preserved correspondence between Lenin and the editors indicates the close attention he paid to the editing of the materials and to each even seemingly petty matter. In his letters Lenin expressed views on improving the content of the journal or individual articles (see op. cit., vol 49, pp 76-77, 79, 84, 86, 87-88, 90 and 92-93; see also TsPA IML, f. 2, op. 5, d. 594). In addition to merely editing the articles, he attached editorial notes to some of them (see op. cit., vol 49, pp 109-110). "We need facts," Lenin wrote to the editors. "We need comprehensiveness. Issue No 1 must be fuller" (ibid., p 93).

N. K. Krupskaya recalled that KOMMUNIST "was the subject...of many discussions, concerns and agitation" ("Vospominaniya o Vladimire Iliche Lenine" [Recollections About Vladimir Il'ich Lenin]. Volume 1, Moscow, 1979, p 429). By the end of July Lenin became increasingly concerned with the delay in the publication of KOMMUNIST caused by some contributors. The sharpness with which he reacted to this in his letters shows the great importance which Vladimir Il'ich ascribed to the prompt publication of the journal (see op. cit., vol 49, pp 108, 123).

The initial plan was for the first issue of KOMMUNIST to come out in August 1915 and the second in September (ibid., pp 131, 133). "The first issue of KOMMUNIST has swelled to such an extent," Krupskaya wrote in one of her letters, "that it was decided to split it into two issues, to be published in sequence." It was then decided to combine them within a single double issue (No 1-2). Lenin's intensive work on the issue was finally completed. In September he joyfully reported to V. A. Karpinskiy that "KOMMUNIST No 1-2 is out. It is a fact" (op. cit., vol 49, p 143).

Three articles by Lenin were the most noteworthy among those carried by the journal: "Failure of the Second International," "The Honest Voice of the French Socialist" and "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy." Other articles included "Imperialism and the Tasks of the Proletariat" by A. Pannekuk, the Dutch social democrat-"Tribunist," "Disorder in England" by F. Rothstein, "Why Was the German Proletariat Silent in July" by A. Kollontay, "War and Finances in Russia" by M. Bronskiy and others. The most important antiwar

documents of that time--the 1912 "Manifesto of the Basel International Socialist Congress" and the "Resolution of the Hemnitz Partheitag of the German Social Democratic Party"--were included in the "Forgotten Words" section.

Lenin's work "The Failure of the Second International" is imbued with ideas on the defense of proletarian internationalism, burning hatred for the enemies of the working class and the aspiration to purge the international worker movement from corroding chauvinism and opportunism. Lenin angrily condemned the treason of the leaders of the Second International, who had betrayed their solemn antiwar statements made at the International Socialist Congresses in Stuttgart and Basel and had taken chauvinistic positions. "Only those who are unwilling to see it, who find it unsuitable," Lenin exclaimed, "can fail to see this betrayal" (op. cit., vol 26, p 212). The spearhead of this article is aimed above all at centrism and Kautskyism. Furthermore, "The Failure of the Second International" indicates the only real way for a revolutionary withdrawal from the imperialist war and for the first time formulates most important concepts on the main factors leading to the ripening of a revolutionary situation, factors which have become an inseparable part of Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution.

In his article "The Honest Voice of a French Socialist," which is a study of a pamphlet by left-wing socialist Paul Holz, Lenin draws attention to the need for a steady development of Marxist theory and its protection from any distortion or debasement. "One cannot be a socialist or a revolutionary social democrat," he wrote, "without participating to the extent of one's forces in the development and application of this theory and, today, in the merciless struggle against its distortion by Plekhanov, Kautsky and company" (op. cit., vol 27, p 11). In his note "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy," Lenin proved the treasonable nature of the positions held by Barboni and other Italian social chauvinists, who were trying "to become the flunkies of their national bourgeoisie and to help it plunder, violate, ruin and subjugate foreign nations" (ibid., p 23).

Lenin had written one more article for publication in KOMMUNIST--"The Main Work of German Opportunism on the War"--which exposed the efforts of E. David, a German right-wing social democrat, to justify and conceal the failure of the German social democratic movement during the World War. For lack of space in the double KOMMUNIST issue, it was decided to print it in the next issue, which was not fated to see the light. That article (see op. cit., vol 26, pp 277-281) was published only after Lenin's death, in PRAVDA in July 1924.

The bolsheviks and their like-minded supporters in different countries had been expecting the publication of the journal. "I am eagerly waiting for the first issue of KOMMUNIST. Send me five copies," wrote Ya. A. Berzin to Lenin's party center from London (TsPA IML, f. 17, d. 1,691, l. 1). Requests for KOMMUNIST came from Stockholm (ibid., d. 1,680, l. 1), Bulgaria (ibid., f. 437, op. 1, d. 1,682, l. 1) and other countries.

On 9 (22) August 1915 Lenin received a letter from D. Blagoev in Sofia on preparations for an international socialist conference. Its author asked to

receive KOMMUNIST (see "Pis'ma V. I. Leninu iz-za Rubezha" [Letters to V. I. Lenin from Abroad]. Moscow, 1969, pp 56-57).

The distribution commission of the collegium abroad of the RSDWP Central Committee sent to Russia and other countries bundles of the journal KOMMUNIST along with sets of the newspaper SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT and Lenin's pamphlet "Socialism and War." In order to secure the shipment of party publications into Russia, in the autumn of 1915 A. G. Shlyapnikov, the representative of the Russian Bureau of the RSDWP Central Committee, traveled to northern Norway. The route went from Switzerland to Sweden, hence to Christiania and to the northern Russian ports and then by rail to Petrograd, Moscow and other cities. On 26 September the representative of the Central Committee Russian Bureau reported to Lenin from Christiania that "...the Norwegian addresses are operative.... Demands for clandestine publications are being received from Russia" (TsPA IML, f. 2, op. 5, d. 604, l. 1 reverse). The same letter said that "I received today...KOMMUNIST.... It is an interesting issue, well-written and makes a strong impression both in terms of content and presentation." In this connection, the author asked that the number of copies shipped to him be increased to 300 (see *ibid.*, l. 1).

Soon afterwards, copies of KOMMUNIST began to be received clandestinely in Russia. "I do not know whether Inessa has written to you that KOMMUNIST has already been received in Russia and is in great demand," reported Krupskaya to M. M. Kharitonov in Bern (*ibid.*, f. 17, op. 1, d. 1,748, l. 2). In a letter dated 28 November 1915, A. I. Yelizarova wrote to Lenin from Petrograd that "we are now looking for funds. Incidentally, we charge for the reading of KOMMUNIST. I received only 20 copies and the pamphlet 'Socialism and War.' We are impatiently awaiting SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT and more of KOMMUNIST...." At the very end of the letter, in a postscript Anna Il'inichna wrote: "I read KOMMUNIST with pleasure" ("Perepiska Sem'i Ul'yanovikh 1883-1917" [Ul'yanov Family Correspondence, 1883-1917]. Moscow, 1969, pp 398-399).

Information on receiving the journal came from everywhere. The editors received a letter from G. Ya. Belen'kiy, member of the Paris Section of the RSDWP. "We received 100 copies of KOMMUNIST," he wrote (TsPA IML, f. 351, op. 2, d. 98, l. 1). A. Bachman reported to G. L. Shklovskiy on behalf of the Latvian social democratic group of receiving 28 KOMMUNIST copies (*ibid.*, d. 69, l. 1). Along with reports on the arrival of the journal and more requests for it, the editors began to receive the first reactions to KOMMUNIST. In a report to Lenin on a trip to Petrograd, Shlyapnikov, representative of the Central Committee Russian Bureau, said that "KOMMUNIST made a great impression. It was welcomed as in its time ZARYA" (TsPA IML, f. 2, op. 5, d. 660, l. 1). In a letter to Krupskaya, bolshevik political exile M. L. Goberman wrote that "I was very pleased with KOMMUNIST. It provides a very complete idea of what has happened and is happening in most socialist parties. All articles clearly and definitely state and convince us of the fact that only two viewpoints can exist: that of KOMMUNIST or the viewpoint (if one is a chauvinist) of Plekhanov, Aleksinskiy and others. Intermediary trends... lead the people into favoritism which is what happened with...Plekhanov and Aksel'rod in NASHE SLOVO" (*ibid.*, f. 17, op. 1, d. 1,704, l. 1 reverse, 2). Reactions to KOMMUNIST were reported by the Russian Bureau of the Central

Committee to be the best. "Demand for it is exceptionally great and so far, given our 'amateurish' methods, we have been unable to meet it" (ibid., d. 1,786, l. 1).

In his letter to the editors of KOMMUNIST, L. Levich, the secretary of the New York bolshevik section, said that all copies of the journal had been sold out in a single day, "for the workers are buying it with a great deal of interest." For this reason, the author asked for an additional 132 copies of KOMMUNIST (see ibid., f. 437, op. 1, d. 15, l. 1). The CPSU Central Committee TsPA IML has a translation into English of an antiwar proclamation of the New York social democratic group expressing its solidarity with KOMMUNIST (ibid., f. 351, op. 2, d. 86, l. 8).

The position taken by KOMMUNIST was greatly appreciated by the left-wing internationalists abroad. The German left-wing social democrats warmly welcomed KOMMUNIST as a fraternal "organ of revolutionary internationalists" (LICHTSTRAHLEN, No 1, 3 October 1915, p 15). "Today," N. I. Bukharin informed Lenin, "I received a card from an Austrian comrade who had received KOMMUNIST and your pamphlet and was very pleased" (TsPA IML, f. 2, op. 5, d. 624, l. 1). (Clearly, this applied to F. Koritschoner, a future member of the Austrian Communist Party--the Editor.) While preparing for Zimmerwald, Lenin was doing everything possible to strengthen the international response triggered by the appearance of the new journal. In editing an article written by Kollontay for KOMMUNIST, and in expressing his remarks, he called for publishing the article in its Swedish language translation (see op. cit., vol 49, p 76). In a conversation with a Bulgarian left-wing socialist, who was living in Zurich at that time, Vladimir Il'ich advised him to send KOMMUNIST to his comrades in Bulgaria ("Vospominaniya....," Vol 5, Moscow, 1979, p 73). Until the publication of the journal VORBOTE, the organ of the Zimmerwald left-wing movement, it was precisely KOMMUNIST which was essentially not only the theoretical journal of the Bolshevik Party but the international organ of revolutionary Marxism.

The readers impatiently awaited the new KOMMUNIST issue which, however, did not come out. The reason was a conflict among the editors. While the first double issue was still being prepared for publication, G. L. Pyatakov and Ye. B. Bosh, who were members of the editorial board and were financing the publication, had opposed the line taken by the editors of the central organ and had tried to dictate their conditions to Lenin. Differences intensified following the publication of the issue. Bukharin, who was also a member of the editorial board, joined Pyatakov and Bosh. This threesome assumed an erroneous position on a number of basic problems of the party's program and tactics, such as the right of nations to self-determination, the role of democratic requirements and of minimum programs in general, and so on, and tried to use the journal for their factional purposes. The votes within the editorial board were split evenly between the three members of the editorial board of SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, on the one hand, and Bukharin, Pyatakov and Bosh, on the other. Furthermore, Pyatakov tried to trade on the fact that it was he and Bosh who were financing the journal's publication.

Considering the antiparty behavior of this group, on Lenin's suggestion the editors of SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT stated that they considered any further publication

of the journal impossible. In a letter to Armand, dated 30 November 1916, Lenin, in explaining the reasons for determining the publication of KOMMUNIST, wrote, "the political task of our party was clear: we could not have our hands tied in a state of parity within the editorial board with N. I. (i.e., Bukharin--the Editor), Yuriy (Pyatakov--the Editor) and Ye. B. (Bosh--the Editor) (...KOMMUNIST was a good thing as long as there was no special program formulated by the threesome which accounts for one-half of the editorial board). To give equality to the Bukharin-Yuriy-Ye. B. group would have been idiocy and would have wrecked the entire project...and if the latter had let themselves fall into group stupidity together with Bukharin, it was necessary to break with them or, more accurately, with KOMMUNIST. This is what we did" (op. cit., vol 49, pp 331-332). After hearing communication on differences within the KOMMUNIST editorial board, the Central Committee Russian Bureau proclaimed its complete solidarity with the editors of SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, the central organ, and expressed the wish that "all Central Committee publications be drafted strictly in accordance with the Central Committee line which it had adopted at the outbreak of the war."

Naturally, the fact that Lenin initiated the end of the publication of the journal did not prevent him from giving a high rating to the first and only double issue of KOMMUNIST and the role which this publication played in our party's history. It was no accident that immediately after the February Revolution, in his letter to Ya. S. Ganetskiy, dated 30 March 1917, Lenin wrote that "at all cost I must demand a reprinting in Peter, even though under the title of 'From the History of the Final Years of Tsarism' the issue of SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT and KOMMUNIST..." (op. cit., vol 49, p 421). Apparently some steps were taken to reprint KOMMUNIST. The TsPA IML contains a segmented copy of KOMMUNIST with a note "for reprinting in Russia" (TsPA IML, f. 437, op. 1, d. 33). However, this project could not be carried out. Lenin's articles in KOMMUNIST were reprinted in Petrograd in the collection "Protiv Tcheniya" [Against the Current].

On 8 (21) August 1917 the RSDWP(b) Central Committee discussed the question of publishing a party theoretical journal. Two titles were suggested: PROSVESHCHENIYE or KOMMUNIST (see "Protokoly Tsentral'nogo Komiteta RSDRP. Avgust 1917-Fevral' 1918" [Protocols of the RSDWP Central Committee. August 1917-February 1918]. Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, pp 24, 26). However, the publication of such a journal proved to be impossible and theoretical problems were discussed in Lenin's PRAVDA. During the first post-revolutionary years the Moscow City Party Committee published the journal SPUTNIK KOMMUNISTA.

In November 1923, while Vladimir Il'ich Lenin was still alive, the decision was made to publish the journal BOL'SHEVIK. One year after its publication, in the resolution "On Party Construction," the 14th RKP(b) Conference noted that "the idea of establishing, in addition to PRAVDA, a militant leading party organ (the journal BOL'SHEVIK) has proved to be entirely justified and the party must comprehensively assist the further strengthening of BOL'SHEVIK as a consistent leading Leninist organ."

Following is the editorial published in issue No 1-2 of KOMMUNIST for 1915, entitled "From the Editors."

From the Editors

"The communists are not members of a party which opposes other worker parties.

"They have no interests different from those of the proletariat as a whole.

"They do not formulate any special principles which they would like to have the proletarian movement adopt.

"The communists are distinguished from the other proletarian parties only by the fact that, on the one hand, in the struggle waged by the proletariat of different nations they single out and defend common interests of the entire proletariat independent of nationality; on the other, by the fact that at the different stages of development in the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie they always represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"Consequently, in practice the communists are the most decisive segment who are always urging on the worker parties in all countries; theoretically, compared to the remaining proletariat, they have the advantage of understanding the conditions, course and overall results of the proletarian movement."<sup>1</sup>

Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto."

The crisis experienced by Europe constitutes one of the greatest upheavals in the history of mankind.

The productive forces in bourgeois society have outgrown the narrow framework of contemporary national states. The huge concentration of production and centralization of capital in monopoly associations and enterprises and the related increasing concentration and centralization of banks, their close ties with industry and their increased importance, which is close to total domination of all economic life, have brought about the omnipotence of financial capital which involves all owning classes and which has subordinated to itself the state power of monarchies and democratic republics.

In its pursuit of markets and raw materials, areas of capital investment, colonies, concessions, "spheres of influence" and all possible governmental and social privileges granted to the ruling classes and related to such an economic policy, capitalism has brought about the division of virtually the entire world among several "great" powers and led to a bloody struggle between them for the tastiest morsels of profit. This new and higher stage of capitalist development, which has already created in the advanced countries all objective prerequisites for socialist production, has replaced "peaceful" rivalry and free trade with armed struggle for universal domination and is



forcing the individual countries to try to set up worldwide empires. Following Europe, Japan, the United States and others are becoming increasingly involved in this struggle.

Gone forever are the times when the socialist parties were able to engage in legal preparatory work with relative tranquility and to educate and organize increasingly broad worker masses. The time of social upheavals, mass economic and political strikes, revolutions, and military conflicts has begun, a time which is most severely aggravating contradictions between labor and capital, greatly increasing the need, insecurity and oppression of the toiling masses, which are inevitable in a bourgeois society, and presenting to the Western European proletariat with merciless inevitability the question of the struggle for power, the overthrow of bourgeois rule and a socialist revolution.

The transition to the new age is accompanied by a profound crisis in international socialism. This crisis has been growing for a long time and the war has only definitively aggravated it.

The majority of official social democratic parties, which support the "defense of the fatherland," have joined, one way or another, the bourgeoisie and the governments of their countries. These parties proved to be national-liberal worker parties. The defense of colonies, concessions and other privileges of "their own" national capitalism in the hope of obtaining a minor particle of such privileges from some petit bourgeois and aristocratic (or bureaucratic) strata by the working class has been the policy pursued by these parties.

The failure of the Second International is the failure of opportunism which developed during the past period of "peaceful" capitalist progress. When the great crisis of 1914 exposed all contradictions and swept off all conventions, the opportunists were supported by the oscillating elements, including the so-called "center" of the German Social Democratic Party, headed by Kautsky, and openly took the side of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletariat which was frankly prepared in Stuttgart<sup>2</sup> and Basel<sup>3</sup> to use the war for intensifying revolutionary propaganda and engaging in revolutionary actions including civil wars. It makes no particular difference in this case whether this alliance between the opportunists and the bourgeoisie, aimed against the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat, has taken place in an Anglo-French manner, in which worker leaders joined the government (Henderson,<sup>4</sup> Guede, Samba,<sup>5</sup> Vandervelde) or in its German-Russian form, in which the leaders and representatives of the social patriots earn from their governments and bourgeoisie praise, approval, publicity, the monopoly on legality, and so on (Legin,<sup>6</sup> Scheidemann, Kautsky, Plekhanov, Maslov, Potresov or the entire group around NASHA ZARYA<sup>7</sup> and NASHE DELO<sup>8</sup>).

Monitor,<sup>9</sup> the German social patriot, a member of 20 years' standing of the German Social Democratic Party, blabbed out the truth with his historically accurate statement in the April issue of the conservative "Prussian Yearbook:" Any further suppression of today's social democratic parties is undesirable and dangerous to the bourgeoisie, for in such a case the workers would leave it and create a new party. The bourgeoisie needs precisely a party which

would unite opportunists and revolutionaries and lull the workers with "leftist" speeches and resolutions, while actually ensuring worker support for the policy of the bourgeoisie and the disorganization of revolutionary action in a time of serious crisis. Only those who are unwilling to see the truth would be unable to understand the nature of opportunism which, concealed behind "Europeanism," is decorating the liquidationists (NASHA ZARYA, LUCH<sup>10</sup> and others) in Russia.

The highest threat to the labor movement comes from the defense and justification of the social patriotism and opportunism of the official Marxist leaders, those who have assumed a militant chauvinistic position, such as Hindman,<sup>11</sup> Guede and Plekhanov, as well as those who try to reconcile the social patriots of hostile countries, such as Vandervelde, Aksel'rod and Kautsky. The theory of all those "authorities" of the Second International embroiders the national-liberal worker policy and presents it as compatible with socialism. This theory teaches the rejection of revolutionary action and preparation for a true revolutionary time. It is a theory of dulling capitalist contradictions and ennobling and cleansing capitalism from imperialist filth while protecting its foundations. This theory is the liberal "lullaby," which comforts the workers with the prospect of disarmament, democratic peace, abandonment of colonial plunder, and so on, while defending the rejection by the working class of an independent class policy in wartime. This theory reconciles the workers with the "legality" of the state of war and rejects any step leading to the creation of truly social democratic organizations capable of revolutionary action rather than limiting themselves to what the police permit, organizations of the struggling proletariat. This theory replaces Marxian revolutionary dialectics with philistine eclecticism by selecting and considering all possibilities other than that of a possible revolutionary action by the workers on an international scale and systematic propaganda and preparations for such actions. This theory, which is supported by the entire petite bourgeoisie, which is imbued with narrow nationalistic prejudices and dulled by its slavish respectful legality, is unquestionably counterrevolutionary. It resembles "Struvizm" like two drops of water. In its practical conclusions it is absolutely identical to the theories of the various representatives of the petite bourgeoisie, including the patriotic chest-beating leaders of the anarchist movement, such as Kropotkin, Graves,<sup>12</sup> Cornelissen<sup>13</sup> and others.

A decisive war must be declared on this theory, which hypocritically hides itself behind Marx's name, in the name of Marxist communist doctrine. It would splinter Marxism irreversibly and any attempt at reaching a conciliation and an agreement between social-patriotic, national-liberal "Marxism" and Marx's revolutionary communism can only increase the dependence of the workers on the bourgeoisie.

In their communist doctrine Marx and Engels did not conceal the revolutionary objectives of the proletariat but condemned scornfully any attempt at concealing them. They did not reject revolutionary actions by the masses but, conversely, called upon the use of bourgeois legality exclusively from the viewpoint of preparing the masses for such actions and for civil war for socialism. They did not forget the possibility, during long periods of

"peaceful" development of the attachment of petit bourgeois fellow travelers to the proletarian army or the bourgeoisification of certain strata in the worker aristocracy and bureaucracy. However, they never justified the subordination of the proletarian revolutionary struggle to such elements and never accepted the idea of a reconciliation with them. Not even for a minute did they forget the need for waging a merciless struggle and for breaking up with them during times of crises and of decisive historical upheavals. I cannot take credit, Marx said, for the discovery of the existence of classes and the class struggle. This truth was discovered by bourgeois scientists before me. My theory is that "the class struggle must lead to a dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>14</sup>

The counterrevolutionary nature of the war was particularly strongly felt in Russia. It was used by tsarism to suppress the worker movement, to broaden domination and oppression of Galicia, Armenia, etc., and to strengthen the reactionary party of the nobility. The alliance between tsarism and the bourgeoisie, which includes a significant number of populists and social revolutionaries, is strengthened by patriotic zeal. The social-patriotic trend among the social democrats, starting with the main nucleus of the liquidationists (NASHA ZARYA and NASHE DELO), which continues with Plekhanov and ends with Aksel'rod, in fact means the rejection not only of socialism but of any systematic revolutionary-democratic struggle.

We support the manifesto of the RSDWP Central Committee on the war (SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT No 33)<sup>15</sup> and the resolution of the Bern conference (SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, No 40)<sup>16</sup> and call for a struggle for the foundations of Marxian revolutionary communism all factions and shades and all systematically internationalist elements who have become aware of the falsehood and baseness of official social-patriotic and national-liberal socialism.

We do not consider ourselves alone in this struggle. Dissatisfaction, protest and indignation are growing and spreading among the masses. Revolutionary opposition to social patriotism is strengthening with the labor movement and the official parties: suffice it to point out the journals LICHTSTRAHLEN<sup>17</sup> ("Rays of Light") and DIE INTERNATIONALE<sup>18</sup> (The International") in Germany, the voices of Nicot,<sup>19</sup> Monatte<sup>20</sup> and Merheim<sup>21</sup> in France, the minority with in the British Socialist Party<sup>22</sup> and the majority in the Independent Labor Party in England,<sup>23</sup> the Dutch Marxists, headed by Pannekuk<sup>24</sup> and Horter<sup>25</sup>, the left-wing social democrats in Sweden, Italy, Switzerland and Bulgaria, etc. The Russian Social Democratic Worker Party Central Committee (SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, No 33, 1 November 1914) issued a manifesto supporting internationalism and the propaganda of revolutionary action. Five State Duma deputies, members of the Russian social democratic faction, were sentenced by tsarism to exile in Siberia for the dissemination of such views. The majority of conscious workers in Russia have expressed their solidarity with the internationalism position, which is totally hostile to social patriotism and opportunism. Even within the camp which before the war rallied around the liquidationists, an opposition is beginning to appear, expressing its sympathy with internationalism and, therefore, deserving our congratulations.<sup>26</sup>

The war created and is further intensifying and broadening the revolutionary situation. The war is teaching the proletariat revolutionary action. May

our journal contribute to refuting the sophistry which hinders this development. May it help to clarify the truths of Marx's communist doctrine and the better understanding of the tasks of the proletariat during the forthcoming age of the revolutionary struggle for a democratic republic in Russia and for a socialist coup in Western Europe.

From the editors of the journal KOMMUNIST  
20 May 1915

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In this publication the translation of the article's epigraph was made consistent with the second edition of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 4, p 437).
2. Referring to the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress (18-24 August 1907), where "militarism and international conflicts" was the first and most important item of the agenda.
3. Refers to the Extraordinary International Socialist Congress which was held in Basel. On 25 November 1912 the congress unanimously passed a manifesto on war, which recommended to the socialists making use of the economic and political crisis caused by the war in their struggle for a socialist revolution. In a separate section in the journal, entitled "Forgotten Words" the bolsheviks reprinted the Basel manifesto in KOMMUNIST.
4. Henderson, Arthur (1863-1935) was one of the leaders of the Labor Party of Great Britain. In World War I he was the leader of the Labor Parliamentary Group and a social chauvinist. On several occasions he was a member of the British bourgeois cabinets, including Asquith's coalition cabinet and Lloyd George's war cabinet.
5. Samba, Marcel (1862-1922) was one of the reformist leaders of the French Socialist Party and a journalist. During World War I he was a social chauvinist. He was a minister of social affairs in the imperialist French "National Defense Cabinet" from August 1914 to September 1917.
6. Legin, Karl (1861-1920) was a German social democrat, right-wing opportunist and one of the leaders of the German trade unions. In World War I he was an extreme social chauvinist.
7. NASHA ZARYA was a monthly legal journal published by the mensheviks-liquidationists. It came out in Petersburg from January 1910 to September 1914. A. N. Potresov headed the journal. It was the center of the Russian liquidationists.
8. NASHE DELO was the monthly organ of the mensheviks-liquidationists, which began publication in January 1915, replacing NASHA ZARYA, which had been closed down by the authorities. NASHE DELO became the main organ of social chauvinism in Russia. Its contributors included A. N. Potresov,

N. Cherevanin, P. P. Maslov, Ye. Mayevskiy and others. A total of six issues were published.

9. Monitor was the pseudonym of a German social democrat and opportunist, who published in April 1915 an article in the "Prussian Yearbook." The author openly praised and called for maintaining in the future as well, as advantageous to the opportunists and the bourgeoisie, the centrist nature of the social democratic movement, which allowed the opportunists to conceal behind "leftist" phraseology their policy of class cooperation with the bourgeoisie. In KOMMUNIST, in the article "The Failure of the Second International," Lenin exposed Monitor's position (see op. cit., vol 26, p 254).
10. LUCH was a daily newspaper of the mensheviks-liquidationists, published in Petersburg. The newspaper was essentially financed by the liberals. Its ideological guidance was provided by P. B. Aksel'rod, F. I. Dan, L. Martov and A. S. Martynov. Lenin described it as an organ of the renegades.
11. Hindman, Henry Mayers (1842-1921) was an English socialist and reformist and the founder of the Democratic Federation (as of 1884 the Social Democratic Federation). He took a social chauvinistic position toward the imperialist war.
12. Graves, Jean (1854-1939) was a French petit bourgeois socialist and one of the theoreticians of anarchism. He was the editor of the anarchist organ LE REVOLTE ("The Rebel") and LA REVOLTE ("Rebellion"). In World War I he was a social chauvinist.
13. Cornellisen, Christian was a Dutch anarchist and follower of P. A. Kropotkin. He opposed Marxism. In World War I he was a social chauvinist.
14. Views expressed by Marx in his letter to I. Weidemeier, dated 5 March 1852 (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 28, pp 424-427).
15. Refers to the manifesto "War and the Russian Social Democratic Movement," published in SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, No 33 (1 November 1914) (see V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 26, pp 13-23).
16. The Bern Bolshevik Conference, which took place between 14 and 19 February (27 February-4 March) 1915: refers to the conference held by the foreign sections of the RSDWP held in Bern in connection with the outbreak of World War I and which was the equivalent of an all-party conference. The resolutions adopted at the conference were drafted by Lenin and printed in SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, No 40 (see op. cit., vol 26, pp 161-167).
17. LICHTSTRAHLEN was a monthly journal of a group of left-wing German social democrats ("German international socialists"), edited by Eu. Borhardt. The journal came out sporadically from 1913 to 1921 in Berlin.

18. DIE INTERNATIONALE was a journal "on questions of Marxist practice and theory," founded by Luxembourg and Mehring. Its first issue came out in April 1915.
19. Nicot, Rene was a French socialist and secretary of the federation in the Ain Department. At the outbreak of World War I he sharply stood up against social chauvinism.
20. Monatte, Pierre was a socialist and member of the leadership of the French General Confederation of Labor. He opposed social chauvinism in World War I.
21. Merheim, Alphonse (1881-1925) was a French trade union leader. At the beginning of World War I he was one of the heads of the left wing of the French trade union movement which opposed social chauvinism and the imperialist slaughter.
22. The British Socialist Party was founded in 1911. During World War I a sharp struggle developed within the party between the internationalist trend (W. Gallagher, A. Inkpin, D. Macklin, F. Rothstein and others) and the socialist current headed by H. Hindman.
23. The Independent English Labor Party was a reformist organization founded in 1893. It was headed by (Keyr-Hardy). At the outbreak of World War I it came out with an antiwar manifesto but soon afterwards converted to the positions of social chauvinism.
24. Pannekuk, Antoni (1873-1960) was a Dutch social democrat. In 1907 he was one of the founders of the newspaper DE TRIBUNE, organ of the left wing of the Social Democratic Worker Party, which became the Social Democratic Party of the Netherlands in 1909 (the "Tribunists"). During World War I he was an internationalist. He published an article in KOMMUNIST. He was a member of the Dutch Communist Party between 1918 and 1921. He made leftist errors for which he was criticized by Lenin. He withdrew from active political work after 1921.
25. Horter, Herman (1864-1927) was a Dutch left-wing social democrat, poet and publicist. He was one of the founders of DE TRIBUNE in 1907. During World War I he was an internationalist and supporter of the Zimmerwald left. Between 1918 and 1921 he was a member of the Dutch Communist Party and participated in the work of the Comintern. He adopted a sectarian, extreme left position. He left the communist party in 1921 and subsequently withdrew from active politics.
26. At the beginning of the war Martov was one of the otzovists whose views were the closest to internationalism. His opposition to Plekhanov's social chauvinism (the article "Leave Marx Alone") in GOLOS, No 35, 23 October 1914, and others) was noted by Lenin. However, Martov's views were inconsistent. Although sharply criticizing the social chauvinists, he did not go beyond the bare slogan of the "struggle for peace." In his 17 October 1914 letter to Shlyapnikov, Lenin wrote that "Martov is quite decent in GOLOS. But would Martov endure? I do not think so" (op. cit., vol 49, p 13).

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## LENIN'S SWISS FRIEND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84) pp 103-113

[Article by A. Latyshev]

[Text] "The government is lying by disseminating the rumor that Platten is a friend of the Germans. This is a slander. Platten is a friend of the workers and the enemy of capitalists in all countries," was what V. I. Lenin wrote in April 1917 ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 31, p 224). This was needed in order to refute the flood of abuse, lies, threats and "enraged persecution," in Lenin's definition, of the group of bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, who had traveled from Switzerland to Petrograd, crossing Germany which was at war with Russia. Since this trip had been organized by Fritz Platten, the secretary of the Swiss Social Democratic Party, who was a zealous internationalist, the slanderers writing in the Russian bourgeois press had made him the target of their malicious attacks.

The book by F. Platten "Lenin From Exile to Russia. March 1917" was translated from the German and published in Moscow in 1925. In the preface N. K. Krupskaya described the activities of its author in organizing the trip which Lenin and the other political exiles took as a "tremendous service to the bolsheviks."

In March 1917 the Provisional Government did not allow the Swiss socialist to enter Russia. He was forced to return to Switzerland while revolutionary Petrograd was welcoming Lenin at the Finland Station. During the first weeks after his return from exile, in the extremely stressed atmosphere in Petrograd, Lenin excitedly sent a query to Stockholm regarding his friend: "Any news of Platten? Did he return safely?" (op. cit., vol 49, p 439). He returned successfully and soon after the victory of the Great October Revolution, in December 1917, F. Platten once again took the train to Petrograd. A meeting and a friendly talk between Lenin and Platten took place in Smolnyy on 1 (14) January 1918.

The conversation continued in the car which took them from Smolnyy to Mikhaylovskiy Manezh, where Lenin delivered a congratulatory speech at a meeting. The time came to return to Smolnyy. A brief entry in Volume 5 of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Biographical Chronicle reads as follows: 1918, January 1 (14). "The automobile in which Lenin together with M. I. Ul'yanova and F. Platten were returning to Smolnyy from the meeting at Mikhaylovskiy Manezh was fired upon by counterrevolutionary terrorists (at about 1930

hours) on the Simeonovskiy Bridge across the Fontanka River. Platten, who covered Lenin with his body, was wounded in the hand" (pp 170-171). The bullet struck Platten's hand with which he was holding Vladimir Il'ich's head down, as he covered him with his body the moment shots were heard and bullets began hitting the body of the car.

It so happened that the Swiss Internationalists, thanks to whose dedicated activities Lenin was able successfully to reach Russia and immediately to undertake preparations for a proletarian revolution, 9 months later, on New Year's Day, the first after the victory of the Great October Revolution, saved the life of the head of the government of the first state of workers and peasants in the world. These two events have entered the name of the Swiss communist in history forever....

It was 100 years ago, on 8 July 1883, that Friedrich, the fourth child of Peter Platten, a carpenter, was born in the small Swiss town of Tablat in the canton of St. Gallen. Five of the nine children born to that family died at an early age. Need and privations forced the parents of the 7-year-old Fritz to move to Zurich, the largest Swiss industrial center, in 1890. Although very talented, nevertheless Fritz was forced to leave school at an early age and attend vocational school, after which he became an apprentice at a large metal-processing plant. It was here that the young Fritz actively participated in a strike for the first time and was noticed by the police. At the age of 19 Platten became a cadre worker--a fitter-tuner. Industrious and persistent, he stubbornly continued to study. He read a great deal and spoke at worker meetings daringly and firmly. However, an accident (a heavy part which broke while a machine tool was being set maimed his left hand) forced him to seek a different job. After an extensive search for employment he was able to find a position as an employee of the Zurich judiciary. The major advantage of this work is that it enabled him to attend classes at the law school of Zurich University, which Platten audited. He showed tremendous interest in socioeconomic publications and periodicals from different countries and representing different trends. In 1904 he joined the Eintracht Socialist Labor Education Society, which included not only progressive Swiss workers but political exiles from Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and other countries. During World War I Lenin actively participated in the work of the society. Platten was also a member of the Union of International Socialists which, subsequently, in 1911, merged with the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland. Despite the ideas of class peace and nationalism supported by the official party leadership, Platten totally dedicated himself to active work in political internationalist organizations and defended the principles of the class struggle among the Swiss working people.

The young revolutionary rushed to the front end of the struggle for the liberation of the working people and, after the beginning of the first Russian revolution addressed assemblies and meetings of protest against the bloody actions of tsarist autocracy. He called for strengthening the solidarity with the Russian working class. Being in constant contact with the Russian political exiles, on the request of the Latvian social democrats, in 1906 Platten traveled to Riga with a shipment of arms and proclamations, using a false passport. Despite the mortal danger, for the authorities



threatened with hanging anyone carrying weapons, and unable to establish contacts with the Riga underground, as a result of the exposure of safe houses, Platten personally distributed the leaflets among the workers. Quite accidentally he met on the street a Latvian social democrat he had met in Zurich as an exile. After that he was given specific assignments such as to deliver weapons to combat detachments, and to engage in propaganda among the German workers at industrial enterprises in Riga. Subsequently, Lenin studied the official statistics of strikes during the first Russian revolution and emphasized that "Liflyandskaya Guberniya was first in the persistence of proletarian strikes" and that the leading role of the advanced detachment of the Latvian proletariat "was not limited to strikes: it marched in the vanguard of the armed uprising and helped better than anyone else to enhance the movement to its highest level, i.e., to the level of an uprising" (op. cit., vol 19, pp 305-306).

The preparations for the Fifth RSDWP Congress were taking place in deep clandestinity, and Fritz Platten worked very hard to procure the necessary documents for the 26th Latvian delegates to the conference. It was from that time and to the end of his life that he remained in close touch with a number of noted Latvian revolutionaries and developed strong friendships with some of them, such as Robert Eich. One of the oldest Latvian social democrats, who subsequently became a noted Soviet state leader, P. I. Stuchka, recalled how at the stage of the armed clashes against tsarism the Latvian revolutionaries were selflessly helped by the 22-year-old Swiss Fritz Platten, to whom this was "the first and very serious test and trial, his baptism of fire."

This baptism of fire of the Swiss internationalist had an almost tragic end. Captured in an ambush, he was detained and spent 6 months in tsarist jail awaiting trial. He was facing long years of hard labor; he was waning in the humid jail and was particularly affected by a progressing pulmonary disease. During interrogations he behaved courageously and rejected the charges, although the tsarist security police, as it became clear, had been watching him for quite some time before his detention. Nevertheless, the security police were unable to provide firm proof of his participation in the revolutionary events and the Swiss consul in Riga sent an inquiry to the Riga chief of police on the subject of the detention of a Swiss citizen. The Latvian comrades did everything possible to make his life easier. Finally, he was released after posting a substantial bail but without the right to leave Riga. His case was intensively investigated. It was obvious that unless Platten could leave Russia secretly he would draw a severe sentence. His departure, several weeks later, for Hamburg, in March 1908, is a truly fantastic story. The police searched the steamship which was leaving the port of Riga, including the engine room, while Platten held onto the steps inside the smokestack with incredible difficulty.... He fell unconscious after the police had left the ship.

After his return to Switzerland Platten became a most influential leader of the left-wing worker movement in Zurich. A general strike was held on 12 July 1912 in the city, the development of and lessons from which Lenin immediately covered in two articles published in PRAVDA, entitled "In Switzerland." It was precisely under Platten's personal leadership that the workers

of the largest Zurich enterprise--the gas plant--did not allow strikebreakers to begin the morning shift and it was only toward the evening that police and soldiers were able to break the blockade organized by the strikers. "The strike succeeded brilliantly" and the mass demonstration which accompanied it was grandiose, was the conclusion drawn in Lenin's first article (see op. cit., vol 21, pp 397-399).

In that same year of 1912 Platten was elected secretary of the Central Board of the Swiss Social Democratic Party. In August 1913 he became one of the organizers and active leaders of the Zurich Alliance for Help to Political Prisoners in Russia. It was as of then that the foreign section of the tsarist security police began regularly to report to Petersburg on the ties between Platten and the Russian political emigres.

A new stage in Platten's revolutionary activities began in World War I, involving close cooperation and, subsequently, friendship with Lenin.

When were the first contacts established between them? In his unpublished but frequently cited memoirs Platten wrote that he attended in Zurich a speech delivered by Lenin to the Russian political emigres on the subject of the first Russian revolution. Since Lenin had gone to Zurich only in 1911, after the defeat of the revolution, it could be safely assumed that this specifically applied to Lenin's speech delivered on 13 (26) September 1911. Lenin mentioned Platten's name for the first time in an excerpt from an article in the 11 July 1914 issue of the Swiss newspaper GRUTLIANER, which was made public for the first time in 1980. However, their personal acquaintanceship began only in September 1915 at the Zimmerwald conference, as confirmed by Platten himself in his memoirs.

Platten was the only one of four Swiss delegates to the Zimmerwald conference to support Lenin's position on the problems of war, peace and revolution and despite the open pressure exerted by the Swiss Social Democratic Party leadership, joined the left wing of the confederation, headed by Vladimir Il'ich --the Zimmerwald left. It was precisely this small group consisting of eight people which became the nucleus of the future Communist International.

Let us add that Platten assumed the organization of the Zimmerwald conference, such as transportation, housing, feeding the delegates and so on.

The interest which Lenin showed in Platten's activities after the Zimmerwald conference is understandable, for Platten was a like-minded supporter and secretary of a party which, as Vladimir Il'ich said, for the first time in its congress held in Aarau in November 1915, openly joined the Zimmerwald group and "stood up in front of the entire world as the main representative of the Zimmerwald movement..." (op. cit., vol 30, p 287). Lenin was aware of the extent to which the success of the Swiss conference was due to the outstanding and militant speech by Fritz Platten. Vladimir Il'ich, who considered as the most important task the familiarizing of the social democrats of different countries with the positions held by the Zimmerwald left, edited and distributed the "International Flyleafs" No 1 as a pamphlet which Platten had published in German. In November 1915 he wrote to the bolshevik M. M.

Kharitonov in Zurich to "...spend less time in the Zurich colonial swamp (i.e., in emigre quarrels and squabbles--the author) and be in closer touch with Platten and more involved with the publication and distribution of INTERNATIONALE FLUGBLATTER...." (op. cit., vol 49, p 165). In the same letter, again and again Lenin emphasized the importance of further strengthening contacts with Platten.

Contacts between Lenin and Platten became particularly close after Lenin moved from Bern to Zurich at the beginning of 1916. During that difficult last year of exile in Switzerland, Lenin and Krupskaya lived in difficult material circumstances. In a letter written in Zurich in the autumn of 1916, Lenin, who was always exceptionally modest when it came to personal needs, was forced to admit: "Personally, I must make some money. Otherwise things would get very shaky!! The cost of living is devilishly high and I am without means" (ibid., p 302).

This made Platten's aid to Lenin even more timely, as revealed by documentary proof.

Police documents stipulate that instead of a 3,000-franc bond which "Ulyanov, a lawyer and a writer," without passport, had to present, an affidavit was received from Fritz Platten and Otto Lang, a member of the city council. Another preserved document is the guarantee issued to Vladimir Ulyanov by Fritz Platten, dated 22 March 1916, which was required for borrowing books from the Central Library for Social Literature, and a guarantee issued by F. Platten, secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, that all possible losses which may be incurred would be compensated in full. It was precisely thanks to this that Vladimir Il'ich was able to obtain books, pamphlets and periodicals in various languages, which he needed so greatly in order to complete his work on imperialism.

Several sources confirm a fact recorded in Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Biographic Chronicle that after moving to Zurich Lenin frequently visited Platten in the premises of the secretariat of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland. How frequently? Dozens and dozens of times! The Swiss internationalist theoretically grew and matured under Vladimir Il'ich's personal ideological influence.

Shoulder to shoulder with Lenin, Platten defended the true revolutionary position of the Zimmerwald left at the second Kienthal conference. On 4 November 1916, on behalf of the RSDWP Central Committee, Lenin delivered a welcoming speech in German at the opening of the congress of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland. Lenin rated Platten's speech at the same conference as excellent, emphasizing that it was a particularly clear recognition of the existence of a struggle among different trends within the party's ranks and that "the sympathy of most delegates was clearly on Platten's side, when he spoke of the need to work consistently in a revolutionary social democratic spirit" (op. cit., vol 30, p 205).

In the course of several months after the congress, and until he returned to Russia, Vladimir Il'ich spared neither time nor effort in helping the left

wing of the Swiss labor movement, headed by Platten, in its struggle against the policy of class peace pursued by the right and the center.

Vladimir Il'ich edited most carefully a draft resolution on the problem of the war, which Platten had written on the occasion of the forthcoming extraordinary congress of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland. In the margins of the draft, along with corrections and strike-outs, Lenin repeatedly wrote "sehr gut." Platten's draft resolution, as well as the articles he published on problems of the war and militarism, were highly rated in Lenin's correspondence. Lenin expressed his indignation at the attacks mounted by the centrists on Platten in a postcard to Charles Main, one of the influential leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland.

After the victory of the February revolution in Russia, Lenin firmly decided to return to the homeland immediately (even if he had to go through hell!). The request which Vladimir Il'ich made to Platten, to assume responsibility for organizing the crossing of Germany by a group of Russian political emigres and to act as their agent and to accompany them through enemy territory, presented the latter with a difficult dilemma. Nevertheless, although risking his position as party secretary, F. Platten immediately agreed to Lenin's request.

"...I decided to undertake this mission," Platten wrote to the chairman of the Central Board of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland on the eve of his departure with Lenin from Switzerland, "because Lenin and the others were a sufficient guarantee of the fact that this trip would be of tremendous political importance. For several decades Lenin has been an active member of the Russian party and for a number of years, the acknowledged leader of the bolsheviks, and my faith in him is so great that I would undertake this mission even if I would be mistrusted because of it...."

The precise date at which Platten agreed to Lenin's suggestion of opening discussions with the German authorities on letting the Russian political emigres cross Germany on their way to Russia is known: 20 March (2 April) 1917. The talks began on 21 March (3 April) and the very next day Platten submitted to the German ambassador in Bern the conditions which Lenin had drafted for crossing Germany, "the first note issued by the future Soviet government," as he metaphorically referred to them subsequently. On 24 March (6 April) Platten reported to Lenin that the German government had agreed to the conditions of the bolsheviks for crossing Germany. The next day he signed a protocol of a conference which Lenin had held in Bern with left-wing social democrats of a number of countries, which expressed unconditional support of the plan for the return of Russian political emigres to Russia, while Vladimir Il'ich sent a cable to Zurich stating that "Platten must procure a food-carrying permit..." (op. cit., vol 49, p 431). According to Swiss wartime law, this proved to be a difficult matter. However, an even greater obstacle existed: there was not enough money for train tickets and food. With Platten's guarantee, the board of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland granted a loan of 3,000 francs, while the Swiss authorities allowed on an exceptional basis the departing emigres to take with them food supplies for several days. Limited funds forced Platten to ask that the

emigres crossing German territory would ride in a third- rather than second-class coach.

On the eve of the departure, Lenin wrote his famous "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers." In it he extended fraternal greetings to the Swiss comrades with whom the bolsheviks had worked "hand in hand as like-minded people" (op. cit., vol 31, p 88). The closest among them, F. Platten, took off from the Zurich railroad station together with Lenin and 30 other Russian political emigres, at 3:10 pm, 9 April, cheered on by those who had come to see them off and the malicious shouting of various opponents who had come to the station, and singing the International.

Despite the worrisome trip, never before had Lenin and Platten had the opportunity to converse so extensively as they did now, in the special car crossing German territory. As the only person with the right to communicate with the German authorities, Platten tried to meet all the requirements of the passengers including, as Vladimir Il'ich humorously said in an interview granted to a Swedish journalist immediately on arrival in Stockholm, "blocking the efforts of an influential German social chauvinist to enter the car with the help of a friendly hint," thus saving him from an extremely unpleasant encounter. "Always affable and gay, he made everyone feel warm with his concern," subsequently recalled the bolshevik Ye. F. Usiyevich, who had returned from exile with Lenin. "In the train Platten found himself in a difficult position, for there was one passenger more than there were seats. Platten immediately said that he was a 'seatless' passenger, being the organizer of the trip. It was only when everyone else was awake that, for an hour or so, he would sit down and instantly fall asleep. During the trip we became very fond of our dear friend."

Finally, on 12 April, the group of emigres embarked on a Swedish steamship from which they sent to the Swedish port city the following telegram: "Arriving in Trelleborg today, 6 pm. Platten, Ulyanov" (op. cit., vol 49, p 433). After his arrival in Petrograd, Lenin reported to Geneva that "we arrived perfectly. Milyukov did not allow Platten in." According to some documents, Lenin had anticipated such a turn of events and even on the way to the Russo-Swedish border he had held in the train compartment a conference with the political emigres at which the question of Platten's trip to Russia was discussed. Here is a characteristic detail: from the Torneo border point he addressed a telegram to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Worker Deputies in which he did not mention a word concerning his arrival but only requested of it to hasten the issuing of a pass to Platten to enter Russia, the latter having been detained at the border.

On his arrival in Petrograd, Lenin frequently publicly expressed his indignation at the refusal of the Provisional Government to allow the Swiss internationalist to enter Russia. After Platten was forced to return to Switzerland, in the pamphlet "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution" Lenin condemned the pompous "republicanism" of Milyukov, the minister of foreign affairs in the Provisional Government, who "did not allow Fritz Platten, the Swiss socialist, party secretary, internationalist and participant in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, to enter Russia in April 1917, although he was

married to a Russian and wanted to visit his wife's relatives and even though he had participated in the 1905 revolution in Riga for which he had sat in a Russian jail..." (op. cit., vol 31, pp 177-178).

Platten was able to visit Russia only after the victory of the Great October Revolution. It was not only an accident but the permanent feeling of concern which Platten felt for the life and safety of his great comrade which explain why he was able to protect Lenin in the first attempt made on the leader's life.

When the Third Russian Congress of Soviets opened a week and a half after the attempt, on 10 (23) January, in the Taurid Palace, Ya. M. Sverdlov, who chaired the meeting, gave the floor to F. Platten first.

Several months later, when another criminal attempt on Lenin's life became known in Switzerland, on 31 August 1918 Platten addressed the following cable to Vladimir Il'ich: "The representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland are indignant at the treacherous attempt by desperate counter-revolutionaries on the life of the acknowledged leader of the Russian and conscious European proletariat and expresses to you their warm sympathy." The same day he wrote Lenin a letter which says among others that "as in the past, my thoughts and heart are always with you and I hope to have the opportunity to visit you once again."

In a letter to Platten, written 2 weeks before the attempt, Lenin warmly invited him to come and made an optimistic prediction on the course of events in Russia: "All counterrevolutionary forces have rallied against us. The kulak uprising is raging. I hope and am confident that we shall defeat them" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII" [Leninist Collection 37], p 99).

In Switzerland, Fritz Platten was thinking of how to assist in every possible way the first state of workers and peasants in the world. On this initiative, as early as 12 November 1917, the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland appealed to the country's working class to show its solidarity with the Russian proletariat by holding meetings and demonstrations to this effect. The Zurich workers were the first to rise in support of the Great October Revolution. As early as 27 November 1917, PRAVDA wrote that "the October Revolution brought into the streets the Swiss proletariat as well.... Unquestionably, the revolutionary struggle will not be limited to this action in Zurich and will spread throughout Switzerland." The Swiss authorities reacted to the participants in the action with repressive measures. The threat of detention of Platten, the most popular leader of the working class in Switzerland, increased. It was only in 1982 that materials were published proving sufficiently the fierceness with which the Entente imperialists demanded of the Swiss government Platten's arrest. During this most difficult period for him, through the leadership of the Soviet mission in Switzerland Lenin corresponded with Platten and sent him greetings.

Concerned about the influence of the "Russian example," and frightened by the growing revolutionary mood of the Swiss working class, in the summer and autumn of 1918 the Swiss ruling circles mounted a fierce anti-Soviet campaign. The Soviet government was accused of "exporting revolution," as

confirmed by Lenin's "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers." Provocative rumors were spread according to which the bolsheviks had deposited in Swiss banks large funds to finance a coup. Stupid fabrications were spread about "Lenin's emissaries," bombs and even "typhoid fever bacillus" sent to Switzerland.

Despite the threats of repressive measures, the Swiss working people celebrated extensively and solemnly the first anniversary of the Soviet system in Russia. The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland cabled warm greetings to "socialist and free Russia." The workers press dedicated special sections on the October Revolution and the situation in Soviet Russia. They published Lenin's speech at the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Moscow Soviet and his 22 October 1918 speech on the international situation.

On the following day, 8 November, the Swiss authorities decided to expel the Soviet mission. Ya. A. Berzin, who was its leader, an old bolshevik and veteran of the Latvian worker movement, subsequently testified that "Comrade Platten took up the defense of our mission. Platten delivered an emotional speech in parliament in which he attacked the bourgeois government and proclaimed his total solidarity with bolshevism."

The Swiss proletariat convincingly expressed its feelings of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the Russian working class the day the mission was expelled. A 1-day strike, which became the prologue of a general strike in Switzerland, which had a tremendous impact on the subsequent development of political life in the country, was proclaimed in Zurich on 9 November.

At the congress of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, in December 1918, the right-wing leadership succeeded in having a resolution passed which directed the party toward class peace with the ruling bourgeois circles. In his speech at the congress Platten sharply condemned this turn. He considered his further membership in the Central Committee impossible and soon afterwards asked to be relieved of his duties as party secretary.

Contacts between Platten and Lenin were interrupted for several months after the Soviet mission was expelled from Switzerland. Soon after the end of the extraordinary congress of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, in February 1919 Platten clandestinely crossed the Swiss border in an attempt to reach Moscow by crossing Germany, which was seething at that time, with a view to raising the question of the need for immediately organizing a new, truly revolutionary International. When Platten reached the capital of the first socialist state in the world, after surmounting a variety of obstacles, he could not even suspect that he would find himself in the midst of an international communist conference.

The first meeting and lengthy talk between Lenin and Platten were exceptionally warm.

Three permanent members of the presidium were elected at the first session of the International Communist Conference, which opened at the Kremlin on

2 March 1919: Lenin, Hugo Eberlein, the representative of the Communist Party of Germany, and Platten, who emphasized in his speech that the Swiss revolutionaries "tried to do everything required by our solidarity with the Russian comrades."

Lenin used Platten's speech in his report on bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship, which was delivered at the third session, and which triggered the tremendous interest of the delegates. It was precisely at that session that Platten, who chaired the meeting, announced the adopted resolution of the establishment of the Third Communist International.

Lenin and Platten spoke on the day the congress closed, on 6 March, in the Bolshoy Theater, at a solemn meeting on the occasion of the founding of the Comintern. Immediately after the constituent congress of the Comintern completed its work Platten took his unforgettable trip to Petrograd. In the course of 2 days he had addressed representatives of the working people of the city who had met the foreign delegates at the railroad station and had spoken at a solemn meeting on the opening of the 9th All-City Conference of the RKP(b) (interpreted by A. V. Lunacharskiy) and at the thousands-strong meeting on the dedication of the monuments to Giuseppe Garibaldi, the great Italian revolutionary. At the 9 March ceremonious session of the Petrograd soviet of deputies, the concluding words by "the Swiss delegate Fritz Platten, who participated in the 1905 Russian revolution and had paid for this with an acquaintanceship with the Riga jail," was welcomed with sustained ovations.

Returning to his homeland via Finland, with a mandate issued by the Soviet government, Platten hoped to dedicate in a few days all his energy to the dissemination of the ideas of the Communist International in the Swiss labor movement. However, it was unable to carry out these intentions, for he was detained in bourgeois Finland and jailed without any sort of investigation. Lenin became personally involved in his release (the question was considered at a session of the RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum and on 16 May Platten was delivered into the hands of the Soviet authorities in Beloostrovo).

The fearless Swiss international immediately made a desperate attempt to reach his homeland through the south of Soviet Russia. He tried to fly from Kiev into Soviet Hungary but landed in a Romanian jail where he spent a number of months in strict solitary.

Platten returned to Moscow in a bad state of health. His tuberculosis had become aggravated in the Romanian jail. On medical advice, Lenin instructed P. D. Mal'kov, the commandant of the Kremlin, to allow Fritz Platten to be treated in the Kremlin. Before he had regained his full health, at the beginning of December Platten signed himself out of the hospital and, as he subsequently recalled, "his first action after his recovery was to visit Lenin in his office."

Soon after that, with Lenin's help, Platten flew from Smolensk to Berlin with an impressive mandate as the trade representative of the RSFSR in Switzerland. Platten carried important documents and letters and a large sum of



money for the publication of propaganda materials. Over Vilnyus, however, the plane was fired at by White Polish forces. Its gasoline tank was pierced, the airplane was forced to land and Platten found himself in a Kovno jail.

Several months later, after he finally reached Switzerland, Platten was immediately taken to jail. A military court had sentenced him in absentia to 6 months in jail for "instigation to rebellion." The moment Vladimir Il'ich found out that Platten was in a Swiss jail he sent a note to A. M. Lezhave, the deputy people's commissar for foreign trade, instructing him "to meet without delay" with Platten's courier who had come to Moscow--a Swiss communist--and to take steps to help Platten be released and to strengthen his positions within the communist movement (see op. cit., vol 51, pp 284-285).

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's biographical chronicle includes a number of other examples of Lenin's concern for Platten. For example, he sent a note to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs with a request to issue an entry visa to a Russian citizen recommended by Platten; he helped Platten's relatives obtain exit visas, and so on. The documents signed by Lenin related to Platten are kept at the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Also preserved here are several letters from Platten to Lenin.

Let us particularly emphasize the letter dated 27 July 1920 from Platten to Vladimir Il'ich. Platten wrote that many Swiss engineers, technicians, highly skilled workers and entire plant groups specializing in precision mechanics were willing to resettle in Soviet Russia. Platten asked that they be helped and be given the opportunity of making their contribution to building a socialist economy. Vladimir Il'ich added his resolution to this letter which was passed on to the pertinent state authorities. It can be said that it was precisely this letter that provided a major impetus in organizing the resettlement of groups of workers from many capitalist countries to the Soviet republic.

Released on 20 February 1921 after 6 months in jail, Platten plunged into active political work in his country. A most important event in the country's labor movement occurred on 5 March 1921: the founding of the Communist Party of Switzerland. At its constituent congress Platten was elected party secretary.

Platten returned to Moscow in October 1921. On 3 November 1921 the Comintern Executive Committee heard at its session his report "On the Situation in Switzerland;" Platten met with Lenin in his office on two occasions, on 2 and 9 November.

On 12 January 1923 Lenin received Platten's last letter. He informed him of his arrival in Soviet Russia and his wish to meet and talk with Lenin. He provided information on the situation within the Communist Party of Switzerland.

Soon afterwards tragic events took place in Platten's homeland: on 10 May 1923, at the Cecil Hotel in Lausanne a White Guard emigre treacherously shot

and killed V. V. Vorovskiy, one of Lenin's close fellow workers, who represented Soviet Russia at an international conference. The same night the presidium of the Communist Party of Switzerland held an extraordinary meeting at which Fritz Platten delivered an outstanding speech. Mass demonstrations broke out in all major Swiss cities. The leaders of the Communist Party of Switzerland and the workers organized funeral meetings, laid wreaths, and mounted an honor guard at Vorovskiy's casket.

As PRAVDA wrote at that time, "the risk and tremendous burden of this entire exceptional project of protecting the body of the victim and the wounded members of the delegation and preparing for the trip and the organization of honors paid was carried out by a small group of Swiss communists.... The work was carried out under the deadly atmosphere of universal reactionary persecution and police restrictions." Platten traveled in the train from Lausanne to Berlin with the body and a wounded Soviet staff member.

In 1923, on the insistence of the doctors, the relatives and friends of Vladimir Il'ich, gravely ill at that time, tried to conceal from him the most tragic events. "We greatly feared the exciting influence of the newspaper. However, to deprive Il'ich of his newspaper or of his contacts with the world was inconceivable," N. K. Krupskaya recalled. "We did not hurry to tell him of Vorovskiy's death. However, shortly before the trial began, Vladimir Il'ich found in the newspaper a mention of a murder and asked for details. He heard with tremendous concentration and tension the information on the murder and subsequently closely followed the trial." The Swiss court exonerated the killer and the bourgeois press even made a hero of him, thus providing another clear proof of the atmosphere of unleashed reaction in which Fritz Platten was forced to defend the interests of the working people of his country and disseminate the truth about Soviet Russia.

During the second half of 1923 Fritz Platten concentrated his great energy and inordinate organizational talent on a project which he had discussed with Vladimir Il'ich several years previously: the creation of a Swiss agricultural commune not far from Simbirsk, Lenin's birthplace. The Swiss internationalists looked upon this project as a modest gift to their friend and leader of the world's proletariat.

Platten personally accepted a plot of land for the agricultural commune--the abandoned Novaya Lava estate. He organized the moving to Russia of several dozen Swiss selected among more than 2,000 applicants, who were able, after selling their household possessions earned with their difficult toil, to pay for their rather expensive share. Because of the dislocated conditions in Russia, the association had to purchase the agricultural implements it needed and to organize the production of grain and cattle without any state subsidy, relying only on the contributions of the members of the commune. The first new settlers--Swiss internationalists--(who included the 77-year-old Peter Platten, Fritz Platten's father, and his mother Paulina, a total of 21 people, including six children) developed their new home under difficult circumstances. All of them together reacted to the sad news and there is testimony of Platten crying as he delivered his speech at a rural rally immediately after his return from Lenin's funeral in Moscow....

At the beginning of March 1924 Platten returned to Switzerland. He dealt with party matters and organized the moving to Russia of a second group of Swiss emigrants and deliveries of agricultural equipment purchased in Switzerland. In 1925 he returned again to organize the travel of another group of Swiss. That same year many members of the Swiss commune joined the ranks of the RKP(b).

Overburdened as he was with the matters of the commune, Platten, its leader and the driving spirit of all of its initiatives, late at night hastened to go to his room to complete, under the dull light of a kerosene lamp, his book on Lenin's trip from Switzerland to Russia. This trip in a "sealed" car triggered many insinuations and distortions abroad and it was natural for this book which, as N. K. Krupskaya said, shed full light on the entire story of the sealed railroad car, to be published first in German in Berlin.

In addition to the book, Platten wrote a number of articles on his encounters with Vladimir Il'ich.

In 1928 the Swiss Communards were given a new, bigger farm in Vaskino village, near Moscow. Platten remained the unchanged leader of the international collective which was joined by peasant families from the neighboring villages. Now this powerful farm had nine tractors and the tireless Platten organized the first courses for tractor drivers in the rayon.

Platten's social activities in the 1920s and 1930s deserve a special study. In addition to participating in the work of the leading bodies of the Comintern, the Swiss internationalist was one of the organizers of the International Worker Aid and member of its Central Committee. Platten worked hard at the Moscow German Communists Club. He was elected chairman of its board in 1927.

Platten maintained close and efficient contact with the International Agrarian Institute, which was created in Moscow in March 1926, in which he worked as senior scientific associate for the Central and Western European sector starting with 1931. Along with all other party members, he was subjected to a party purge at the International Agrarian Institute. As always, his report was distinguished by its exceptional modesty. However, in the course of the discussions the life of this professional revolutionary was revealed to those present at the meeting in such vivid color that the commission's suggestion to publish Platten's biography was welcomed with stormy applause.

An outstanding area of Platten's activities was his pedagogical work at the Modern Languages Institute. A memorial plaque at the building of the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute for Foreign Languages imeni Maurice Thorez reminds us of the fact that Platten taught in that building in the 1930s. Many of his students recall how interesting Platten's lectures were on political economy and how expressively, drawing on his extremely rich personal impressions, he described to the students the struggle for the founding and development of the Communist International. The face of the speaker assumed a special expression when he spoke of his great friend V. I. Lenin. During the

Great Patriotic War many of Platten's students earned a good reputation as military translators and many of his students became noted philologists and historians. They never forgot their favorite teacher--a man almost 2 meters tall, handsome, courageous, invariably pleasant and always ready to give aid and support to anyone.

While dedicating himself to serving his new homeland, Platten never broke his ties with Switzerland. On his trips abroad he visited it at the beginning of the 1930s on scientific assignments and once again the Swiss workers heard his fiery speeches at open and party meetings. However, the country's reactionary circles intensified their repressive measures. The persecution of Swiss communists intensified and prior to his return to the land of the soviets Platten had to hide from the authorities.

In 1940, when Hitlerite fascism had already unleashed World War II, in one of his letters Platten expressed the hope that he would be able "once again, together with the European workers, to participate in the implementation of the Leninist slogans."

Exactly 42 years have passed since Platten's death. However, those who followed him still recall most vividly this most honest and most noble person. His outstanding life, brightened by the light of friendship with the great Lenin, serves as an example of self-dedication to ever-new generations.

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## FOLLOWING LENIN'S ADDRESSES

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[Review by Prof V. Zhuravlev, doctor of historical sciences, of the following books: (1) "Lenin v Peterburge-Petrograde: Mesta Zhizni i Deyatel'nosti v Gorode i Okrestnostyakh. 1890-1920" [Lenin in Petersburg-Petrograd: Sites of Life and Activities in the City and Its Suburbs. 1890-1920] by T. P. Bondarevskaya, A. Ya. Velikanova and F. M. Suslova. Second expanded edition, Leningrad, 1980; (2) "Leninyana: Poist. Istochnikovedeniye. Arkheografiya" [Leninyana: Research, Source Studies, Archaeography]. Leningrad, 1981; (3) "V. I. Lenin i Piderskiye Rabochiye" [V. I. Lenin and the Workers of Peter]. Leningrad, 1982; (4) "Po Leninskim Adresam" [Following Lenin's Addresses] by T. P. Bondarevskaya, A. Ya. Velikanova and F. M. Suslova. Leningrad, 1983]

[Text] On the eve of 1984 Lenizdat published in the series "Young Workers' Library" the book (4). It marks the completion at this stage of a set of research and popular science works on Leninist topics. The Institute of Party History of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom--a branch of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, based on the creative cooperation among its leading specialists and researchers in other scientific and cultural-educational institutions and the chairs of CPSU history in Leningrad VUZs.

These books discuss and resolve various problems. However, they also have a great deal in common. Above all this applies to the active research efforts of the authors, manifested in their aspiration to identify the live ties of ideological-moral and political continuity which bind together the revolutionary past of the Leninist party with its present and to show a protective attitude toward anything related to the extremely vast sources of Leniniana.

To a certain extent (1) and (4) may be considered topic guidebooks. As a whole, however, their purpose is incomparably broader: based on the systematic description of Leninist memorial places in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast to provide the readers with the fullest possible idea of Lenin's party and state activities and the various aspects of his work in establishing a party of a new type and his struggle for making it the leading political force of the Russian revolutionary movement, the ruling party of the first state of workers and peasants in history and the struggle for building the Soviet state. These works are distinguished by their approach to party history problems which are considered through the lens of the personality of the party leader and his activities in actual daily situations. On the basis

of the materials of the 12-volume publication of the institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya Khronika" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle], the authors extend and concretize the work, enriching it with new facts and details.

Petersburg-Petrograd.... This city played a unique role in the history of the Russian worker revolutionary movement and the building of socialism in our country. It maintained strong ties with Vladimir Il'ich. So far we know of 275 Leninist memorial sites in the city and its suburbs. Using extensive and varied materials--Lenin's works, official documents, archive sources, memoirs, studies, etc., step by step the authors recreate the circumstances surrounding the life and activities of the leader of the revolution in the city by the Neva.

The 20-year-old student Vladimir Ul'yanov came to Petersburg for the first time in the summer of 1890. Thirty years later, in July 1920, Vladimir Il'ich paid his last visit to the city. The time between these two dates was one of exceptionally tense struggle for a socialist Russia, the course and outcome of which instilled new strength in the global revolutionary movement and became a turning point in its history. It would be impossible to recreate these events in their totality and comprehensiveness within the framework of one or several books. Nevertheless, the authors have been able to bring to light and coordinate many important aspects of what could be conventionally described as the "anatomy" of the daily dedicated exploit of the proletarian Marxist revolutionary, the founder and leader of a party of a new type and the brilliant theoretician and organizer of the revolutionary masses.

Lenin--the leader is inconceivable without his ties to the people or without intensive activities within its very midst. Again and again this is confirmed by the study of his revolutionary, party and state work in the city which he himself considered the "focal point of Russian political life" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 14, p 366) and in which he spent almost 5.5 years, which became the most important stages in his political biography and crucial periods in the history of the proletarian liberation movement in Russia.

The period between 1893 and 1897, as N. K. Krupskaya was to write later, was to Lenin a period of "exceptionally important yet essentially unnoticeable work, as he described it himself. It had no external effect. It was a question not of heroic exploits but of how to organize close ties with the masses, come closer to them and learn how to express their best aspirations and become understood by and be leader of the masses. However, it was precisely during that period of work in Petersburg that Vladimir Il'ich developed as the leader of the worker mass" ("Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine" [Recollections of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin], vol 1, Moscow, 1979, p 224). The unquestionable merit of the works (1) and (4) is their thorough description of the practical implementation of said processes. However, the study and summation of this material creates a different feeling as well.

In this case each page and line documents the extreme stress of efforts, courage, will power, persistence and dedication which such work demanded of Lenin and his fellow workers on a daily basis in the course of creating and strengthening the Petersburg "Alliance for the Struggle of the Liberation of the Working Class," the embryo of the revolutionary proletarian party.

Lenin's revolutionary activities between November 1905 and November 1907 are part of the second extended period of his stay in Petersburg and its surroundings. Jail, exile and long years of expatriation abroad lay behind. After returning to Russia clandestinely and arriving in the capital at the peak of the struggle waged by the popular masses, headed by the proletariat and its party, for the overthrow of autocracy, Lenin assumed the leadership of this heroic struggle. On the day he arrived he visited the Preobrazhenskoye cemetery, the site of the largest mass graves of victims of the events of 9 January 1905, provoked by tsarism. "This was not only an act of political significance," L. A. Fotiyeva testified, "but an imperative dictated by Lenin's warm heart, which had profoundly reacted to the greatest of tragedies of the working class--Bloody Sunday" (L. A. Fotiyeva, "Iz Zhizni V. I. Lenina" [From V. I. Lenin's Life]. Moscow, 1967, p 57). In evaluating the historical lessons drawn from the recent traces of this tragic event, which marked the beginning of the popular revolution in Russia, Vladimir Il'ich wrote: "Let every social democrat and conscious worker remember the greatest tasks in the national struggle which have now fallen on him" (op. cit., vol 9, p 204). Lenin himself immediately assumed the most complex, difficult and responsible tasks. The same day, at an expanded meeting of the Petersburg RSDWP Committee, he formulated the clearly substantiated positions of the capital's party organization toward the soviet of worker deputies, which had been created for the first time, and read out the article he had written on his way to Russia, "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Worker Deputies." One of the participants in this meeting recalls that "this terminated the arguments among us, for the power of the proof cited by Vladimir Il'ich was insurmountable" ((1), p 142). Each stage and twist in the revolution were clearly indicated by its leader and profoundly interpreted in his works.

In the 2 years of the first people's revolution in Petersburg, Lenin had a legal status for a total of 3 days only. He lived in 21 different places and wherever he stayed for a longer period of time became the center of gravity of party and proletarian forces and the headquarters of the revolution. Despite the difficulty of leading a clandestine life, he was able to address 15 mass meetings, mainly of workers, 13 sessions of citywide conferences of the Petersburg RSDWP organization, more than 20 city party meetings and 12 meetings of rayon and factory-plant organizations in the city (see *ibid.*, pp 7-8). Subsequently, it was precisely such contacts with the working masses at that time that Lenin considered as some of the most memorable events in his life, which had given him tremendous satisfaction (see *ibid.*, pp 168-169). The books we mentioned enable the reader to gain a clear idea of Lenin's comprehensive activities between 1905 and 1907, on a strictly documented basis.

Almost 10 years of "accursed distance"--life as an expatriate--separate the second from the third periods of V. I. Lenin's revolutionary work in Petersburg-Petrograd. At the well-known meeting at the Finland station, on 3 April

1917, tens of thousands of workers from the different parts of the capital and revolutionary soldiers and sailors had the opportunity openly to welcome their leader. It was on the square in front of the station, as one of its participants recalls, that "we heard the long-awaited Lenin's words of peace, bread and land. Lenin called us to socialist revolution" (ibid., p 256). In the course of 3 months of legal life and activities between April and June 1917, Vladimir Il'ich addressed 23 mass meetings of workers and soldiers. Between 12 and 17 May alone thousands of workers of the Putilov, Admiralteyskiy, Obukhovskiy and Trubochnyy plants and the main railroad car workshops of the Nikolayev railroad heard Lenin's speeches on the current situation and the tasks of the proletariat. Forced subsequently into clandestinity, he continued his tremendous efforts in the preparations for the Great October Revolution. The intensity of these efforts can be judged also on the basis of a seemingly purely external fact: almost one-third of the 430 pages of (1), which cover 5.5 years of the leader's revolutionary activities, cover a 7-month period alone (from April to October) in 1917. The memory of these days of Lenin's life and struggle is retained in 66 different sites in the city and its environs.

The "Smolnyy period" is the fourth major stage of Lenin's activities in the city which was subsequently named after him. These were 124 days of heroic struggle waged by the party, the proletariat and the revolutionary masses for the consolidation of the soviet system and against the interventionists, the White Guards and world reaction; these were the first months in Lenin's life at the helm of the ruling bolshevik party and as the head of the Soviet government. We know the inhuman stress of forces which all this work required. Nevertheless, the summation of the data cited in the book (1) is striking. In Smolnyy Lenin chaired 77 Sovnarkom sessions, headed 26 party central committee sessions and conferences and participated in 17 sessions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and its presidium and in the preparations for the second and third All-Russian Congresses of Soviets and the Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies and the Seventh Party Congress. During that time the Sovnarkom chairman wrote more than 110 articles, draft decrees, resolutions and answers to questions; he drafted 120 letters, telegrams and notes, edited more than 40 state decrees and documents and delivered more than 70 reports and speeches. His activities within that short period of time are reflected in nearly 350 documents.

Toward the end of December 1917 the Sovnarkom resolved that the extremely overtired Vladimir Il'ich would be granted a short leave. The 4 days of "rest" spent at the Khalila sanatorium on the Karelian Isthmus (24-27 December) were also a period of intensive work. During that time Lenin wrote the draft for "From the Diary of a Publicist. Topics for Development" and the articles "Those Who Fear the Collapse of the Old and Those Who Struggle for the New," "How To Organize the Competition?" and "Draft Decree on Consumer Communes." Afterwards, once again he plunged into the heart of the work and the center of the proletarian masses.

An exciting event took place during the last visit to Petrograd by the party leader and head of Soviet government, on 19 July 1920, for the opening of the Second Congress of the Communist International, in the Taurid Palace. "V. I.



Lenin saw from the presidium the old Peter worker--the revolutionary V. A. Shelgunov, who by then had become totally blind. Vladimir Il'ich quickly went into the hall and stepped toward his student and fellow worker whom he knew from the time of the very first Marxist circles and the "Alliance for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class." Lenin and Shelgunov embraced and kissed. "It seemed to me," recalls Congress Delegate I. Ol'brakht, "that not a word passed between them. Nevertheless, this was a beautiful and vivid act of humaneness" ((1), p 288).

This scene contains a profound symbolism: the party leader and the old worker-revolutionary needed no words to understand one another. It could also serve as an epigraph for the collective monograph (3). This work is the first serious effort to describe on the basis of extensive factual data Lenin's comprehensive activities as theoretician, organizer of the masses and propagandist and agitator, directly related to the revolutionary movement of the Petersburg proletariat.

"The Peter workers," Lenin wrote, "are a small percentage of the Russian workers. However, they are among the best, most progressive, most conscientious, most revolutionary, most firm people, the least influenced by meaningless phraseology, weak-willed despair and the efforts of the bourgeoisie to frighten the detachments of the working class and all working people in Russia" (op. cit., vol 36, p 361).

By taking this feature as one of the methodological foundations of their study, the authors resolve the problem by analyzing two of its main aspects combined. First, by studying the nature of Lenin's direct influence on the life and activities of workers in Petersburg-Petrograd and the bolshevik organization which represented them. Second, by describing the significance of the revolutionary experience of the Peter proletariat as one of the foundations for Il'ich's research and theoretical thinking and elaboration of a number of important political and organizational ideas which enriched Marxist doctrine. The first aspect of the problem has been quite extensively covered in various publications.\* The second requires a more profound study. One of the principal merits of this work is its clear and convincing description of the extent and the nature of specific daily contacts between Lenin and Petersburg workers which enabled him to develop the most important problems of the strategy and tactics of the proletarian party of a new type.

The work which the authors of this book have done on systematizing facts, events and data characterizing the close ties which Lenin maintained with the workers of Petersburg-Petrograd over a long period of time deserves special mention. As early as 1910, in an obituary for I. V. Babushkin, a Petersburg

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\* See, for example, "Istoriya Rabochikh Leningrada" [History of the Workers of Leningrad], in two volumes, Leningrad, 1972; "Rabochiye Leningrada, 1703-1975 gg." [The Workers of Leningrad, 1703-1975], brief historical outline, Leningrad, 1975; "Ocherki Istории Leningradskoy Organizatsii KPSS" [Essays on the History of the Leningrad CPSU Organization], in three volumes, Leningrad, 1980, and others.

revolutionary worker; Lenin angrily wrote about the enemies of the proletariat and its party, who "fabricated and are disseminating the fable that the Russian Social Democratic Worker Party is a party of 'intellectuals,' that the workers are alienated from it and that the Russian workers are social democrats without a social democracy..." (op. cit., vol 20, p 81). The contemporary bourgeois-"Sovietologists" and all kinds of falsifiers of CPSU history and policy spare no efforts to restore this old lie which has long been refuted by historical facts. The book (3) is one more strike at the falsifiers. It describes in detail and specifically, with the use of new archive data, the way the proletarian nucleus within the Bolshevik Party grew and strengthened and the strengthening of its ties with the proletarian masses. In October 1917, the authors state in their summation, most of the workers at all of the 80 largest enterprises in the capital (which employed approximately 340,000 people) were supporting the bolsheviks (see p 240). This is fully confirmed by the conclusion which Lenin drew on 1 November 1917 to the effect that "most of the workers are for us...." (op. cit., vol 35, p 43).

In this connection the addenda are of some interest. One of them includes a list of 166 Petersburg workers who were taught by Lenin in study circles and who met with him at party congresses, conferences, Central Committee meetings and meetings of the Petersburg and rayon committees, at newspaper editorial boards and in safe houses. Another is an indicator of recollections written by Petersburg workers about the leader of the revolution, about 200 of them. However, even these carefully compiled addenda account for only a small part of the party's proletarian forces, only those described by Lenin as members of the "old party guard of Petersburg" (op. cit., vol 54, p 24). It was precisely they, the progressive workers of Petrograd and the entire country, who assumed the main burden of the revolutionary struggle, the strengthening of the soviet system and the struggle against the counterrevolution in the civil war. In the conversion to peacetime construction, the progressive Petrograd workers initiated movements for enhancing labor productivity and strengthening labor discipline. The Petersburg proletariat exerted a great ideological influence on the toiling masses in the republic. "...The most conscientious workers in Russia," Lenin pointed out, "are those of Peter" (op. cit., vol 36, p 521).

The book (3), which describes the main lines along which Lenin and his party fellow workers influenced the establishment and development of the revolutionary consciousness of the Petersburg proletariat and the features, means of influence and unique class experience of this progressive detachment of Russian workers in shaping the theory, strategy and tactics of the Leninist party, is a substantial contribution to scientific Leniniana.

The successes achieved in contemporary Leninist studies are the result of the joint efforts of the representatives of all social sciences. Historians play an important part in the study of Lenin's creative legacy. It is above all thanks to their efforts that scientific publications acknowledged throughout the world were prepared and published, such as V. I. Lenin's "Complete Collected Works" in 55 volumes and the 12-volume "Biographical Chronicle." They encompass all more significant achievements in the field of Leniniana in the

course of decades of progress and have become its qualitatively new stage and standard of high scientific quality.

However, as is always the case in science, the solution of some problems raises other more difficult ones. Today the study of historical sources plays a major role in the implementation of topical tasks in Leninist studies. In this area the efforts of source students are concentrated in three main areas. First, the search for new Leninist documents. This is becoming increasingly difficult with every passing year. Hence the need to find new and efficient directions, means and methods of searching, making them even more systematic and purposeful. Second, problems of the further development and advancement of the archaeography of Lenin's works and the principles governing their publication on the most contemporary level. Progress can be achieved here only by creatively interpreting all of the very rich experience acquired in the publication of Leninist works. This is clearly confirmed by the publication of the "Leninist Collections" Nos 38 and 39 (Moscow, 1975, 1980). The third and last and most important task in historical Leninist studies is to improve the method for the study of sources of Leninist works. Today this problem is being resolved above all on the basis of the unraveling of new "secrets" of Lenin's creative laboratory, the interpretation of previously unknown circumstances under which Lenin created his works, the study of problems related to their text, the identification of the range of sources which constituted the empirical foundation of Lenin's conclusions and summations, etc. All of this combined enables us to penetrate deep within Lenin's thoughts and to master new aspects of his ideological legacy, which is the effective theoretical and ideological party weapon used in resolving topical problems of improving developed socialism.

The book (2) legitimately considers as practical the answer which Leningrad historians give to objective problems confronting the study of sources. Despite the variety of topics covered by the individual articles in the collection and the specific research approaches, the overall trend is obvious. The researchers make an effort to analyze existing problems of the heuristics of the study of sources--identifying Lenin's works and determining their archaeographic importance and their importance in the study of sources.

The collection is an instructive example of the development of the principles governing the scientific publication of Lenin's works in the 1920s and 1930s. In particular, the readers are exposed to important facets of the tireless and painstaking work of N. Ye. Burenin, a compiler of Lenin's legacy. One of his articles describes further searches and studies of the private files of Lenin's fellow workers and contemporaries, which is today one of the most important sources of additions to Lenin's legacy. Another article describes the correspondence between Lenin and the editors of ISKRA and ZARYA, on the one hand, and Petersburg correspondents, on the other (1900-1903), as a source of new information and facts related to the leaders' biography. An article on the tremendous amount of research involved in restoring Lenin's office in Smolnyy will be of unquestionable interest to specialists (including museum workers) and the readership at large.

The books under review published in Leningrad clearly prove that the personnel of the Party History Institute of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, a branch

of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, which has rallied around itself substantial specialist forces, is engaged in intensive and fruitful research in the field of scientific Leniniana. Enthusiast researchers and organizers T. P. Bondarevskaya, A. Ya. Velikanova, Z. S. Mironchenkova, F. M. Suslova and others have made a great contribution to the publication of these works.

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree calls for the skillful and creative "dissemination of the fundamental values of socialism." Lenin's ideas and accomplishments and the great example of the life of the founder and leader of the communist party and Soviet state occupy one of the most honorable positions in the arsenal of real spiritual values of the developed socialist society.

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## REPORT ON THE ROAD OF THE GENIUS OF THE REVOLUTION

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[Review by A. Fedorin of the following motion picture series for television:  
A. "I Call Upon the Living" (1); "Home" (2); "Hard Times" (3). B. "In His  
17 Years" (1); "Encounter" (2); "Maturity" (3)]

[Text] Whenever art turns to the Leninist topic, providing, naturally, that this gives an impetus to the active development of Leniniana, such an act becomes a real event in creative life. Fruitful studies conducted in such an important area of creative efforts broaden our knowledge of the personality and fate of the greatest revolutionary of the 20th century and help us to bring to the minds and hearts of the people extensive social data and to see more clearly the laws governing the historical process and the social future of the world.

Contemporary art knows of no other consistent, curious and anxious application of creative efforts as the steady enrichment of artistic Leniniana. All of its genres and forms without exception have made worthy contributions to the interpretation of the phenomenon of Lenin's genius.

Generations of Soviet artists have taken a real course in civic- and party-mindedness while working on the immortal character of the great leader. Let us recall, for example, the truly innovative contribution of cinematography to the development of this topic. In the 1930s this was greatly helped by the creative daring of the then still very young art of the motion picture. Here everything was new: The unique specifics of recreating the world in its real forms, the inordinately daring idea of recreating the person of V. I. Lenin on the screen and the striking harmony between artistic objectives and the overall atmosphere of life.

The movies "Lenin in October," "Lenin in 1918" and "Man With a Weapon," which were made at that time, enriched the social awareness of the working people and depicted the awakening of the people's masses to active revolutionary efforts. Several generations of Soviet people were raised with these pioneering masterpieces. Still today, as part of the gold stock of Soviet and world cinematography, these films are part of the active arsenal of means for the political education of the masses.

Television, with its unique possibility of entering every home and with its still largely undiscovered potential, became the next stage in the artistic mastery of the Leninist topic.

Television Leniniana is developing under new historical conditions. Its creators are the present generations of masters, and it is entirely natural that all of this is reflected in the nature of the research, conceptualization and structure of the works which are being created. The televiwers have already had the opportunity to see an initial attempt at interpreting the facts and events contained in the 12-volume work "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya Khronika" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle], which was published by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism: The television serial entitled "V. I. Lenin. Pages From His Life."

The opening "Simbirsk Trilogy" (directed by V. Lisakovich, script by Ye. Yakovlev, cameraman A. Berkovich and stage designers P. Prorokov and V. Sedov (A), which was telecast by the Central Television in April 1983, covers the first 17 years of Lenin's life. The three subsequent films shown under the overall title "The Once Chosen Path" (B) (first telecast in November) narrate events between 1887 and 1893. This covers no more than a few dozen pages of a single volume of the Biographic Chronicle. Clearly, the authors are at the very beginning of a unique major project. At this point it would be difficult to even guess the number of movies which will be filmed. The assumption is that over a number of years the television will produce films which will trace the great Odyssey of Lenin's life year by year and fact by fact. What is important, however, is not only the size of this artistic research. The main thing is to reach the level of a true understanding of the scale of the personality of the leader of the world's proletariat. In this case nothing could be more authoritative than the facts of Lenin's life themselves. At the very start of the film, the authors clearly formulate their objectives in beginning their work on "Pages From His Life:"

-- To see Lenin not only in the light of his accomplishments but on his way to them, to see him as he was, as close to the truth as possible;

-- To look at Lenin's life through contemporary eyes. In understanding the leader better to understand ourselves, our time and the sources of our successes and failures.

The implementation of such tasks required the solution of many ideological-aesthetic and artistic problems of broader significance. As we know, the creative problems relative to artistic documentaries are undergoing a steady process of renovation and enrichment. Their methodological substantiation is found in the understanding of Lenin's theory of reflection, according to which reflection "is not a simple and direct mirror-frozen act but a complex, divided and meandering process which includes the possibility of a flight of fantasy away from life" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 29, p 330). The very idea of turning precisely to Lenin's Biographical Chronicle, which was compiled on such a highly prestigious level, which triggered in the postwar decades a steam of documentary works of art and led to a serious discussion of the dramatic nature of facts, the aesthetics of documents and the moral problems of combining reality with fiction.

Lenin's Biographical Chronicle contains truly dramatic material. This greatly predetermines the great potential of its artistic character interpretation. However, in order to realize it on the screen, in addition to translating the printed word into the language of cinematography the authors had to develop their original approach to the creative mastery of the material. "Could it be that in order to create art (as such) where sources and facts are available all the writer would have to do would be to reproduce these facts as truthfully as possible?" V. G. Belinskiy asked and immediately answered: "The point, however, is that the accurate reproduction of facts is impossible with erudition alone. Imagination is needed as well. The historical facts provided by the sources are no more than stones and bricks; the artist alone can erect a fine building from such material" (V. G. Belinskiy, "Sobr. Soch." [Selected Works]. In nine volumes. Vol 8, Moscow, 1982, p 372).

In recent years documentary art has resorted to a great variety of means for reconstructing the past and filling in gaps caused by seemingly irretrievably lost segments of lives, destinies or events. We saw the success of the multiple-series epic "The Great Patriotic War"; the country's history came alive, year after year, in "Our Biography" on the television screen. These works, however, were based on preserved movie and television materials, something which is unquestionably a privilege of the 20th century. Documentary testimony which has reached us from the 19th century includes a wealth of material culture, very modest stocks of photographs and individual works of painters and draftsmen of that time.

The complexity of the tasks confronting the creative collective of cinematographers also dictated the choice of the means for their implementation. "Pages From His Life" reflects the intensive search for documentary artistic means of expression conducted in recent years, which has allowed the authors to implement their concept most fully. What is noteworthy is a bold combination of specific historical analysis with a depiction of its dramatic base. This principle runs through the already made pictures and it would be desirable to see its creative development in the future. The refraction of the tempestuous events of the time through human destinies enables us to recreate the complex picture of Russian history, so typical of the 1860s-1870s.

The first film (1) depicts the social conditions in Russia before Lenin's birth. It shows us the atmosphere of the times and presents the social factors which were actively to influence the shaping of Vladimir Il'ich's personality later on.

The dramatic aspect of the television serial shows the aspiration of the authors to analyze profoundly the most significant facts. Without disturbing the chronological sequence, which they preserve as the pivot of the story, they strive for broad summations and imagery in the material and in its essence. It is as though the makers of the film invite the viewers to join them in entering the complex world of facts, remembering Gorkiy's words that "each fact is a synthesis of a series of premises, a knot which binds together hundreds of threads, the quintessence of many drops of the juice of the nerves, the blood of the heart and the tears of despair" (M. Gorkiy, "Sobr. Soch." In 30 volumes. Vol 23, Moscow, 1953, p 186).

Considering the limited nature of graphic sources and the abundance of texts, the authors decided to use theater and movie actors in the documentary. From the very start we are presented with "rules of the game" according to which the actors only act on behalf of the characters, presenting their thoughts and shaping their "inner nature." With such a minimum of external plasticity, it is as though playacting becomes marginal. Yet it is precisely "as though," because the actors perform within a specific set, communicate among themselves and with the audience and try to present to it the authors' text, their understanding of the material and their inner attitude toward it. Something like a documentary show is born in front of our eyes, which because of the strict manner in which the authors follow the facts, does not "undocument" the material but helps us to penetrate inside the facts, emphasizing their veracity. The camera carefully informs us as to who is who. Subsequently we begin to realize by ourselves that Nikolay Gubenko speaks for Vladimir Il'ich, Lyudmila Chursina for Mariya Aleksandrovna, Yuriy Bogatyrev for Il'ya Nikolayevich, Dmitriy Brusnikin for Aleksandr Il'ich and Inna Alenikova for Anna Il'inichna. It is thus that every member of the Ilyanov family acquires a voice. The documentary "Pages From the Life" includes actors playing N. K. Krupskaya (V. Svetlova), A. I. Herten (G. Korotkov), N. G. Chernyshevskiy (Ye. Kindinov), D. V. Karakozov (A. Sayko) and many others. We see on the screen an entire galaxy of outstanding 19th-century personalities.

Soon, however, one begins to realize that the use of the actors is not self-seeking. Their presence is needed not only for emotionally framing the facts but for a more thorough penetration into their essence. The result resembles a report from the past in the course of which involvement with historical data triggers an emotional reaction in the present. With our thoughts and feelings we move into another time, as though participating in old events. Let us note once again this "as though," for this is not a perfectly ordinary report: The events and their interpretation cover an entire century in the course of which history frequently contributed its assessments of the true nature of events. We witness the birth of an event and we know the way it was refracted through the destiny of entire generations. This enables us to assess its true scale with sounder reasons. A flood of information comes down on us with the very first pictures, and had the authors ignored its artistic representation, images and perceptions would have inevitably broken down. In the best sections of the film direct conversation, addresses from the screen, individual sentences, replicas, remarks and communication among the actors, added to the realistic sets, gradually create a feeling of unity. It is as though we are present at the meeting of old like-minded friends convinced of the justice of their cause. We hear, from behind the screen, the voice of the narrator, who plays a very important part in the film.

The voice of Aleksey Batalov, with its unique timber and rich gammut of intonations brings and holds together the various segments of the film and the different time periods, helping to blend this disparate material into an integral work.

Naturally, not all scenes and even not every picture in such a comprehensive screen story can be a full success. We feel that sometimes thoughts are not being developed or supported by actions and events. It is at such times that we become particularly aware of the authors' enthusiasm and an overburdening



text to the detriment of the graphic possibilities of the film. Such overburdening, although deliberate, is nevertheless undesirable. Occasionally one would like to dwell on interesting materials, to think alongside the makers of the picture and to imbue oneself with the atmosphere of the period. Instead, one is urged to hurry on to new facts and events.

Although the picture is thoroughly backed by documents and testimony, it would have been useful with the help of a few examples to acquaint the audience with the nature of some interesting sources: To leaf through investigation documents, to see close-ups of various reports, etc. Anyone who has worked with such materials is familiar with the excitement of being close to original documents of the past. Such feelings should be shared with the audience.

As we know, it is difficult to combine and blend together the various parts of documentary materials, because of their specific nature, difficulty of interpretation and tendency to preserve their essence, to be true to themselves. In writing his "Past and Thoughts," A. Herten complained of the fragmentary nature of some stories and pictures and the lack of external unity in them: "I am totally unable to blend them together, and filling in the gaps could easily change the background of the whole thing and cast it in a different light, at which point the truth as it was then is lost (A. I. Herten, "Sobr. Soch." In 30 volumes. Vol 10, Moscow, 1956, p 9).

Herten noticed a very important contradiction in documentary art: The truth becomes more important in a work in which fiction is unsuitable and facts are a reality. This truth resides in the unity of thought, in the overall concept of the work. It is good that in the course of the heated discussions of the 1960s-1970s our documentary art was able to defend its artistic and aesthetic principles against formal and excessive "guardianship" of documents, on the one hand, and an unnecessary "game playing" which could only discredit documentary genres, on the other.

Contemporary theoretical training helps the artist to master reality more freely and comprehensively with the help of the graphic arts. Successful use is being made of the "mental montage" in which the ideas of the character, dispersed among articles, notes, diaries and letters, become structured in the form of a monologue without distorting their essence and initial meaning or violating the chronological sequence.

The film (A, 1) is based on the clash of ideas and concepts of the revolutionaries and educators of the 1860s-1870s on the nature of the 1861 peasant reform and Russia's historical path and destiny. A debate is taking place in KOLOKOL between Herten and the author of letters signed "A Russian Person." The thoughts of I. N. Ul'yanov and the assessment of the class nature of the peasant reform, which Lenin made half a century later, are presented.

"Naturally," the film's authors say, "despite the nature of the times one could conceive of such an exchange of views between a father and a son and between members of different generations. However, such a debate has no conclusion. Time and life alone can resolve it."

Later on the authors resolve its themselves by submitting historical data on the argument's resolution. A vast portrait of the spiritual development of society and the dynamics of revolutionary thinking refracted through Russian reality is painted.

In "Pages From the Life" the overall concept is based on the separate films which, in turn, are complete in themselves. Whereas the first picture introduces us to the social environment of the the 1860s-1870s, the other two (A, 2 and 3) focus out attention directly on the Ul'yanov family. The strictly limited dimensions of the films prevent the authors from penetrating deeper into the characters of the individual family members. However, their fates and the inner family world and its dramatic conflicts are recreated in an exciting and accurate manner. The authors convincingly depict the way the Ul'yanov family, the young generation in particular, literally became imbued with the most progressive educational and revolutionary-democratic ideas of its time and the extent to which this was assisted by the adults. It is perhaps this which answers the most important question which inevitably arises when we study the history of the Ul'yanov family: Why did all its children subsequently become revolutionaries? The film proves that the spiritual and ethical atmosphere within the family developed both as a result of external factors and the influence of Il'ya Nikolayevich's dedicated activities and his close involvement with the education of the people as well as the amazing character of Mariya Aleksandrovna, who always defended and supported her children along their difficult path of revolutionaries of a new type.

The names of Herten, Belinskiy, Dobrolyubov, Pisarev and Chernyshevskiy and their works were well known in the Ul'yanov family. The family also knew and loved Russian 19th-century poetry with its civic and publicistic passion which was inseparable from the sociopolitical thinking of the period. However, it is one thing to know such things from books and something entirely different to imagine Il'ya Nikolayevich singing his favorite song with lyrics by Pleshcheyev, and to hear it from the screen:

Our feelings make us brothers, you and I,  
We both believe in redemption,  
And to the grave we'll hate  
The scourges of our native land.

This was the same poet whose poem "Forward! To feats, my valorous friends, without fear and doubt!" had become the real anthem of the progressive and revolutionary-minded people in Russia.

Emotional saturation, graphic summation and artistic vision are the arguments of art which enrich the dispassionate facts of the chronicle of life. The creative amalgamation of scientific objectivity and the authors' artistic colors help us to better see and understand the circumstances in which the social self-awareness of the Russian people was taking shape.

The film makers recreate isolated facts and even entire events on the basis of some testimony or assumption. This has resulted in the scene of the discussion between the father and Aleksandr, the eldest son, shortly before the tragic events of 1887. Lenin's life chronicle has been strictly documented, and

any attempt made in the film at filling a possible gap is specifically stipulated. For example, in showing the talk between Vladimir Ul'yanov, a student at Kazan University and a fellow-student and member of the clandestine student circle, the authors advise us that it is based "only on scant recollections and secret police administration reports." In this case we no longer accept this conversation as a document and are entitled to interpret it differently. The caution with which this method can be used is understandable, but something else is no less important: To judge of the whole by its parts is one of the means of expression in all types and genres of art. The authors should not avoid attempts to recreate more completely important and crucial events on the grounds that proof is scant.

The film (B, 1) in the trilogy "The Once Chosen Path" deals mainly with the student rally at Kazan University in December 1887 and Vladimir Ul'yanov's participation in it. The events are presented indirectly. The rally is described with a combination of sounds, a saturation of emotional speeches, the voices of protesting students, sounds of running and the sight of the assembly hall and the halls of Kazan University. The student rally is not staged, but the reasons which motivated its participants on that day and their thoughts and feelings are depicted quite extensively. This follows the main creative principle of the television serial -- to relate the dynamics of thoughts and the clash of ideas and political concepts, i.e., not only the events themselves, but their reflection in the minds and social activities of the people.

We would like to point out that the authors' research would have benefited had they developed the topics more extensively. They repeatedly use as starting points, in describing what Lenin remembered and thought about during the last years of his life photographs of him, sitting on a bench in Gorkiy and behind his desk in his office in the Kremlin and pictures of the celebration of the first anniversary of the October Revolution on Red Square.

But let us ask ourselves the following question: "Is it correct in general to use in the film a motif such as Lenin's recollections when we know that no such recollections actually exist?"

The convention as used in "Simbirsk Trilogy" of Lenin remembering the past is, in my view justifiable. The photograph of Vladimir Il'ich seated on a bench in a park was taken at the beginning of August 1922, i.e., at a time when he was recovering in Gorkiy, before he was burdened with daily Sovnarkom affairs. Vladimir Il'ich's appearance and his state of mind, sensitively captured by the camera, justify this assumption. However, the same method is used in the trilogy which follows. In this case the recollections deal with the stressed period of October 1918, when Lenin was forced to resume work before he had fully recovered from his wound. His working time, as confirmed by the Biographical Chronicle, was extremely packed. Did he feel at that time like reminiscing? We believe that in this case the authors fault logic and that the method itself is somewhat far-fetched.

The material in the film is highly compressed: Events, facts, dialogues and portrait sketches yield to landscapes of Russia and pictures of Simbirsk, Samara, Kazan, Petersburg and Moscow. We see endless snow-covered fields and a lonely sled, the amazingly beautiful environs of Kokushkino in summer, the

alleys of the park in Gorkiy in the autumn and an ice breaker on the river, all of them harbingers of future changes... Naturally, however, in the film the Volga occupies the main place among the pictures of nature in Russia. The spacious river is lovingly depicted at sunset and at dawn. We see the river in winter, ice-bound, and in the hot summer with steamships and boats plying its waters. The meadows along its banks and Stepan Razin's cliffs all come alive in the film along with the film's characters in creating the image of the great Russian river and Lenin's native land. This is followed by original documents of investigations, reports, indictments and petitions, old newspapers, photographs, collages, the cells of the Shlisselburg Fortress and the Petropavlovsk jail. This combined testimony paints the extensive documentary picture which covers a great deal of the features of the prerevolutionary period of the end of the 19th century. The main feature which brings together such heterogenous data is the unified approach toward it taken by the authors.

It is easy to see changes in the attitude of the makers, the director above all, from one film to another. The earlier cycles "To Lenin in the Kremlin" and "Petrograd. October 1917" were stages on the way to "Pages From the Life" and a more profound and thoughtful interpretation of the facts of Lenin's biography. In the last work the authors captivate the audience with the sincere tonality of the story, the absence of false emotionality and a special intimacy. "Pages From the Life" is a fruitful effort to combine the means of television, motion picture and theater. Their synthesis created a special alloy which has helped us to penetrate deeper within the most essential layers of the material.

Therefore, this marks the beginning of the systematic artistic-documentary recreation on the television screen of the great life of the leader of our party, organizer of the October Socialist Revolution and perpetuator of the immortal Marx and Engels cause. The scale of the authors' creative searches enables them to show the way Russia's social development, brilliantly interpreted by Lenin, brought to the proscenium of political life the forces which were able to turn decisively the course of mankind's history, to trace the tremendous role which Lenin played in the development of the global revolutionary process and to experience the charm of his personality.

Today, in the final stage of the 20th century, when numerous attempts are undertaken to interpret this century to suit the interests of a great variety of political forces, the interpretation of Lenin's biographical chronicle, so vividly embodied in the very first movies of "Pages From the Life" offers us convincing arguments for the ideological struggle and the confidence that the continuation of artistic Leniniana will help to instill in the minds of millions of people the true meaning and significance of the present and future revolutionary renovation of the world.

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## DUTY TO THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Apr 84)  
pp 123-126

[Review by R. Vid, KOMMUNIST Department of Letters and Mass Work editor, of the book "V. I. Lenin, KPSS o Rabote s Pis'mami Trudyashchikhsya" [V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on Work With Letters From Working People]. Edited by B. P. Yakovlev. Compiled by B. K. Alekseyev and M. N. Perfil'yev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 318 pp]

[Text] Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, noted in his speech at the April 1984 Central Committee Plenum that many of the letters which the working people sent to the Central Committee, the press and the soviets on all levels raise major problems of our life, affecting the people.

Under the conditions of enhanced socialist consciousness and activeness of the working people, the broadening of their rights and the increased requirements with which the management bodies are faced in their work with the letters and verbal addresses of citizens to various bodies, it became necessary to systematize and publish Lenin's legacy and the documents issued by the CPSU on this subject. This is the topic of the collection under review.

The materials it contains emphasize that the letter sent by the Soviet people are extensively used in formulating and resolving the vital problems of our society. They define the conditions which allow the masses to exercise their rights and describe the practically proven scientific concept of work with letters. V. I. Lenin's works and the CPSU documents reflect the role of such work in educating and preparing the masses for the exercise of their constitutional right to address themselves to management bodies, the formulation and implementation of the political and organizational principles governing the response to suggestions, statements and complaints and the struggle against bureaucratism, red tape and other similar nonsocialist phenomena within the governmental and party apparatus.

The collection comprehensively interprets the importance of letters as a channel for live ties between party, state and public bodies and the broad popular masses and as one of the manifestations of direct democracy in the socialist society. Lenin and our party teach us to approach them with consideration and responsiveness, remembering that most of these letters are

dictated mainly and above all by the vital needs of individuals and labor collectives and a sincere concern expressed by the people for observing the principles and norms of socialist community life.

It would be impossible to overestimate the fruitfulness of the constitutional right of individual Soviet citizens of submitting to state bodies and public organizations suggestions aimed at improving their activities and criticizing shortcomings in the work, and the duty of officials to consider within the stipulated periods of time the suggestions and petitions of citizens, to answer them and to take the necessary steps.

Finally, such letters are a source of information stemming directly from the people as well as an indicator of Soviet public opinion. Practical experience confirmed Lenin's stipulation that "we can rule only when we accurately express what the people realize" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 112). The working people's letters contain information on meeting their vital needs and opportunities for the manifestation of their abilities and their views, moods, feelings and reactions to topical problems.

Work with letters is based on Lenin's political and organizational principles. The party has been developing and enriching them in the course of decades of building socialism. It aims the apparatus toward ensuring an immediate response to the suggestions and petitions of individual working people and collectives and showing concern for the harmonious combination of the basic interests of society and the individual. In presenting these principles, the collection describes in detail the practical experience of Lenin and the communist party in work with letters as a means of involving the working people in the administration of public affairs. The Central Committee has always urged that all misdemeanors of party members be reported to the control commissions and has asked of all working people to report to state management bodies shortcomings in the work of the apparatus. Naturally, all reports and complaints must be confirmed and aimed at strengthening rather than weakening unity, discipline and order at work and in social life.

This entire work is based on giving the masses comprehensive assistance and on public opinion. In 1924, for example, the 13th party congress stipulated that one of the required qualities of a mass peasant press was to direct all peasant complaints to the soviet authorities and to provide legal assistance to the peasantry. The same year, the October RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum called upon the propaganda organs to heed the feelings of the peasants and to be able to understand their mentality. It was important not to distance oneself from the masses, to anticipate events or to weaken the ties with them.

The party has always shown concern for the maximal satisfaction of the vital needs of the working people, bearing in mind that alienating itself from or weakening relations with them would "painfully strike at the most legitimate interests of the people's masses and become one of the major sources of discontent with the party which will be blamed for the actions of main administrations and centers" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums]. Ninth edition, Moscow, 1983, vol 2, p 302).

The administrative machinery is being steadily improved, particularly in aspects directly related to the population. Officials who display a haughty or contemptuous attitude toward the needs and requirements of the people are held liable along administrative or party lines. Great attention is being paid to making the administrative apparatus accessible to the broad toiling masses. A system for receiving working people during their free time, including imparting information and helping with their written petitions those unable to draft them is being used. An increasing number of people are becoming aware of the fact that sensible complaints are of major importance and yield serious results. Successful Open Letter Days are held, mandatorily attended by high-ranking officials; officials regularly submit practical reports to workers and kolkhoz members. The work of the administrative apparatus is based on giving practical assistance to the working people, considering their addresses without delay and eliminating cases of necessary trips to offices by citizens or giving answers which may be formally accurate but are in fact insulting. The struggle is being intensified against phenomena such as persecution for criticism and complaints, callousness, inaction and negligence relative to petitions, complacency, inertia, concealment behind "objective conditions" and others.

Great attention is being paid to increasing the efficiency of the administrative apparatus. Local progressive experience is studied and summed up. The Leninist instructions are being implemented on the need to adopt a maximally specific approach to the study of practical experience, details and petty matters, deeper study of real-life experience, and analyses of how, where and by whom (through what methods) real even though minor improvements are achieved, exposure of errors or unskillful work, and popularization and dissemination of progressive experience and its use as a model.

Political principles are closely related to organizational requirements which regulate procedures for work with working people's letters. The most important among them were defined by Lenin and developed by the communist party. Essentially they stipulate that any practical suggestion must be offered immediately, without any red tape and most clearly for discussion and resolution by managements and local and central bodies. In order to avoid complaints, any petition or statement must be rapidly processed "in essence, without red tape," and an accurate answer given or immediate implementation undertaken (see op. cit., vol 51, p 94).

As a rule the requirement of involving managers in all work related to letters is being implemented, such as their consideration in essence, instructing that the necessary steps be taken, personal participation in supervision, and familiarity with responses. Personal liability and imposition of penalties for the violation of such rules and for issuing formal replies, etc. are important organizational principles in such work. Great importance is ascribed to informing superior authorities of conflicts, friction and complaints submitted by working people to offices and officials and the help which the center provides to the local areas during investigations and consultations; personal studies conducted at the higher and lower levels of the apparatus, which require, as Lenin said, for the manager to "go to the bottom."

Control is based on observation, study and analysis of the work with letters, making the necessary practical changes and supervising implementation. Lenin included as one of the essential aspects of control surprise audits of citizens' complaints and so-called live ties -- personal dealing with complaints and petitions addressed to individual comrades, who are conscientious and impeccably honest in a communist fashion and who hold quite influential local positions. Control, he wrote, must be provided by leading and experienced individuals, who "are able accurately to formulate questions (a skillful and accurate formulation of a problem can predetermine the success of an audit and makes corrections possible), who can direct an audit or an inspection and supervise corrections, etc." (op. cit., vol 44, p 127).

The collection describes problems which have been or are being resolved and means of improving work with letters sent by working people to central or local authorities. Such letters have become a necessary, essential and increasingly influential factor of social development.

Today, as the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted in December 1982, such letters are also proof of the political activeness of the working people and their direct participation in improving the methods of management of the socialist economy as well as instructions issued to party and soviet bodies. This is the reason for emphasizing the fact that every party and soviet official and enterprise and establishment manager must consider work with letters as his duty to the people and the party.

When we refer to letters as factors of social development we naturally mean those aimed at the further progress of our society, which contain substantiated criticism and charges. Letters which contain slanders and intrigues and groundless and unchecked rumors and gossip are alien to our way of life. The principle-minded approach to them has been defined in party documents: "A most harmful phenomenon which corrupts the party" (SPRAVOCHNIK PARTIYNOGO RABOTNIKA, No 5, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926, p 509) "and has no place in our life" ("Materialy XXVI S"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 74). Lenin considered that "the universal condemnation of slanderers" was needed in the struggle against slander (see op. cit., vol 48, p 217).

Anonymous letters are equally alien to the socialist way of life. Based on the fact that the new character of the Soviet person, his outlook and his communist morality are developed in the course of a steady and uncompromising struggle against opposites such as slander and anonymous denunciations, the party makes efforts to eliminate the existence of such letters. The cultural standard of the masses is rising, criticism and self-criticism in labor collectives is being developed and steps are being taken to eliminate violations in the work of the administrative apparatus. However, the administrative authorities must objectively consider anonymous letters which contain specific and factual data which can be checked. Other facts which are taken into consideration include the importance of the information contained in the letters, which may pertain to violations of party and state discipline and persecution for criticism.

Educational work is being done with the authors of letters which mainly display "personal irritation which deprives their authors of the ability to



discuss events from a mass point of view and from the point of view of their actual sequence" (op. cit., vol 38, p 220); and letters which reveal "a bad feeling and contain 'strong words'" (op. cit., vol 52, p 224).

From the very beginning of the building of socialism, the working people in our country have extensively used the right to turn to party, soviet and public bodies. Currently the administrative bodies receive millions of letters, the number of which is increasing with every passing year. The system of nationwide discussions of state plans and major laws has been firmly adopted. At meetings and in their letters the working people are submitting large numbers of suggestions which are considered in making decisions.

Work with working people's letters has gone through various stages which have been reflected in Lenin's legacy and in communist party documents. During the transitional period from capitalism to socialism the attention was focused on the requests of workers and the toiling peasantry. Everything was concentrated on giving priority consideration to their interests and on involving them in management. Subsequently, when class antagonisms had been permanently put to rest, a uniform approach to all statements was adopted, which took equally under consideration the requirements of all classes and social groups and public opinion.

At the present stage greater efforts are being made to improve the system of work with working people's letters. This problem has been considered at all party congresses, starting with the 23rd. The CPSU Central Committee has passed several special decrees on the subject, such as "On Improving the Work in Considering Letters and Organizing the Reception of Working People" (1967); "On Further Improving the Work With Working People's Letters in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" (1976); "On Further Improving the Reception of Citizens by Party, Soviet and Other Organizations" (1979); and "On Measures to Improve Further the Work With the Working People's Letters and Suggestions in the Light of the Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress" (1981). The line followed by the party in this matter is one of comprehensively developing its ties with the masses. In drafting resolutions and in their daily practical work, the administrative bodies direct their attention to taking comprehensively into consideration all suggestions and recommendations and making practical use of all means and methods of work with working people's letters, the usefulness of which has been confirmed.

The existing system of work with letters encourages the development of the creative activeness of all Soviet people and makes it possible to study and consider promptly their multi-million numbers. This system includes new forms of work, such as joint discussions and searching by managers and labor collectives of optimal ways to resolve topical problems and reports submitted by managers to labor collectives and at places of residence, on the one hand, and a precise and strictly regulated procedure governing the receiving, directing, processing, recording, monitoring and filing letters, on the other. A procedure governs the reception of working people, the system of studying addresses and participation in the analytical work of the apparatus, and the organization of the summation and dissemination of positive experience in work with letters.

Further improvements in the work with working people's letters is largely determined by the level of preparedness of the broad masses for submitting substantiated suggestions, petitions and complaints and the struggle against negative phenomena still encountered in the apparatus, such as cases of bureaucratism and red tape. Other relevant problems are skillfully explaining to the citizens their constitutional rights and obligations and the laws relative to the consideration of suggestions, petitions and complaints. The total defeat of bureaucratism is possible only if the entire population becomes involved in administration and attains the necessary level of political and legal knowledge.

For example, the struggle against red tape depends on both officials and private citizens. The 1919 Sovnarkom decree "On Eliminating Red Tape in Soviet Establishments" noted that "...by taking their complaints directly to the center, the citizens...create rather than help to eliminate red tape, for in such cases the center, in accordance with the law and the interests of the state, must conduct investigations in the local areas and this delays the consideration of complaints" ("Dekrety Sovetskoy Vlasti" [Decrees of the Soviet Power], vol VII, Moscow, 1974, p 64). To this day, however, many complaints are addressed directly to the central institutions, bypassing the local ones where they should be dealt with. This is partially explained by the fact that some local authorities display a bureaucratic attitude toward the legitimate petitions of the public. It is important whenever cases of substantiated complaints or reports on troubles cover many instances before ending up with central party or state bodies that those guilty of red tape be punished, according to their guilt, to be sure, but inescapably nevertheless.

As Lenin remarked, red tape may be partially explained by the people's unpreparedness to struggle against administration shortcomings. "The Soviet laws are quite good," he wrote, "because they give everyone the opportunity to struggle against bureaucratism and red tape, an opportunity which no capitalist state offers workers and peasants. But who uses it? Virtually no one!... What obstructs the struggle against this phenomenon? Is it our laws? Our propaganda? To the contrary! There are as many laws as one may wish! Why is this struggle unsuccessful? Because it cannot be waged with propaganda alone..." (op. cit., vol 44, p 171).

Lenin's statement remains relevant to this day. Some central state, economic and social organs and local party, soviet and other organizations are still allowing cases of callous bureaucratic attitude toward legitimate requests and substantiated petitions.

To an equal extent this matter is affected by the level of preparedness of the apparatus and officials for proper work with working people's letters. Throughout the administrative system, public opinion and the suggestions of the working people must firmly be accepted as one of the permanent and essential guidelines in planning activities, drafting and making decisions and controlling their factual implementation. The administrative apparatus cadres impeccably follow the party's political line. They must be intolerant of bureaucratism, red tape and persecution for criticism as phenomena incompatible with our principles. For this reason, Vladimir Il'ich pointed out, along with increasing labor productivity, increasing the amount of products, etc.,

revolutionary steps must be taken in the struggle against abuses and red tape. The apparatus cadres must be linked with the broad toiling masses by common interests, views and actions. They must possess the necessary political standards, knowledge and personal qualities.

The CPSU Central Committee documents relative to working people's letters, which were issued during the 1970s and 1980s, note the still existing major shortcomings in the activities of party, soviet and economic bodies in considering the suggestions, petitions and complaints of the working people. The party is making comprehensive efforts to resolve arising contradictions and to uproot antisocial phenomena. Ideological and organizational work is being improved. Socialist democracy is broadening. This is manifested in the increased participation of the masses in social management, in combining the basic interests of society and the individual and in the objective and attentive consideration of the interests of the people. The ways and means of work with letters are being substantially improved throughout the entire administrative apparatus and the competence and responsibility of managers and officials in considering suggestions, petitions and complaints and improving.

In his meeting with the personnel of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, Comrade K. U. Chernenko once again drew attention to the very great importance of the work with sources of social information, such as the working people's letters and petitions. He said: "The party worker must always remain true to the Leninist tradition of being extremely attentive to the needs and demands of the working people and to prevent even the slightest weakening of the live ties with them."

This collection will give the personnel of party, soviet and economic and public organizations the necessary methodical and practical assistance in work with the addresses submitted by the working people and all Soviet citizens exercising their democratic right of submitting letters and petitions to various authorities and institutions.

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FOLLOWING KOMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS

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pp 127-128

[Answer by V. Yelyutin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, to articles published in KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has adopted the practice of regularly discussing materials published in the periodical press on problems of higher and secondary specialized schools and the public education system as a whole. Press publications on such subjects are discussed at monthly sessions of the ministry's collegium.

Materials published in KOMMUNIST generally create a great deal of interest. They are taken into consideration in the ministry's practical activities. They are studied within the political training system and at classes for upgrading the skills of the personnel of the central apparatus, and used in the formulation of specific measures.

Among the articles studied by the ministry in 1984 particular consideration was given to those published in the section "On the Future of Our School:" The articles "Upbringing in School," by A. Kharchev; "Continuous Education System -- Condition and Prospects," by A. Vladislavlev; "View on the Draft Education Reform", by D. Elkonin; "School Reform: Some Problems of Pedagogical Theory," by Ye. Gassel', N. Pakhomov and V. Severtsev; and the editorial survey "Matter Affecting the Interests of the Entire People." These materials are noteworthy for the close unity of party-mindedness and a scientific approach in their analysis of phenomena and processes in the realm of education and their systematic consideration of acquired experience and the new requirements which the school must meet. They substantiate a broad view on public education, which allows us to interpret more comprehensively its place within the social institutions of the developed socialist society, to determine the ties linking all levels of our schools with the other areas of social practice and to earmark specific steps for the elimination of existing shortcomings, ensuring further improvements in the education and communist upbringing of the new generation and improving its training for work and social life.

The following are of major theoretical, political and practical importance: The concept of education as a specific form of spiritual production; the

concept of continuing education; the idea of a new technology of the training and education process, based on a more consistent consideration of the psychological and pedagogical laws governing the development of the individual; the conclusion drawn in many articles on the conversion to intensive development of public education in the USSR; suggestions relative to the main directions in the development of pedagogical theory, intensified ties between pedagogical research and the schools and fuller utilization in such research of the methodological conclusions stemming from the sociophilosophical Marxist-Leninist doctrine. These as well as other concepts expressed in the journal are particularly important in developing ways to improve the training of pedagogical cadres and the development of scientific research in the field of topical public education problems. In drafting specific measures to assist promptly and qualitatively the efforts aimed at the implementation of the reform in universities, pedagogical VUZs and schools and engineering-pedagogical institutions of learning, the ministry has taken into consideration the materials published in the section "On the Future of Our School." Let us emphasize that the articles published in the journal not only formulate main ideological and political guidelines relative to improving public education but also contain constructive practical recommendations which can be used as a support in defining the main directions in the revision of curriculums and programs on education subjects.

We deem it equally necessary to point out that some of the views expressed in the articles have been criticized by the specialists. This applies to some views expressed in A. Vladislavlev's article, particularly his suggestion of merging VUZs with technical schools, thus turning secondary specialized schools into the primary level of higher education, which would necessitate either a substantial lowering of the level of basic training in the junior grades or abandoning extensive specialization, both of which are the equivalent of eliminating secondary specialized education. The author unjustifiably combines the tasks of the state system for upgrading the skills of leading national economic workers and specialists with adult public education (people's universities). The suggestion of merging the two systems into a single one failed to gain support above all because its implementation at the present stage and in the immediate future could cause tangible harm to both of them. On the one hand, it would scatter state funds and resources allocated for upgrading cadre skills; on the other, such an unjustified unification would narrow the possibility of satisfying the various cultural and educational requirements of the Soviet working people.

The view expressed in Yu. Borisov's article on historically recurrent trends toward universalized education, characteristic of the production system adopted by society and the trends toward its relatively narrow specialization which is predominant in relatively new areas of human activities triggered critical remarks. The actual history of education does not substantiate such a conclusion.

Therefore, the ministry considered these ideas as the author's viewpoint which needs to be refined further with the help of a further scientific discussion.

As a whole, the materials relative to the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft, published in KOMMUNIST, are of considerable value which

go beyond the mere formulation of suggestions relative to the school reform. It would be useful in this connection, it seems to us, to publish a collection of these articles in a separate edition which could become a useful aid in the activities of pedagogical scientists and practical public education workers.

I use this opportunity warmly to congratulate the editors and the collective of the journal KOMMUNIST on the occasion of its 60th birthday, on behalf of the multi-million-strong group of consistent readers -- professors and teachers, university and secondary-school students, post graduate students and workers and employees in higher and secondary specialized schools -- and to wish the editors of the battle organ of our party and its theoretical and political rostrum further creative successes in the enrichment and dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and the further unification of party ranks and the entire Soviet people on the basis of our revolutionary ideology.

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