

SOCIALISM

THEORY AND PRACTICE



MONTHLY DIGEST
OF SOVIET PERIODICALS

L. I. Brezhnev:
For Emancipated Labour
and Lasting Peace

Soviet Peace Programme in Action

70th Anniversary
of the Second Congress
of the RSDLP

Our Course:
Communist Construction

Has the Proletariat Ceased
to Be a Revolutionary Force?

Third World on the Advance

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THE MARXIST DOCTRINE IS OMNIPOTENT BECAUSE IT IS TRUE.

V. I. Lenin

SOCIALISM

THEORY AND PRACTICE

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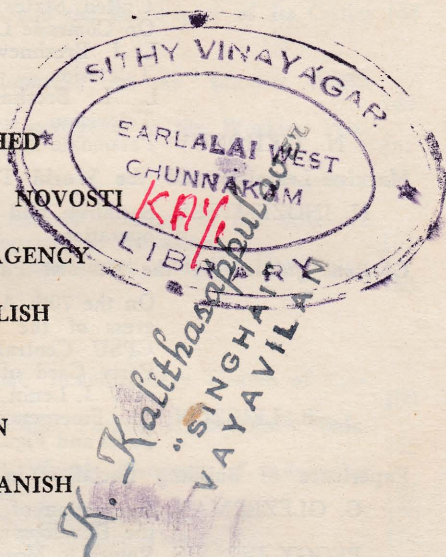
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CONTENTS

From the Editorial Board	5
For Emancipated Labour and Lasting Peace	
L. I. BREZHNEV Speech at the First of May Rally in Moscow	7
Soviet Peace Programme in Action	
On the International Activities of the CPSU Central Committee to Implement the Decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party. Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee	13
On Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Visit to the Federal Republic of Germany	16
On Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Visit to the United States of America	18
On Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Visit to France	23
L. I. Brezhnev's Address on West German Television	24
L. I. Brezhnev's Address on American Television	29
N. TIKHONOV Passionate Fighter	38
Marxism-Leninism and the World Today	
N. INOZEMTSEV Socialism and International Economic Co-operation	41
Glorious Jubilee of the Leninist Party	
On the 70th Anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP. Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee	50
Party Card of the 1973 Issue in the Name of V. I. Lenin	52
B. LEIBZON The Emergence of the Party of a New Type Facts and Figures	59
Experience of Building Socialism in the USSR	
G. GLEZERMAN Interaction of Class and National Factors in the Development of Soviet Society	63
PEGGY DENNIS Return to Moscow	69
USSR: Advanced Socialist Society	
D. USTINOV Leninism Illuminates the Road to Communism	75
Soviet Economy: Its Place in World Production. Facts and Figures	84

World Socialist Community Today and Tomorrow

- D. KLIMOVICH Socialist Economic Integration: Results and Prospects 101
CMEA: Alliance of Equal States. Facts and Figures 104

The Fight for Democracy and Socialism in the Capitalist Countries

- G. DILIGENSKY The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Social Development of the Working Class 113
S. VISHNEVSKY Mr. Meany Can't Stand It 123

National Liberation Movement: Achievements and Prospects

- V. SOLODOVNIKOV Some Aspects of Non-Capitalist Development Third World on the Advance. Facts and Figures 126

Combating Bourgeois Ideology and Revisionism

- K. ZARODOV The Historical Experience of the October Revolution and the Bankruptcy of Its Critics 138

STP Calendar

- An Encyclopaedia of the Marxist World Outlook 149
The First Constitution of the Working People's State 151

Science News

- A. KRUKHMALYOV Topical Questions Relating to the Structure and Development of Socialism 153
N. GAVRILOV, Y. IVANOV, O. MELIKYAN The Soviet Experience and the Developing Countries 156

Views on Books

- A. GROMYKO The Leninist Revolutionary Course of Foreign Policy 159
Y. VOSKRESENSKY How the USSR Became Economically Independent 165
I. ANDREYEV The Third World: Prospects of Advancing to Socialism 167
B. RACHKOV Scourges of "Consumer Society" 170
Periodicals Featured in This Issue 174

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Major Agricultural Problem+Photopanorama of the Ninth Five-Year Plan+The Electric River of Syria+Class Battles in Capitalist Countries+The World as Viewed by Cartoonists+New Books from APN Publishers

Condensed material in the digest is denoted by the letter "C"

Editor-in-Chief: V. TRUBNIKOV

Address of the Editorial Board of STP:
2 Pushkin Square, Moscow, USSR.

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FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

This is the first issue of a new Soviet monthly, *Socialism: Theory and Practice*. It deals with a broad range of problems in the field of social science.

Today, when real socialism has become a major factor in world development, when Marxism-Leninism is the banner of the struggle waged by millions upon millions of peoples for peace, democracy and social progress, it is impossible for us to understand or correctly assess the contemporary historical process and its prospects without considering the growing influence of socialism in all spheres of activity.

Complying with the numerous requests it has received from abroad the Novosti Press Agency has undertaken to publish *Socialism: Theory and Practice* in the English, French, German and Spanish languages. Its purpose is to provide readers with information on current work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union both in the field of theory and in the field of practical activity, and to acquaint them with the research work conducted by Soviet philosophers, economists, sociologists, historians and law experts on pressing domestic and international issues. The magazine will publish party documents, statements by CPSU leaders, and articles and reports taken from the Soviet press dealing with problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the progress of communist construction in the USSR, the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy and socialism, and the ideological struggle on the international scene.

Soviet socialist society, being the first society in the world to direct all aspects of its activity in a planned manner, and its vanguard, the Communist Party, attach prime importance to the further elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory, to the need to analyze and comprehend on its basis urgent questions concerning developments in the USSR and world developments.

"Theoretical work," said L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in his report to the

24th Party Congress in 1971, "is a major element of our common internationalist, revolutionary duty. The struggle between the forces of capitalism and socialism on the world scene and the attempts of revisionists of all hues to emasculate the revolutionary teaching and distort the practice of socialist and communist construction require that we continue to pay undivided attention to the problems and creative development of theory".

It is a foremost task of *Socialism: Theory and Practice* to serve as a mirror of the Soviet press dealing with Marxist-Leninist theory and politics. It will try to enable the reader to feel the pulse of the multifaceted world of real socialism by discussing the successes achieved and the problems encountered in the building of a new society. It will also give Soviet views on the key world problems, and report on the development of social sciences in the USSR.

The goals that the magazine has set itself are at once ambitious and challenging, for publishing in the Soviet Union is a vast undertaking. Each year, large numbers of books come off the press in huge editions; there are thousands of newspapers and hundreds of various kinds of magazines including both scholarly journals and those intended for the broad public; numerous scientific conferences and symposiums are held; and thousands of monographs on a wide variety of subjects are published. Obviously, our magazine will have to limit the range of material to be included in each issue. In order to give as full a coverage as possible, *Socialism: Theory and Practice* will publish chiefly condensed versions of articles taken from the Soviet press dealing with Marxist-Leninist theory and politics. Hence the form of our magazine, which is that of a digest.

The Editorial Board of *Socialism: Theory and Practice* is fully aware of its responsibility before the reader. The success of a magazine depends to a large extent on the close cooperation and continuous exchange of views between its editors and its readers. The Letters from Readers section will promote such an exchange. The Editorial Board has great hopes that readers will contribute to the success of *Socialism: Theory and Practice* by suggesting themes for discussion and giving their opinions on the published material. Any suggestions or recommendations or critical comments will be carefully studied by its editors and, of course, they will be greatly appreciated.

The Editorial Board

FOR EMANCIPATED LABOUR AND LASTING PEACE

Speech by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the First of May Rally in Red Square in Moscow

Dear comrades,

Dear Muscovites and guests of Moscow,

Dear friends,

We have again gathered here beneath the red stars of the Kremlin to celebrate May Day, the day of brotherhood and militant unity of the working people of all countries, the spring holiday, the holiday of labour and peace.

From the beginning of time the emancipation of labour and lasting peace have been the ideal of all peoples. We Soviet people are legitimately proud that the emancipation of labour was started on our soil in the days of the Great October Revolution and our country has firmly held high the banner of lasting peace and friendship of all the peoples of the earth for 55 years.

Comrades, two years have passed since the 24th Congress of our Party. These have been years of work by the Party and the entire Soviet people to implement the historic decisions of the Congress both in domestic life and in international matters.

We have entered the third, decisive year of the five-year plan period. This year began as a year of shock labour. Workers and peasants, scientists and those in the sphere of culture and all working people in our country are exerting themselves to do everything not only to fulfil, but also to exceed the annual plans and thereby lay a firm foundation for the fulfilment and exceeding of the five-year plan as a whole.

The Leninist communist Subbotnik, held on April 21, was a striking expression of nation-wide labour enthusiasm. A hundred and thirty-two million people, virtually the entire able-bodied population, reported for work that day. They worked with enthusiasm, in a genuinely communist spirit. If the remaining months see a similar level of activity, there is no doubt at all that the targets for our country's development which have been set for this year will be reached. Shock communist labour is the best and correct way of strengthening our country and of improving the life of our people. At the same time it is also a great contribution to the cause of lasting peace.

Substantial results have been achieved since the Party Congress in strengthening the positions of socialism and consolidating peace, tasks which were put to the forefront by our Party. The Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee, held a few days ago, summed up the results of our work in this field. Those participating noted with profound satisfaction that we have gone a long way along the road of putting the Peace Programme, adopted by the Congress, into effect.

Sounding ever more powerfully and authoritatively on the world scene is the voice of the land of Lenin, the voice of the entire socialist community, the voice calling for lasting peace and friendship among the peoples.

With every year and with every month that passes, with every day, one may say, the active peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism gives the peoples of the earth ever new convincing proof that the concepts of socialism and peace are indivisible.

The war in Vietnam, for the ending of which the Soviet Union worked firmly and consistently, has ended. Relying on the powerful moral and material support of the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism and on the solidarity of all the progressive forces of the world, the patriots of Vietnam have successfully upheld the just cause of freedom and independence.

Important positive changes have been achieved in Europe thanks to the persistent and constructive policy of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies, and with the support of all peace-loving and realistically-minded forces. A turn from the "cold war" and dangerous tension towards rational joint efforts to strengthen peace and develop mutually advantageous cooperation is taking place.

We are calling for Europe's bloody past to be overcome not in order to forget it, but so that it may never be repeated. This has become a perfectly realistic task now that socialism has become a mighty, irresistible force in the life of Europe. Our aims are clear, constructive and noble. They are worthy of the Leninist Party, they are worthy of the world's first country of victorious socialism.

Lenin's idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is scoring ever new victories in the minds of people and in the practice of international relations.

The policy of the Soviet Union in Europe, as in other parts of the world, is first of all a policy of peace. This determines both the development of our relations with France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other European states and our vigorous activities to prepare for an all-European conference.

We also approach relations with countries like the United States of America from the same position. We shall continue to work for the favourable development of Soviet-American relations on the principles of mutual respect and mutual advantage. Our country's approach to relations with Japan is similar.

Our sincere friendship and fruitful cooperation with India, the Arab states and with all the independent freedom-loving countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America are growing stronger and deeper. The CPSU and the Soviet state are always true to this friendship; we see in it a mighty source of strengthening the forces of peace and progress.

Comrades, the Soviet Union's international position has

never been stronger. The security of the Soviet people is more reliably ensured than ever before. Our people are working under the banner of peace and are carrying on the struggle for peace in the name of the emancipation of labour. Under the red banner of peace and labour we have scored outstanding successes which are admired by all honest people in the world. Under this banner we shall score new great victories.

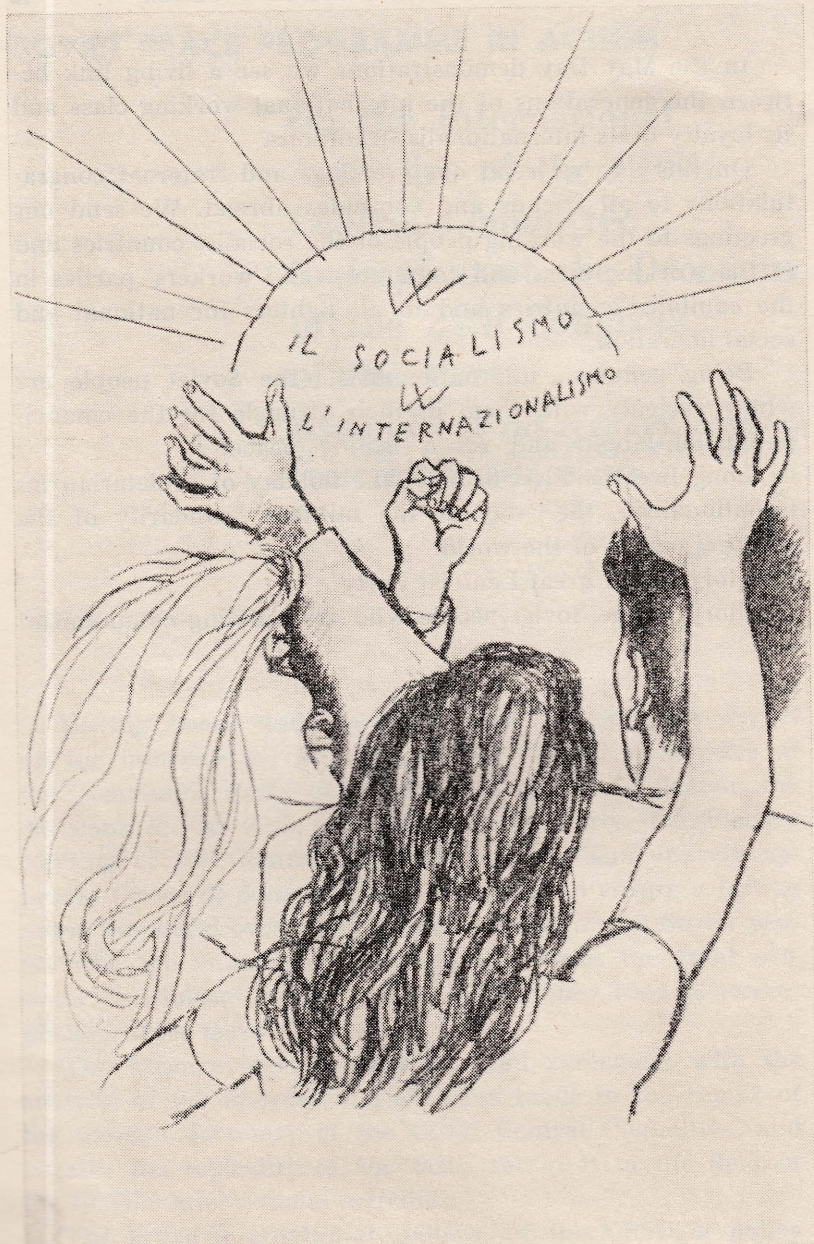
On the occasion of May Day, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, I warmly greet you all, dear comrades, on this holiday.

Representatives of Moscow's working people have gathered here, in the principal square of the country, which has become a symbol of the motherland for all Soviet people. Muscovites have pioneered many bold initiatives in socialist emulation. May Moscow continue to be a striking example of heroic labour and of the struggle for communism!

Together with us on this May Day, millions of Soviet people have come out into the squares and streets of their towns and settlements, communities and villages. Permit me from the bottom of my heart to wish all citizens of our great country, all builders of communism, every Soviet family, every Soviet person, the greatest success in their noble work and the greatest happiness.

While struggling for a lasting peace, we do not forget that forces hostile to peace have not laid down their arms. We remember the machinations of the aggressive circles and are maintaining a high level of vigilance. On this May Day holiday we send warm greetings to the glorious men of our armed forces who are firmly safeguarding peace.

We address words of friendly greetings today to the foreign guests of the capital. Your presence here, dear comrades, is evidence of the bonds of friendship linking the Soviet Union with the champions of freedom and security throughout the world.



"Long Live Socialism and Internationalism!"

Renato Guttuso (Italy). Winner of Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations". Exclusive for STP.

In the May Day demonstrations we see a living link between the generations of the international working class and its loyalty to its internationalist traditions.

On this day we send our greetings and fraternal congratulations to all friends and comrades abroad. We send our greetings to the working people of the socialist countries and to the working class and communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries and to all fighters for national and social liberation.

Being genuine internationalists, the Soviet people are wholeheartedly with them in their struggle for the emancipation of labour and for a lasting peace.

Long live the First of May, the holiday of proletarian internationalism, the day of the militant solidarity of the working people of the world!

Glory to our great Leninist Party!

Glory to the Soviet people who are building communism!

SOVIET PEACE PROGRAMME IN ACTION

On the International Activities of the CPSU Central Committee to Implement the Decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party

**RESOLUTION OF THE PLENARY MEETING
OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
ADOPTED ON APRIL 27, 1973**

Having heard and discussed Leonid Brezhnev's report on the international activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to implement the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee wholly and entirely approves the work done by the Politbureau to ensure a lasting peace the world over and reliable security for the Soviet people who are building communism, and notes the great personal contribution made by Leonid Brezhnev toward accomplishing these tasks.

The Plenary Meeting expresses full agreement with the analysis of the international situation made in the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and stresses the topicality of the tasks set in it in the field of the CPSU's international activities.

The active international policy of the CPSU, a policy which relies on the great strength and prestige of the Soviet state and the support of the entire people, is conducive to positive changes in the world situation.

The positions of the fraternal socialist countries and their unity have grown stronger, and the influence of their concerted policy on the course of international events has increased; the principles of peaceful coexistence have won broad recognition as norms of relations between states with different social systems, and a turn from the "cold war" to détente is taking place. Imperialist aggression against Vietnam has been stopped.

At the same time the Plenary Meeting again calls attention to the need for constant vigilance and preparedness to give a rebuff to any machinations by aggressive, reactionary circles of imperialism.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee instructs the Politbureau to follow as undeviatingly as before the foreign policy course laid down by the 24th Congress of the CPSU by taking as a guide the propositions and conclusions of Leonid Brezhnev's report at the present Plenary Meeting, to work for the full implementation of the Peace Programme and for the favourable changes that have been achieved in the international situation to become irreversible. This will be largely facilitated by the continuation of direct top-level contacts between the leaders of our Party and state and representatives of other states.

The CPSU will do everything necessary to further strengthen the unity of the socialist states, to strengthen and extend all-round fraternal ties with them. Of special importance is improvement of economic cooperation with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance countries, which at this stage calls for a maximum use of the possibilities of socialist economic integration, which will help further strengthen the economic and defence might of the socialist community.

The CPSU reiterates the Soviet people's solidarity with the Vietnamese people and will facilitate in every way the establishment of peace in Indochina.

The CPSU Central Committee proceeds from the fact that prerequisites have taken shape for creating in Europe a sound system of security and cooperation, which would be-

come a living and attractive example of peaceful coexistence. In this connection the Plenary Meeting attaches principled importance to the successful holding of an all-European conference.

The Plenary Meeting approves the work that is being done to develop the Soviet Union's relations with states of a different social system, based on principles of peaceful coexistence, believing this to be an important condition for broadening and asserting the positive tendencies in world politics. The activization of the USSR's reciprocally advantageous economic ties with these countries, the utilization of new opportunities along this road, will facilitate stronger peace and is in the interests of our people.

The Plenary Meeting also believes it is necessary to develop cooperation with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the future; it confirms the line of the CPSU toward supporting the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples in the struggle against the Israeli aggression, toward settling the Middle East conflict in accordance with the well-known UN Security Council resolution.

The Plenary Meeting notes with satisfaction the solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties and popular movements with the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state towards realizing the Peace Programme. Just as before, the CPSU will firmly conduct the socialist, Leninist course in the struggle against imperialism in all its international policy, will support the peoples defending their right to independence and social progress. Consistently coming out for the political and ideological unity of the communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU Central Committee expresses readiness to take part, together with the fraternal parties, in the realization of concrete initiatives to achieve this goal.

The Plenary Meeting stresses that the stubborn struggle of the leadership of the People's Republic of China against the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement, against the efforts of the peace-loving states and

peoples seeking a relaxation of international tensions, and Peking's anti-Soviet course injure the cause of peace and international socialism. The Plenary Meeting reiterates the resolve of our Party, in its relations with China, to continue to carry out the line of the 24th CPSU Congress.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee calls on the Communists, on all working people of the USSR, by their shock work in the third, decisive year of the five-year plan period, to lay a firm foundation for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of all planned targets as defined by the 24th CPSU Congress, and to raise significantly the efficiency of all branches of the national economy and to improve the quality of the goods being produced.

By their selfless labour for the good of the motherland, by their high consciousness, by rallying behind the Leninist Party, the Soviet people will make a new big contribution to ensuring the peace and social progress of mankind.

IN THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE
CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE PRE-
SIDIUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET
AND THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

On Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Visit to the Federal Republic of Germany

Pravda, May 25, 1973

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers have considered the results of the visit made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Federal Republic of Germany, at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, and fully approved the activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and

the political results of his visit to the FRG, which are of great international importance.

The visit of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the Federal Republic of Germany has consolidated the turn in relations with a state with which only recently we were poles apart on almost all major international issues, a turn toward a new kind of relations, normal for peacetime, to mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Continuing the line defined by the Moscow Treaty of 1970, and the understanding reached a year later in Oreanda, the talks between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and Chancellor W. Brandt, the agreements between the USSR and the FRG signed during the visit, and the joint statement of the sides on the results of the visit open up new prospects for good relations and neighbourly cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany in the interests of peace. This also applies fully to economic relations between the two countries, and their industrial, technical and cultural cooperation on a long-term basis.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers note with satisfaction that during Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit the discussion with the FRG Government of a number of important questions took place in a constructive spirit. They highly appreciate the fact that broad sections of the FRG public during Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit expressed warm feelings towards the Soviet state and the Soviet people.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG, as the practical implementation of the foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet state, is of great importance for the further successful advance along the road of détente and the strengthening of the peace and security of all European peoples. The consistent and purposeful policy which is being conducted toward this end by the countries of the socialist community, the process of normalization of the FRG's relations with

the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and other socialist countries, the constructive and growing cooperation between the Soviet Union and France, the mutual understanding achieved with the Government of the United States of America on a number of questions of international politics, including the questions of European security, and the favourable results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG are all very important stages in the struggle for the further relaxation of tension, the strengthening of security and lasting peace, the ensurance of which would be of truly historic importance.

The results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany are further convincing proof of the triumphs of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social systems, a policy which at the current stage has found its fullest expression in the Peace Programme approved by the 24th CPSU Congress and the April Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. That is precisely why the results of this visit are highly appraised by the Soviet people, the countries of socialism, the international working class and communist movement, and the peace-loving and progressive forces of all countries.

On the Results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Visit to the United States of America

Pravda, June 30, 1973

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers have reviewed the results of the visit to the United States of America of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Noting the great personal contribution of Comrade Brezhnev in this matter, they expressed their full and unqualified approval of the

political and practical results of this visit which is of fundamental significance and has proved to be an event of tremendous importance.

The results of the visit of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the United States of America have once again confirmed the fruitfulness and effectiveness of the Peace Programme adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and have proved the forcefulness and vitality of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.

The time which has elapsed since the Soviet-American summit talks in Moscow in May, 1972, has fully borne out the correctness and timeliness of the steps taken at that time to improve Soviet-American relations. The Moscow meeting and the "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the USSR and the US" adopted there marked the beginning of a change from mistrust to détente, normalization of relations and mutual cooperation between the two countries. As a result of the latest talks between Comrade Brezhnev and President Nixon, new and favourable vistas have been opened up in the relations between the USSR and the USA.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers note that the holding and successful completion of the talks have laid a sound basis for the normal development of Soviet-American relations and for the strengthening of mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries, and at the same time contribute to the consolidation of the détente and to the strengthening of world peace and the security of nations.

The "Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War" of unlimited duration, concluded between the USSR and the USA, is an important step towards lessening and eventually eliminating the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war, and towards creating a system of effective guarantees of international security. The implementation of the agreements signed, and the turn from nuclear confrontation between the USA and the USSR to a course aimed at preventing nuclear

war and solving outstanding issues by negotiation will have a truly historic significance for all mankind.

The "Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms", signed in Washington, are intended to play an important role. This document, which furthers the trend set by the agreements concluded in Moscow in May, 1972, provides for the active continuation of the efforts not only to achieve strategic offensive arms limitation in terms of quantity and qualitative development but also to pave the way for their subsequent reduction.

Of major importance is the "Agreement Between the USSR and the USA on Scientific and Technical Cooperation in the Field of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy", the primary aim of which is the development of new, highly efficient sources of energy.

The all-round development of peaceful cooperation between the two states in various fields, and particularly the new prospects opening up for the development of commercial and economic relations between the two countries, will help further to stabilize Soviet-American relations.

Soviet people regard as highly significant the fact that during Comrade Brezhnev's visit broad sections of the American public expressed friendly feelings for our people and showed an understanding of the importance of the further development of Soviet-American relations.

Whereas in the course of post-war decades the tensions in Soviet-American relations had had a negative effect on the entire international situation, now, by contrast, the improvement of Soviet-American relations, the commitments assumed by the two countries to refrain from the threat or use of force against the other side, against the allies of the other side and against third countries, and the will clearly formulated by both sides to respect the rights and interests of all states, will serve as an important factor in the radical improvement of the international situation, and are opening up vast possibilities for constructive cooperation between all the other countries.

The cause of strengthening peace is served by the necessity, recognized and endorsed in the course of the talks, for the strict fulfilment of the Paris agreements on Vietnam, without any interference from the outside; this will help to give all the peoples of Indochina a possibility to live in peace.

The mutual understanding reached by the two countries in the course of their discussion of the problems of European security, and particularly their mutual desire to hold an all-European conference as soon as possible, will be of great importance from the viewpoint of ensuring a stable peace on that continent.

Of major importance is the desire, as expressed in the joint communiqué, to achieve a settlement of the Middle East conflict, based on the principles ensuring the rights and interests of all the peoples and states of that area, including those of the Palestinian people. The Soviet position on this question was set out in the course of the talks. In accordance with the Peace Programme, the Soviet Union considers it to be fundamentally important to eliminate the hotbed of war in the Middle East on the basis of respect for the legitimate rights of the states and the peoples subjected to aggression. The withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories is the basis for a just solution of the Middle East problem.

The results of the Soviet-American summit talks held in June, 1973, serve not only the interests of the peoples of the USSR and the USA but those of the entire peace-loving mankind.

The results of Comrade Brezhnev's visit to the USA are another convincing proof that there are now possibilities for settling outstanding issues, no matter how complicated, by negotiation, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Consistent and unswerving fulfilment by both states of all the commitments which they have assumed is the condition for making Soviet-American relations a permanent factor

in achieving universal peace, in ensuring the irreversibility of the processes of relaxation of tensions taking place today and in developing peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with opposing social systems.

The Soviet side expresses the confidence that the readiness of other states to commit themselves to the principles of renouncing force and of taking decisive measures to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war, as jointly recorded by the USSR and the USA, will be of tremendous importance for ensuring universal security and a durable peace on earth.

The results of Comrade Brezhnev's visit to the USA, and all the measures in the foreign policy field carried out by our country jointly with the other socialist countries after the 24th CPSU Congress, constitute an important contribution to improving the international situation.

The results of the Soviet-American talks are regarded as highly significant by the Soviet people, by the fraternal socialist countries, by the international communist movement, and by the peace-loving and progressive forces because they promote the interests of peace and serve the interests of the masses in all countries.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers declare that the Soviet Union will continue consistently to follow the path charted by the 24th CPSU Congress. We will continue to strengthen relations with our friends and allies, the countries of the socialist community. We will develop ties and contacts with the countries which have freed themselves from colonial oppression, and we will render assistance to all peoples fighting for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. As in the past, the Soviet Union will resolutely rebuff all intrigues of the aggressive imperialist forces and of all those who are opposed to a relaxation of tension, who are for a return to the "cold war", for the arms race, all those who sow the seeds of enmity and mistrust among nations.

The foreign policy of the USSR is based on the unity and

cohesion of our entire nation, on its unanimous support for our Party, its Leninist Central Committee and the Soviet Government. By their selfless efforts to increase the power and might of their socialist Motherland, the Soviet people are strengthening the foundations of durable peace and security of nations.

**On the Results
of the Meeting between
Comrade L. I. Brezhnev,
General Secretary
of the CPSU Central
Committee, and President
Georges Pompidou of the
Republic of France**

Pravda, July 1, 1973

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers have discussed a report on the meeting between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Georges Pompidou, President of the Republic of France, which took place in June 1973, and fully approve the results of that meeting which are in accord with the interests of the peoples of both countries, and which are of great importance for strengthening the process of détente in Europe and the world over.

The course of events has confirmed the correctness of the steps taken by the Soviet Union and France, which have established relations of constructive cooperation and directed their efforts towards developing bilateral relations in the

political, economic and cultural fields and creating in Europe a new system of international relations based on the consistent observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems.

Of considerable importance are the determination of the two countries, as stated in the Joint Communiqué, to further strengthen Franco-Soviet relations on the basis of the consistent implementation of the Principles of Cooperation Between the USSR and France and the Soviet-French Protocol on political consultations, and their agreement to hold a new Soviet-French summit meeting early in 1974.

Cooperation for Peace

FROM L. I. BREZHNEV'S ADDRESS ON
WEST GERMAN TELEVISION ON MAY 21,
1973

Pravda, May 22, 1973

My arrival here at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt and our talks—all this in itself indicates that the relations between our countries are developing successfully.

My first direct talks with Chancellor Brandt were associated with a great event in the history of the relations between our countries and—it is safe to say—in the political development of Europe. We first met in Moscow in 1970 in connection with the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG. By signing a document containing a realistic recognition of the present situation in Europe and by undertaking solemnly not to use force or the threat of force against each other, the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany set out on a new path in their relations.

To be frank, it was not easy for the Soviet people, and consequently for their leaders, to open this new page in our relations. Memories of the last war, of the tremendous sacrifices and destruction which Hitlerite aggression brought us, are still live in the minds of millions of Soviet people. We were able to step over the past in our relations with your country because we do not want it to recur.

With the socialist German state, our ally, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union has been linked for a long time by bonds of close, sincere and selfless friendship.

We approach our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, too, from the standpoint of good will and peace.

We are sincerely ready for cooperation, which, so we are convinced, can be very beneficial to both sides and to universal security. We want a lasting peace and we believe that the Federal Republic of Germany is also interested in peace and needs peace.

We know that it was not simple for the government of Chancellor Brandt either to come over to this treaty. The "cold war" has a force of inertia and it takes a certain effort to overcome it. All the more so since advocates of a dangerous confrontation between the two worlds have not yet disappeared from the political scene.

People in the Soviet Union therefore appreciate the realism, determination and far-sightedness displayed by the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany and, above all, by Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, in the struggle for the conclusion and entry into force of the treaties with the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, which laid the foundation for new relations between your country and the European socialist states.

In this connection I should like to pay tribute to all the supporters of good-neighbourly relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union. Many of them, who have come through the battle with fascism, have spared no efforts in the struggle for peace and friendship between our peoples. The Soviet Union highly appreciates their contribution to this noble cause.

Our meeting with Chancellor Brandt in Oreanda in the autumn of 1971 was an important landmark in the successful development of our relations along the lines of the Moscow Treaty. In a quiet, business-like atmosphere, free from the tyranny of diplomatic protocol, we had the opportunity to outline further prospects for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic, as well as certain areas of possible cooperation between our countries on an international plane.

The plans made are now being carried into life. We can already say with certainty today that the development of peaceful and mutually beneficial relations of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic is not an

abstract hypothesis and not a theoretical plan or an emotional wish, as it seemed not so long ago—but a very real thing which exists and is continuing to grow in scope and strength.

It goes without saying that opportunities for the development of such relations between the two countries were far from having been exhausted.

We are at the beginning of this process. Our talks with Chancellor Brandt confirm that there is a good outlook for the future, and particularly in the field of economic relations. Apart from the expansion of ordinary trade, there is the opportunity for concluding long-term deals on a large scale—deals based on economic cooperation between our countries and aimed at carrying out important joint projects.

These are not short-term, opportunist deals of a more or less chance character. They are opening the way to joint actions in major sectors of the economy and are designed to bring guaranteed benefit to both sides for many years to come. This means, specifically, an opportunity for a more rational organization of production and, naturally, guaranteed employment for the workers of your country. What is particularly important is that this cooperation is helping to lay a sound foundation for good-neighbourly relations between our countries.

Both the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are countries with a high level of development of science, technology and culture. Our scientists have a great deal to tell and to show to their colleagues. People in both our countries will be interested, I am sure, to see and listen to the best works of literature, music, the theatre and the fine arts of the other country. This is confirmed by the interest shown by the public in your country in the present USSR Days in Dortmund.

As you know, some concrete agreements on economic and cultural relations and air services have been signed during these days between our countries and they demonstrate mutual understanding and a readiness for cooperation on both sides.

But however important good relations may be for both our states and their peoples, it is no less important that the establishment and development of such relations in our day are part of the wider process of a radical improvement of international life in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

The quarter of century period of cold war is now giving

way to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and the West.

This is precisely the aim of the policy of peaceful co-existence pursued by the Soviet Union with regard to states with the opposite social system. It has been expressed most completely today in the widely-known Peace Programme approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and the materials of the April, 1973, Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Inscribed in them, among other things, is the goal set by our country of bringing about a radical turn towards a détente and peace on the continent of Europe. I would like you to know that the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and all our people will vigorously and consistently strive towards this goal.

The Europe which had more than once been the hotbed of aggressive wars that had brought tremendous destruction and the death of millions of people, must become for all time a thing of the past.

We want a new continent in its place—a continent of peace, mutual trust and mutually-beneficial cooperation among all states.

Among the positive aspects of present developments in Europe there is also, undoubtedly, the gradual improvement in the relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with its eastern neighbours—with Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries of Europe.

We attach great importance to the business-like, constructive cooperation that we have established with the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United States and other countries on such an important matter as the preparation for all-European conference on security and cooperation.

There are still many burning and explosive problems awaiting solution in the world. For example, the conflict in the Middle East—where Arab territories are still being held by the occupationists and where, therefore, dangerous tension persists—has not been settled yet. There are opponents of a relaxation of tension and of ending the arms race in other areas, too. However, mankind's horizons are, after all, growing brighter. The war in Vietnam has ended.

The favourable development of Soviet-US relations is continuing. In general, one can perhaps say that our planet today is closer to firm and lasting peace than ever before. And

the Soviet Union is exerting all its weight to buttress this beneficial trend.

Our peace-loving foreign policy expresses the very essence of our society and expresses its profound inner needs. The Soviet people, 250 million strong, are engaged in carrying out magnificent projects for peaceful construction. In the north and in the south of our vast country, in Siberia and in Central Asia, we are building giant power stations and hundreds of plants and factories and creating irrigation systems on territories comparable in size with many a European state. Our goal is for the Soviet people to live tomorrow better than they are living today. Soviet people are tangibly aware of the fruits of these collective efforts.

This, of course, does not mean that we in the Soviet Union have solved every problem and do not face any difficulties. Problems that will take a lot of solving do exist, and apparently will always exist, in all times. But a specific feature of the problems facing us is that they are associated with the confident growth of the country, of its economic and cultural potential, and we are seeking their solution exclusively along the roads of further peaceful construction, of raising the cultural and living standards of the people, of developing our socialist society.

I would like to add that our plans are by no means plans designed for autarky. Our course is not in the direction of isolating our country from the outside world. On the contrary, we are proceeding from the fact that it will develop under conditions of growing all-round cooperation with the outside world, and not only with socialist countries at that, but to a considerable extent with the states of the opposite social system as well.

Our stay in the Federal Republic is of necessity rather brief. But even the little that my comrades and I have been able to see on the soil of West Germany leaves a pleasant impression.

We have been interested to see your capital, which is dynamic and at the same time rich in traditions—ancient Bonn, the birthplace of the magnificent Beethoven, Bonn whose university was attended by the great creator of the theory of scientific communism—Karl Marx.

In the Interests of All Mankind

FROM L. I. BREZHNEV'S ADDRESS ON U.S.
TELEVISION ON JUNE 24, 1973

Pravda, June 25, 1973

I would like, first of all, to convey to all of you the greetings and friendly feelings of millions of Soviet people who are following with great interest my visit to your country and our talks with President Nixon, and who are looking forward to this new Soviet-American summit meeting making a fruitful contribution to better relations between our countries and stronger universal peace.

Our discussions with President Nixon and other United States government officials have been going on for several days, and they have been very intensive indeed. We came to this country anticipating that these would be responsible negotiations devoted to major questions bearing on the development of Soviet-American relations and to a search for ways in which our two nations could promote the further invigoration of the entire international atmosphere. Today I have every reason to say that those hopes were justified. We are satisfied with the way the talks went and with the results already achieved. New agreements have been signed in Washington, and in many respects they broaden the sphere of peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Another big step has been taken along the path that we jointly mapped out a year ago during our meeting in Moscow.

Let me say frankly that personally I am also pleased that this visit has given me an opportunity to gain some first-hand impressions of America, to see some aspects of the American way of life, to meet with prominent government and public leaders of your country and to have some contact with the life of Americans.

You are well aware that, in the past, relations between our countries developed very unevenly. There were periods of stagnation, there were ups and downs. But I guess I would not be making a mistake if I said that the significance of good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States has always been quite clear to the more far-sighted statesmen. In this connection we have good reason to recall that this

is the year of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries on the initiative of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In World War II the Soviet Union and the United States became allies and fought side by side against nazism, which threatened the freedom of nations and civilization itself. The jubilant meeting of Soviet and American soldiers on the Elbe River at the hour of victory over Hitlerism is well remembered in our country.

The wartime alliance could have been expected to usher in a new era of broad peaceful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. I can tell you with confidence that this is what our country wanted. We wanted to cement and develop the good relations whose foundations had been laid during the war. Things went differently, however. What came was not peace, but the "cold war", a poor substitute for genuine peace. For a long time it poisoned relations between our countries, and international relations as a whole. Some of its dismal influence can unfortunately be felt in certain things to this day.

Under the circumstances it was no easy task indeed to make a turn from mutual distrust to détente, normalization and mutually advantageous cooperation. It took courage and political foresight, it took a lot of painstaking work. We appreciate the fact that President Nixon and his administration joined their efforts with ours to really put Soviet-American relations on a new track.

I have heard that the American political vocabulary includes the expression, "to win the peace." The present moment in history is, I believe, perhaps the most suitable occasion to use that expression. We jointly won the war. Today our joint efforts must help mankind win a durable peace. The possibility of a new war must be eliminated.

The outcome of the two meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States and the practical steps taken in the intervening year convincingly show that important results have already been attained. It transpired that a reasonable and mutually acceptable approach to many problems, which previously seemed insoluble, can in fact be found. Not so long ago I suppose it would have been hard even to imagine the possibility of such progress.

Last year's agreements are, on the whole, being successfully implemented. Tangible progress is being made in almost all spheres—and it is a progress secured through joint efforts.

The inauguration of a regular passenger shipping line between Leningrad and New York, the establishment of consulates general in Leningrad and San Francisco, the initiation of friendly ties between Soviet and American cities, and livelier athletic exchanges, are all becoming part of the daily lives of the peoples of our two countries today.

The best possible evidence that Soviet-American relations are moving ahead, and not marking time, is provided by the important document signed the other day by President Nixon and myself, the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the prevention of nuclear war. I believe I will not be accused of making an overstatement, if I say that this document is one of historic significance.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have concluded an agreement to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war between themselves and to do their utmost to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war generally. It is surely clear how important this is for the peace and tranquillity of the peoples of our two countries and for the improvement of the prospects for a peaceful life for all mankind.

Even if our second meeting with the President of the United States yielded no other results, it could still be said with full grounds that it will take a fitting place in the annals of Soviet-American relations and in international affairs as a whole. The entire world can now see that, having signed last year the fundamental document entitled, "Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America," our two nations regard it not as a mere declaration of good intent but as a programme of vigorous and consistent action, a programme they have already begun to implement, and one which they are determined to go on implementing.

It is also of no little significance that our countries have agreed on the main principles of further work to prepare a new agreement on strategic arms limitation, a broader one this time and of far longer duration. This means that the exceptionally important job begun in May 1972, in Moscow is continuing. It means that political détente is being backed up by military détente. And this is something from which all the peoples and the very cause of peace stand to gain.

The other day representatives of our two states also signed new agreements on Soviet-American cooperation in several specific fields. Together with the earlier agreements con-

cluded during the past year, they make up an impressive file of documents on cooperation between our two nations and our two great peoples in some widely ranging fields: from the peaceful uses of atomic energy to agriculture, and from outer space to the ocean depths.

Of course, the Soviet Union and the United States are countries which are, so to speak, self-sufficient. Until recently that was, in fact, how things were in our relations. However, we, as well as many Americans, realize only too well that renunciation of cooperation in the economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields is tantamount to both sides turning down substantial extra benefits and advantages. And, most important, such a renunciation would be so pointless as to defy any reasonable argument. This is particularly true of economic ties. Today, I believe, both you and we would agree that in this area it is not enough simply to overcome such an anomaly generated by the "cold war" as the complete freezing of Soviet-American trade. Life poses questions of far greater importance. I have in mind, above all, such forms of economic relations as stable large-scale ties in several branches of the economy and long-term scientific and technological cooperation, and in our age this is very important. The contacts we have had with American officials and businessmen confirm that it is along these lines that the main prospects for further economic cooperation between our countries can be traced.

It is alleged at times that the development of such cooperation is one-sided and only benefits the Soviet Union. But those who say so are either completely ignorant of the real state of affairs or deliberately turn a blind eye to the truth.

And the truth is that broader and deeper economic cooperation in general, and the long-term and large-scale deals, which are now either being negotiated or have already been successfully concluded by Soviet organizations and big American firms, are bound to yield real and tangible benefits to both sides. This is something that has been confirmed quite definitely by American businessmen whom I have had an opportunity to talk with both in this country and, earlier, in Moscow. It was in that context that we discussed the matter with President Nixon, too.

To this I would like to add that both the Soviet leadership and, as I see it, the United States government attach particular importance to the fact that the development of long-term eco-

conomic cooperation will also have very beneficial political consequences. It will consolidate the present trend toward better Soviet-American relations generally.

Prospects for the broad development of Soviet-American exchanges in culture and the arts area are, as we see it, also good. Both our countries have much to share in this field. To live at peace, we must trust each other, and to trust each other, we must know each other better. We, for our part, want Americans to visualize our way of life and our way of thinking as completely and correctly as possible.

By and large, we can say that quite a lot has already been done to develop Soviet-American relations. Yet we are still only at the beginning of a long road. Constant care is needed to preserve and develop the new shoots of good relationships. Tireless efforts are needed to seek out the most necessary and most suitable forms of cooperation in various fields. Patience is needed to understand the various specific features of the other side and to learn to do business with each other along good lines.

I believe those who support a radical improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States can look to the future with optimism, for this objective meets the vital interests of both our nations and the interests of peace-loving people all over the world.

The general atmosphere in the world depends to no small extent on the climate prevailing in relations between our two countries. Neither economic or military might nor international prestige give our countries any special privileges but they do invest them with special responsibility for the destinies of universal peace and for preventing war. In its approach to ties and contacts with the United States, the Soviet Union is fully aware of that responsibility.

We regard the improvement of Soviet-American relations not as an isolated phenomenon, but as an integral—and very important—part of the wider process of radically improving the international atmosphere. Mankind has outgrown the rigid “cold war” armour which it was once forced to wear. It wants to breathe freely and peacefully. And we will be happy if our efforts to better Soviet-American relations help draw more and more nations into the process of *détente*—be it in Europe or Asia, in Africa or Latin America, in the Middle or the Far East.

We regard it as a very positive fact that the normalization of Soviet-American relations is contributing to the solution of

the great and important problem of consolidating peace and security in Europe, and of convening the all-European conference. The improvement of Soviet-American relations undoubtedly played its useful role in promoting the termination of the long drawn-out war in Vietnam. Now that the agreement ending the Vietnam war has come into effect and both our countries, together with other nations, are signatories to the document of the Paris conference on Vietnam, it seems to us to be particularly important that the achieved success be consolidated and that all the peoples of Indochina be given the chance to live in peace.

There still exist hotbeds of dangerous tension in the world. In our discussions with President Nixon we touched upon the situation in the Middle East, which is still very acute. We believe that in the area justice should be assured as soon as possible and a stable peace settlement reached that would restore the legitimate rights of those who suffered from the war and ensure the security of all the peoples of that rather vast region. This is important for all the peoples of the Middle East, with no exception. It is also important for the maintenance of universal peace.

In short, the ending of conflicts and the prevention of new crisis-fraught situations is an essential condition for creating truly reliable guarantees of peace. And our two countries are called upon to make a worthy contribution to that cause. In our discussions President Nixon and I have devoted a great deal of attention to these matters during our talks of the last few days.

I would like to emphasize at this point that in discussing questions of our bilateral relations and international problems of a general nature we invariably took into account the fact that both the Soviet Union and the United States have their own allies and their own obligations toward various other states. It should be stated quite definitely that our talks, both in their spirit and in the letter of the signed agreements, fully take that fact into consideration.

But the main purport of all that we discussed and agreed upon with President Nixon in the field of international affairs is the firm determination of both sides to make good relations between the USSR and the USA a permanent factor of international peace. In our time—and I am sure you know this—there are still too many people who would rather make noise about military preparations and the arms race, than

discuss problems of détente and peaceful cooperation in a constructive spirit.

What can be said on that account?

The Soviet people are perhaps second to none when it comes to knowing what war means. In World War II we won a victory of world-historic significance. But in that war over 20 million Soviet citizens died. Seventy thousand of our towns and villages were devastated and one-third of our national wealth was destroyed.

The war wounds have now been healed. Today the Soviet Union is a mightier and more prosperous country than ever before. But we remember the lessons of the war only too well, and that is why the peoples of the Soviet Union value peace so highly, that is why they strongly approve the peace policy of our party and government.

For us peace is the highest achievement to which all men should strive if they want to make their life a worthy one. We believe in reason, and we feel that this belief is shared also by the peoples of the United States and of other nations. If that belief were lost, or if it were obscured by a blind faith in strength alone, in the power of nuclear arms or some other kind of weapon, the fate of civilization—of humanity itself—would be miserable indeed.

Our path has not been an easy one. Our people are proud that in a historically short period of time, after the victory of the socialist revolution, backward Russia transformed itself into a major industrial power and achieved outstanding successes in science and culture. We take pride in having built a new society—the most stable and confidently developing society—which has assured all our citizens social justice and has made the values of modern civilization the property of all the people. We are proud that dozens of previously oppressed nations and nationalities in our country have become genuinely equal, and that in our close-knit family of nations they are developing their economy and culture.

We have great plans for the future. We want to raise considerably the living standards of the Soviet people. We want to make new advances in education and medicine. We want to make our villages and towns more comfortable to live in and more beautiful. We have drafted programmes to develop the remote areas of Siberia, the North and the Far East, with their immense natural resources. And every Soviet individual is deeply conscious of the fact that the realization of those

plans requires peace and peaceful cooperation with other nations.

Of course, like any other country, we have quite a few problems and quite a few shortcomings. But the solution to all the problems we face requires, as in the case of other nations, not war or an artificial fanning of tensions, but peace and creative labour, which, we are convinced, are the only things that can guarantee well-being and abundance of material and spiritual benefits for all members of society.

I have attempted to give a brief account of the thoughts and plans of the Soviet people and to explain the nature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Its peaceful essence stems from the very core of our society. And it is by no mere chance that the very concept of peaceful coexistence, which today is turning more and more into a universally recognized basis for the development of relations between states with different social systems, was evolved by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state.

You probably know that two years ago the Twenty-Fourth Congress of our ruling party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, approved the Soviet Peace Programme, which is a concrete embodiment of the policy of peaceful coexistence in modern conditions. It is a programme of active contribution to international détente and to securing a truly lasting peace on earth for many generations to come. It expresses not only the convictions and intentions of the citizens of our state but also, we are sure, the aspirations of millions and millions of peace-loving people all over the world. We are implementing this programme working hand in hand with our friends and allies, the socialist countries. On the basis of this programme we seek to build relations of good will and mutually-beneficial cooperation with all countries that have a similar desire. And the improvement of Soviet-American relations occupies its rightful place in that programme.

Dear viewers, the importance and complexity of the problems on the agenda of our talks with President Nixon, of our meetings and discussions with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, headed by Senator Fulbright, and with prominent representatives of the American business community, called for a tight work schedule of this visit.

As I have already pointed out, these were fruitful discussions held in a good atmosphere. This gives us a feeling of satisfaction.

At the same time, I do personally regret that the extreme

pressure of business has not given me and my colleagues who accompanied me and took part in our work a chance to see more of your country. While still in Moscow, and then here, in the United States, I received many warm letters from various American cities, organizations, companies and private citizens kindly inviting me to visit this or that town, to see plants, farms, and universities, or to be a guest in the homes of Americans. I am taking this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to all those who wrote such letters. I regret that, for the reasons I have just mentioned, I was unable to take up those invitations.

Of course, it would have been interesting to visit New York, and Chicago, and Detroit, and Los Angeles, to see some of your industrial projects and farms, to talk to American working people, whose achievements are admired by Soviet people. Perhaps the future will offer such an opportunity, especially since President Nixon and I have definitely agreed that in the future our contacts will be placed on a regular footing. We are looking forward to President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union next year.

But even though this brief visit did not give me a chance to see as much as I would like to in America, I nevertheless have every reason, when I return home, to tell my colleagues and all Soviet people both about the important political results of the visit and about the atmosphere of good will, and the trend in favour of peace, of détente, and of improving relations between our two countries. It is a trend which we felt during our stay in the United States and during our contacts with government and public leaders of your country, and with many American citizens. I can assure you that these feelings are fully shared by the Soviet people.

I do not believe I will be divulging a major secret if I tell you that in my talks with President Nixon over the last few days we not only addressed ourselves to current political problems but also tried to look ahead and to take into account the future interests of the peoples of both our countries. In so doing we proceeded from the assumption that in politics, those who do not look ahead will inevitably find themselves in the rear, among the stragglers. A year ago in Moscow we laid the foundation for improving Soviet-American relations. Now this great and important objective has been successfully brought closer. It is our hope that this trend will continue, for it meets the interests of our two great peoples and of all mankind.

N. TIKHONOV

Passionate Fighter

Pravda, May 2, 1973

It was with great satisfaction that Soviet people heard the announcement that the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" had been conferred upon the staunch Communist and Leninist, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our people and millions of peace fighters abroad know Leonid Brezhnev as an outstanding leader of the Communist Party, of the Soviet state and of the international communist and workers' movement. By his strict adherence to Leninist Party principles, his immense organizational talent, his ability to perceive the basic essence in the solution of the most important problems of the building of communism and to concentrate all the efforts of the Party and the people on the crux of these problems, Leonid Brezhnev has won great respect and prestige

among all the Soviet people. The Central Committee of our Party and its General Secretary carry high the banner of Soviet foreign policy, the cornerstone of which was laid over half a century ago by Vladimir Lenin, the founder of our Party and of the working people's first socialist state in the world.

The struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, which is essential for our present and future success in the building of communism and for the social progress and well-being of all mankind, is a basic part of the extensive activities of the Party Central Committee and its General Secretary. These activities are characterized by a profound understanding of the major world problems and by the Leninist approach in tackling urgent international tasks, the most important of which is putting an end to war for all time and establishing a lasting peace on our planet.

The great Peace Programme, which abroad has been called "the Soviet peace offensive", proclaimed by Leonid Brezhnev in the Report of the Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress, is

Nikolai TIKHONOV, author, is the Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, International Lenin Prize winner "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" and Hero of Socialist Labour.

becoming increasingly popular. It is enthusiastically welcomed by all the peoples of the world and has aroused serious interest among the governments of many countries. This is to be expected, because such foreign policy bears a direct relation to the destinies of all mankind. The Leninist peace-oriented foreign policy pursued by our Party, which at the same time is revolutionary in essence, is a striking example

peaceful coexistence has been widely recognized as a standard for relations among states with differing social systems. There is a change from the cold war to a relaxation of world tension. An end has been put to the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, and the situation has become much quieter in many other parts of the world.

The Moscow summit meeting of Soviet leaders with the US President in

The Committee for International Lenin Prizes "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations", chaired by Academician D. Skobel'syn, has awarded 1972 International Lenin Peace Prizes to:

Leonid Ilyich BREZHNEV—General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union;

Salvador ALLENDE GOSSENS—President of the Republic of Chile;

Enrique PASTORINO—President of the World Federation of Trade Unions (Uruguay);

James ALDRIDGE—writer and public figure (England).

of internationalism, of fraternal solidarity with the peoples of the other countries of the socialist community and with the international working class; it is an example of the consistent defence of the vital interests of the peoples who are waging a struggle for their national independence and freedom.

We are witnessing the wonderful results which have already been achieved thanks to the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Party Congress. The principle of

1972 was a turning point in the development of Soviet-American relations. Of major importance for improving the world situation and the situation in Europe have been the activities of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with signing and ratifying the agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany and the talks which Leonid Brezhnev had with Willy Brandt. The exchange of visits between Leonid Brezhnev and President Georges Pompidou

of France has confirmed the interest that exists in both France and the USSR in the further development of good relations.

This is why our people have responded with such enthusiasm and unanimity to the communique on the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee which discussed Leonid Brezhnev's report on the international activities of the Central Committee in carrying out the decisions taken by the 24th CPSU Congress. The Plenary Meeting expressed its complete approval of the efforts of the Politbureau to ensure a lasting peace throughout the world and reliable security for the Soviet people who are building communism. It also appreciated the important

personal contribution of Leonid Brezhnev to the achievement of these goals.

Our people, and all other people who are working for world peace, regard the awarding of the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" to Leonid Brezhnev as a recognition of his outstanding contribution to the foreign policy activities of our state, which are aimed at ensuring lasting world peace and the people's reliable security.

All Soviet people warmly congratulate Comrade Leonid Brezhnev on the high award and sincerely wish him good health and continuing strength and vigour in his tireless work for the good of the people.

MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE WORLD TODAY

N. INOZEMTSEV

Socialism and International Economic Cooperation

Pravda, May 16, 1973 (C)

Soviet course of broadening international economic cooperation stems organically from the fundamentals of the Leninist foreign policy and the programmatic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The report made by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the International Activities of the CPSU Central Committee to Implement the Decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party" at the April (1973) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, and the speeches of participants in the Meeting devoted serious attention, in addition to foreign policy questions, to the economic integration of the socialist countries and the development of the Soviet Union's economic ties with other countries. The Meeting approved the work conducted in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence to develop the Soviet Union's relations with states of a different social system, regarding this as an important requisite for broadening and consolidating positive trends in world politics.

The policy of broadening international economic cooperation and of the Soviet Union playing an increasingly active part in this is prompted by both the political and economic interests of the Soviet state and fully conforms to the interests of the other socialist countries, of all the revolutionary forces and to the interests of peace and security of nations.

Academician
Nikolai
INOZEMTSEV
is the Director of the
Institute of World
Economy and International
Relations, USSR
Academy of Sciences.

Capitalism and Internationalization of Economy

The founders of Marxism-Leninism, investigating the basic factors in the development of the productive forces and the laws underlying the replacement of one socio-economic structure with a more developed one, devoted serious attention to such categories as the international division of labour, the world market, the world economy, and world economic relations. Marx and Lenin regarded the specialization, and also the division of social labour, both within various industries and countries and in inter-state relations, as an objective historical tendency. It is one that reflects the requirements of the progressive development of the productive forces, and is at the same time a product of such a development.

Industry, said Marx, "by means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods... is continually causing changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the labourer, and in the social combinations of the labour-process. At the same time, it thereby also revolutionizes the division of labour within the society..."¹

¹ K. Marx. *Capital*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, M., pp. 486-7.

"...The limits of the development of the market," wrote Lenin, developing the ideas of Marx, "...are set by the limits of the specialization of social labour. But this specialization, by its very nature, is as infinite as technical development".²

The transition from the capitalism of free competition to monopoly capitalism resulted in a rapid expansion of economic links between countries and the internationalization of economic life. Lenin stressed that at the stage reached approximately by the turn of the century "...exchange so internationalized economic relations and capital, and large-scale production assumed such proportions that monopoly began to replace free competition".³

This substantially increased the interdependence between production activities within an individual country and those of other countries, and entailed a further rapid growth in the flow of commodities from country to country. Furthermore, this caused specific phenomena, of a kind inherent in imperialism, such as the establish-

² V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

³ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 104.

ment of closely interwoven (within each country and outside it) powerful finance capital, an increase in the export of capital, the establishment of international monopolies, and the expansion of their activities, the activation of colonial policy, the division and recarving of spheres of influence by monopoly alliances and various coalitions of powers. This was complete confirmation of the Marxist thesis that the nature, the actual content, the basic concrete manifestations of the international division of labour depend not only on the development of the productive forces, but also on the mode of production, on the social relations developing in the process of production.

A number of quantitative and qualitative changes in the internationalization of economic life in the capitalist countries occurred after the Second World War—largely due to the scientific and technological revolution. This was facilitated by such factors as the changeover of the basic industries to mass and quantity production, and the extensive production cooperation and international specialization associated with this; the establishment of new processes calling for large capital investments and scientific research, and the utili-

zation by the countries, on a vastly increased scale, of foreign scientific and technological know-how, material resources and manpower; the formation, as a result of the efforts of a number of countries, of large production complexes, etc.

It is characteristic that the value of world capitalist trade increased 300 per cent in the past 20 years (1951-70), whereas in the preceding 40 years the figure was only 70 per cent. Moreover, the growth of international trade in these 20 years was about 50 per cent greater than the growth of industrial output in the capitalist countries. There was likewise a steady increase in the export of capital: total foreign investments (private and state) grew from \$50,000 million in 1945 to over \$300,000 million in 1972.

A characteristic feature of contemporary imperialism is the extensive development of economic integration. It is developing in private-monopoly (for instance, the very close cooperation of a number of American and Canadian, American and West-European monopolies) and state-monopoly forms (the most graphic illustration of this is the European Economic Community, or the Common Market). The economic integration of the ca-

pitalist countries represents a higher stage in the development of state-monopoly tendencies: the fusion of the monopolies and the state in this case transcends national frontiers and is manifested in the activities of certain regional groupings incorporating a number of countries.

The international economic sphere of the world ca-

pitalist economy will continue to grow in the future. At the same time, naturally, one should remember the other, opposite tendency inherent in capitalism—the inevitable development in future of factors impeding international economic cooperation (aggravation of currency and other upheavals, exacerbation of the trade war, etc.).

Competition and Struggle between Two World Systems

The profound changes caused by the Soviet Union's transformation into a mighty socialist power and by the consolidation of the world socialist system have radically altered the political picture of our planet. There have been radical changes in the whole international relations—for the first time in its history the human race has been able to set the goal of averting new world wars as a really feasible one. Deep-going alterations have taken place in the world economy and in the system of the international division of labour.

Whereas in the past it was the capitalist economy and the capitalist market that had undividedly predominated in the world, now this domination has been replaced by the parallel existence of, and the competition and

struggle between, the two world economies and two world markets—capitalist and socialist. Moreover, the balance of forces between them has been steadily changing in favour of socialism: its share in world industrial production increased from 10 per cent in 1937 to approximately 20 per cent in 1950 and to almost 39 per cent in 1972. In gross industrial output, the Soviet Union has outstripped such large West-European countries as the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and France put together, and has reached more than 75 per cent of the USA's level.

The two world markets and two world economies are to a certain degree in interaction with each other and are bound by a complex of economic relations, forming

(together with the developing countries) the system of the present world economy. But each of them is developing according to its own laws, the laws peculiar to the given mode of production.

Under socialism the tendency towards the elimination of various barriers and isolationism, which interfere with social development, and towards the internationalization of economic relations is given a new impetus. And the practical actions, in which this tendency is embodied, undermine the very foundations of world economic relations built on the exploitation of some countries and nations by others. Economic cooperation between socialist states is in complete harmony with the interests of each country—both large and small, helps to overcome differences in economic development levels, and strengthens the world socialist community as a whole.

The growing international division of labour within the socialist community serves as a kind of economic basis for the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, by which the Soviet Union and other socialist states are invariably guided in their international policy, and in their relations with one another.

And this basis is steadily gaining strength. In 1972 the

foreign trade turnover of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was more than 66,000 million roubles. The Soviet Union's foreign trade turnover that year reached 26,000 million roubles, about two-thirds of that with the socialist countries. These countries receive from the USSR a considerable part of the staple raw materials and equipment they require. In its turn, our country imports large quantities of machines, plant and other goods from CMEA countries.

It was to a large extent due to this mutual economic cooperation that the average annual growth rate of the CMEA countries' national income was 70 per cent higher than in the developed capitalist countries from 1966 to 1970.

The development of the process of the socialist countries' economic integration was a logical outcome of their growing economic cooperation. The Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member-Countries, which was adopted by the 25th CMEA session (1971), is being carried out successfully.

One of the most impor-

tant features of socialist integration, distinguishing it in principle from capitalist integration, is that it covers, first and foremost, the spheres of production, science and technology on the basis of growing cooperation in planning and coordination of economic development programmes—both five-year and long-range plans. This makes it possible to concentrate joint efforts on the accelerated development of key industries and projects and to solve the coordinated problems in a comprehensive way. The Comprehensive Programme envisages the joint utilization of natural resources, the construction of major projects in the chemical, pulp-and-paper and other industries and of atomic power plants, cooperation in the production of electronic computers, programme-controlled machine tools, motor vehicles and many other types of goods.

The consolidation of the positions of the countries of the socialist community in the world economy has been

accompanied by the expansion of their cooperation with many developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. By the beginning of 1973, the Soviet Union had built in these countries 412 economic, social and cultural projects.

In 1961-70, the average annual increment of the USSR's goods turnover with the developing countries was 14.3 per cent. The Soviet Union supplies these countries with large amounts of machines and equipment, in turn, receiving from them (both through conventional commercial operations and as repayment of credits) large quantities of needed consumer goods, foodstuffs and raw materials.

The developing countries' growing economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states facilitates the break-up of the system of dependence which came into existence when imperialism exercised undivided sway, and helps these countries in their struggle for economic independence.

The Soviet Peace Programme and Economic Cooperation

The split-up of the world into two systems of states and the emergence and development of the world socialist economy inevitably

raised the question of the nature of its relations with the capitalist economy. The leaders of history's first socialist state had no doubts what-

ever when giving an answer to this question: they expressed themselves in favour of the most extensive economic links with the capitalist world. "In the present epoch", read the Soviet delegation's declaration, edited by Lenin, which was presented to the Genoa Conference in April 1922, "which makes possible the parallel existence of the old and the emergent new social system, economic cooperation between states representing these two systems of ownership is an imperative necessity".

Such was the position of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the leaders of the capitalist powers held a different view. As a result, it took quite a number of years to establish the cooperation we had been striving for. Evidence that it was mutually advantageous was to be seen as early as the late twenties and early thirties: the equipment we imported from abroad helped us carry out the tasks of the first five-year plans, while the exports of such equipment in large quantities by the capitalist countries helped them alleviate the consequences of the world economic crisis of 1929-33, which was so hard on the working people. Our cooperation with the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition during the war contributed,

to a certain degree, to the defeat of the common enemy, although the brunt of the war was borne by the Soviet people and the Soviet Armed Forces.

The long years of the cold war again set the Soviet Union's economic links with the majority of the capitalist countries back many years. However, as the economic, scientific and technical potential of the Soviet Union and other socialist states kept growing, as their domestic market and their export possibilities kept expanding, the interest of the capitalist countries in establishing and developing economic contacts with us kept increasing, too. This has also been objectively facilitated by the sharp aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions, in the past few years, and especially the contradictions between the three basic "power centres" of present-day capitalism, i.e., the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

The relaxation of international tensions, the serious positive changes achieved in the past few years in the relations between the Soviet Union and France, Italy and a number of other countries, the turn in the relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, connected with the signing of a system of treaties

guaranteeing the inviolability of European borders, and the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union, the most powerful socialist state, and the United States of America, the main country of modern capitalism, all contributed to the development of economic cooperation between the socialist states and the capitalist countries. The successful implementation of the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress also greatly affected the sphere of international economic relations.

The USSR's trade with the developed capitalist countries grew from 2,200 million roubles to 5,900 million roubles between 1962 and 1972. Last year the Soviet Union's goods turnover with the FRG amounted to 827 million roubles, with Japan to 816 million roubles, with Finland to 602 million roubles, with Britain, France and the United States to over 500 million roubles each.

Noteworthy are the increasingly ranging spheres of international economic cooperation with the Soviet Union's participation. This includes long-established trade contacts with a number of

countries, agreements on industrial cooperation, various kinds of credit agreements; cooperation in the field of science and technology, space research and medicine, as well as joint participation in building various projects in Third World countries. Such a new form of foreign economic relations as the so-called compensation deals, under which credits for building industrial projects are "repaid" in goods produced at these enterprises, is becoming more and more widespread.

At the same time one should not shut one's eyes to the fact that there still are quite a few active opponents of such contacts, not so much among business circles, as among the most reactionary-minded politicians and military figures in capitalist countries. This is not surprising, for the advocates of the aggressive course realize perfectly well that the development of mutually advantageous economic relations may become an effective means of struggle against that most regressive of tendencies in international relations commonly known as the cold war.

In the Interests of Peace and International Cooperation

What does the Soviet Union derive from the promotion of economic relations

with other countries in general and with capitalist countries in particular?

First, the practical use of the undoubted economic advantages provided by specialization in production and industrial cooperation with another country or several countries, whether it is a matter of importing equipment and goods we need, or of our own export-oriented enterprises. With the rapid development of the instruments and means of production, materials and technological processes, due to the intensified scientific and technological revolution of our time, no country, however big and powerful, can effectively develop all types of production.

Second, there is the opportunity to use foreign credits, equipment and technical know-how for more extensive utilization of our rich natural wealth; part of the products of the new enterprises will go to repay these credits. This enables us to speed up the fulfilment of our long-range economic plans and to start right now on the economic development of new regions, including those in the North, Siberia and the Far East, and to rapidly expand production capacities of a number of branches and industries.

The promotion of econo-

mic relations with other countries will no doubt have a most favourable effect on the international political situation, it will help to guarantee international security, to which paramount significance has always been attached by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

At the same time the promotion of contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will in equal measure be beneficial to the capitalist countries which have shown an interest in this matter. And this will make for more rapid economic, scientific and technological advance of all states and the cause of world peace.

Thus, viewed at different angles—whether from the economic aspect of increasing the efficiency of the Soviet economy, or from the standpoint of foreign policy (including strengthening the fraternal unity of socialist states, reinforcing the position of the developing countries, and promoting relations with capitalist countries in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence)—the growth of economic relations with other countries is fully in accord with the interests of the Soviet people.

GLORIOUS JUBILEE OF THE LENINIST PARTY

On the 70th Anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The 70th anniversary of the opening of the Second Congress of the RSDLP falls on July 30, 1973. The world-wide historic significance of the Congress is that the process of amalgamating the revolutionary Marxist organizations was completed at the Congress and a party of the working class of Russia was formed, based on the ideological, political and organizational principles elaborated by Lenin. There arose a proletarian party of a new type, a party of Bolsheviks, the great Leninist Party. "As a current of political thought and as a political party", Lenin said, "Bolshevism has existed since 1903".

Since then our Party has traversed a path unparalleled in history. From a comparatively small underground organization, it became a powerful, cemented, nearly 15-million strong army of Communists—the ruling party of the world's first socialist state. The CPSU, a party of the working class, became the militant vanguard of the entire Soviet people building communism. "The party", Lenin wrote, "is the intelligence, the honour and the conscience of our time".

In setting up the party, Lenin proceeded from the fact that in conditions of imperialism and proletarian revolutions the working class had to have a party of a new type—a truly revolutionary, truly communist party—which would radically differ from the parties of the Second International. The party, Lenin held, should head the struggle of the proletariat for the revolutionary transformation of society, and be the leading force in the revolutionary transition from capitalism to

socialism and communism. Basing himself on the ideas of K. Marx and F. Engels and the experience of the Russian and world working class movement, and creatively developing Marxism relative to the epoch of imperialism, Lenin produced an integral teaching about the party as the highest form of revolutionary organization of the working class, and comprehensively evolved its theoretical and organizational principles, the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism, the standards of party life and the principles of party leadership.

The St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded by Lenin in 1895 was the embryo of the revolutionary proletarian party in Russia around which social-democratic organizations in a number of industrial centres of the country began to unite. The First Congress, which proclaimed the founding of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), took place in 1898. But the Congress, which was held in the absence of Lenin and his closest comrades-in-arms, who were in exile, was unable to work out a party programme and rules, and overcome the division in the social-democratic movement.

The newspaper *Iskra*, founded and guided by Lenin played a highly significant role in the ideological and organizational preparation of a revolutionary proletarian party and in disassociating itself from the opportunists. Local party committees and a whole group of the foremost professional revolutionaries rallied round the newspaper on a principled Marxist basis. *Iskra*, in Lenin's words, united the pick of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP adopted the Marxist-Leninist programme of the party—a programme of struggle to overthrow the autocracy, the rule of landowners and capitalists, and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as the means of bringing about the socialist reconstruction of society. It consolidated the victory of Bolshevism over the opportunist approach of the “economists”, and seriously undermined the position taken by those in the international social-democratic movement upholding economist views.



ПАРТИЯ -
УМ, ЧЕСТЬ И СОВЕСТЬ
НАШЕЙ ЭПОХИ

В.И. Ленин

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ПАРТИЯ СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА

ЦК КПСС

ПАРТИЙНЫЙ БИЛЕТ

№ 00000001

Фамилия *Ильин*

Имя *Владимир*

Отчество *Ильич*

Год рождения *1870*

Время вступления в партию *1893*

Наименование партийного органа, выдавшего билет

*Центральный Комитет
Коммунистической партии*

Советского Союза



Дата выдачи *1 марта 1973*

УПЛАТА ЧЛЕНСКИХ ВЗНОСОВ

19 ____ год

Месяц	Ежемесячный заработок	Сумма взноса	Подпись секретаря
Январь			
Февраль			
Март			
Апрель			
Май			
Июнь			
Июль			
Август			
Сентябрь			
Октябрь			
Ноябрь			
Декабрь			



The card exchange begun in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an important organizational and political undertaking aimed at further strengthening the Party and intensifying the activity of the Communists in fulfilling the targets set by the 24th CPSU Congress in the economic and cultural fields.

In keeping with tradition, Party card No. 00000001 of the new issue was filled in at the CPSU Central Committee in the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Lenin's Party card was signed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Party card bearing the name of V. I. Lenin has been handed over to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee.

Party card No. 00000002 was handed to L. I. Brezhnev, who said that he would continue to serve the great cause of Lenin, the ideals of the Communist Party, the Soviet people and the cause of communism.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP was also a turning point in the world working class movement. The Theses of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin" say: "The setting up of the Bolshevik Party marked the beginning of a new stage in the Russian and international working class movement. For the first time, the proletariat had an organization capable of successfully leading its struggle for social emancipation in the new historical conditions."

Lenin's teaching about the party greatly contributed to the treasury of revolutionary Marxism. The basic requirements of the class struggle of proletarians of all countries found scientific expression in Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin created, strengthened and steeled the party in the irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, against revisionism, Trotskyism, Right- and "Left"-wing opportunism, social-chauvinists and national-deviationists, against all those opposed to the revolutionary principles of Marxism.

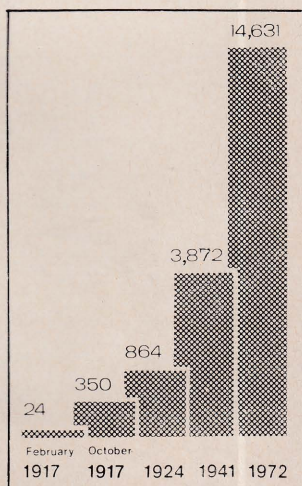
Led by the Communist Party the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in the history of

Facts and Figures

● "In February 1917, when the Party emerged from the underground, it had about 24 thousand members. By October 1917, there were already 350,000 Bolsheviks. And that was all there was in Russia with her population of 160,000,000. What incredible energy these people had to have and what indestructible strength had the truth they carried to be able to lead tens of millions of workers and peasants."

L. I. Brezhnev.

Growth of the Membership of the CPSU (thousand).



mankind, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, triumphed.

Deep-going socialist transformations on a hitherto unknown scale have been effected under the guidance of the Communist Party. Our homeland, having overcome its age-old backwardness, has turned into a strong socialist power. The CPSU has united the working people of all nationalities on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism, and has reared generations of dedicated builders of communism and genuine internationalists.

The Soviet people's close bond with their Leninist Party, their boundless loyalty to the cause of the October Revolution and their socialist country were graphically manifested in the grim years of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945). Soviet people displayed unparalleled courage, mass-scale heroism, at the front and in the rear. In keeping with its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union helped the enslaved peoples to shake off the fascist yoke. The might of the world's first socialist state and the sound Leninist policies of the CPSU helped people's democratic and socialist revolutions in a number of countries in Europe and Asia to triumph and bring

● In 1924 the Party and the Soviet people suffered a grievous loss. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin died. The death of their leader had the Soviet people rally more closely around the Party. In response to the Lenin enrollment appeal 316,000 working people, including 240,000 industrial workers, joined the Party in a short period of time.

The Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 indicated again the strong ties between the Party of Lenin and the people. During the war, in the period between July 1st, 1941 and July 1st, 1945, about 5,100,000 men and women became

candidate members of the Party and about 3,300,000—full members of the Party. This was approximately the same number of people who had been admitted to the Party in the course of the twelve pre-war years.

● Though the CPSU is the party of the working class, it is today the vanguard of the whole of the Soviet people. Workers form 40.5 per cent of the CPSU membership and peasants—14.8 per cent. The composition of the CPSU reflects the social structure of Soviet society and the leading role played in it by the working class.

about the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism.

The main result of the very profound socio-economic transformations effected by the Soviet people under the guidance of the CPSU was the construction of an advanced socialist society. A new historical community of people—the Soviet people, an inviolable brotherhood of working people of more than 100 nations and nationalities, cemented by common interests and goals, and the Marxist-Leninist ideology—has come into being on the basis of the radical changes in society's economic, social and intellectual life. A vivid illustration of the internationalism and friendship of the peoples was the nation-wide celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The most important objective phenomenon of the development of socialist society is the mounting role of Communist Party leadership. This law-governed process becomes all the more evident in the phase of communist construction.

The CPSU Programme, the decisions of the 23rd and 24th Congresses, and other documents have further developed the Leninist doctrine of the party. Creatively enriching Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU in the decisions of its congresses and plenary meetings, in the party documents on the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, and on the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union, made a profound analysis of the expe-

● In the recent period an average of 600,000 workers, collective farmers and office employees have been joining the CPSU every year. One adult Soviet citizen out of every ten is a Communist.

● Soviet women are active in public life. There are 3,300,000 women members in the ranks of the CPSU.

● Nearly half the members of the CPSU are under forty years of

age. The Party's combination of old and young Communists reflects the close ties that exist between the revolutionary generations and ensures the continuity of Party traditions.

● The CPSU is a living embodiment of the ideas of proletarian internationalism. More than one hundred nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union are represented in its membership.

rience of socialist and communist construction, and of the contemporary world revolutionary movement.

An outstanding event in the life of the Party and of the entire Soviet people was the 24th CPSU Congress which elaborated a clear-cut political course of communist construction at the present stage. The Congress posed the historical task of organically tying in the achievements of the present scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system of economy, of ensuring a substantial rise in the material and cultural standards of the people based on the rapid, all-round development of the productive forces.

Guided by the Party, the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the intelligentsia are successfully implementing the Congress resolutions. They are making an all-out effort to fulfil the targets of the third, decisive year of the ninth five-year plan. "The central task today is to effect a radical change in orientation, to switch the accent to intensive methods of economic management and thereby substantially raise economic efficiency," said L. I. Brezhnev.¹

In its purposeful, many-sided effort to perfect the Soviet political system, the CPSU pays great heed to the further development of socialist democracy, to enhancing in every way the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, as bodies of genuine power by the people, trade union, YCL and other mass public organizations.

The leading role of the Party depends on its qualitative composition and on how well organized is the activity of all Communists in implementing the decisions adopted. It depends directly on the level of party discipline, on the ideological conviction and theoretical schooling of Communists, on the consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, on the Communists' day-by-day contacts with the masses in all aspects of communist construction. The CPSU is constantly perfecting the style and methods of party guidance. It is intensely concerned with increasing the effect-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev. *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, M., 1972, p. 73.

iveness of all its organizations, fostering in Communists the spirit of Bolshevik irreconcilability to shortcomings, creating the prerequisites for the development of criticism and self-criticism. The political and organizational work being done in connection with the exchange of party membership cards helps further consolidate the Party, improve the methods of guidance of the life of society and makes every Communist all the more responsible for the assignments he is given.

The CPSU is a party of consistent proletarian, socialist internationalism. Under the banner of internationalism, it has led the working people of the multinational Soviet country through all trials to victories and achievements of world-historic significance. Internationalism, irreconcilability to any manifestations of nationalism are the law of our life, the basic prerequisite for successfully accomplishing the tasks of communist construction.

The CPSU's foreign policy line for implementing the Peace Programme mapped out by the 24th Congress ensures favourable external conditions for communist construction in this country, for strengthening the world socialist community, and promoting the working class and national liberation movement. It is directed against the aggressive policy of imperialism and is aimed at establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation with states of the opposite social system, at strengthening universal peace and the peoples' security, at ensuring social progress throughout the world. This line is in the interests of all peoples.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the tried and tested militant detachment of the world communist movement. The fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties approve of and support the theoretical work being done by the CPSU, its principled Leninist policy and its consistent struggle for the cohesion of the socialist community, for the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, against bourgeois ideology, reformism, Right- and Left-wing opportunism. The

CPSU's vast experience in implementing the principles of Leninism, in guiding revolutionary struggle, the building of socialism and communism, its wealth of experience in developing the Party itself in line with the demands of every new historical stage, are now available to the entire world revolutionary movement. The development of Marxism-Leninism is unthinkable without paying due attention to this experience.

The CPSU Central Committee deems it important to widely commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party as a significant date in the history of the Leninist Party, in the history of our country, in the history of the entire international communist and working class movement.

B. LEIBZON

The Emergence of the Party of a New Type

The formation of the Leninist Party, the proletarian party of a new type, seventy years ago, marked a turning point in the development of the international working class movement. For the first time in history, the proletariat acquired an organization capable, in the new historical conditions, of guiding the struggle for the socialist transformation of society.

The Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) held 70 years ago (July 30—August 23, 1903) was of immense significance in the history of the Russian and the world communist and working class movements.

The Party of a new type, the Leninist Bolshevik Party,

which has exerted so great an influence on the entire course of world history, was founded at the Congress.

The Congress adopted the Programme and the Rules of the Party, as well as decisions on some tactical and organizational matters. All this reflected the developments that were not only maturing in Russia but were inherent in the new epoch which the major capitalist states were entering, the epoch of imperialism.

**Boris LEIBZON, D. Sc. (History),
Professor of the Academy of Social
Sciences under the CPSU Central
Committee.**

The Party as the Leader

The Programme adopted by the 2nd Congress gave a scientific substantiation of the role of the Party as the organization, under whose guidance the working class is capable of performing its historic mission of overthrowing capitalism and building socialism and communism. At that time, social democracy in the West took quite a different view of the Party's role. French Socialists regarded it as "a kind of a tutor and recruiter"; Belgian Socialists maintained that the Party's major task was "to tirelessly propagate socialist principles".

It was only the programme upheld by Lenin that contained a clear-cut formula that *the Party of the proletariat "leads all the forms of the proletariat's class struggle"*. The whole of Lenin's teaching on the Party was imbued with the ideas of vigorous action and intolerance of a *laissez-faire* policy.

Lenin maintained that the revolutionary Marxist Party must lead the masses and act as their vanguard. It should be a party with clear goals and a broad outlook, advancing

slogans capable of inspiring the masses.

To learn from life and to exert an influence on it—this is the main feature of the Leninist Party, a feature displayed at all times—when the Party was still weak and had limited possibilities, during periods of mass revolutionary advances and, most fully, when it became the ruling party.

The role of the party as the leader of the masses to a large extent depends on a correct theoretical understanding of the character and tendencies of objective development, and on this basis it formulates its strategy and tactics. Only a clear perspective and a correct understanding of urgent needs of social development in the world and in its own country give a party confidence in its practical activity, and staunchness in the face of temporary setbacks. Another characteristic feature of the party of a new type is that all the practical steps it takes have a scientific basis—the Marxist-Leninist theory tested in the many decades of the proletarian class struggle.

A Party of Action

The Party of this type, striving for the revolutionary transformation of the world,

naturally demands that every new Party member not only accept its Programme but

also take part in implementing it. The discussions which raged at the Second Congress around the first point of the Party Rules, were not concerned with details or niceties of formulation but dealt with the basic problem—the type of organization.

Lenin's condition—that only those who not only accepted the Programme and gave material support to the Party but also personally participated in the work of a Party organization were regarded as Party members—meant that the Party became a single, well-knit organism capable of taking united action.

This is the basic principle

of the Rules of all Communist Parties.

If the necessity for a Party member to take part in the work of a Party organization is denied, the Party membership becomes something quite amorphous, and there is no difference whatever between the members of the Party and sympathizers.

Thus Lenin's formulation of the first point of the Party Rules became the touchstone for testing the genuineness of revolutionary views on the Party. Recognition of the Party as an active transforming force received in Lenin's formulation its logical organizational embodiment.

Democratic Centralism as the Organizational Foundation of the Party

In his efforts to create the Party of a new type, Lenin also clearly formulated the organizational principle of such a party—democratic centralism. Centralization of forces is indispensable for a Party waging a truly revolutionary struggle and not confining itself to propaganda for its views. This makes it possible to unite the uncoordinated actions of individuals and organizations, to make them purposeful; to subordinate local, private and group interests to common aims;

and to ensure inner discipline, which gives the Party great strength. Throughout the Party Rules submitted by Lenin at the Second Congress runs the idea of centralism. At the same time, Lenin wrote in 1903: "To be a party of the masses not only in name, we must get ever wider masses to share in all Party affairs."¹

The demand for democracy is of the same objective character as the demand for centralism. The former flows

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 117.

from the very nature of the Party as a voluntary democratic organization, and expresses the need for the centralized leadership to rely on all valuable experience gained in the practical work of local organizations and individual Party members. Lenin's principle of democratic centralism implies broad democracy in discussing all issues and unity

of action as soon as a decision is made.

Democratic centralism reflects the main specific features of a Marxist-Leninist Party as the Party of action and of revolutionary transformation of the world, an organization which is strong by the social consciousness and activity of its members, and its close bonds with the people.

For a Revolutionary Change of Society

The Programme adopted by the Second Congress called on the working class and all working people to overthrow autocracy and then the bourgeois system. At that time, it was the only programme in the social-democratic movement containing a clear-cut definition of socialist revolution. Later Lenin wrote: "In this Programme, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is stated in clear and definite terms, and, moreover, is linked up with the struggle against Bernstein, against opportunism".²

In fighting for the revolutionary remaking of society the proletariat not only expresses its own interests but also facilitates the emancipation of all working people, i. e., the majority of the population, from exploitation.

Here we have the objective foundation for the hegemony of the working class, the idea which permeated the Programme and formed the basis for the entire subsequent struggle waged by the Party.

The struggle for complete democracy, formulated by the Second Congress as the immediate task, was the basis for the Party's wide-scale activities. In his book *What Is to Be Done?* Lenin advised Party members to go to all classes of the population; the Party had to bring together all streams of discontent of not only the workers but also of the peasants, artisans, intellectuals, religious sects, and oppressed nations into a single current.

Without losing its identity or violating its principles, the Party has always striven for unity of all democratic forces capable of fighting the common enemy.

² V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 340.

The triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution meant that the most important points of the Programme adopted by the Second Congress were accomplished in the main. At the same time, this triumph demonstrated the vitality of the basic principles of the Party of a new type, as well as the strategy and tactics it was guided by.

In the new epoch, ushered in by the Revolution in October 1917, the Party continues to follow the principles elaborated by the Second Congress and applies them flexibly, depending on the changing situation. The successes in socialist construction, the rout of Hitlerite fascism, and the development of a mature socialist society in the USSR demonstrate the colossal force acquired by the people when they are led by the Leninist Party.

It is not by chance that a focal point of the ideological struggle going on in the world is the problem of the Party,

its type and character. The adversaries of Leninism endeavour to present the Party of a new type as being suitable only for Russia. But a struggle against the facts is foredoomed, whatever sophisticated form it takes.

Today there are Communist Parties—parties of the new type—throughout the world. The conditions in which they function are highly diverse, and, of course, everywhere the Marxist-Leninist Parties take account of the specific features obtaining in their own countries—otherwise they could not be national parties closely connected with their people, above all the working class. But for all their distinctions, they are fundamentally Marxist-Leninist Parties of the new type. The first of them was founded 70 years ago in Russia. Now 89 such parties comprise a great world force, the international communist movement.

(APN)



“For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day it must—and this Marx and I have been arguing ever since 1847—form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party.”

F. Engels to G. Trier. 1889

“Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia!”

V. I. Lenin. What Is to Be Done? 1902

"The political consciousness of the advanced contingent is, incidentally, manifested in its ability to organize. By organizing it achieves unity of will and this united will of an advanced thousand, hundred thousand, million becomes the will of the class."

V. I. Lenin. *How Vera Zasulich Demolishes Liquidationism*. 1913

"...the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory."

V. I. Lenin. *What Is to Be Done?* 1902

"...unity of action, freedom of discussion and criticism. Only such discipline is worthy of the democratic party of the advanced class."

V. I. Lenin. *Party Discipline and the Fight Against the Pro-Cadet Social-Democrats*. 1906

"It is our task to safeguard the firmness, consistency, and purity of our Party. We must strive to raise the title and the significance of the Party member higher, higher and still higher."

V. I. Lenin. *Speech in the Discussion on the Party Rules at the Second Congress of the RSDLP*. 1903

"On the eve of the proletarian revolution, the liberation, the freedom of the parties of the revolutionary proletariat from opportunists and "Centrists", from their influence, their prejudices, their weaknesses and vacillations, is the main and essential condition of success."

V. I. Lenin. *On the Struggle within the Italian Socialist Party*. 1920

EXPERIENCE OF BUILDING SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

G. GLEZERMAN

Interaction of Class and National Factors in the Development of Soviet Society

Politicheskoye samoobrazovaniye No. 2, 1973

More than fifty years' experience of building a new society in the Soviet Union has convincingly proved the correctness of the fundamental conclusion of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the organic link between the solution of the nationalities question and the social emancipation of the working people.

Experience shows that socialist revolution puts an end to class oppression, ensures social emancipation, and also solves the task of eliminating national oppression and liberating the formerly oppressed peoples.

The class factor, undoubtedly, plays the decisive part in the revolutionary transformation of the world. The main prerequisite for the solution of the nationalities question in Russia was the establishment of the power of the proletariat, the consistently revolutionary class and implacable opponent of all kinds of social and national oppression. The socialist transformation of society has also radically changed the relations among nationalities in the USSR. Let us note that in the Soviet Union, a multinational country, it was impossible to implement social changes successfully without reckoning with national relations, or without due account for such objective reality as nations and their interests.

Elimination of Class Antagonism and National Strife

Professor
Grigory
GLEZERMAN,
D. Sc. (Phil.), Pro-
Rector of the Aca-
demy of Social Sci-
ences under the CPSU
Central Committee.

Class and national relations are not two poles of history, which are independent of each other, as many bourgeois philosophers and sociologists have maintained. Relations among nationalities

always depend on their social nature, i. e., above all on the mode of production—capitalist or socialist—which is the basis of their common economic life, and the class—the bourgeoisie or the working class—that leads the nation and guides its development. That is why the source of national strife lies not in ethnic or any other differences among peoples but in the socio-class relations of bourgeois society. Hence, the conclusion drawn by the classics of Marxism: "In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."¹

This forecast has been borne out by the experience of the Soviet Union. In the course of the socialist revolution, social relations were radically changed, as were also national relations. Of particular importance to the implementation of these changes was the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, which was an indispensable condition for changing national relations. At the same time, the way this task was tackled had its own distinctive features in different republics and regions of the multinational Soviet Union.

In the early years after

the October Revolution, economic and social changes, which delivered a palpable blow to the exploiter classes, were carried out, including nationalization of land, large-scale industries and banks, the take-over by the proletarian state of the key positions in the national economy, the establishment of a foreign trade monopoly, etc. As a result, the classes of the landlords and big bourgeoisie were abolished.

"This task which we are working on now, for the time being on our own, seems to be a purely Russian one, but in reality it is a task which all socialists will face."

V. I. Lenin. 1921

It was impossible, however, to abolish every kind of exploitation of the working people immediately after the October Revolution since complete abolition of the exploiter classes and of the exploitation of man by man becomes possible when at least the following conditions obtain:

first, the time must be ripe for the expropriation of the exploiters, from the economic point of view. In the early post-revolutionary years, the abolition of the classes of the landlords and big bourgeoisie was imminent, the way having been prepared by econo-

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels. *Works*, Vol. 1, p. 54.

mic development itself. However, in order to destroy the other exploiter groups (medium and small capitalists in town and the kulaks in country) it was necessary to create the necessary material prerequisites for replacing their production based on private property by socialist production based on public property;

second, the class forces capable of solving the task have to mature. This presupposes a profound understanding by the working people of the divergence of their interests from those of the exploiter classes.

That is why the elimination of all exploiter classes and groups in town and country could not be implemented simultaneously. After the proletariat had seized power, it took about fifteen years to complete, on a country-wide scale, the eradication of exploiter classes. During that period, the USSR carried out socialist industrialization, which resulted in the establishment of new, modern industries, and a considerable growth and consolidation of the working class, and reinforced its leading role, while in industry and trade socialist enterprises had developed and gained in strength. By the end of the 1920s, socialist forms of economy had completely ousted private capital

from trade and industrial production.

However, the kulaks—the last and the most numerous exploiter class—still remained in agriculture. Unlike small capitalists in trade and industry, the kulaks kept under their control a substantial part of agricultural production. The abolition of this class could be carried out only in the process of complete collectivization of agriculture. In the course of mass collectivization, the economic foundation emerged for replacing kulak production of grain by collective and state-farm production. Class forces finally crystallized—in the shape of the poor and middle peasants—which were convinced of the advantages of collective farming and were capable of waging a resolute struggle against the kulaks. In early 1930s, the kulaks were abolished as a class.

This process took place in an area where, before the revolution, capitalist relations dominated, although alongside strong survivals of feudalism in countryside. By the beginning of the revolution, the peoples of Russia were at different levels of development. Among them were:

- 1) peoples who had reached the stage of capitalism (Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians, and others);

2) peoples who were at the stage of feudal and semi-feudal relations (most of Azerbaijan, Central Asia, etc.);

3) peoples and tribes who had preserved the patriarchal-tribal system although it was to a certain extent undermined by the penetration of capitalism (nationalities and tribes in the North Caucasus, the Far North, etc.).

About 30 million of Russia's 140 million population had not even reached the capitalist stage.

Great difficulties had to be overcome along the path of socialist development. The task of doing away with the exploiter classes was complicated by the backward economy and the absence or weakness of the working class. In the whole of Central Asia and Kazakhstan there were virtually no big enterprises. It was assistance of the working class of Central Russia that facilitated progress of the working people in those areas. For the first time in history, the opportunity came to make a gigantic historic leap: to bypass capitalism and effect the direct transition from pre-capitalist relations towards socialism.

It was impossible, however, to make such a leap in one go. Lenin emphasized several times that in backward countries and areas a

number of intermediate stages in political and economic transformations were necessary. As far as the political aspect was concerned, peasants' Soviets and, in most backward areas, even patriarchal and tribal Soviets had to be set up as an intermediate link. The intermediate stages proved necessary in implementing economic changes, too. Much attention had to be devoted to specific national features and even national prejudices.

Let us take as an example the most important stages in the abolition of the exploiter classes in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, which accounted for about 60 per cent of the indigenous population of regions of the USSR which had not passed through capitalism.

The following measures were taken as the first major step towards eradicating the exploiter classes: the colonial state machine was destroyed and the largest estates, which belonged to the tsar's family, the Russian landlords and capitalists and the richest local landlords were nationalized and transferred to the working people. The Soviet state curtailed the possibilities of the local feudal lords to exploit the working people, protected the interests of farm labourers and poor peasants, limited the use of hired la-

bour, and imposed heavy taxes on the rich landowners. However, the feudal lords were not immediately expropriated. At that time the illiterate and ignorant peasants were unable to realise their class interests and would not therefore support the expropriation of their feudal rulers.

Unlike the position in Central Russia, the eradication of feudal survivals in the economic life of Central Asia and Kazakhstan took a whole decade. The very fact of nationalization in the area did not remove pre-capitalist relations and the corresponding forms of exploitation. Actually, the eradication of feudal and patriarchal-tribal relations was achieved by means of the land reform which was effected in two stages: in 1921-1922 and in 1925-1929. As a result, a major part of land and water resources owned by the feudal rulers was transferred to the working peasants. However, the reform did not completely eliminate the exploiter groups. The final abolition of the exploiter sections in Central Asia was attained only after mass collectivization of agriculture.

As a result of all these changes, the rural exploiter group in Uzbekistan, which in 1913 accounted for 11 per cent of the farms, in 1924 for

PEGGY DENNIS RETURN TO MOSCOW

Za rubezhom, May 17, 1973

While on each return to Moscow during the past 40 years I found new evidence of material advance, none was so strikingly visible as now, after a seven-year absence.

Socialism is not an abstract utopia sprung full-blown from Minerva's brow. It is a new social system which is rooted in and has to be developed under the basis of the specific conditions and levels of economic, cultural, historical, social, ideological development existing in the individual country at the time of the socialist revolution.

Improving the life of the people is socialism's sole purpose and goal. The essence of that improved life is made up of many component parts, the base and pivot of which is raising the daily living standards of the people commensurate to the expanding socialist productivity.

Common to all countries building socialism are the fundamental features of the new society: destruction of capitalist state power; abolition of economic classes rooted in private ownership of the means of production and the appropriation as personal profit of the social labor of the working people; creation of a new society; the restructuring of social and working relations and the re-education of all people in the new, collective spirit governing the new society.

However, as Lenin wrote: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to

(Continued on p. 73)

7 per cent, in 1928 4.5 per cent, and in 1932 1.1 per cent, in 1934 ceased to exist altogether.

The fight against feudalism in the republics of the Soviet East took more time than in the central areas, whereas the final abolition of the kulak elements was carried out within a comparatively short period. Republics and areas which had traversed the non-capitalist path of development embarked on socialist construction almost simultaneously with the central areas.

The eradication of the exploiter classes put an end not only to the exploitation of man by man but also to national strife. In the past, the

exploiter classes were the main vehicle and organizer of strife and conflicts among nationalities.

New relations among nationalities, based on equality, mutual assistance, friendship, and cooperation, have come into being in the Soviet Union. These relations reflect a new social nature of socialist nations. They are nations whose economic foundation is a common socialist economy. Socialist nations are without class antagonisms, since they consist of the working classes, and it is no longer the bourgeoisie but the working class, the most internationalist class by its nature and ideology, which is their driving force.

From Legal to Actual Equality

With the triumph of the socialist revolution, which demolished the system of oppression of one people by another and established the principles of equality and of the voluntary character of their union, new relations among nations came into being. These principles were proclaimed during the early days after the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia. However, the establishment of legal equality was not sufficient to solve the nationalities

question. The task was to ensure actual—economic and cultural—equality of the peoples, which proved an extremely difficult task.

When the USSR was formed, profound differences in the level of development and the social composition of various peoples were still strongly felt. Many peoples did not have their own working class or national intelligentsia. They constituted an aggregate of tribes and nationalities and could not, without a developed economy, be crystallized into nations. The process of

changing the social pattern of these peoples was also a process of changing the forms of ethnic community. Those which had passed through capitalism were turning from bourgeois into socialist nations. Where the capitalist stage had not been experienced, new nations and nationalities were emerging as a result of the consolidation of various tribes and ethnic groups. Thus, for many peoples the solution of social problems coincided with the elimination of their fragmentation and their consolidation into nations or nationalities.

In 1923, the twelfth Congress of the Party emphasized that the actual inequality and backwardness of the formerly oppressed nations could be overcome solely by means of substantial assistance from the Russian proletariat over a long period to the backward peoples of the Soviet Union in their economic and cultural development. This assistance was, above all, to include a number of practical measures aimed at building industrial centres, the local population being drawn in as much as possible, in republics with formerly oppressed nationalities.

At the initial stage, the moving of a number of factories and works from the central areas of Russia to Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia,

Kirghizia, Uzbekistan and other regions of the USSR, with subsequent substantial capital investments, to national republics and the building of new industrial enterprises in these areas was of great importance. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government took account both of the economic efficacy of such measures and of the influence they would exert on relations among nations.

In considering the location of productive forces, the Party and the Soviet Government examined a whole set of problems: the bringing of industry closer to deposits of raw materials; specialization of economic regions with account for their natural resources with the purpose of the achieving maximum efficacy of production, an accelerated development of the Soviet Union's outlying districts, and overcoming their backwardness.

The nations in the USSR became homogeneous in social composition as a result of the accelerated economic and cultural development of all republics. Today all the Soviet nations consist of the working class, collective-farm peasantry and intelligentsia.

A vital part in changing the social composition of the peoples was the particularly speedy development of the formerly backward areas of

the USSR. In 1972, the overall industrial output of the Soviet Union was 105 times the 1913 figure. The increase in the formerly backward republics was even higher: in Kirghizia 227 times, in Armenia 200 times, in Kazakhstan 170, and in Byelorussia 121.

The same can be said about the cultural development of the republics. In figures of persons with higher and secondary education per 1,000 of the employed population, the biggest gap between republics amounted in 1939 to 3.6 times, in 1959 to 1.6 times, and in 1970 to 1.4 times, which means that the gap decreased 2.5 times.

Before the October Revolution, there were no higher educational establishments on the territory of the present republics. Today in Moldavia, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan and Armenia the number of students per 10,000 of population exceeds the corresponding figure in France or Britain.

These data demonstrate that the task of actually evening out the socio-economic and cultural development of nations has, in the main, been accomplished.

In pursuing its policy on the nationalities question the CPSU has steadfastly followed the instructions given by Lenin, who emphasized that

account should be taken of the common vital interests of Soviet nations, and their specific features. Lenin regarded the community of interests of socialist nations of the USSR as a cementing factor. Shortly before the formation of the USSR, Lenin pointed out in an interview to a British reporter: "Our five years' experience in settling the national question in a country that contains a tremendous number of nationalities such as could hardly be found in any other country, gives us the full conviction that under such circumstances the only correct attitude to the interest of nations... is to meet these interests in full and provide conditions that exclude any possibility of conflicts on that score."²

In its policy the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by Lenin's behest to be as attentive as possible to each nation and its interests. At the same time, the CPSU works to facilitate the further drawing together of nations, and comes out against any attempt to retard the natural process of their coming closer together, which is in the vital interests of all nations and nationalities of the USSR.

² V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386.

RETURN TO MOSCOW

(Continued from p. 69)

some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life."

Russia's Feat

It is surely clear today that socialism in the West will start from a totally different level of economic and social development, will be influenced by a wholly different historical experience, and therefore undoubtedly will be confronted with a somewhat different set of immediate problems and different forms to solve them than in the case of the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, 1949 in China, 1959 in Cuba, each of which, as Lenin predicted, contributed "something of its own" to the experience of world revolution.

The Soviet people have travelled a long and difficult road. One of Lenin's first post-revolution slogans, "Electrification Plus Soviet Power Equals Communism," dramatized the low levels of capitalist production inherited by the new socialist state, and this decisive fact placed industrialization as the key task for survival. The task to industrialize the vast country required the rapid training of a skilled working class out of illiterate population.

Today's 246 million Soviet people are not only a literate people. By the end of the current ninth five-year plan, 30 million will be university graduates or have had some form of higher education above the high school level in the vast system of technicums, institutes and specialized colleges.

The first five-year plan launched in 1928 a many-years struggle to build the material base for socialism. The gigantic economic-industrial-military power of the Soviet

Union is no longer in dispute on a world scale. In fact we can see how much the Soviet Union has accomplished since its infancy only 55 years ago. This is an accomplishment which, both directly and indirectly, enables all the other socialist countries today to develop within the safety and mutuality of the community of socialist states.

From the Old to the New

Pride in Soviet achievement is widespread here. But only the older generations remember and know first-hand how far they travelled to get where they are today. And with them, I too remember...

... 1931, the third year of the first five-year plan. Our ration cards to empty shops in Moscow procured day after day nothing but some bread, a salt herring, a few ounces of sugar. But the giants of socialist industry were being built—from Moscow to Siberia, from Murmansk to Odessa.

... 1938, the year bread rationing ended and the big food shops were opened to all of us. A brief interval of relatively eased living just before the holocaust.

... 1941, the Hitler invasion. Twenty million Soviet men, women, children—civilians, military, guerrilla fighters, of all nationalities—were to die before Hitler fascism was defeated.

... 1945 onward, the years of reconstruction out of the chaos and agony of war. Without Marshall Plan dollars. Achieved once again by tightened belts, self-denial, postponed realization of the full flower's growth of socialism.

Upon each return here in 1961, 1965 and now in 1972—after living in Moscow for 7 years in 1931, again in 1937 and 1941—I visit old friends and make new ones. I wander old streets and explore new districts. I marvel at the new and recall how it used to be.

I explore new housing districts replete with new shopping centers, schools, clinics, transport lines, child care centres, green belt gardens for each group of buildings. More than half of Moscow's seven-odd million people have moved into new, modern apartments.

Confident of the Future

My friends are pleased at my pleasure at all I see about me and, acceding with pride to all the changes that have taken place, they talk more of all that still needs to be achieved. And as we compare living standards and living costs, I realize there is a whole area to which they are so accustomed they do not even mention it and, for a moment, they are surprised when I do. The rents on their new apartments are the lowest in the world—ranging from six to 20 rubles, depending on actual size of the apartment and the number of persons in the family; their city transport fare

is from four to six cents; child care centers in every neighbourhood and large factory cost a few rubles a month; the neighbourhood clinics, to which everyone is assigned, prescribed treatment and hospital care are free; sanatoria and vacation homes for which the trade union foots from 70 to 100 per cent of the bill are yearly events. And there is freedom from fear of unemployment.

Each of the socialist countries has given, and continues to give, the international revolutionary movement rich experiences in the varied paths to socialism and the different forms of socialist development. True international solidarity is actively to defend and support the right of all peoples to struggle, develop, come to socialism and build socialist society in their own way.

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USSR: ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

DMITRY USTINOV

Alternate Member of
the Politbureau, Secretary
of the CPSU
Central Committee

Leninism Illuminates the Road to Communism

No man in history is as dear to the working people as Lenin. No other teaching in human history has had such tremendous effect on the course of world development as the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

As the years pass the life and work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin emerge more clearly in all their grandeur—this brilliant thinker and unyielding revolutionary who founded the Bolshevik Party and the world's first worker-and-peasant state—the leader of the world working class.

Under the banner of Lenin the Soviet people have built an advanced socialist society and are marching confidently along the road to communism. Guided by Lenin's teachings the working people of fraternal socialist states are building a new life. The proletarians of all countries, the fighters for social and national liberation draw revolutionary energy from Leninism. Lenin's teachings and cause are the international possessions mankind holds in common. And today millions of people throughout the world celebrate the 103rd anniversary of Lenin's birth together with our Party and our people.

This year we celebrate the anniversary of Lenin's birth concurrently with the historic 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. An important political and theoretical document devoted to this event—the Report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—vividly depicts the spectacular

Report by D. Ustinov at the celebration meeting in Moscow (April 20, 1973), devoted to the 103rd birth anniversary of V. I. Lenin.

achievements of the Soviet people, presents the tasks and prospects of our society's further development in the spirit of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. The celebration of the USSR's jubilee developed into a convincing demonstration of the historic truth of Leninism, of the mighty vital force of the socialist system, of the transforming revolutionary role of the Communist Party.

I. COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION: COURSE OF LENIN'S PARTY

Our Party is rightly called a Leninist Party. It was founded by Lenin. He creatively developed Marxism, worked out the theoretical foundations and organizational principles of the militant working class party, the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism. Having built such a party, Lenin gave it efficient guidance in the triumphant struggle for the socialist revolution and construction of a new society.

The current year marks the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which was a turning point in the international working class movement. The formation of the world's first proletarian party of a new type is connected with this historic Congress.

The practice of the class struggle and of socialist construction has totally proven the truth of Lenin's teaching that the party is the supreme form of the revolutionary organization of the working class, that it has the leading role in the construction of communism.

Being the ruling party which has taken upon itself the responsibility for the destiny of the country, the CPSU confidently leads our country on the road to communism. All the successes of the Soviet people are linked with the tireless activities of the Party, with its tremendous organizational and political work. The Party charts the course of Soviet society's development with Leninist wisdom and perspicacity and makes maximum use, as Lenin taught, of the boundless potentialities of socialism, sets the immediate tasks realistically, the Lenin way, and persistently works for carrying them out successfully. In its entire domestic and foreign policy the CPSU faithfully follows Lenin's behests. The Party is always with Lenin. Lenin is always with the Party. Therein lies the strength of the Party, and Lenin's immortality.

The feelings of boundless love and respect entertained by the almost 15,000,000-strong army of Soviet Com-

munists for their tutor and leader, their unshakeable devotion to Leninism—all this is manifested in the solemn and stirring act which initiated the exchange of Party documents—the issue of Party Card No. 1 in the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU stressed that in the process of the construction of communism the Party is coming to play an ever greater role. This fact shows fully the closer unity of the Party ranks and the increased activity of each Party organization and each Communist. The initial results of the organizational and political work done in connection with the exchange of Party documents show what a broad and favourable influence this important work has on all aspects of Party life, on enhancing the initiative and discipline of Communists. Today every member of the Party is more self-exacting and more deeply aware of being a champion of Lenin's great cause.

As he opens a Party card of the new type, a Communist reads Lenin's remarkable words: "The Party is the intelligence, honour and conscience of our epoch". Affiliation with such a party is a great joy, a great trust and at the same time a great responsibility. To be a Communist-

Leninist means to serve faithfully the cause of the working class and of all working people, to spare no effort and ability in the struggle for communism, to be worthy of the distinguished title of a Party member always and in everything one does. Following Lenin's directive Communists inspire their comrades in work by their initiative, their personal example and by the passionate word of the Party, infuse communist ideology in all our deeds.

The Party is successfully playing its leading and guiding role because it is most closely associated with the masses and expresses their interests profoundly and consistently. The Soviet people show complete trust in the Communist Party and in its militant leading body—the Leninist Central Committee—they fully approve and support the policy of the CPSU. Convincing evidence of this is the steady influx of working people into the Party, the constant replenishment of its ranks by the finest representatives of the glorious working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. The unity of the Party and the people is the source of the invincible might of Soviet society.

The CPSU steadily steers the line of the development of socialist democracy, of

drawing broad sections of working people into the management of society. The work of the Soviets—the political basis of our society and the fullest embodiment of its democracy—has become more active and diverse.

The influence of mass public organizations such as trade unions and the Komсомol in various spheres of our state, economic and cultural life has markedly increased. The life-asserting influence of Lenin's ideas is evident in the creative work of Communists and non-Party people, in their activity, initiative and enthusiasm.

Lenin regarded economic development as the major area in the fight for communism. Back in 1922, just after the Civil War, Lenin stressed, as he determined the tasks of the country's development in peacetime: "...now concentrate on *economics*".¹ Lenin proceeded from the assumption that only a powerful and highly developed economy can be a strong material basis of the new socialist society, a reliable source for improving the people's living standards, a guarantee of the independence and defence capacity of the Soviet state. Lenin formulated a strategic plan of building socialist economy in our country and

headed the incredibly hard work of its realization.

The Leninist principles of economic development—national economic planning, democratic centralism, combination of one-man management and effective participation of working people in governing the state, the organic unity of material and moral incentives, cost accounting and mass emulation—have become powerful means in the development of socialist economy.

Over a very short historical period our country has gone from a bourgeois and landlord system, from economic and cultural backwardness to a society of advanced socialism with a modern economy, a powerful scientific and technical potential and high cultural standards.

The achievements of Soviet science have won universal recognition. Excellent Soviet-made machines and devices operate everywhere—on the ground, on water and in the air. Atomic power has been made to serve man. Outer space is becoming, to an ever greater extent, not only an object of exploration, but also a source of practical benefit for the national economy. We owe all this to the Leninist policy of our Party, to the selfless work of the Soviet people.

Proceeding from the in-

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 588.

creased possibilities and requirements of our society, the 24th CPSU Congress oriented the economy to solve the diverse problems involved in improving the people's living standards. At the same time, heavy industry, the basis of the country's economic might, will continue developing at a high rate.

There is only one way of fulfilling the socio-economic programme mapped out by the Party, namely to improve in every way the effectiveness of social production. The best way to this end is to accelerate scientific and technological progress, to improve the system of economic management, to use manpower, material and financial resources more efficiently and to increase the efficacy of socialist emulation.

Our people are enthusiastically fulfilling the ninth five-year plan. Substantial progress has been made after the Congress in strengthening our country's economic might, in improving the Soviet people's living standards. We are now accustomed to the magnitude of our accomplishments, but the present scope of creative work forcibly strikes the imagination even as compared with that of the recent past.

In two years and three months of the current five-year plan period we have produced almost a trillion roubles'

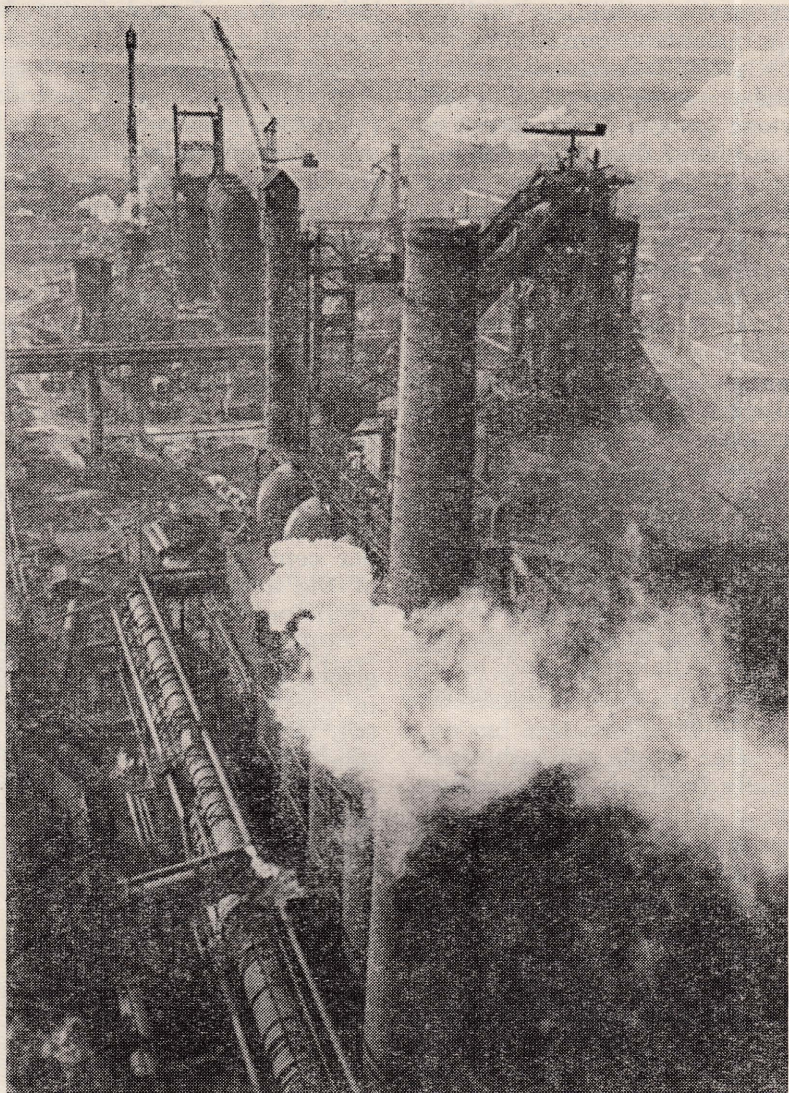
worth of manufactured goods, which equals the total output throughout the seventh five-year plan period (1961-1965). In two years we produced more gas, mineral fertilizers, passenger cars, domestic refrigerators and other goods than in the whole of the seventh five-year plan period.

Our industry has made a good start this year. The output marketing plan for the first quarter of the year was fulfilled by 102 per cent, the increment of industrial production exceeds that of the first quarter of 1972 by 6.4 per cent, and the increment of the average daily output, by 7.8 per cent.

Construction work has grown tremendously in scope in our country. In the past two years, the fixed production assets of the national economy grew by almost 80 thousand million roubles. This exceeds all the production assets the country had in 1950. About 800 big state industrial enterprises, as well as a large number of shops, production lines and other units, went into service.

All this convincingly testifies to the enhanced possibilities of Soviet industry, to the heroic work done by the working class and by our entire people.

A gigantic effort is now being made to carry out the



In 1971, the first year of the ninth five-year plan period, the Soviet Union outstripped the USA and advanced to take first place in the production of steel. By the end of the ninth five-year plan period the USSR will be producing 142-150 million tons of steel.

Photo: Construction of a blast furnace at the Novolipetsk iron and steel works.

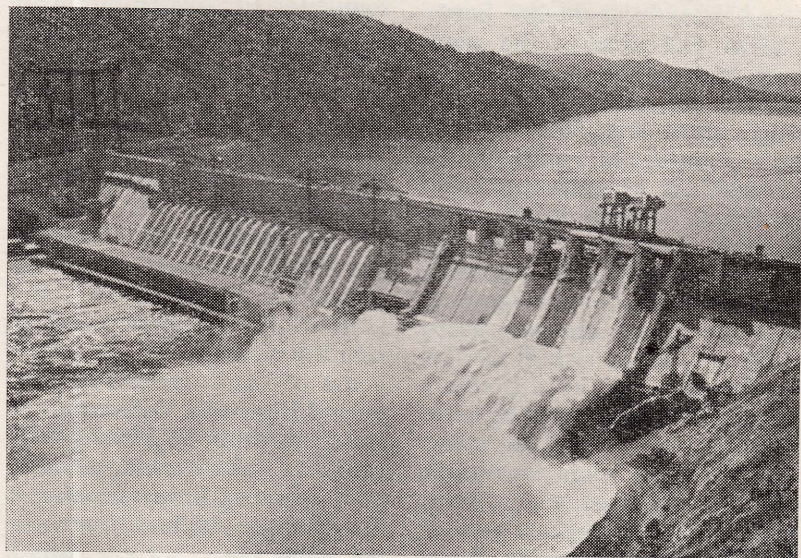


Every year 11 or 12 million Soviet people move to new, comfortable apartments built at state expense. In the first two years of the ninth five-year plan period alone, five million flats were built.

Photo: A new housing block in south-west Moscow.

In the ninth five-year plan period (1971-1975) electric power stations with an aggregate capacity of 65-67 million kilowatts will be put into operation in the Soviet Union.

Photo: The dam at the world's most powerful Krasnoyarskaya hydropower station (6 mln kw) recently completed on the Yenisei River.



comprehensive programme of the further development of agriculture mapped out by the Party. In the period of 1971-1972, state capital investments into this branch of the economy grew 1.7 times, as compared with the first two years of the previous five-year period. The supply of machinery, mineral fertilizers and building materials to the countryside has substantially increased. Lenin's dream of irrigating the country's arid areas is being realized. Today, an average of more than 600,000 hectares of newly irrigated lands are put into use a year, or 1.7 times more than the annual average in the eighth five-year period.

Last year climatic conditions were extremely hard, and we fell short of the plan targets in the output of a number of basic farm products. But even under those hard conditions, an average of 1,400 kg of grain per hectare was reaped thanks to the Party's firm line of strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture, to the intense efforts and improved skill of the working people in the countryside, to the nation-wide effort aimed at preventing crop failure. This is higher than the average yearly crop in the past five-year period. As a result, the average grain

crop in the last two years amounted to about 175 million tons, which is seven million tons more than the yearly average for the period 1966-1970. The rice crop reached an all-time high, and the cotton crop was the highest in the country's history.

The spring-time sowing campaign is now at its height. Soviet farmers pledged to increase the grain crop and to expand the area sown to farm crops, cereals in the first place. They are fully determined not only to fulfil the state plan for the current year, but to compensate to the maximum for last year's poor harvest and to make the most of each farm's resources.

In a word, all branches of our economy have good prerequisites for overfulfilling all the basic plan assignments in 1973, the decisive year of the current five-year period. And it is up to the working people themselves, up to each one of us to make these prerequisites a reality.

The programme for improving the people's living standards, charted by the 24th CPSU Congress, is being steadily fulfilled. In the two years of the current five-year period, the total consumption fund grew by 23,000,000,000 roubles. Railwaymen, a large proportion of farm-machinery operators, doctors, school-teachers and certain other

categories of working people had their pay raised. Minimum old-age pensions paid to retired factory workers and office employees were increased; the social maintenance system in the countryside was improved; higher grants are paid to students of higher and secondary technical schools. The benefits to the population from public consumption funds grew almost 15 per cent.

Since the end of last year, an important socio-economic undertaking of the current five-year period has been in progress—the wages and salaries of workers in the low- and medium-pay brackets employed in industry, transport, communications, state agricultural enterprises and certain other branches are being steadily increased. The scale of the undertaking can be judged by the fact that it will affect more than 50 million people. As a result, the incomes of factory and office workers will grow by about 9,000,000,000 roubles a year. The new pay rates will already be operative this year in the northern and eastern parts of the country, the Urals included.

Much is being done to guarantee that the growing monetary incomes of the working people go hand in hand with an appropriate increase in the production of

consumer goods. In two years, the retail goods turnover has grown by more than 14 per cent, and the volume of everyday services rendered to the population, by 23 per cent. More than 4,500,000 new flats have been built since the beginning of the five-year period. The network of educational establishments, cultural, medical and children's institutions is broadening, and other major measures are being taken to improve the Soviet people's living conditions.

That is how the Party broadly and purposefully sets the task of improving the people's living standards in Lenin's way, and that is how, in Lenin's way, it carries out those tasks on the basis and to the extent of the growth of social labour productivity.

In summing up the results of our work we should see, as Lenin taught us, not only our achievements, but our shortcomings as well. And there are still quite a few of them. Many industrial enterprises, and even a number of ministries do not wholly fulfil plans for the sale of output, the mastering of new machinery, the growth of labour productivity and profitability. New projects are still introduced slowly, the operating capacities, raw stocks and materials, as well as working hours, are often being used poorly. Wastefulness and ex-

cesses still occur. It is our common duty to take resolute action against all these shortcomings.

We should more persistently work to implement the main task set by the Party in the field of the economy formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "To effect a radical change in orientation, to switch the accent to intensive methods of economic management and thereby substantially raise economic efficiency."² The key problem here is to accelerate scientific and technological progress.

Lenin demanded that all the products of human intellect, all the latest achieve-

ments of science and technology should be used in building communism. He gave us brilliant examples of a genuinely scientific and revolutionary approach to the problems of technological progress.

Lenin was the initiator and organizer of drawing up the first long-range economic development plan in history, based on the use of advanced technology — the GOELRO Plan.

This plan remains an excellent example of solving scientific, technical, social and economic problems in their unity. As a Party and state figure Lenin had a very keen sense of the new and could visualize the prospects of the development and practical utilization of new scientific and technical ideas.

² L. I. Brezhnev. *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, M., 1972, p. 73.

SOVIET ECONOMY: ITS PLACE IN WORLD PRODUCTION

Look at the map of the world. The Soviet Union is the largest state with all its territories taking up one-sixth of the earth's land surface. The population of the USSR is 250 million, one-fourteenth of the world total.

The Soviet Union is rich in mineral resources and ranks among the first in the world in prospected deposits of coal, oil, gas, iron and manganese ores, non-ferrous and rare metals and other natural resources.

Soviet industry, which is the basis of the country's economic might and the well-being of its people, is making rapid headway. It accounts for about one-fifth of world industrial production. In 1922, half-century ago, the Soviet Union's share in world industrial output amounted to about one-hundredth.

Today the USSR produces almost one-sixth of the world's oil, about one-fourth of the coal, almost one-third of the iron ore.

Soviet iron and steel workers smelt annually more than one-fifth of the world output of steel and pig iron.

Metal is known to be one of the foundations of modern economy. For instance, this is how the gap in the steel production of the USA and the USSR has been bridged in the last half-century: in 1922, the Soviet Union smelted 113 times less steel

We must learn Lenin's attitude to science and technology. This is especially important now that the Party and the people are concentrating on the solution of the task set by the 24th CPSU Congress—to bring about an organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the advantages of the socialist economic system.

It is essential, above all, to create the economic and organizational conditions which would best promote greater effectiveness in research work and speed up the practical use of its results. An important role is to be played by the long-range prognoses of the development of science, technology and production, as well as interbranch plans

which ensure the coordinated work of research institutions, industrial enterprises and associations at all stages of the development and introduction of new technology.

The Central Committee of the Party deems it expedient to concentrate efforts and means on promising research and projects that would permit to develop science and raise the technical standards of the national economy. It is extremely important for industrial enterprises to show more promptitude in launching the production of better machines and equipment, of high-quality goods for the population, in the broad use of highly efficient technology, in the comprehensive use of raw and other materials.

After the 24th Congress,

than the USA, while during the first year of the ninth five-year plan (1971-1975), the USSR smelted much more steel than the United States, the leading power of the capitalist world.

Soviet power stations generate more than one-seventh of the world's electricity and the Soviet Union annually produces one-fifth of world's mineral fertilizers.

Soviet mills produce one-fifth of the cotton and woollen fabrics. Of each ten tons of sugar one is produced at Soviet refineries. The Soviet Union's agricultural and animal produce accounts for one-ninth of world agricultural production.

Of world annual agricultural output the Soviet Union accounts for: cotton—one-fifth; potatoes—one-third; wheat—one-third; rye—about half.

It also accounts for more than one-fifth of world annual milk production and more than one-seventh of the world output of wool.

As far as all spheres of material production are concerned, the Soviet Union has doubled its national income in 10 years by the beginning of the present, ninth five-year plan period (1961-1970), while the United States required 20 years for the same purpose (1951-1970), and it took Great Britain 32 years (1939-1970), and the FRG 15 years (1956-1970).

From the Soviet Press

our industry made substantial headway in these directions. In the current five-year period, an average of 3,500 items have been put into serial production every year, as against 1,700 in the past five-year period. Obsolete items are now withdrawn from production more speedily. There has been definite progress in improving the quality of goods. A uniform system of state approbation of output has been introduced. More than 7,500 items of the Soviet industry's output have been awarded the state quality mark. However, the Party committees, economic agencies and all our workers, still have much to do to fulfil the Congress' instructions to accelerate technological progress and considerably improve the quality of output.

The Party believes that a main trend in its economic policy is to improve the system of production management, to obtain a smoother operation of our economic mechanism. The December 1972 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee firmly insisted on improving centralized planning, raising the technical and economic substantiation of plans, on strengthening discipline and stepping up responsibility for fulfilment of state assignments. We need to improve planning and economic work

in all sectors of the economy—from factory shops and enterprises to ministries and central economic agencies, to make full use of the advantages offered by socialist planning, the possibilities of concentration and centralization of production.

"Communism", Lenin wrote, "requires and presupposes the greatest possible centralization of large-scale production throughout the country."³ The recent resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and of the USSR Council of Ministers on improving the structure of economic management is very important in this connection. The enlargement of industrial enterprises, the establishment of big production associations, the changeover of most branches to the two- or three-link management system are intended to speed the concentration of industrial production and development of cost accounting principles in economic management.

In the prevailing conditions ever greater importance is assumed by economic methods of management. Prices and credit, profit and material incentive funds, plan quotas—all the economic levers should impel industrial enterprises to make the most

³ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 96.

of their reserves, to draw up intensive production plans, to speed up the application of the achievements of science and technology in production. It is in this direction that the mechanism of the economic reform is being improved.

Automatic systems play an ever greater role in controlling production processes, running enterprises and branches of production. In the past two years as many such systems were put into operation as in the whole of the last five-year period. At present, more than half the Union ministries and central economic organizations use electronic computers in control and planning processes. It is relevant to note, however, that automated control systems could be used on a broader scale and much more efficiently.

The growing scope of production and the complication of economic ties in our economy, the broadening of the rights of industrial enterprises and associations presuppose greater responsibility of collectives and their managers for the state of affairs in production, for the strengthening of labour and state discipline. And it is most gratifying to note that the collectives themselves are coming out more resolutely and frequently against those who impede our advance.

People have always been the decisive factor in the successful fulfilment of the plans. Their creative initiative and skill, organization and persistent work are embodied in towns, electric stations, plants and collective farms, in all that forms our country's wealth.

Soviet working people have stepped up their social and productive activity in the past few years. This manifests itself, above all, in socialist emulation to which Lenin attached tremendous importance. "The organization of competition", he wrote, "must take a prominent place among the tasks of the Soviet Government in the economic sphere."⁴

The Party called on factory workers and collective farmers and on specialists of the national economy to launch an all-Union emulation for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1973 state plan. This appeal evoked a ready response throughout the country and caused a powerful wave of new remarkable initiatives. The front-ranking industrial enterprises of Moscow and Leningrad initiated emulation under the motto: "Shock work from the early days of 1973!". The metallurgists of

⁴ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 206.

Magnitka, miners of the Donbas and the Kuzbas launched an emulation drive for more efficient use of machinery. The method of team economic accounting, suggested by Moscow construction workers, is winning a wide following. It ensures a substantial curtailment of construction schedules and effects a large saving. The grain growers of the Kuban initiated a drive for bumper harvests.

The front-ranking women workers of the Moscow electronic-valve plant came out with a valuable initiative. They pledge one hour a week to make products out of saved materials. If this initiative is taken up on a national scale, it will mean thousands of millions of roubles' worth of extra output, considering the present scope of production. Thus, the rivulets of creative initiative merge into the stream of a nation-wide movement for raising production efficiency.

Socialist emulation has now acquired a new scale and scope. At the same time it is being largely enriched in both form and content. The main motto of emulation today is to provide the country with more goods of better quality and at a lesser cost.

The people of older generations remember the movement for counter-plans which emerged in the course of the

fulfilment of the earlier five-year plans. Now such plans do not only embody the continuity of labour traditions, but help to adapt to new conditions the time-tested methods of economic management. The counter-plans happily combine the assignments of the state plan with local initiative and with socialist pledges of the collectives. Consequently, emulation becomes more purposeful and active, and the reserves revealed are taken into account and put to use much faster. It is the duty of the Party, trade-union, Komsomol and economic organizations to work for a consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of socialist emulation: broad publicity, comparison of the results obtained, the sharing of advanced production techniques.

Plenums of local Party committees and general meetings of Communists devoted to the results of the December 1972 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee actively and creatively discussed topical problems of our economic development and mapped out ways of the fullest possible utilization of the advantages offered by our economy. The working people of all the Union Republics pledged to give the country this year 4,500,000,000 roubles' worth of industrial

output over and above the plan. This will be a weighty contribution to the fulfilment of the five-year plan, an excellent gift to the motherland.

Tomorrow Soviet people will come to their enterprises and construction projects, fields and farms to take part in the All-Union Communist Subbotnik and to manifest their loyalty to the traditions of the Great Beginning and to Lenin's cause.

Allow me at this solemn meeting to wish great success to all the participants in this wonderful festival of labour.

The Party considers the intensification of work for the communist moulding of working people and for enhancing their political and labour activity to be the necessary condition for the implementation of our plans and a most important factor of the progress of socialist society. The Party persistently works for the integrity of economic and ideological and educational work and demands that the moral and political consequences of economic and administrative decisions be taken into consideration.

The steady upswing of the entire ideological work is promoted by the new ideas and conclusions to be found in the materials of the 24th CPSU Congress, in the documents related to the 50th annivers-

ary of the USSR and the resolutions of the Central Committee of our Party. This ref-ers, first and foremost, to the theses on the advanced socialist society, on the Soviet people as a new historic community of people, and on the ways of building the material and technical basis of communism. The development of these and other pressing theoretical and political problems has replenished the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism, strengthened the scientific foundation and extended the opportunities inherent in ideological education, and has strengthened its bonds with practice.

While fostering in the Soviet people the ideas of scientific communism, the spirit of proletarian internationalism and a communist attitude to work, the Party resolutely comes out against infiltration of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views and morals into our midst. For a Communist, and for a Soviet citizen, active struggle against hostile ideological influences is a struggle for the triumph of the socialist principles, the triumph of our ideals.

The high moral qualities of the builders of communism are asserted in the uncompromising struggle against such phenomena, alien to our system, as indifference to politics and to public interests,

hooliganism and drunkenness, misappropriation of socialist property. We have to combat these and other negative phenomena by every means at our disposal—ideological-educational work, administrative action, the inculcation in each individual of requirements and habits of an intellectually mature, highly cultured member of socialist society, a more exacting attitude toward one's self and others.

By its work in the fields of the economy, culture and ideology, the Party strengthens and develops our social and state system, and asserts the Soviet socialist way of life.

Characteristic of this way of life are social optimism, firm confidence in the morrow based on the great socio-economic gains of socialism, on the guaranteed right to work and the steady improvement of living standards. This way of life is distinguished by a profoundly humane and collectivist nature of people's relationships, born of the unity of their interests and aims. This way of life presupposes a high degree of consciousness, intolerance of shortcomings, social activism based on a developed sense of responsibility of each for the affairs of his collective and society as a whole.

The Soviet way of life is

our most valuable possession, our national pride. It is developing and becoming enriched in the day-to-day practice of economic and cultural development. The more purposefully and better we work today, the sooner will Lenin's ideas about the all-round development of man, and the complete triumph of communism be realized.

II. SOCIALISM AND PEACE ARE INDIVISIBLE

By its revolutionary, progressive influence on world processes, socialism asserts peace and friendship between peoples. As the new system discloses its advantages, its appeal to all conscious working people becomes greater, as Lenin predicted. It is in socialism that the world revolutionary movement and working people justly see an example of the realization of people's dreams, their hope and support.

The Soviet Union upholds in the international arena the supreme truth of life—the interests of the working class, of all working people, the ideals of socialism and communism. Lenin's Party is efficiently applying the foreign policy principles bequeathed by our great leader, as a powerful weapon in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, as an active means of

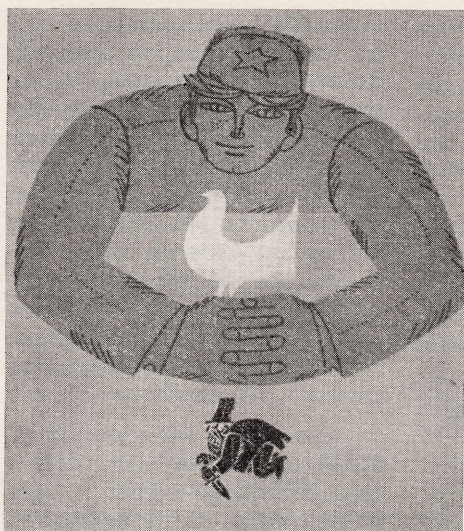
protecting the freedom and independence of the people.

Questions of foreign policy, questions connected with the implementation of the Peace Programme put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress constitute an object of the special attention of the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government. The Politbureau and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, personally, pay daily attention to these questions, dealing with them thoroughly and concretely. The unprecedented "peace offensive" of the Soviet Union that has been developing in recent years and the important improvements achieved, in all spheres of international relations, testify to the truly titanic activities aimed at ensuring favourable external conditions for building communism, at strengthening universal peace. A worthy appraisal of these activities is offered by the fact that they have won extensive recognition of the peoples of the socialist community, of all progressive world public opinion.

Historical experience shows convincingly that the successes achieved in the construction of the new society form the most reliable basis for the consistent class foreign policy and the successful struggle for peace and peaceful coex-

istence. The changing balance of forces in the international arena is determined, to an ever greater extent, by the fact that socialist economy is the most dynamic economy in the world. The high rates of economic development of the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries are stable and are accompanied by a steady improvement in the working people's living and cultural standards.

Last year, the total industrial output of the CMEA member-states topped roughly eightfold the 1950 figure, whereas in the developed capitalist countries the corresponding increase was threefold. The successes achieved by the world socialist economy are all the more impressive against the background of the further deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system. Many examples illustrate today the unprecedented force of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, the law which Lenin discovered. The inter-imperialist contradictions are becoming more acute. The chronic instability of capitalist economy finds its expression in periodic slumps, unemployment, growing inflation and currency crises. Monopoly oppression grows, and exploitation of working people assumes ever more subtle forms.



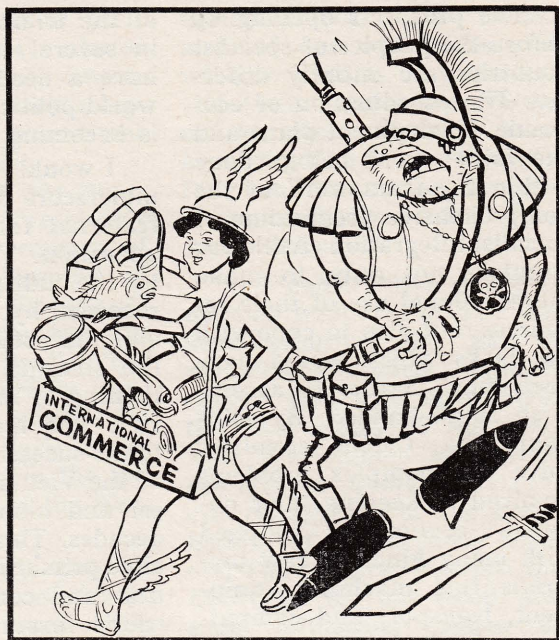
Peace Is in Safe Hands

Lyubomir Marinov
(Bulgaria)
Krokodil

"Help, peace is on our tail!"

Paul Verdini
(Italy)
Za rubezhom





"That's my favourite corn!"

Nikolai Lisogorsky
(USSR)
Krokodil



Peace

Eryk Lipinski
(Poland)
Krokodil

The prospects opening up before the peoples of socialist countries are entirely different. The coordination of economic development plans and the joint work being done within the framework of the comprehensive programme of socialist integration enable our countries not only to make more rational use of their resources, but also to cope with the tasks which would have been much harder to accomplish single-handed. By joint effort, the CMEA countries solve the complex problems involved in keeping their national economies supplied with many kinds of raw materials, fuel, machines, equipment, transport and computers, and do joint research. This opens the way to a fuller utilization of the growing potential of world socialism.

Close inter-party ties, all-round cooperation and mutual assistance, the intensive exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction, the growing foreign policy interaction and mutual cultural enrichment — such are the relations between the fraternal parties and peoples of socialist countries today. This is precisely the embodiment of the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism.

Lenin had prophesied that the time would come when the international unification

of the triumphant proletariat in several countries would have a decisive influence on world politics. This prediction is becoming historical reality.

I would like specifically to underscore the fruitfulness of fraternal foreign policy cooperation. That is evidenced by the indisputable successes recorded by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in the struggle for the strengthening of international security. The most important of these successes is the ending of the Vietnam war, the longest and bloodiest in the last decades. This was made possible primarily by the staunchness and courage of the patriotic forces of Vietnam, by the mass heroism of the Vietnamese people. It was made possible by the firm support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of all progressive forces in the world. This victory is of truly historic importance.

The outcome of the events in Vietnam reflected the new alignment of world forces, the further weakening of the imperialist positions. It showed clearly that today the peace-loving peoples can successfully withstand imperialist pressure and aggression. The interventionists put a monstrous war machine into action, they went to the length of mass annihilation of the civilian population, lost

scores of thousands of their own men, spent almost \$ 150,000,000,000 but, despite all its efforts, the world's biggest imperialist power was compelled to retreat.

We consider it our international duty to resolutely support the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam in their effort to consolidate peace, to ensure the fulfilment of the Paris agreements and to realize the national aspirations of the Vietnamese people.

The mounting support given by Asian countries to the idea of collective security will be conducive to the improvement of the situation in that part of the world.

The strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship, the development of the economic and cultural contacts between the Soviet Union and Japan as well as other Asian states are of great importance.

New opportunities are presenting themselves in Europe for safeguarding security and promoting broad-scale international cooperation. For us, the problem of European security is not an abstract notion. Our people remember the nazi aggression, which started from the centre of Europe, the loss of more than 20,000,000 Soviet lives, the

destruction of tens of thousands of our own cities and villages. That is why the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries have been working so persistently for years on end for the provision in Europe of firm guarantees of peace.

Our constructive policy is meeting with ever greater understanding on the part of realistically-minded people. It can be said with satisfaction that the results of the post-war development in Europe are now consolidated by official recognition of the inviolability of the existing borders. The contacts between the USSR, on the one hand, and such influential states as France and the FRG, on the other, are broadening. A four-power agreement on West Berlin has been concluded. The policy of diplomatic blockade of the German Democratic Republic has suffered fiasco. The GDR and the FRG have signed an agreement on the principles which are to underlay relations between them. Practical preparations are under way for an all-European conference which is expected to lay the foundations of the future peaceful development of Europe under the conditions of security and equal cooperation of all the states of the continent.

The interests of securing

peace insistently call for the solution of the disarmament problem. Although the road to disarmament is not easy, such important acts as the Soviet-American Agreement on Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and the Convention on the Banning and Destruction of Biological Weapons show that, given a realistic approach, agreement is quite possible in this field. If our partners display realism and respect for the principle of mutual security at the current negotiations, we may expect further steps towards limiting the arms race.

It is universally recognized that the political climate in the world has improved markedly after the Soviet-American talks in Moscow last May. These talks may be described as a turning point in normalizing relations between the USA and the USSR.

We see that there is room for a still further improvement of Soviet-American relations, but we also see that in the United States there are forces opposed to this trend. As for the Soviet Union's position, it was clearly defined by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev who said: "If the two countries—the USSR and the USA—will really follow the course charted jointly during the Moscow negotiations, then, we believe, it might be possible to take new substan-

tial steps in developing Soviet-American relations for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries and for universal peace during further contacts."⁵

The development of relations of peaceful coexistence means the broadening of constructive cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields. Its possibilities have increased immensely in the conditions of a turbulent growth of the economic potential of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist community. The world public is increasingly aware of the hopelessness of placing obstacles in the way of developing contacts with socialist countries. It goes without saying that these contacts can only be based on mutual advantage and equality, on the total renunciation of discrimination and interference into internal affairs of others.

Much has been done over the past few years to prevent the danger of a thermonuclear war and to ensure peaceful cooperation of the peoples. But there are still many things which call for continued vigilance on our part. Not all obstacles have as yet been removed in the way of a political settlement in Indochina. Israel continues its ag-

⁵ L. I. Brezhnev. *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, M., 1972, p. 58.

gression against the Arab states. We are solidly behind the latter in their righteous cause. We shall continue to support steadfastly the national liberation movement, the just struggle of the peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Communist Party, always mindful of Lenin's warning that imperialism seeks to solve international problems through violence, is doing everything necessary to strengthen and improve the defence might of socialism. Thanks to the concern of the Party, the Soviet state and the entire people, thanks to the efforts of the defence industry workers, our Armed Forces are equipped with the latest arms and materiel. The combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy is on a high level. And we had plenty of occasion to see that this has a most sobering effect on all kinds of war-mongers.

The Soviet Armed Forces stand guard over our peaceful creative work, and vain are the efforts of imperialist and Peking propaganda to whip up the myth of a "Soviet military threat". The peoples of all countries know, and we want to stress that once again, that all defence might of the USSR exists only for the defence of socialism, of the freedom and security of peoples, for defence of the

noble cause of democracy and peace!

One of Lenin's main legacies to Communists, to the working class was the directive to strengthen the proletarian ranks. Our Party considers itself an inalienable part of the international communist and working class movement. It steadfastly carries out the tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, actively works for cohesion of the ranks of the entire anti-imperialist front, its communist vanguard in the first place.

We have made substantial headway over the past few years in solving this vital problem. After the 1969 Moscow Meeting, relations between the communist and workers' parties have become still closer, and their home and foreign policy activities more effective. This is evidenced by the recent major successes achieved by Communists along with other left-wing forces in France and Chile, by the development of the bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the fraternal parties.

We must note that Peking's anti-Leninist and socialchauvinistic position still remains a serious obstacle in the way of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is strange and monstrous, to use Lenin's words, that the present Chi-

nese leaders, who lay claim to some kind of special revolutionary standing, should have cast the principles of proletarian internationalism aside. It is strange and monstrous that Peking's international policy is permeated with anti-Sovietism and a spirit of dissension as regards the communist and national liberation movement, that it actually plays into the hands of the out-and-out anti-communists.

This anti-Leninist course does considerable damage to the interests of the international working class, to world socialism, to the interests of the Chinese people themselves. This is why our Party and Communist-Leninists of all countries have always opposed and will continue to oppose the Maoist course, will fight for the unity of all the revolutionary forces of today. We believe that in the end the artificial barriers put up by the Peking leadership in the way of cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries will be removed and the Chinese people will take a worthy place in the family of fraternal countries, in the common ranks of the fighters against imperialism.

Lenin saw the guarantee of the triumph of our revolutionary cause in the unity of world socialism, of the international communist and

workers' movement, in their close alliance with the struggle of all the oppressed. We have always abided by Lenin's policy and will never deviate from it.

Our firm conviction that the cause of peace will in the long run win out, grows with the development of the anti-war movement of the peoples and of the broad democratic public. We stand for a real and ever more active influence of the popular masses on world politics. Hence, the idea of holding a World Congress of Peace Forces is supported by the Soviet people.

One cannot help but rejoice as one observes modern historical development. For all its contradictions, for all the difficulties encountered by individual countries in the way of social progress, we clearly see that the world is developing in Lenin's way. The ideas of socialism and communism, freedom and independence, brotherhood and friendship between peoples, the life cause of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, have gained popular following and become a powerful material force paving the way to the happy future of mankind.

* * *

Behind the great teaching of Lenin lies the truth of history, the vital interests of the

overwhelming majority of the earth's population, the objective need of the communist transformation of society.

To prepare by many years of effort for the transition to communism—that is how Lenin defined the programme aim of our Party, of the Soviet people's creative labour.⁶ To date, we have covered a considerable part of the road leading to this objective. On the basis of the successes already achieved, we shall continue working and living in Lenin's way, asserting the immortal cause of Lenin, the cause of the Communist Party, by all our aspirations and deeds, by labour and struggle.

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

Long live the heroic Soviet people, the builder of communism, and may it prosper!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the eternal and invincible international teaching!

Interviews

GRAIN PRODUCTION: A KEY PROBLEM

Questions: Why do we in the USSR attach so much importance to expanding grain production? Why is the target figure for 1973 so high (197.4 million tons of grain)?

These and other questions of an APN correspondent were answered by Kirill NAZARENKO, Deputy Minister of Agriculture of the USSR, and the country's foremost specialist on grain production. *Answer:* The need for protein—this is the crux of the matter. Increase in grain production is, indeed, a key problem in Soviet agriculture, and the demand for grain is steadily growing. And it is not so much a matter of producing more food as more fodder grain.

According to a report recently made public by the UN Commission on Human Rights, the calorific value of nutrition in the Soviet Union is higher than in the Federal Republic of Germany or Great Britain.

The data published by the UN Commission have merely confirmed the studies of Soviet agricultural specialists. Per capita daily consumption of food in the USSR amounts to 3,100-3,200 calories. This means that the Soviet Union ranks among the countries with the highest level of nutrition.

The share of animal produce, vegetables and fruit in the daily diet of Soviet people is growing at a fast rate, while the consumption of bread is gradually decreasing. However, Soviet scientists working on diet problems maintain that the amount of protein in the present diet is still insufficient. That is why the consumption of meat, milk and eggs in the USSR should

⁶ See V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 58.

be increased. In order to raise the protein content it is necessary to expand grain production and increase the grain content of fodder. In other words, when talking about increasing grain production we actually mean an expansion of live-stock farming.

O: How would you assess the results of 1972?

A: The unusually unfavourable climatic conditions last year cannot blot out the outstanding achievements scored by Soviet grain-growers during the last decade.

Despite the severe drought, the USSR had a grain crop of 168 million tons last year, thus maintaining the level of the average annual grain harvest of the past 8th five-year period (1966-1970). Moreover, it was 28 million tons more than in 1962, the best year in the 7th five-year period. Grain production is thus becoming increasingly stable. It should be noted that in our history there were only four years—1966, 1968, 1970 and 1971—when we produced more grain than in 1972.

I should also like to add that agricultural conditions in the USSR are far more complex than in the USA, Canada and Western Europe.

Q: What are the current plans?

A: A long-term programme for improving the people's standard of living has been adopted and is now being implemented in the USSR. This is the main task of the Soviet 9th five-year plan.

Agricultural production accounts for 75 per cent of the total output of consumer goods. The consumption of milk and dairy produce in the USSR is much greater than in the FRG, Great Britain and the USA. The consumption of meat is also rising. As compared with 1970, the sales of meat increased 22 per cent, and of eggs—36 per cent.

I don't want to cite too many figures but I would like to say

something about the plans of our live-stock farmers.

In 1973 it is planned to commission egg-producing poultry factories with a total of 9.6 million laying hens (in 1971 the figure was 5.6 million hens), and broiler-producing factories with a total of 29 million hens (in 1971 the figure was 10.4 million). The head of live-stock will also increase.

That explains our grain target figure for 1973: 197.4 million tons.

Q: Do you think the target will be met?

A: Fulfilment of the grain production plan is ensured by the implementation of a number of comprehensive measures aimed at intensifying agricultural production in the USSR. The three major factors in the intensification are a high degree of mechanization, chemicalization of agriculture and large-scale land reclamation. All this will make it possible to raise the efficiency of agriculture. Of great importance is the use of scientific achievements, in particular, plant selection. Highly productive varieties are a major factor in increasing grain yield. Here is an example: "Bezostaya-1" is one of the best varieties of "sturdy" wheat bred by Academician Pavel Lukyanenko. It holds first place in the world among the winter wheat varieties. It is sown on 8 million hectares in the USSR and on about 3 million hectares in other countries. "Bezostaya-1" yields up to 50-60 centners per hectare at the best farms of the USSR and other countries. Of late, new varieties, such as "Avrora", "Kavkaz" and "Mironovskaya-Yubileinaya", whose yield is even higher (up to 70-75 centners per hectare) are cultivated in the USSR.

All this shows that our plans are realistic and that Soviet agricultural policy is sound.

(APN)

WORLD SOCIALIST COMMUNITY TODAY AND TOMORROW

D. KLIMOVICH

Socialist Economic Integration: Results and Prospects

Politicheskoye samoobrazovaniye No. 2, 1973 (C)

The reliance on their combined efforts allows the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) to advance along the path of the socialist complex economic integration which is a factor of material importance in the further strengthening of world socialism and in promoting a fast growth of national economies of the socialist community countries.

Much valuable experience has been gained by the world socialist community in the field of cooperation between socialist countries in the economic, political and defence spheres, and in the further development of the economic integration of the CMEA member-countries.

The decisions of the 26th Session of the CMEA, the results of the meeting in the Crimea in 1972 of the leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal countries, and the results of bilateral negotiations of party and government delegations are all important practical steps towards carrying out the course of economic integration of socialist states, of strengthening their unity and cohesion.

Implementation of the tasks outlined in the Comprehensive Programme makes it possible to carry out more effectively production, technical, trade and financial cooperation among CMEA member-states and to adopt more efficient methods of planned guidance of this cooperation. The norms of economic interrelationships worked out in the past are now acquiring new content in the conditions of integration. International ties are not only broadening, but are also qualitatively improving.

Dmitry KLIMOVICH, M. Sc. (Economics), is a scientific research worker of the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences.

The admission of the Republic of Cuba to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance at the 26th CMEA Session was a significant event. It was evidence of the CMEA's growing authority.

Socialist economic integration differs radically from capitalist integration both in the objectives pursued, in the forms and methods employed, and in its socio-political implications. Socialist integration carries into effect pu-

blic ownership of the means of production and the planned system of economic management. Capitalist integration strengthens the sway of the capitalist monopolies, it is based on subordination of the weaker to stronger partners, and thus undermines the foundations of the sovereignty of member-states. Socialist and capitalist integration, therefore, manifest basically different historical trends of social development.

Increasing the Scope of Cooperation in the Field of Production

The state of the economy of the CMEA countries in 1971-1972 testifies to the steady growth of their economic, scientific and technical potential, to a broadening of the material base for further raising the people's standard of living.

The economic growth of the CMEA member-countries is largely connected with the process of deepening the international socialist division of labour. This process calls forth, specifically, the necessity to set up in each country an industrial structure designed for active participation in international specialization and cooperation of production.

In the field of material production, in 1971-1972, the

main emphasis was on mutual delivery of machines and equipment both within the framework of foreign trade exchanges and of joint deliveries. As in previous years, mutual trade in machinery and equipment grew faster than the export trade as a whole.

On the other hand, development of industrial production has now, in the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, become unthinkable without the close association, technological interdependence and amalgamation of production potentials of individual socialist countries, without the establishment of large-scale joint industrial enterprises in modern industries and without

a considerable development of the system of division of labour between the CMEA countries. In the period 1961-1970, the exchange of machinery and equipment almost tripled. The share of machinery and equipment in the export of the CMEA member-countries within the framework of their intra-trade rose in 1972 to 40 per cent. There is no doubt that socialist economic integration will accelerate this process still further.

The important agreements signed in 1971-1972 substantially broadened the sphere of economic cooperation between the CMEA countries. The agreements on international specialization and cooperation in the production of equipment for the manufacture of glass and ceramic articles and in the manufacture of heavy-duty trucks have come into effect.

The agreement on multi-lateral specialization of production of trucks covers three groups of heavy-duty trucks and provides for a mutual delivery of 12 thousand units during the five-year period ending in 1975, when the share of specialized production in the total production of heavy-duty trucks will reach 36 per cent.

International agreements of this kind bring maximum benefit. In the course of

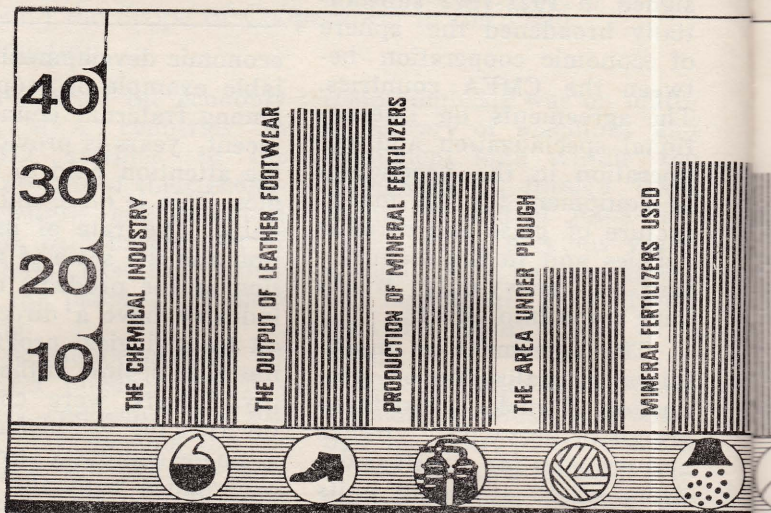
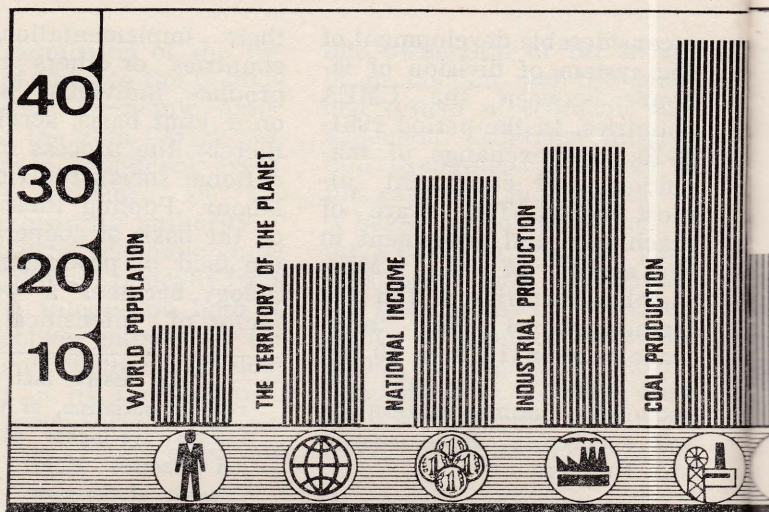
their implementation some countries or others begin to produce individual products on a joint basis, accelerating thereby the process of international socialist division of labour. Pooling their efforts on the basis of cooperation in the field of production technology becomes a powerful factor of intensification of

"We assert that the interests of socialism, of world socialism are higher than national interests, higher than the interests of the state."

V. I. Lenin. 1918

economic development. A notable example of cooperation among fraternal countries in recent years is provided by the attention paid to electronics. This is quite understandable. The rate of introduction and the scale of application of the products of this industry have a direct effect on technological progress in the vital sectors of the economy. Efforts were continued towards the establishment of a single computer service in accordance with the agreements previously concluded by a number of CMEA member-states. The setting up of a joint and coordinated automated communication system for the transmission of all types of information is of tremendous economic significance. Work on this system

SHARE OF CMEA COUNTRIES IN WORLD TOTALS.

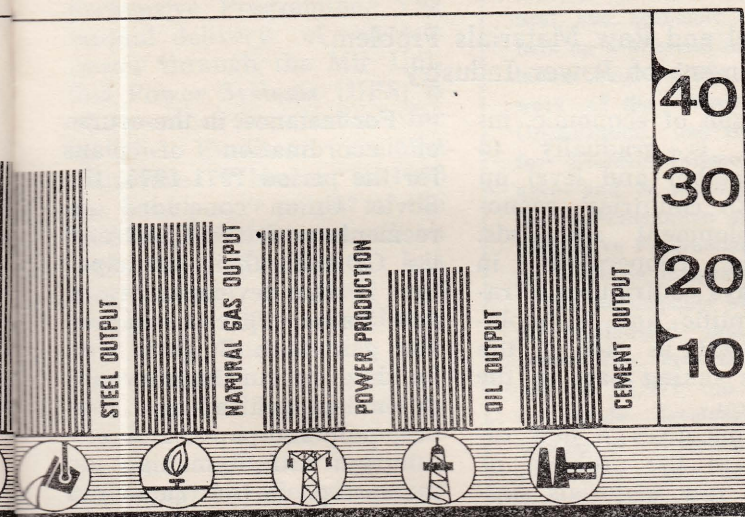
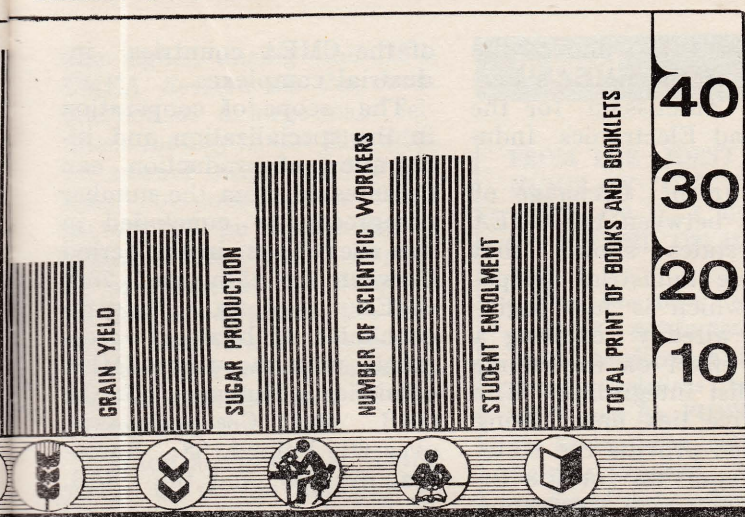


CMEA: ALLIANCE OF EQUAL STATES

— The socialist community is developing rapidly. In the period 1950-1972 the CMEA countries' industrial output rose eightfold, whereas that of the developed capitalist countries increased threefold.

— The decisive factor in the development of the CMEA states' industrial production is the growth of labour productivity as a result of the introduction of new machinery and more sophisticated technology. This accounted for an 80 per cent increase in industrial production in the Soviet Union, a 91 per cent growth in Czechoslovakia and a 100 per cent increase in Hungary in 1972.

SHARE OF CMEA COUNTRIES IN WORLD TOTALS.



— The swift development of national economies and the intensification of economic cooperation among the CMEA countries are bearing fruit. The fact that more than 60 per cent of their foreign trade takes place among themselves (the corresponding figure for Common Market countries in 1971 is 49 per cent) indicates that the formation of the CMEA complex is well under way.

— All CMEA countries pay a great deal of attention to housing construction. In the current five-year period (1971-1975) some 60 million people living in the CMEA countries will move to new homes. This is more than the population of Great Britain or Italy.

started in 1971 under the auspices of the CMEA's Permanent Commission for the Radio and Electronics Industries.

The current exchange of products between the CMEA member-states shows that large-scale industrial cooperation, which is just beginning, is already exerting a positive effect on the course of socialist integration. The cooperative ties now being established provide the material prerequisites for the future technological integration

of the CMEA countries' industrial complexes.

The scope of cooperation in the specialization and integration of production can be assessed from the number of agreements concluded in this area. Thus, in the period between the 25th and 26th CMEA sessions, Bulgaria concluded 45 bilateral agreements with the other CMEA countries; Hungary, 43; the GDR and Czechoslovakia, over 60; Poland, 38; Romania, over 30, and the USSR, 57.

The Fuel and Raw Materials Problem. Development of Power Industry

The aim of economic integration is gradually to draw together and level up the CMEA countries' economic development standards. Economic cooperation in many ways contributes to rapid scientific and technological growth in each of the countries taking part in the integration.

All this gives a new dimension to the problem of fuel and raw materials supply in the European socialist countries. This problem will be solved with the participation, in one form or another, of the countries interested in building up the appropriate production capacities and in creating enterprises on a joint basis.

For instance, in the course of coordination of plans for the period 1971-1975, the Soviet Union concluded agreements with the CSSR and the GDR on their participation in the development of new Soviet capacities in oil and gas; with Bulgaria, on building in our country additional capacities in gas, timber, pulp-and-paper and metallurgy; with Romania, on increasing Soviet capacities in iron ore; with Hungary, on its participation in raising the output of cardboard, asbestos, phosphorus-containing raw materials and fertilizers.

The most comprehensive multilateral agreement on raw materials supply was the

one signed during the 26th CMEA Session on the construction of a large-scale cellulose factory in Ust-Ilim with an annual output of 500,000 tons. The construction of this factory will be a joint undertaking of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR.

Much attention is being given to power industry in the fulfilment of the Comprehensive Programme. The mutual delivery of electric power through the Mir Unified Power Systems (UPS) is of foremost importance for all the European socialist countries. Whereas in 1963 the total power output of the UPS was 146 thousand million kwh, today the figure has more than doubled and amounts to 300 thousand million kwh. The mutual delivery of electric power through this system has grown six times. At present, measures are being taken to expand the reciprocal electric power supply.

Proposals are now being formulated on the joint construction in the USSR and a number of other CMEA member-states of several large enterprises of the metallurgical, chemical, pulp-and-paper, non-ferrous metallurgy and

In brief

FROM THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE FRIENDLY VISIT OF L. I. BREZHNEV TO POLAND ON MAY 11-12, 1973

The two sides noted with profound satisfaction the successful development of all-round friendly relations between the CPSU and the PUWP, between the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. They again confirmed their mutual desire to develop the two countries' political and economic cooperation both on a bilateral and a multi-lateral basis—within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—and to actively promote the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration.

The participants in the meeting emphasized that fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the PUWP was decisive in the steady development of the process of rapprochement between the peoples of the USSR and the PPR. This cooperation makes it possible to make fuller advantage, in mutual interests, of the experience of socialist and communist construction, to coordinate the efforts of both countries in international affairs, and to raise on a higher level the unbreakable Soviet-Polish friendship.

Pravda, May 13, 1973

other industries. Of special importance is the construction on the territory of the USSR, with the participation of all the interested member-countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance,

of a huge metallurgical complex with a yearly capacity of over 10 million tons. This project is envisaged in the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration.

Integration in Transport

Much has been accomplished in the implementation of the part of the Comprehensive Programme dealing with integration in transport. Here special mention should be made of the agreement signed in 1971 by Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on centralized container transport. This agreement contributes to the establishment of an effective cargo transportation system corresponding to the present-day requirements of the CMEA member-states' national economies.

The Berlin-Moscow container service started its regular operation in autumn 1972. In the opinion of GDR specialists in the field, this "piggyback technique" which

allows to deliver cargo from producer to consumer without its handling en route, doubles, as it were, the amount of transportation facilities.

Much is being done for the further development of oil and gas transportation between the CMEA countries by pipeline. The construction of the second stretch of the Druzhba oil pipeline continues. By 1975, the pipeline will deliver to CMEA countries up to 50,000,000 tons of Soviet oil annually. New extensions have been added to the USSR-Bulgaria gas pipeline to be commissioned in 1974 and to the trans-European gas pipeline to be used for delivery of Soviet natural gas to Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic.

Scientific and Technological Cooperation

An integral part of the broad cooperation in the field of production among the CMEA member-countries is the development of new forms of scientific and technical cooperation designed to speed

up technological progress in the fraternal countries.

The CMEA countries have thus far signed 16 multilateral cooperation agreements tackling 18 major scientific and technical pro-

blems listed in the Comprehensive Programme. They represent joint programmes of the CMEA member-countries on the development of division of labour and cooperation in research and pilot projects and on the use of the most effective forms of cooperation.

An important factor in improving contacts between the CMEA countries is the Intersputnik agreement on the establishment of an international system and organization for space telecommu-

nications, signed in Moscow by representatives of the CMEA countries in 1971. The purpose of this new organization is to meet the requirements of the member-states for telephone and telegraph channels, colour and black-and-white television, and the exchange of all types of information. This system consists of a series of communication satellites complete with repeaters and onboard guidance equipment and earth stations interconnected via artificial satellites.

Improvement of Planning and Organizational Forms of Cooperation

As the economic integration of socialist countries develops, their ties in the sphere of production, science and technology grow in complexity, and this calls for improvement of organizational forms. One such trend of improvement in recent years has been the development of joint planning in various spheres of material production of the CMEA member-states.

In 1971-1972, the CMEA agencies drew up a programme for the coordination of the CMEA countries' economic development plans for the period 1976-1980 and for longer terms.

The fact that socialist countries have adopted the

long-range (10-15 years and more) approach in planning their cooperation opens up entirely new possibilities in the realization of the major advantages offered by the planned division of labour between them. Such an approach makes it possible to determine the most effective ways of jointly solving vital economic problems.

The International Bank of Economic Cooperation (IBEC) plays an important role in the development of economic contacts between the CMEA countries. The total sum of transactions in transferable roubles between the CMEA banks, carried out through the IBEC, amounted to about 40 thousand million

In brief

FROM THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE FRIENDLY VISIT OF L. I. BREZHNEV TO THE GDR ON MAY 12-13, 1973

The participants in the meeting expressed profound satisfaction with the development of relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. The all-round political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation, active participation in the multilateral contacts of the socialist states for the realization of the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration are in the vital interests of the two countries and of the entire socialist community.

The two sides stressed their unbending resolve to constantly strengthen and develop the unbreakable brotherhood, unity and friendship between the USSR and the GDR, and to this end promote in every way the interrelationships of the national economies of the countries, through the broad utilization of the socialist division of labour and cooperation, and build up cooperation in every field of public, state, economic and cultural life.

Pravda, May 14, 1973

transferable roubles in 1972.

The International Investment Bank (IIB), set up in accordance with the decision of the 23rd and 24th CMEA sessions, began granting credits to CMEA countries for the construction and modernization of industrial enterprises. Towards the end of 1972, IIB credits covered 26 industrial enterprises; the respective CMEA countries will be issued credits to a total sum of 280 million transferable roubles.

The biggest credit issued by the Bank was that to the CSSR for the modernization and expansion of the production of off-the-road trucks at the Tatra Plant. Czechoslovakia undertook to supply more than 4,000 such trucks to the CMEA countries annually after the project has been completed. In this way the credit helps in implementing the agreement on multilateral cooperation in the field of production of heavy-duty trucks.

Much emphasis is placed in the CMEA Comprehensive Programme on the further strengthening of inter-state and international economic organizations. The CMEA countries have set up so far over twenty such joint ventures.

In the course of developing planned and mutually advantageous cooperation an

important role attaches to such organizations as Inter-metal, Interkhim, the Organization for Cooperation in the Roller Bearing Industry (OCRBI), the Common Fleet of Freight Cars (CFFC), and so on.

The Committee for Cooperation in Planning, which was set up in accordance with the decision of the 25th Session of the CMEA and is

composed of directors of the central planning bodies of all the CMEA member-countries, and also the Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, composed of chairmen of committees, ministers and directors of agencies dealing with science and technology, have already got down to the task of establishing cooperation in their respective fields.

The CMEA Member-Countries in the Year 1985

Only the first steps have so far been made towards fulfilling the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration. Broad prospects have been opened up for the further development of cooperation between the CMEA countries.

According to tentative estimates their aggregate national income will grow 2.5-3 times by 1985 as compared with the 1970 level. Industrial output will grow 3 to 3.5 times. Manpower and material resources will increase, and capital investments will at least triple. Even if the share of the CMEA countries in the world population does not alter, their share in the world's total national income will go up from 27 to 33-36 per cent, and in the world's overall industrial output, from one-third to two-fifths.

By 1985, the CMEA coun-

tries will have built many new industrial and other enterprises whose capacities will exceed those of today's enterprises by 2 or 2.5 times. This will have the most beneficial effect on the rationality and effectiveness of the international division of labour.

International cooperation will sharply increase in scope and will come to involve the production of sophisticated machine systems for various branches, and the building of complete plants, automation and process control complexes, etc. This will serve as a basis for the building of joint production complexes operating according to a single programme.

Even if the rate of the foreign trade turnover remains at its present level, the total volume of foreign trade of CMEA countries will in-

crease about 4.5 times in the period 1971-1985, and amount to half of the volume of world trade in 1970. This will inevitably lead to modernization of the joint transport system linking the socialist countries.

There is no doubt that this period will also see the solution of such a vital socio-economic problem as the further evening up of the levels of economic development of the CMEA countries.

The implementation of the measures provided for in the Comprehensive Programme will contribute to the further strengthening of the political positions, unity and cohesion of the socialist community on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"...In the present conditions", emphasized Comrade

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his report on the fiftieth anniversary of the USSR, "far from diminishing, the need for unity and the closest cooperation among socialist countries has become even greater. Today we require unity, cooperation and joint action chiefly in order to accomplish more quickly and effectively the tasks of developing socialist society and building communism. Moreover, we require unity, cohesion and cooperation in order to attain the best results in safeguarding and consolidating the peace, so vital for all the peoples, to further the international détente and to effectively repulse all aggressive sallies of the imperialists, all attempts to impinge on the interests of socialism."

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

G. DILIGENSKY

The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Social Development of the Working Class

Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya No. 3, 1973 (C)

The scientific and technological revolution is having a considerable effect on the social and cultural make-up of the proletariat, sharpening the conflict between the proletariat and the capitalist system. Despite the allegations of bourgeois and reformist ideologists about the "integration" of workers into capitalist society, the role of the working class in the revolutionary process is tending to increase.

Gherman DILIGENSKY,
D. Sc. (Economics), is
head of the department concerned with
the social problems of
advanced capitalist
countries, Institute of
World Economy and
International Relations,
USSR Academy
of Sciences.

The present-day scientific and technological revolution is having a profound effect on all aspects of life in capitalist society—the economy, the social and class structure, the people's living and working conditions, and the forms and sources of class conflicts. Assessment of its social consequences is becoming a major issue in the ideological struggle.

The question of the historical destiny of the working class in capitalist countries, and of its role and place in modern social development is of the greatest import. The proletariat, being a class directly involved in social production, cannot but be influenced by the revolutionary changes which occur in the productive forces of society. Bourgeois ideologists contend that, as a result of these changes, the proletariat is a class which is "ceasing to exist", and that it is powerless from the revolutionary point of view and incapable of acting in a constructive, creative way. These allegations appear to be the main basis on which they rest their "proof" of the "obsolescence" of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teaching. Further, these ideas are an attempt to prove that socialist revolution is impossible in

the modern capitalist world, which does not need it. Similar concepts, if in a slightly modified form, are widely employed by present-day revisionism in its clash with the ideology and policy adopted by the Communist Parties.

The Marxist-Leninist doc-

trine on the revolutionary role of the working class is based on an analysis of the latter's objective status and place in capitalist society. This analysis provides an answer to the question, "*what the proletariat is*, and what, consequent on that *being*, it will be compelled to do".¹

Technological Progress and the Development of the Industrial Proletariat

Under capitalism technological progress leads to a growth in the proportion of wage labourers in the able-bodied population. Between 1900 and the early 1970s the total number of wage labourers in the advanced capitalist countries grew from 82.2 to 234.9 million, while their proportion in the able-bodied population went up from 53.3 to 79.5 per cent. Wage and salary earners make up the bulk of those engaged in manual, non-manual and mental work. Not all of these, of course, belong to the working class. Nevertheless, the growth in the proportion of hired labour shows that an ever increasing part of the population in capitalist countries is forced to sell its labour.

Denying this process of proletarianization many bourgeois economists and sociologists reduce the question of the historical destiny of the

working class to one of the prospects of only one section of it—manual workers. This is the approach that permeates a thesis that is current at the present time in Western bourgeois literature, the thesis that the working class will become progressively smaller and will ultimately disappear as an inevitable outcome of technological progress.

As is known, automation, the application of cybernetics to production, and the growing role of science as a productive force, increase the specific weight of mental work. At the same time, the accelerated growth of labour productivity in the sphere of material production as compared with the non-productive sphere (services and management, and the increased social requirements in the

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels. *The Holy Family or Critique of Critical Critique*, M. 1956, p. 53.

spheres of public health, education, cultural services, information, etc.) together with the bureaucratization of capitalism's economic and socio-political institutions—all this has also considerably expanded the sphere of application of those engaged in mental work and in so-called non-manual labour (salesmen, office employees and similar categories of hired labour). These processes give rise to a tendency towards a decrease in the proportion of manual workers in the able-bodied population, although their absolute number is constantly growing.

Speaking of the industrial proletariat it is worthwhile noting that the dropping proportion of manual labour cannot but tell on its socio-cultural make-up and evolution.

In bourgeois literature the trend towards a lower proportion of manual labour in the work force is either exaggerated and absolutized or is considered outside its relation to the qualitative changes taking place within the working class itself. Consequently we are presented with an arbitrary and distorted picture.

Even in the USA, where the level of production automation is far higher than in other countries, the number of persons designated by the

official statistics as belonging to the category of "non-agricultural manual labour", is tending to increase and it is assumed that the demand for their work will increase further. The possible decrease in their proportion in the able-bodied population of the capitalist countries by the end of this century to 35 or even 30 per cent (the estimate given in some American prognoses) in no way means that this category is turning into a small, let alone "disappearing", social group.

The question relating to the qualitative changes within the working class resulting from the general intellectualization of production activity is very complex indeed, and it would be wrong to view this process as a mere replacement of manual labour by brain. For example, the work of adjusters and repair mechanics of automatic equipment requires both physical effort and skill, and mental effort which presupposes a relatively high level of theoretical knowledge. On the other hand, the work of an operator on an automatic line often does not require physical effort. In both cases we are of course discussing workers' trades, since the workers exert an influence on the object and instruments of labour in the process of production and thus differ,

for example, from engineers who act as organizers of production or designers of new equipment. In addition to this, the above-mentioned distinctions are to a large extent obliterated in the work of medium level technical personnel. It should be borne in mind that the workers and technicians of a new type of skill constitute the most rapidly increasing groups of the working class.

To sum up: The scientific and technological revolution

is having a considerable influence on the industrial proletariat, the nucleus and the most representative section of the working class. Within the industrial proletariat, the fastest growing groups are those which combine physical effort and brainwork. At the same time, the majority of workers are now better prepared for work requiring mental effort and can better perform it, as a result of the growth in the educational level.

The Proletarianization of the Working Class and Modifications in Its Structure

The greatest scientific and cognitive importance of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine concerning the classes lies in the fact that it not only incorporates an analysis of the obvious empirical class distinctions, but also identifies what lies at the root of these distinctions, i.e., the place held by each class in the production relations prevailing in a given socio-economic structure. Such an approach is especially valuable in examining the current trends in the development of the working class, since in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution the external, derivative criteria and features of the position of the proletariat are subject to constant change and fre-

quently lose their meaning.

For example, with the spread of automation, a salient "empirical" feature of the working class in the past—manual labour—ceases to be typical of all of its groups (operators of automatic complexes cannot be classified as strictly manual workers).

The Marxist-Leninist thesis of the revolutionary role of the proletariat is based on an analysis of its place in the system of production relations under capitalism. The place of the working class is largely determined by its alienation from the ownership of the means of production and its association with the means of production through the process of the sale and purchase of labour, and the

appropriation by the capitalist class of the surplus labour of the workers.

Examining the main characteristic features of the proletariat, most Marxist scholars come to the conclusion that the social boundaries of the working class are expanding and that the proportion of non-manual and mental workers (office employees and certain groups of the intelligentsia belonging in this class) is tending to increase.

This conclusion, however, is not tantamount to the arbitrary classifying in the working class of all the groups of workers for hire. The economic relations between the sellers of labour and those who appropriate their surplus work, i.e., the owners of the means of production—are mainly responsible for the class division of the capitalist system, but the concept of the class division cannot be reduced solely to a matter of economic relations.

Among the principal specific features defining each class, Lenin mentioned the role of the class in society's organization of labour, the dimensions of the share of the social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring as well as its place in the historically determined system of social production and its relations to the means of production. It is only

when all these features are present that a class is formed as a specific socio-economic entity.

In examining the class status of intellectuals and office workers, it is essential to bear in mind the role and meaning of the organization of social labour.

The thesis that a considerable proportion of office employees and professionally qualified staff have become proletarianized is supported by something more than the "economic" fact that most of them have been turned into hired workers. There is nothing new in this as far as office workers are concerned; moreover, at all stages of capitalism's history, some of the highly qualified brain-workers have likewise worked for hire. The new feature of the present-day situation is that the rapid growth of these sections of the population, and the greater part they have come to play in production, have resulted in qualitative changes in their status. Whereas the top bracket of employees and intellectuals, by virtue of their greater role in capitalist production management, have managed to win a certain position in the system of bourgeois class domination, most of them are drawing closer to the industrial proletariat, socially. This manifests itself

in their concentration at big commercial and financial enterprises, and offices and research and design bureaus, and in their increasing subordination to the capitalist organization of labour and the attendant parcelling of labour functions.

The proletarianization of white-collar and intellectual workers is an outstanding feature of the development of the working class in capitalist countries. Certain groups of the intelligentsia and office workers (such as small clerks, tradesmen and engineering and technical staff, and research workers, performing executive, subordinate functions at design bureaus and laboratories) are objectively merging with the proletariat, and taking on its main specific features. We are speaking, however, only of a process, not an accomplished fact.

The Leading Revolutionary Force

How, then, do these objective processes affect the proletariat's class struggle and what effect do they have on its role in the socio-political life of capitalist society? According to bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians, the growing complexity of the structure of the working class leads to its disintegration into a number of isolated trade groups, radically differ-

The contemporary working class in capitalist countries is a complex, developing social entity, comprising the exploited workers in the manual and non-manual category and certain groups of brainworkers. It is an entity which includes a multitude of transitional (but relatively stable) groups at different stages of proletarianization. The most important specific features of the development of the working class in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution are, firstly, the considerable rise in its cultural and educational level, including the "intellectualization" of work; secondly, the growing complexity of its structure; and thirdly, its increased ability to express the needs and interests of the broadest section of the working people exploited by capital.

ing in their interests and the role they play in the class struggle. The advocates of such concepts declare that the main mass of the proletariat, and first of all manual workers and rank-and-file white-collar workers, have become integrated into the capitalist system because capitalism, they say, meets their requirements which capitalism itself shapes through the

mechanism of mass production and advertising. At best these sections of the working people are only capable of upholding their purely economic, "quantitative" demands, which in no way menaces capitalism's mainstays.

Modern-day revisionism supplements these arguments with a thesis to the effect that "new revolutionary forces" are assuming the leading role in the "quantitative" reconstruction of society, the role the working class has ceased to play. This role is said to be taken over either by the "new working class" incorporating highly qualified workers of the leading branches of industry, and also engineers and research workers, or purely by the technoscientific intelligentsia, or else by the student youth.³

All these theories are marked by a counterposing of workers by brain to workers by hand⁴, by the substitu-

tion of trade distinctions for class distinctions. Such concepts are based as a rule on "technological determinism"; the degree of "progressiveness" and "revolutionary character" of this or that class or section, and its role in the class struggle, are adduced from its relation to modern technology and to the modern functions of qualified intellectual work.

Roger Garaudy bases his conception of a "new historical bloc"—which actually boils down to a denial of the working class's leading role—on arguments about all strata "born of technological progress and developing hand in hand with it" becoming the vanguard of the revolutionary process. Naturally, given such an approach, which totally ignores the socio-class differentiation of the intelligentsia and office employees, all "engineers, technicians, research workers, teachers,

³ S. Mallet. *La nouvelle classe ouvrière*, Paris, 1969; P. Sweezy and Ch. Bettelheim. "Dictature du prolétariat, classes sociales et idéologie prolétarienne" (*Les temps modernes*, avril 1971); H. Lefebvre. "La classe ouvrière est-elle révolutionnaire?" (*Colloque de Cabris: Sociologie et révolution. L'homme et la société*, n° 21, 1971, pp. 153-155).

⁴ "Ultra-Left" theoreticians, in fact, proceed from a similar premise when they deny the revolutionary potentialities of brainworkers. For example, E. Mandel, a Trots-

kyite, asserts that the intelligentsia represents a special section of society and that its interests do not coincide with those of the proletariat (*Alternative*, April 1971). M. Bridier, a West German author, sees in the technical intelligentsia a "new bourgeoisie". (*Die neue Arbeiterklasse*. Hrsg. von F. Deppe u.a. Frankfurt a/M., 1970, S. 116-126). The European Leftists are putting these ideas into practice, in an attempt to set unskilled workers against skilled ones, and the workers as a whole against intellectual and office workers.

officials" and even "administrative staff" are automatically becoming the "revolutionary vanguard."⁵

Critics of the Marxist-Leninist teaching actually reduce the objective socio-economic basis of the unity of the working class to the homogeneity of its production and technical functions, and the nature of its work. What is decisive, however, is the place occupied by the working class in capitalism's production relations. The community of interests of the various sections of the proletariat stems first of all from its subordinated position in the system of capitalist exploitation and social oppression. It goes without saying that the most numerous sections of brainworkers are now displaying a growing opposition to capitalism and are coming to play a more and more active role in the class struggle. But this can least of all be explained by the nature of their labour functions. It is rather determined largely by the process of the proletarianization of intellectuals and white-collar workers and the change in their economic and social position ensuing from their "incorporation" in the system of exploited hired labour.

While determining the

⁵ *Garaudy par Garaudy*. Paris, 1971, p. 86.

modification in forms of capitalist exploitation, the scientific and technological revolution at the same time leads to its intensification and, therefore, it cannot be regarded as a factor facilitating the "integration" of the working class in society. The widening gap between the incomes obtained by the bourgeoisie and those of the working people, the insecure standard of living, the intensification of labour, increasing nervous and mental strain, unemployment and uncertainty in the morrow—are phenomena the working class has inevitably to cope with under the most "modernized" and technically advanced capitalism.

And what is more, capitalists look upon the workers' higher level of knowledge as a sort of "reserve" to be made use of in the event of the modernization of equipment and of production technology. This accounts for the anomalous position whereby the qualifications and skill of an ever-growing number of workers are greatly at variance with their "partial", "parcelled" labour functions.⁶ Such utilization of labour leads to a systematic suppression of

⁶ For example, in the USA in 1971, 47.6 per cent of semi-skilled and 42 per cent of unskilled workers had a complete secondary or more advanced education. (*Monthly Labor Review*. Nov. 1971, p. 35).

the capabilities of the working people and their interest in creative work obtained as a result of education, and their knowledge is wasted.

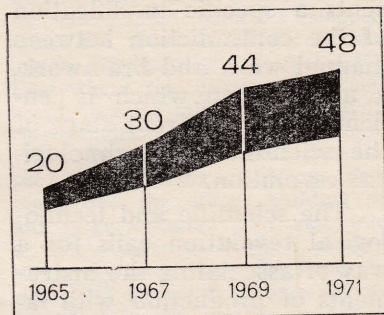
The worker's intellectual potentialities cannot materialize to any great extent unless they are freely developed in the process of labour. This implies primarily continuation of education and progress in his trade. These are vital requisites for the reproduction of modern, skilled labour force.

The free development of a worker is only possible with the elimination of class inequality in education and in the division of labour, and with the overcoming of the social barriers which prevent the bulk of the working people from having any say at their place of work and society in general. This cannot be achieved within the framework of the capitalist system.

Nowadays relations of exploitation manifest themselves not only in the form of property inequality, material poverty or the sweating system of labour organization. More often than not exploitation takes the form of the predatory plunder of the worker's intellect, which is done in such a manner as to corrupt and degrade him. The contradiction between executive, totally subordina-

Facts and Figures

CLASS BATTLES IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES



Number of participants in strikes, demonstrations, protest meetings, action days and other mass actions in the developed capitalist countries.

- In the USA, Japan, France, Italy and Great Britain the number of strikes increased from 64,000 in the period 1962-1966 to 83,000 in the period 1967-1971, and the number of strikers—from 47 million to 78 million.
- One of the biggest class actions of the working people was the general strike that was held in Italy on January 12, 1973, with 20 million people taking part in the strike.
- In Japan, during the 1972 "spring offensive", eight million people went on strike.
- In 1972, during the national strike of British dockers, the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, for the first time in the last 46 years, took a decision to call a general strike of solidarity.

From the Foreign Press

te and dependent labour on the one hand, and the functions of management alienated and isolated from it on the other, is of a class nature under capitalism and represents a specific modification of the contradiction between manual work and brainwork, a modification which is endemic to the current stage of the scientific and technological revolution.

The scientific and technological revolution calls for a way of associating the instruments of production with labour such as will enable working people to satisfy their growing intellectual and moral requirements in the process of work. Capitalism's inability to resolve this problem is a typical manifestation of the contradiction between

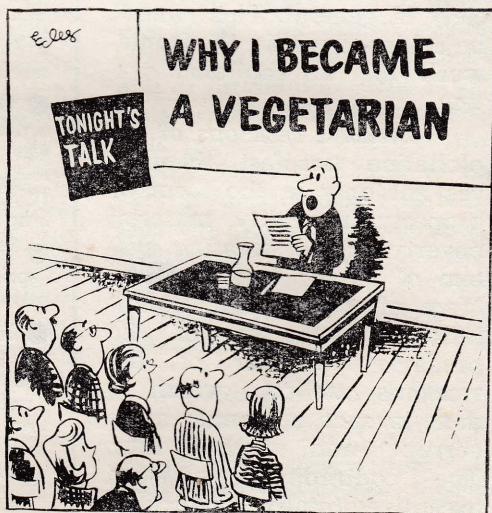
the productive forces and production relations at the present stage of its development.

Holding forth on the alleged "economism" of the majority of the working class and its inability to struggle for "qualitative" demands, revisionist theoreticians are clearly going out of step with life. They are disregarding the profound changes in the workers' demands and in the motives for their social behaviour, changes that are evident even to many observers in the capitalist world.

The mass-scale militant actions of the working class in a number of capitalist countries in recent years—such as the May-June 1968 general strike in France, the demand for workers' control

"First beef went up...
then lamb went up...
then chicken went up..."

*Morning Star—
Za rubezhom*



in Italy and the struggle of British shipbuilding workers and miners—indicate that the broad mass of the proletariat, including manual workers, are to a greater extent combining a struggle to achieve radical, qualitative changes in their social status with the struggle for their “economic” demands.

Workers are becoming increasingly capable of consciously participating in economic management and in organizing public life. Since it is impossible for them to realize their capabilities under capitalism, this situation provides new conditions for the working class to accomplish the historical task of going over to the socialist mode of production.

The composition of the working class is becoming ever more complex; numerous new proletarianized and transitional groups are appearing; the intellectuals and the middle strata are getting more democratically-minded. Consequently, the role of the industrial proletariat as a force that can rally and unite this heterogeneous mass in the common struggle is bound to enhance.

Such are the main objective tendencies that are determining the role of the contemporary working class in capitalist countries in the revolutionary process.

MR. MEANY CAN'T STAND IT

Pravda, May 22, 1973

I had already been to many organizations and institutions in the US capital before I stepped across the threshold of the Washington headquarters of AFL-CIO. Everywhere the doors opened, and people readily talked to a *Pravda* correspondent and gave him interviews. But at 815 16th Street—the smart-looking building very much like the office building of any large corporation—I ran into a wall of silence. When I showed my press card the Assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany turned pale. In another instant I understood. He was not so much afraid of a “red newsman” as of his boss. “Brother Meany (members of trade unions in the US address one another as “brother”) forbids us to talk to Communists,” the trade union brother muttered. I laughed and said that I hadn’t encountered such a ban even at the Pentagon. The Assistant to Meany looked still more uncomfortable after that.

...A big limousine drove up to the door, and out stepped a thick-set, sturdy old man. Imperiousness was written all over him, and marked every movement he made. It was hard to believe that George Meany, years ago, in the early days of his obscure youth, worked as a plumber. Since then much water has passed through the sewer pipes which young George installed at the hotels of New York. For half a century he has been a professional trade unionist, in fact a bureaucrat with the manners and attributes of a boss of big business. He draws a salary of \$90,000 a year. Herbert Hill, a Black public figure, has called Meany a businessman whose business is trade unions.

The late President Kennedy once told reporters with a grin that he had just received his Right opposition leader. His visitor at the White House was not any millionaire from Texas, but "labour leader" Meany.

The only time Meany utters the word "peace" is when he talks about "class peace." The 78-year-old trade union boss is actually proud of the fact that he has never in his life taken part in a strike. (He once said he wouldn't even know how to lead one.) With remarkable candor he thus assesses his half-century work in defence of capitalism. The kings of industry ought to get down on their knees and thank the Lord that their system is saved by American trade unions.

But let anyone talk about peace among nations and this peace fighter who fights at the class war front would instantly fling down his olive branch. For several decades he has been a vociferous supporter of the Pentagon's military adventures. Throughout the years of the Vietnam war, Meany, said the news commentator Jack Anderson, flew in the squadron of the hawks.

Meany is violently opposed to any constructive steps designed to improve international relations. The principles of peaceful coexistence, which have been written into the Soviet-US agreement of 1972 as a basis for ordering relations between the two countries, are to Meany nothing but "communist propaganda". It's amazing how anyone can be so completely cut off from life.

Now Meany is up in arms over the normalization of Soviet-US trade relations. His recent speech delivered at a dinner at the "Waldorf Astoria" in New York is an anti-trade manifesto penned in the style reminiscent of the worst years of the "cold war".

To Meany, development of trade and economic ties between the

United States and the Soviet Union means giving away gifts to Moscow. Normalization of trade between the two countries, and the granting to the Soviet Union of the most favoured-nation status, which was offered by the White House, do not, in Meany's opinion, give the United States any advantages.

There really is no need to refute these strange notions of George Meany's as this is being done, and effectively, by official Washington spokesmen and representatives of the US business world. It has been pointed out both in the US President's speeches and messages and in statements by US businessmen and trade union officials that normalization of economic relations between the USSR and the USA is of benefit to both countries.

Apparently realizing that he had overshot the mark in asserting that only the USSR, but not the USA, would derive benefit from trade between the two countries, Meany at the end of his speech all but acknowledged that business circles in the country would, too, benefit from trade deals with the Soviet Union. But then he made the reluctant acknowledgement only so that he could come out with yet another extraordinary statement, namely, that trade with the Soviet Union will mean hardship for—you guessed it—American workers. It will, according to Meany's alarming forecasts, cause prices to go up in the US.

Well, some old men seem to have short memories. In the fall of 1969, just three years before the signing of the Soviet-US trade agreement, Meany declared in a letter to the US President that big business was responsible for the high cost of living in the country.

In trying to frighten American workers by talking about the "danger" of having trade with the Soviet Union, Meany has forgotten the millions of unemployed mem-

bers of trade unions in his country. Meanwhile officials of large trade unions have all pointed out an elementary truth: rising trade with the Soviet Union would help reduce unemployment in the United States. United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock has said that development of trade with the Soviet Union would bring much benefit to American workers and would increase employment at factories and plants that receive Soviet orders. But apparently Meany is not overly concerned about the lot of the unemployed.

Thus we have a rather bizarre picture before us. Many US businessmen want mutually advantageous trade with the Soviet Union. Millions of American workers welcome trade with the socialist countries as it corresponds to their own interests. And according to public opinion polls, an overwhelming majority of the American people favour normalization of relations with the USSR.

But "labour leader" George Meany is trying to preserve and prop up the discriminatory barriers that impede development of mutually advantageous contacts between the two states.

Meany is falling into a state of isolation without being aware of it. His authority among trade unions has been steadily diminishing already for many years, and most-

ly because of his overzealousness in red-hunting, an occupation which takes up so much of the time of the AFL-CIO leadership. It is not really surprising that at trade union meetings resolutions calling for Meany's retirement have been proposed. Just the other day Leonard Woodcock, on behalf of the nearly two-million Auto Workers Union which he heads, sharply criticized those who, ignoring the interests of American workers, try to prevent the development of trade with the Soviet Union. It was Meany whom Woodcock had in mind. And many other trade unions in the US have spoken out against Meany's position.

Business circles, too, have taken the trade union boss to task. The *Wall Street Journal* has emphatically dissociated itself from what it terms Meany's narrow understanding which has led him to adopt a suspicious attitude to a relaxation of tension. The newspaper notes the rash attempt by Meany to wreck the new US foreign trade policy by raising questions that have no bearing whatever on the interests of the United States.

Wherever one looks one sees openings. But at 815 16th Street the windows and doors are tightly shut to make sure that no fresh breath of change would penetrate the edifice. Mr. Meany can't stand it.

Sergei VISHNEVSKY

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT: ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS

V. SOLODOVNIKOV

Some Aspects of Non-Capitalist Development

Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn No. 5, 1973 (C)

In the modern epoch, when world socialism is becoming the decisive force in mankind's development and the capitalist system is in a state of general crisis and is more and more discrediting itself in the eyes of the peoples, the non-capitalist way of development towards socialism taken by a number of Asian and African countries is becoming an important logical historical development.

A characteristic feature of the present situation in Asian and African countries is that the national liberation revolutions are maturing into social revolutions against neo-colonialism and internal reaction, against the very foundations of the exploiting system. As was emphasized by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the "struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practical terms begun to grow into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist"¹.

The Real Alternative to Neo-Colonialism

The socialist community's achievements in all spheres of life, the mounting struggle of the international working class against capitalism, socialism's increasing attraction for the working masses of the new states, the crisis of capitalism as a system and capitalism's inability to offer the former colonies a model for social development corresponding to their conditions have led to the emergence of a new type of the liberation revolution, the national democratic revolution whose objectives range beyond the framework of bourgeois democratic revolutions.

Vasili
SOLODOVNIKOV,
is a Corresponding
Member of the USSR
Academy of Sciences,
Director of the Africa
Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences.

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 23.

National democratic revolutions are unfolding in Algeria, Syria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Burma, the People's Republic of the Congo, Iraq and some other countries. They are accompanied by radical socio-economic reforms—nationalization of the property of the imperialist monopolies, the big bourgeoisie and that section of the national middle bourgeoisie which, in alliance with the imperialists, opposes progressive changes; emancipation of the peasants; social reforms designed to ease working conditions, expand and improve health services and public education. Significant changes are taking place in the ideological and political spheres; socialist-oriented countries are strengthening and deepening their relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole.

The peoples of the developing countries are beginning to realize that if they do not break away from the capitalist system they will never achieve real progress and overcome their backwardness and poverty; that non-capitalist development which is the alternative to neo-colonialism, to economic and political dependence on imperialism, can bring them genuine

political and economic independence.

In Somalia, Mali, Uganda and other countries the political developments over the past few years lead to the conclusion that anti-capitalist trends are growing in developing African states.

The national democratic state apparatus is the instrument of non-capitalist development in the newly-free countries. Its class essence makes it the vehicle of the bloc of revolutionary, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-capitalist forces. These are countries with a democratic dictatorship of the majority, or, to use Lenin's words, a dictatorship of the revolutionary people. They have rejected capitalism and proclaimed a policy with the long-term perspective of building a socialist society.

At the present stage, the national democracy constitutes the force directing non-capitalist development. It champions the interests of the working peasantry and the proletariat, part of the national bourgeoisie and the progressive intellectuals. The fact that leadership is in its hands is largely due to the social class structure of the population in the Asian and African countries and to the specifics of their economy.



The roots of expansion.

V. Chernikov.

Agitator.



Bonds of friendship.

N. Lisogorsky.
Krokodil.



The British lion
shows its fangs.

M. Abramov.
Krokodil.

Disposition of Class Forces

The present transitional forms of the economy in the Asian and African countries which have chosen non-capitalist development are characterized by the interaction and intertwining of various socio-economic structures. These are in the main: small-scale commodity production, with most of the peasants and artisans selling their products; patriarchal, mostly natural peasant economy, in some cases with primitive forms of communal and clan relations (Tropical Africa); foreign and local private capitalism; state capitalism; state sector; cooperative production.

The state sector and the agricultural cooperatives, which are developing along anti-capitalist lines, pursue the objective of creating the material preconditions and clearing the way for the subsequent transition to the socialist reconstruction of the economy. On the political level, as Leonid Brezhnev pointed out in his Report at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the "state sector... is essential as an economic basis for a revolutionary-democratic policy".²

The maintenance or toleration in these countries' eco-

nomies of local or foreign private enterprise is a form of the class struggle and it requires unremitting control over non-socialist structures in order to prevent them from becoming the predominant economic force.

In most Asian and African countries the working class is still numerically small due to the multistructural economy and the weak development of social class relations. On the average, factory workers comprise approximately 2-3 per cent of the population, and the percentage of skilled workers is even smaller. In some countries of Tropical Africa the working class is virtually non-existent or only emerging. Nonetheless, the drive for non-capitalist development, for a socialist orientation of the Asian and African countries is an indisputable fact.

The building of industrial, agricultural and other enterprises, particularly in the state sector, is accompanied by a steady numerical growth of the proletariat, by qualitative changes in its social composition and by a rise in its level of concentration and organization. It is indicative that the programmes of the Congolese Workers' Party and of the Democratic Party of Guinea contain provisions

² 24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971 p. 24.

reflecting the interests and ideology of the working class.

The socio-economic, political and ideological changes taking place in the countries with a socialist orientation justify the conclusion that in these countries the working class will play a growing political role and that ultimately it will lead the struggle for socialism.

In the African and Asian countries the peasants form a very large majority of the able-bodied population—from 65 to 75 per cent and in some countries even higher. They are not only the most numerous but also the most exploited section of the population and are gripped in the vice of caste, tribal and other prejudices. However, the political awareness and revolutionary mobility of the working peasants increase in accordance with the socio-economic changes and the inevitably accompanying them class stratification. Experience teaches that immense revolutionary power is latent in the peasantry.

The growing peasant support for the non-capitalist orientation is quite natural, for non-capitalist development gives the peasantry incomparably greater socio-economic and political benefits than capitalist development. The agrarian reforms which envisage the abolition of feudal

property, the restriction of landholding, the formation of cooperatives on democratic lines, the setting up of local organs of administration, and also the nationalization of the credit and banking systems meet the vital interests of the peasant masses.

While noting the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, Marxist-Leninists warn against any exaggeration of that potential, against any absolutization of the role of the peasants as is being done by the ultra-Left ideologists, the Trotskyites and some circles in the national liberation movement. Lenin regarded the peasantry as the chief ally of the proletariat. He particularly underscored the need for the closest alliance between the working class and the peasantry in backward countries.

However, Lenin never counterposed the countryside to the town and never regarded the countryside as the centre of revolution. He took pains to show that class-conscious workers had to educate the peasant masses and stimulate their revolutionary energy, stressing that "the town inevitably leads the country. The country inevitably follows the town".³

Facts indicate that in the historical conditions obtain-

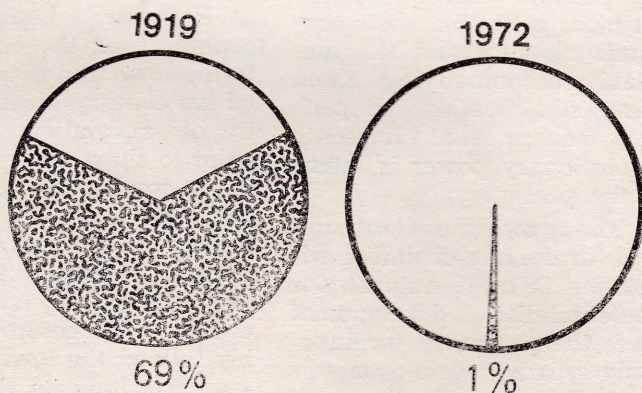
³ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 257.

ing in the Asian and African countries the vanguard role is played by the urban revolutionary-democratic forces. The political life of these countries is strongly influenced by the intelligentsia, small proprietors, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers, white-collar workers, army officers, people engaged in the liberal professions, and so on, who account for up to 65 per cent of the urban population in the developing countries. The national democrats in power in countries with a non-capitalist orientation are mostly from these intermediate and basically petty-bourgeois strata.

In the developing countries the army is a large (sometimes the only) organized and effective force. It would be a

mistake to regard the army in the Asian and African countries as standing aloof from the class struggle, as being neutral in that struggle. The experiences of Egypt, Algeria, Burma, Syria, the People's Republic of the Congo, Somalia and other countries demonstrate that the army can become an important progressive factor in the political struggle for the further development of the national democratic revolution. In some of the socialist-oriented countries the army officers (who come from intellectual circles) and the troops (recruited from among workers and peasants) constitute the most organized anti-imperialist force. In such a situation, the army champions the interests of progress. In order to with-

Facts and Figures



As a result of the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system the share of colonial countries in the world population dropped from 69 per cent in 1919 to one per cent in 1972.

stand the pressure of imperialism and of the local exploiting classes, the democratically-minded officers who took political power into their own hands rely on the workers, the peasants and the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

However, in many developing states the army is the mainstay of the local reactionaries and the external imperialist forces. But it does not in any case remain indiffe-

rent to the aggravation of the class and political struggle.

As regards the national bourgeoisie, a differentiated approach must be adopted in assessing its role. The big and part of the middle bourgeoisie are more inclined to come to terms with imperialism, while the petty-bourgeoisie and, partly the middle bourgeoisie are usually interested in carrying our democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal reforms.

The Struggle Sharpens

The national bourgeoisie supports the democratic and anti-imperialist reforms of the first stage of the national-democratic revolution, reforms that counter the economic pressure of the imperialist monopolies and pro-

tect it against competition from foreign and local big capital. But as the revolution develops and it becomes obvious that a choice is being made in favour of socialism, the number of people of this social stratum with whom

● Sixty-five per cent of the population of the non-socialist world live in the developing countries, accounting for 10 per cent of industrial production, 20 per cent of foreign trade turnover and 40 per cent of the food resources.

● Today, too, imperialism is trying to perpetuate economic backwardness in the former colonies. Per capita income in the developing countries is one-twelfth that of the advanced capitalist countries. Economic expansion results in the neo-colonialist creaming off 15 to 17 per cent of the developing countries' revenue as profit.

Imperialism is wholly responsible for the privation and suffering of hundreds of millions of working people in the Third World countries. According to UN statistics, 375 million people in those countries are on the verge of death from starvation. About half the children of school age have no chance of an education.

● The revolutionary movement of the young working class in the newly-free countries is bound to play a decisive part in the future of the Third World. By the early 1970s the working class of the developing countries had increased to two and a half times the pre-war figure.

the revolutionaries cooperate narrows down.

As the class struggle grows acute, a section of the petty-bourgeoisie swings to the Right and renounces socialist orientation under pressure from influential sections of the national bourgeoisie and imperialist propaganda, which speculate on the objective difficulties of national development. This section opposes the revolutionary, patriotic forces and resists further progressive reforms.

Together with the bourgeoisie, socialist orientation is opposed by the feudal lords, the traditional chiefs and other elements who formerly were part of the exploiting and privileged strata.

Although in the countries with a non-capitalist orientation various socio-economic and political measures have been taken against the feudal lords and the tribal élite, the threat to social progress from these elements has not been completely eliminated. They still exercise traditional influence among their fellow-tribesmen and possess economic power.

The undeveloped socio-economic basis and the many-sided economic pattern predetermine the complexity of the class and political struggle in the Asian and African countries. It would be a mistake to assess the social and political developments and processes in these countries

● Socialist-oriented countries are in the lead of the national liberation movement.

At the beginning of the 1970s the population of socialist-oriented former colonies and dependent countries was over 100 million, and they had 5 per cent of the world's territory. Today socialist-oriented countries in Africa produce one-third the continent's industrial output.

● The CMEA socialist countries engage in economic and technical cooperation with more than 60 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, rendering assistance in the construction of 2,500 industrial and other projects. Some 1,500 projects have been commissioned. Seventy-five per cent of the aid given by the socialist community is channelled for industrial construction.

● Thirty per cent of the ARE's industrial enterprises have been built since 1960 with Soviet economic and technical assistance. The Soviet Union is helping India to build more than 60 major projects, Algeria 80 and Guinea 47.

● More than 300 thousand workers and technicians of developing countries have been trained by Soviet specialists at 400 enterprises and other projects built with Soviet assistance.

From the Soviet and Foreign Press

from the standpoint of the traditional concepts and criteria that have been elaborated and tested in countries with developed social class structures. A sober estimate must take into account the specific features of the undeveloped society. The intelligentsia, which becomes conscious of the national aims and objectives of its people earlier and more acutely than other classes, plays a considerably greater social role in socio-economically backward countries than in developed states. This feature of the intelligentsia in backward countries was noted in his time by Lenin.

It must be pointed out that the demarcation of the social class forces is increasingly growing more distinct also in countries that have adopted the path of capitalist development. In these countries the governing bloc, consisting of the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, is opposed by revolutionary-minded intelligentsia in alliance with the conscious part of the workers, peasants and students. This demonstrates that all contem-

porary national liberation revolutions in which the democratic sections of society participate, are not only national but also clear-cut social revolutions.

In socialist-oriented countries where a full-scale offensive is opening up against the interests of the national bourgeoisie, an acute class struggle rages in all spheres of social life—political, economic and ideological. The aggravation of the class struggle accelerates the evolution of the ideology of the genuine fighters for a new life without exploiters and exploited, in the direction of scientific socialism. Here an important point to note is that today the non-proletarian strata's receptivity of the ideas of scientific socialism has grown immensely.

The consolidation of the reactionary, Right-wing forces opposed to any further deepening of social reforms may be observed at the same time. The exacerbation of the class and political struggle is a characteristic feature of the present stage of non-capitalist development.

The Strategy of the Struggle for Socialism

Non-capitalist development meets the interests of the broadest masses. Its central objective is to build the material and technical basis and the socio-political condi-

tions for the transition of the newly-free countries to socialism. This task involves tremendous difficulties.

As we have already pointed out non-capitalist develop-

ment presupposes that the multistructural economy will remain for a certain period and that the state sector will play a growing and determining role in that economy. The transitional economic relations must be regarded as the product of the interaction of various socio-economic patterns, as the result of the contradictory unity of the remnants of the past and of the shoots of the new social relations. The manifold character of the economy in socialist-oriented countries will be surmounted chiefly through the promotion of the state sector which is the foundation of non-capitalist development and of the socialist orientation.

Successful non-capitalist development presupposes a definite strategy which covers the economy. It consists in planning the main areas of

economic construction, concentrating means and resources in these areas, establishing the rates and proportions of development, and so on. The socialist-oriented state plays an exceptionally important role in implementing this strategy.

The creation of a new state apparatus, the break up of the old economic relations of exploitation and subordination and their replacement by a new system of social relations constitute an extremely complex process. Temporary difficulties, especially in the economic sphere, are inevitable. The transitional socio-economic system cannot yield an immediate economic effect. It only guarantees this effect in the future. However, already today, the summing up of some results of the socio-economic changes in the socialist-oriented countries

THE ELECTRIC RIVER OF SYRIA

The Euphrates, the largest river in Syria, has been known to everyone since the early years at school.

From ancient times the people of Syria have been dreaming about using the immense power of the river. Five years ago they set to making the dream come true with the economic and technical aid of the USSR. A huge dam and a power station are under construction there.

Unique in its engineering concept, the dam has consumed milli-

ons of tons of sand, gravel and concrete and is closing its grip on the river. In the middle of this year the last concrete cubes will be dropped into the narrow gorge, and the great project on the Euphrates will be completed.

The power station building will stand beside the dam. Its foundation was laid in May, 1971. Its Syrian builders and Soviet experts plan to complete the first stage of the station a year ahead of schedule, towards the end of 1974. When

demonstrates the indisputable advantages of non-capitalist development over capitalist one. Among these advantages are the diminishing dependence of the socialist-oriented countries on the world capitalist system and the strengthening of their national economy; the gradual democratization of many aspects of state, political and social life and the more active participation of the masses in that life; the laying of the foundations of public, state ownership and state control of the activities of capitalist elements, which prevent the development of private, capitalist sector; a faster development of science, culture and public education than in capitalist-oriented countries; the consolidation of sovereignty and independence of socialist-oriented countries.

The influence of the world socialist system on the advancement and the deepening of the revolutionary process in the developing countries is the objective law of our epoch. The course of events bears out the conclusion of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that "the world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, above all from the Soviet Union".⁴

No country in Asia, Africa or Latin America can successfully advance towards socialism if it remains isolated from the world socialist system, if it does not establish all-embracing links with it.

⁴ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 21.*

all the eight generating units of the station are at work, output of electric power in Syria will be doubled. For this reason the Euphrates project is often called the backbone of the Syrian economy.

The dam makes possible the construction of an irrigation system which is under way there and is expected to add 600,000 hectares to the irrigated area of the country. A powerful pumping station has been built and 450 kilometres of canals have been dug. At present Soviet experts are busy helping to pre-

pare four thousand hectares of land for experimental sowing.

However, the hydropower complex on the Euphrates does not mean only kilowatts of electricity and tons of farm produce. It represents a major new stage in the progress of the country as a whole.

Munir Wannus, Minister for the Euphrates Dam, puts it this way: "Building the dam in cooperation with our Soviet friends, we are, at the same time, building a free life which will enable us to do away with backwardness."

(APN)

COMBATING BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY AND REVISIONISM

K. ZARODOV

The Historical Experience of the October Revolution and the Bankruptcy of Its Critics

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The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia has been the principal revolution of the 20th century, showing mankind the road to socialism and communism. That is why the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists do not stop their attempts to refute its world-historic significance.

Konstantin ZARODOV, D. Sc. (History), is the chief editor of the *World Marxist Review*, the theoretical and information journal of communist and workers' parties.

An important place in the arsenal of anti-communist theories is held by various concepts whose aim is to disparage the significance and experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and to prove that there was no need for it.

Let us recall some lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which have now come in for particularly vicious attacks by those who would like to falsify matters.

The October Revolution as a Natural Development

The phrasing of the heading may seem strange, even to realistically-thinking people who do not share Marxist views. Indeed, 55 years after the establishment of the Soviet state it would hardly seem necessary to speak of the October Revolution as a natural development. That is axiomatic. And yet articles and even books keep appearing in the West questioning the legitimate character of the October Revolution.

What arguments do the bourgeois ideologists give to prove their point? The main one is that: Russia did not have the socio-economic prerequisites which

are, according to the theory of Marx and Engels, essential for a revolution (?!). And they also claim that although Russia chose the road of revolution, it does not mean there was no other alternative. It could have come to "democratic renovation" in the process of evolution.¹

What conditions for a socialist revolution did Marxism (which the bourgeois ideologists say the Bolsheviks have deviated from) regard as necessary? It meant that the objective economic conditions had to be ripe for revolution and that there must be a certain degree of capitalist development. Our ideological opponents assert that Russia was a backward country and therefore not ready for a socialist revolution.

Just what kind of a country Russia was in 1972? It was a country where capita-

¹ H. Kohert, a bourgeois West German historian, asserts in his book *Kommunismus in der Sowjetunion* (Communism in the Soviet Union) that Marx held that "the socialist revolution should have taken place in the most developed country", whereas on the eve of the First World War Russia did not have the socio-economic conditions which Marx believed were "absolutely essential in order for it to triumph".

The same idea is expressed by J. Dunn, Director of the historical research department of King's College, Cambridge University, in the book *Modern Revolution. An Introduction to the Analysis of a Political Phenomenon*.

lism had reached a medium level of development (which was repeatedly and very convincingly pointed out by Lenin) and industrial-financial capital was highly concentrated. The monopoly groupings, which had begun to develop, especially during the First World War, into state-monopoly capitalism were very influential.

Consequently, the necessary objective economic conditions for a socialist revolution did exist in Russia. Incidentally, the founders of Marxism always felt that the ripeness of prerequisites for a revolution depended on a complex of factors which included both economic and socio-political factors.

Commenting on the conditions ensuring the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, Lenin wrote: "It is possible to do this, of course, only when capitalist development has reached a certain level. Failing that fundamental condition, the proletariat cannot develop into a separate class, nor can success be achieved in its prolonged training, education, instruction and trial in battle during long years of strikes and demonstrations when the opportunists are disgraced and expelled. Failing that fundamental condition, the centres will not play that economic and political role which enables the

proletariat, after their capture, to lay hold of state power in its entirety, or more correctly, of its vital nerve, its core, its node. Failing that fundamental condition, there cannot be the kinship, closeness and bond between the position of the proletariat and that of the non-proletarian working people which (kinship, closeness and bond) are necessary for the proletariat to influence those masses, for its influence over them to be effective."²

No matter how ripe the material prerequisites may be in themselves, without the socio-political factor and unless the subjective conditions are ripe for it, there cannot be a socialist revolution. This can be seen from the prevailing situation in many developed capitalist countries where, although the economic conditions for a socialist revolution have long been present, the capitalists remain in power. The communist parties consider that a revolutionary situation necessary for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat does not exist in their countries at present.

As is common knowledge, by revolutionary situation Marxists mean that it is no longer possible for the ruling classes to maintain their do-

mination in its old form, that, as a result of a crisis, the misery and privations of the working people are aggravated more than ever and, finally, there is considerably greater protest and anger at the conduct of the ruling classes, manifest in vigorous revolutionary actions and struggles of the masses.

Had such a situation shaped up in Russia by the beginning of 1917? It had. The upper circles could not rule as they had and the masses refused to live as they had. The political system of tsarism was upset by the struggle of the working class and the peasantry, the actions of the oppressed nationalities, the contradictions in the country having taken the form of bitter class clashes.

However, even all this is not enough for a socialist revolution to triumph. Marxism teaches us that it is also necessary for the advanced class and its vanguard, the revolutionary party, to be able to assume leadership in that revolution. Russia had such a class and such a party.

Thus, both historical experience and current practice show that in carrying out the revolution the Bolsheviks proceeded from scientific principles, i. e., they acted in keeping with the teaching of Marx and Engels and not contrary to it.

² V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 266.

This in no way means (as our critics would have it) that the Russian revolution was forced by the Bolsheviks into the Marxian pattern as into a Procrustean bed. Had the Bolsheviks acted so, that would have not only run counter to Marxism as a creative science that has no place for dogmatism, sluggishness and inertness, but would have harmed the development of the revolution in Russia and the world over.

We should like to single out one of the theoretical and practical questions of socialist revolution which were posed by Lenin in a new way: the possibility of socialism being victorious in one or several countries.

This question (and many others which we do not mention) was the new word in Marxism. It was brought up by Lenin with regard to the character of development of capitalism, which had entered its imperialist stage, and the experience of the Russian and international revolutionary movement.

It is known that the leaders of the Second International and the Russian Mensheviks did not share these views. Moreover, they accused Lenin of deviating from Marxism. And what was the outcome? Lenin's theory of socialist revolution has been strikingly borne out by

practice. What would have become of the working class movement in Russia (and not just in Russia) if Lenin had not put forward new ideas, if he had not developed the theory of socialist revolution, but had confined himself to the Marxist conclusions—quite correct in their time but outdated in the new conditions—about the possibility of socialism winning only in highly developed capitalist countries, and in all these countries simultaneously at that?

Apparently, the working class movement would have had to grope in the dark, finding its way by instinct, and, who knows, if it would have been at all possible to accomplish the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917? For we know that during the same period Germany, where the party of the working class was led by reformists, did not make use of the possibility of achieving victory of the socialist revolution, and the German proletariat had to live through the tragic decades of reaction and Hitlerism, and capitalism still holds sway in one part of the country.

Now let us examine the second "argument" of our ideological adversaries: Was the choice by Russia of the road of revolution historically necessary? There is no

point now in entering into a controversy with our ideological adversaries regarding some evolutionary road to Russia's "democratic renovation". Could it have been in the interests of the working people of our country to switch the revolution onto a bourgeois-democratic track, to wait for the revolution in the West (on which the Mensheviks and some other opportunists insisted), and not to carry it forward to a victorious conclusion?

To be answered these questions have to be approached both from the standpoint of Russian and international affairs. Let us assume for a moment that the October Revolution did not take place. What would have been in store, then, for the country and its peoples? At that time Russia was on the verge of economic and social collapse; it was threatened with catastrophe, with becoming a colony of stronger imperialist

powers. This quite apart from the fact that, as the experience of other countries has shown, the Russian proletariat would have had to go on slaving for the exploiters.

From the standpoint of world history putting off a revolution that was ripe in Russia would have done irreparable damage to the entire international liberation movement. The proletarians of the world would not have forgiven the Bolsheviks for failing to use the favourable possibilities and lead the working class in taking power into their own hands.

Summing up, it can be said that the arguments of our ideological opponents are completely groundless. This is equally true of the assertions that economically Russia was not ready for revolution, the complaints that the Bolsheviks had digressed from Marxist theory, and the preachings about the evolutionary road.

Concerning the Forces Accomplishing the Revolution

The critics of the October Revolution contend that it was a "coup at the top", carried out without the participation and against the will of the people, that the dictatorship of the proletariat was forcibly imposed by the Bolsheviks. This is by no means a new thesis from the theoretical stock of our ideological ene-

mies. Aforementioned J. Dunn considers that the October Revolution was merely a putsch by a bunch of intellectuals.³

The modern anti-communists need the thesis on the "elitist" character of the Oc-

³ J. Dunn. *Modern Revolution. An Introduction to the Analysis of a Political Phenomenon*, p. 46.

tober Revolution to "prove" two propositions, namely, that the masses did not take part in the revolution, not being interested in it, and that the "top", meaning the Bolshevik Party, did not act in the interests of the masses and was not linked with them. The inference is that the experience of the October Revolution is no good, and the Communists in the capitalist countries propagating this experience as well as Bolsheviks, are "Blanquists" and plotters.

The answer to the following two elementary questions is enough to show the insidious character of these contentions.

First: Did the Bolsheviks feel that a minority could accomplish the revolution? No, they did not. In all their strategy they proceeded from the premise: "...To win, we must have the sympathy of the masses. An absolute majority is not always essential; but what is essential to win and retain power is not only the majority of the working class... but also the majority of the working and exploited rural population."⁴

Second: Did the majority of the working people support the Bolsheviks? They certainly did. The October Revolution was unprecedented in the scale of mass participation of

the working people. The overwhelming majority of them took part in it; it had the support of a clear majority of the working class, and the peasantry. Therefore Lenin was quite right in declaring from the rostrum of the Third Congress of the Comintern: "In Russia, we were a small party, but we had with us in addition the majority of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country... We had with us almost half the army, which then numbered at least ten million men."⁵

It may be of interest to recall that the Second Congress of Soviets, held during the Great October Revolution, had established the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Soviet Government as the collective supreme bodies of Soviet power. It was the lawful government of Soviet Russia. This can be seen from the following figures: At the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies the Bolsheviks were represented by 390 delegates out of a total of 649, i.e., they had 60 per cent of the seats. Besides, there were 160 delegates from the Socialist-Revolutionaries (predominantly the Left ones), the petty-bourgeois peasant party. The Left So-

⁴ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 476.

⁵ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 471.

cialist-Revolutionaries supported the transition of power to the Soviets, joined the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and later on, the government. Consequently these parties were represented by 84.7 per cent of the deputies at the Congress.

That is why the "protests" of the bourgeois ideologists and politicians disputing the "legitimacy" of the establishment of the power of the working class in October 1917 are ridiculous. The legitimacy of the Communists' coming to power is admitted also by objective-minded bourgeois historians.⁶

In speaking about the motive forces of revolution, we cannot overlook another falsification which our ideological opponents set great store by, with regard to participation by other parties. They maintain, contrary to the facts, that the Bolsheviks refused to share power with anyone, implying that the programme statements of many communist parties con-

cerning the participation of the other Left parties opposed to the imperialists, were fraudulent. In reality the Bolsheviks did not object to the participation of representatives of other parties in the first Soviet Government in 1917.

"... We wanted a coalition Soviet Government," Lenin declared. "We did not exclude anyone from the Soviet."⁷ As already noted, the first supreme body of Soviet power, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, included apart from Bolsheviks also representatives of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. There were seven representatives of the Left SRs in the Council of People's Commissars. Therefore the Bolsheviks' co-operation with the Left SRs was not a "legend", a "myth", as A. Peyrefitte⁸ asserts. And if the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, with whom the masses of toiling peasants had parted ways, quit the bloc with the Leninist Party, took the position of supporting the kulaks and mounted an armed rebellion against Soviet power, against the Bolsheviks, and the majority of them took part in the Civil War on the side of the enemies of Soviet power, the Bol-

⁶ H. von Rimscha, a West German bourgeois historian, criticizes the view that the October Revolution was a coup d'état carried out behind the back and against the will of the worker-and-peasant masses, and notes that it was "undoubtedly supported by the masses... In October 'the mass itself' made history" (See H. von Rimscha. "Probleme der russischen Revolution", *Neue politische Literatur*, 1961, Nr. 3, SS. 209-211).

⁷ See V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 270.

⁸ Quoted from *l'Humanité*, Sept. 14, 1972.

sheviks were not to blame. Nor were the Bolsheviks to blame when the Mensheviks, the Right SRs and other petty-bourgeois groups refused to agree to the decisions of the Second Congress of Soviets, walked out of it and launched an open struggle against the socialist revolution.

Reporting to the 8th Party Congress (1919) Lenin said that it would be an exceedingly complex and difficult task in all future revolutions to determine the attitude of the party of the proletariat towards petty-bourgeois democratic parties, towards those elements, strata, groups

and classes which in Russia were particularly strong and numerous and which were to be found in all countries, and that by no means in all conditions and all countries were petty-bourgeois elements enemies of socialism nor could or should they be.⁹

To sum up briefly. The Great October Revolution was not carried out from the "top", by an "élite", but by the masses of working people. It is this feature of the October Revolution that explains the international significance of the various aspects of its experience, the possibility of applying it in other countries.

Were the Features of the October Revolution Unique?

Attempts to depict the October Revolution as having nothing in common with modern revolutions is a favourite resource of our ideological adversaries. The world has become entirely different, they say, and revolutions will be quite different, too. It is precisely the unprecedented might of 20th-century capitalism that will give rise to the revolution of the 20th century, writes H. Marcuse. Its features will differ from those of its predecessors, especially the Russian revolution.¹⁰ A similar view is expressed by

the French social-reformist, Ph. Bauchard, in the book "Trade Unions in Search of a Revolution". According to him, the scientific and technological revolution is solving, in passing, the social problems, making a socialist revolution unnecessary.¹¹

Arguments of this kind, to prove the "uniqueness" of the features of the Great October Revolution, are mainly intended to prove that the proletariat has relinquished its historical mission of acting as

⁹ See V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 205.

¹¹ See Ph. Bauchard. *Les syndicats en quête révolution*.

¹⁰ See *The New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1972.

the grave-digger of capitalism and, hence, it is imperative to change the strategy and tactics of its struggle. As the falsifiers see it, the proletariat in the Western countries only very remotely resembles Marxian proletariat, which had nothing to lose but its chains. According to H. Marcuse, the working class has become submerged in the mass of those working for hire, and, therefore, the mass base created by the relations between capital and labour in the 18th and 19th centuries no longer exists in the metropolises of monopoly capital.¹² In view of this, the proletariat is said to have no longer the revolutionary qualities it had at the time of the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, when it allegedly was backward, ignorant and hence easily "aroused" in rebellion.

Is that really so? No, it is not.

To begin with, Russia's proletariat was by no means backward. It was a strong, class-conscious, organized class with a mighty revolutionary potential. The exceptionally high degree of its concentration in large industrial centres was conducive to its cohesion. It had been "trained for decades by a very young, but modern,

large-scale machine industry".¹³

Such weaknesses of Russia's proletariat as its relatively small numerical strength and low degree of unionization, the percentage of illiteracy, etc. could not be of great significance under those conditions, since its positive features compensated for it. As a result, the proletariat, headed by the Party of Bolsheviks and leading the broad masses of working people, won out. The working class was also the principal revolutionary force in the revolutions in other countries that followed the October Revolution and led to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Such has been the case to this day. But perhaps our dynamic epoch has produced a qualitatively new proletariat which has different interests, a different psychology and has different prospects in store for it? Perhaps the proletarian is really becoming petty bourgeois, as bourgeois sociologists contend? Or, finally, perhaps the reformists and "Left" revisionists are right when, noting the reduction in the number of manual workers, they conclude that the working class "has lost its social role", and ascribe this role to the intelligentsia?

¹² See *The New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1972.

¹³ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 455.

True, the working class of today is, as a rule, better organized and educated; in a number of developed capitalist countries it has managed to obtain a higher standard of living; its requirements have changed. Its structure has become more complex; there is an increasingly greater percentage of brainwork in the labour done by the working class. However, all these changes do not affect the main thing—the role of the proletariat in the economic and other areas of life of society, the profound contradiction between labour and capital, and the striving of the working class for social change.

Today, too, the working class remains the chief enemy of monopoly power; its ranks are growing, and it is winning more and more allies over to its side. The proletariat occupies the leading place in the revolutionary movement now as well. This is evident from the character, forms and methods of its struggle, the militancy of its actions.

Consequently today, just as in the period of the October Revolution, the working class remains the class which history has destined to emancipate labour from the yoke of capital. And, therefore, the Russian proletariat's experience in successfully fulfilling this mission continues to be

of vast international significance, despite some of its peculiarities.

Attention should be drawn to the claim that it is far more difficult for the working class in the West to take over power in a revolutionary way than it was in Russia. Since falsifiers in the West are very zealous in backing up their contentions with quotations taken out of context from Lenin's work they are wont to cite Lenin's statement "...the world socialist revolution cannot begin easily in the advanced countries as the revolution began in Russia...".¹⁴

What conclusions are drawn from this?

The working class of the capitalist world must not strive for revolution. All the more so since in the age of "people's capitalism", the "post-industrial society" and the "technotronic era", capitalism is undergoing evolution and transmutation, and all causes for revolution have "disappeared".

It would be a waste of time to try to make our ideological opponents change their mind. Lenin's words about the difficult beginning of revolution in the West, spoken in a definite setting more than half a century ago, are dogmatically said by the

¹⁴ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 98.

bourgeois ideologists to be valid for present-day conditions.

To be sure, now as well it is no easy thing to launch a revolution in the West. But is it not a fact that the working class and the other anti-monopoly forces in the citadels of capitalism have grown immensely, that there exists, and is gaining strength the world socialist system which is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle, and that the national liberation movement has unfolded on a vast scale? All this facilitates the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power.

We have examined the main directions along which the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are attempting in vain to disparage the experience of the Great October Re-

volution. But try as they may, our ideological opponents will not be able to refute the fact that the October 1917 Revolution was a logical development of history, that it developed in accordance with the laws of socialist revolution, that "the general course of the proletarian revolution is the same throughout the world."¹⁵

The experience and lessons of the October and other revolutions form the basis of the strategy of the world communist movement, of every Marxist-Leninist party, which ably combine the general and the specific in the struggle for the power of the working class and all working people, in the struggle for the victory of socialism.

¹⁵ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 470.

"...certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international..., but all the primary features of our revolution, and many of its secondary features, are of international significance in the meaning of its effect on all countries."

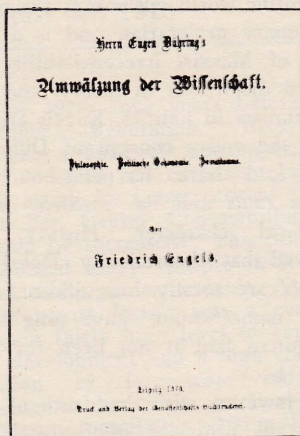
V. I. Lenin

"...the October whirlwind fanned the sparks of the revolution into a mighty flame. The half century which passed after the October Revolution convincingly demonstrated its tremendous international significance. During these years, the entire face of the world has changed, changed in large measure under the impact of the October Revolution and its ideas, under the influence of socialism's victories."

L. I. Brezhnev

STP Calendar

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE MARXIST WORLD OUTLOOK



JULY, 1878

Engels' book, *Herr E. Dühring's Revolution in Science*, commonly known as *Anti-Dühring*, was written almost one hundred years ago, but it remains an encyclopaedia of the scientific Marxist world outlook. Lenin said about the book: "This is a wonderfully rich and instructive book... (analysing highly important problems of the domain of philosophy, natural science and the social sciences)".¹

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 25.

Engels wrote this book in response to the publication in Germany, in the mid-1870s, of tracts written by Eugene Dühring, a little-known assistant professor at the University of Berlin, who declared himself a social reformer and claimed that he had created a new philosophical system. Dühring sought to oppose to Marxism his "latest word in science" which, in actual fact, was nothing but a variety of petty-bourgeois socialism based on an idealist conception of history. However, his views exerted a certain influence on the young German Social-Democratic Party. It was for this reason that Wilhelm Liebknecht, one of the leaders of German Socialists, asked Marx and Engels to refute this new trend of petty-bourgeois philosophy. Putting aside all his other work Engels set out to write a book in order to help the party of the German working class in its struggle to preserve the integrity of proletarian ideology.

In 1877-1878, *Vorwärts*, a social-democratic newspaper, published a series of articles by Engels. In early July 1878 they were published as a book in Leipzig.

The book was written after *Capital*, "the most destructive shell ever fired at the bourgeoisie."² It is permeated with a spirit of determined struggle against attempts to oppose eclectic mixtures of petty-bourgeois views to the scientific theory of Marxism.

When Engels was working on *Anti-Dühring*, Marx discontinued

² K. Marx and F. Engels. *Works*, Vol. 31, p. 453.

his work on the second and third volumes of *Capital* in order to write a chapter on political economy for Engels' book. Marx also helped Engels to gather data for the section of the book entitled "Socialism" and later read the completed manuscript.

In *Anti-Dühring* Engels analyzes the three component parts of Marxism, each of them forming a separate section in the book: "Philosophy", "Political economy" and "Socialism".

The underlying theme of the book is struggle for the integrity of dialectical materialism, the scientific ideology of the proletariat. "Either materialism consistent to the end, or the falsehood and confusion of philosophical idealism—such is the formation given in every paragraph of *Anti-Dühring*".³

First of all, Engels discusses the basic principles of dialectical materialism and substantiates the fundamental laws of dialectics and the Marxist theory of cognition. Proceeding from Marx's economic theory Engels gave a concise account of Marxist political economy in the second section of the book. He criticized the idealist theory of force, showed the decisive importance of the economy in the development of society, explained the origin of private property and classes, and revealed the progressive role played by force in a revolutionary epoch.

The third section of the book is a brilliant essay on the history and theory of scientific socialism. En-

gels showed that scientific communism was a theoretical expression of the proletarian movement and described the future socialist and communist society.

Anti-Dühring provides an example of a successful defence of the scientific world outlook of the revolutionary proletariat, and is a model of Marxist irreconcilability toward distortions in theory, and opportunism in politics. Engels criticized the entire concept of Dühring, and laid bare its petty-bourgeois class roots and its idealist, metaphysical character. History has proved that theoretically Dühring's views are totally insignificant, and his name would have long been forgotten had it not been for Engels' book.

However, with the death of the assistant professor of Berlin University, the Dührings—enemies of Marxism and of its materialist and dialectical concept of the world, and the propagators of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies in the working class movement—have not disappeared. They are still seeking to convert socialism from a science into an Utopia. That is why the basic arguments contained in Engels' book against reformism, anarchism and other varieties of petty-bourgeois "revolutionariness", against a vulgar understanding of materialist dialectics, political economy and scientific socialism, are still important and continue to serve as an ideological weapon of the working people in their struggle for democracy and socialism.

(APN)

³ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 338.

STP Calendar

LENIN'S FORESIGHT

August 16, 1913

In 1913, four years before the October Revolution, *Severnaya Pravda*, a Bolshevik newspaper, carried a small but extremely important article by Lenin entitled "How Can Per Capita Consumption In Russia Be Increased?" This problem interested many people in Russia. And this is understandable. At that time tsarist Russia was a country with a fairly high level of capitalist development and a high concentration of large-scale industry. Owing to her vast territory and numerous population—160 million—Russia ranked fifth in the world in industrial output. Nevertheless she was an extremely backward country in terms of per capita output and consumption of major industrial goods—the chief indicator of economic development.

In his article, Lenin posed in a concise manner the key problem as regards the causes of economic backwardness of tsarist Russia, and discussed the ways of turning Russia into a highly developed country.

Russian capitalism, which was dependent on the foreign bourgeoisie, the deep-rooted survivals of feudalism in the countryside, and the despotic monarchist system were increasingly hampering Russia's economic development, reducing her to the status of a semi-colony of Western capital. In 1913, Russia's industrial production per capita of the population was almost the same as in Spain which was then among the less developed European countries.

In 1911, per capita consumption of iron wares in Russia was only 25 kg, whereas in the USA it was 233 kg, in Germany 136 kg, and in Britain 105 kg. "...Russia," Lenin noted with bitterness, "still remains an unbelievably, unprecedentedly backward country, poverty-stricken and half-savage, four times worse-off than Britain, five times worse-off than Germany and ten times worse-off than America in terms of modern means of production"¹.

The great leader of the Russian proletariat exposed the social roots of the country's backwardness, and proposed a bold programme for Russia's advancement. It called for, among other things, the abolition of landlord property rights so that the peasants would "...increase their consumption, cease being beggars and become, at long last, a little bit like human beings"².

Lenin wrote that another obstacle on the road toward social and economic progress was "a handful of monopolists protected by state aid" and closely connected with semi-feudal landlords.³

Lenin firmly believed in the strength and capability of the proletariat and all working people of Russia, and pointed out that the task of "overtaking America" could be accomplished only if the people took over power. He noted that "increasing backwardness" made exceptional speed necessary in solving that vital problem.⁴

A thorough knowledge of the objective laws of historical development, scientific foresight, and a deep conviction about the transforming power of socialism—this was what enabled Lenin to set forth such a far-reaching development programme for Russia at a time when her industrial potential equal-

¹ Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 292.

² *Ibid.*, p. 293.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

led only 12.5 per cent of that of the USA. In those years, electric power production in Russia was only 8.3 per cent of that in the USA, steel—15.5 per cent, cement—12.3 per cent, and mineral fertilizers—3 per cent.

As Lenin foresaw, the socialist system eliminated the exploiter classes, and removed the social obstacles from the path toward rapid economic and cultural progress. Today, the Soviet Union is a major industrial power and has caught up with, and in some fields has even surpassed, the United States of

America, the most developed capitalist country.

In 1972, total Soviet industrial output was more than 75 per cent of that in the USA, with steel production exceeding the US figure by 2 per cent, and cement—by 41 per cent; the output of mineral fertilizers was only 2 per cent below the US figure.

The successful implementation of the ninth five-year economic development plan (1971-1975) will further bridge the gap between the levels of economic growth of the USSR and the USA.

SCIENCE NEWS

TOPICAL QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM

Nauchny kommunizm
No. 1, 1973 (C)

An international symposium devoted to "The Laws and Phases in Building and Developing Socialism" was held at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow. It was attended by researchers of the Party's scientific-research institutes and editorial boards of the Party journals of eight socialist countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania and the USSR.

The symposium was opened by Academician Pyotr Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Professor V. Semyonov presented a paper entitled: "The Basic Laws and Phases in Building and Developing Socialism". He dealt with a wide scope of questions covering the basic laws and the relation between the general and specific features of constructing and developing socialism, the main phases of the development of socialist society, the goals set in the construction of advanced socialist society, and its cardinal characteristics.

In his statement Professor N. Iribadjakov, editor-in-chief of the Bulgarian journal *Nove vreme* (New Times), dealt with certain

methodological problems in the investigation of advanced socialism. Socialism cannot reach the highest, ultimate phase of development, i.e., the phase of maturity, immediately after its emergence. To arrive at it the society must create the necessary conditions. Above all it must attain a definite level of development of the productive forces and relations of production. In the view of the Bulgarian scholar the historical mission of advanced socialist society is to pave the way for the gradual transition to communism.

In his paper B. Szabo, editor-in-chief of the Hungarian journal *Párttörténeti tájékoztató* (Bulletin of the History of the Party), focused attention on the phases in building and developing socialism.

The wealth of experience accumulated by the Hungarian people in their struggle for socialism shows that the general laws manifested themselves in full scope only in forms that met the concrete historical conditions of the country. The theorists who described these national differences as "models of socialism" advanced views that were theoretically unsound and harmful in practice.

The 8th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held in 1962 drew the conclusion that Hungary had built the foundations for a socialist society. At present the Hungarian people were engaged in building full-scale socialism in accordance with the decisions of the 10th Party Congress. This meant that they were building an advanced socialist society.

The papers of I. Hildebrandt,

chief of the Department of Scientific Communism, Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the SUPG Central Committee, and E. Trümpler, sector chief of the Institute, were devoted to theoretical and practical questions bearing on the construction of an advanced socialist society in the German Democratic Republic, the conditions for it and the tasks confronting society in this connection.

Hildebrandt pointed out that in the German Democratic Republic the conditions were present in the early 1960's to build an advanced socialist society. The thesis that socialism is a relatively independent social-economic structure dissociated from the integral communist structure gained temporary currency in the German Democratic Republic's scientific literature. This reflection of objective processes was unsound. Therefore, the thesis was theoretically untenable. A critical analysis helped overcome this conception.

Trümpler emphasized that a society could not be regarded as an advanced socialist society, unless it was totally free from all elements of capitalist production relations, even though these relations played no essential role.

In his statement B. Baldoo, Director of the Institute of the History of the Party under the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, spoke about the main phases of the revolution in Mongolia and its specific characteristics.

The Mongolian scientist drew

attention to the fact that in contrast to the experience of most socialist countries, in which there was a transitional period from capitalism to socialism, in Mongolia there was a period of transition from feudalism to socialism, bypassing the capitalist phase of development.

Baldoo pointed out that some works advanced the view that non-capitalist development necessarily implied the existence of a national working class in the given country. Mongolian experience showed that this condition was not imperative. However, an essential result of non-capitalist development was the emergence and establishment of a working class. Without the working class playing its leading role the further building of socialism was inconceivable. Beginning with the 1960's the Mongolian people were endeavouring to secure the complete triumph of socialism.

Professor S. Wiederspiel, head of the Chair of Sociology at the Higher School of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, dwelt in detail on the role of the small-scale commodity sector in the process of building the socialist sector in Poland. Given the necessary material and technical conditions, the total reconstruction of agriculture along socialist lines is inevitable. Poland, he said, is still confronted with residual problems of the transitional period which will be resolved in the course of socialist construction.

In their paper G. Surpata and D. Hurezeanu, section chiefs of the

Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Research under the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, examined some problems of phases of socialist construction and development in their country. In August 1969 (after the 10th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party) Romania launched its programme for building an advanced socialist society.

In his statement K. Roubal, Deputy Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, spoke at length on the phases of socialist construction. He developed his conception of the three phases in the development of socialist society, based on an analysis of the changes occurring in the economic structure of socialism. The first phase was conditioned by the existence of large scale machine industry, followed by the creation of large-scale automated production. This form of production which was in line with the socialist social relations, adequately provided the basis for the flowering of culture and education and for all-round development of democracy. In his view these processes were strikingly evident in the USSR. The Czechoslovak scholar maintained that the second phase of socialism would be characterized by the creation of cyberneticized production, when the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution have been organically combined with the advantages of the socialist system. The speaker said that the documents of the 24th Congress of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union considered the basic questions bearing on the second phase—the phase of an advanced socialist society which has been built solely in the USSR. Such economic forms as cost accounting, prices and credit would still continue to operate at this phase. However, because of cyberneticization of production these forms would play an ever smaller role. Finally, in the third phase of socialist development, large-scale cyberneticized production would create an abundance of material and cultural benefits, marking the completion of the process of economic maturing of communism. This period will be characterized by the emergence of the objective conditions for the realization of the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". Society will thus enter the higher phase of the communist structure.

In discussing the features of advanced socialist society A. Sobolev, chief of the Department of the History of the International Communist Movement, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, emphasized, as an objective law of development, that it would be possible to build the material and technical basis for an advanced socialist society only through international socialist integration.

Professor G. Glezerman, Pro-Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, touched upon a number of questions raised at the symposium. Referring to the time when an

advanced socialist society was formed in the USSR, and pointing to the difficulty of giving the precise time, Professor Glezerman mentioned the second half of the 1960's as the tentative period which marked the building of advanced socialism in the Soviet Union.

The participants in the symposium noted that meetings of socialist scholars were a fruitful form of scientific elaboration of problems of theory arising from practical socialist and communist construction and in the development of the world revolutionary process.

Alexander KRUKHMALYOV,
M.Sc.(Phil.)

THE SOVIET EXPERIENCE AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Rabochy klass i sovremenny mir
No. 2, 1973

An international scientific conference devoted to the Soviet experience in carrying out socialist transformations and its world-wide significance was held in Tashkent at the end of last year. Over 350 scholars and public and political figures from the USSR, other socialist countries, and more than 50 states of Asia, Africa and Latin America took part in the conference.

The representative character of the conference reaffirmed the great interest displayed throughout the world in the way of life of the multinational Soviet state, and in its achievements in all spheres of economic, socio-political and cultural activities. The conference has vividly confirmed Lenin's forecast that socialist transformations, the

successful solution of the national question will be of colossal importance not only to us but also to the hundreds of millions of the people of other countries and continents, who "are destined to follow us on to the stage of history in the near future".¹

In his message of greetings to the participants in the conference, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that the Soviet Eastern republics provide an example of how socialism eliminates national and colonial oppression, exploitation, lack of rights and poverty, and leads the peoples onto the road of social progress, bypassing capitalism. Comrade Brezhnev pointed out, in particular, that the Soviet Union opposes the imperialists' intrigues, and is for unity and cohesion of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

Sharaf Rashidov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, delivered a report entitled "Leninism—the Banner of the Peoples' Liberation and Progress", in which he discussed the key questions pertaining to Lenin's theory of non-capitalist development and its historical significance. Comrade Rashidov pointed out that the socialist revolution in the Soviet East has solved many problems which are similar in nature to those facing the revolutionary forces of

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 610.

the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

Comrade Rashidov gave a detailed analysis of the chief problems connected with the non-capitalist way of development. He pointed out that the non-capitalist way of development was a logical process in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, an era marked by the liberation of colonies and semi-colonies from imperialist oppression. One of Lenin's most important achievements, Comrade Rashidov said, was his formulation of the strategic and tactical principles for undertaking socialist construction in the specific conditions obtaining in the East. These principles may be summed up as follows: resolute eradication of the remains of colonialism, and elimination of all kinds of privileges enjoyed by any national group; establishment of a firm alliance between the international working class and the national liberation movement; a slower, more thoughtful and more gradual approach to socialism using intermediate forms, ways and means that facilitate the transformation of pre-capitalist relations into socialist ones; a flexible approach to the broad masses of peasants; adaptation of the principles of scientific socialism to national peculiarities and distinctions; establishment of an alliance between Communists and national democratic forces, an alliance that is directed against imperialism and feudalism; and consolidation of communist parties and enhancement of their vanguard role.

Much attention was devoted at the conference to an evaluation of current new developments in the national liberation movement. Academician E. Zhukov, Director of the Institute of World History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said in his report, "Current Problems Concerning Unity in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle", that success in the struggle against imperialism in the vast zone of the national liberation movement largely depended on the working people of the countries that had embarked on the road of building a socialist society and on the development of cooperation between Communists and revolutionary democrats.

Comrade Zhukov emphasized that the experience gained by the peoples of the Soviet East convincingly shows that socialism can triumph not only in advanced countries with a developed industry and a corresponding working class but also in relatively backward countries. Socialism can be built in any country having advanced social forces that can rely on the support of the victorious working class of other countries, which, in conformity with the principle of the proletarian internationalism, will render them the necessary political, economic and ideological assistance for overcoming their backwardness.

Youssef al-Sebai, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, said that cooperation of the forces of socialism and the national liberation movement was a guarantee of social, economic and cultural advance of the developing

countries of Asia and Africa. He stressed the international significance of the socialist experience in the USSR.

V. Solodovnikov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Director of the Institute of Africa, spoke on "The Present Stage of Non-Capitalist Development in Asia and Africa". He discussed the problems of non-capitalist development as a most promising way to socialism.

The speaker presented a critique of the bourgeois theories of development of the newly-free states, in particular, the attempts of bourgeois scholars and social-chauvinists to distort Lenin's well-known thesis on the non-capitalist way of development and to replace it by the theory of "poor" and "rich" nations, the theory of a specific "third way", etc. The proponents of such views are trying to sow distrust toward the historical experience of the Soviet Central Asian republics and the entire Soviet Union, to encourage a negative attitude toward socialism and to emasculate the Marxist-Leninist theory on non-capitalist development by deliberate misinterpretation of its revolutionary content. Bourgeois scholars suggest that the newly-free countries choose a "third way" of social development which, according to them, is something "in-between" capitalism and socialism. In actual fact, the so-called "third way" means unrestricted development of private enterprise, uncontrolled activities of imperialist monopolies, and consolidation of the positions of fo-

reign and local bourgeoisie. The anti-communist ideologists try to exploit the fact that nationalism in the developing countries is of reactionary origin, and to play up the theme that the followers of scientific socialism are intolerant of religion. It is common knowledge, Solodovnikov said, that by class struggle the founders of scientific socialism meant antagonism, not between believers and non-believers, but between exploiters and the exploited.

In their speeches at the plenary session, prominent public and political figures of Asia, Africa and Latin America emphasized the positive influence exerted by the Soviet Union on the national liberation struggle and the solution of the key social and economic problems. They noted that those nations that had already won independence had at their disposal time-tested experience of the Soviet Union in struggle against imperialism, in attaining stable economic growth and in modernizing archaic socio-political structures, an experience which clearly demonstrated the bankruptcy of capitalism, and also of bourgeois theories of how problems facing the developing countries should be solved. Many speakers called attention to the immense role played by Soviet political and economic cooperation with Asian, African and Latin American countries, which promoted their all-round progress.

N. GAVRILOV
Y. IVANOV
O. MELIKYAN

VIEWS ON BOOKS

Andrei GROMYKO

Member of the CPSU
Central Committee Po-
litbureau, Foreign Mi-
nister of the USSR

The Leninist Revolutionary Course of Foreign Policy

Kommunist No. 1, 1973 (C)

A collection of speeches, reports and articles by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled *The CPSU in the Struggle for Unity of All Revolutionary and Peace-Loving Forces* gives a vivid idea of the truly internationalist foreign policy followed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its untiring activity in rallying all the revolutionary and peace-loving forces of our time to fight the forces of aggression and reaction, and to establish peace among nations.

The book, which was prepared by the Institute of the International Working Class Movement and published by Moscow Mysl Publishers last year, offers a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world revolutionary process and sums up the major events and the new phenomena and tendencies related to this process, and the interconnection between them. On a firm scientific and theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism the CPSU outlines its most important

foreign policy tasks, defines the main direction of the struggle for peace and social progress, and elaborates the country's foreign policy aimed at fulfilling the set tasks.

Л. И. БРЕЖНЕВ. *КПСС в борьбе за единство всех революционных и миролюбивых сил*. М., 1972, 303 стр.

Whatever international problems they deal with, the works of Leonid Brezhnev clearly reveal the principled and consistent class approach of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the truly revolutionary—in the best and fullest meaning of this word—nature of its policy.

In waging a struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace, and in undertaking for this purpose appropriate initiatives in the field of foreign policy, the CPSU, together with other fraternal parties, upholds the basic vital interests of the peoples, and the interests of the world revolutionary movement and the international working class. It is thus ma-

king a most important contribution to the struggle against imperialism and reaction and for democracy and social progress.

Disclosing the well-springs of the revolutionary, peace-oriented foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state, Leonid Brezhnev points out that the working class plays the leading role in the building of communism in the Soviet Union, and in Soviet society. It is this that serves as a basis for the further ideological-political and social consolidation of Soviet society and the drawing together of the country's nations and nationalities. From this it follows that "one of the guiding principles of our life is proletarian internationalism, which is inseparable from the position of the working class in Soviet society" (p. 286).

The tendencies and prospects of the world revolutionary process are analysed in the book from every angle. "Of key importance today is Lenin's conclusion that in the epoch of imperialism the tasks of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism draw ever closer and merge into a common stream," it is pointed out in the report, *Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs*, delivered on April 21, 1970 (p. 187).

The need to strengthen international revolutionary unity is the central theme of the book which shows what must be done to consolidate the forces of each of the main detachments of the contemporary revolutionary front and, above all, to achieve the unity of their political vanguard, the international communist movement. As may be expected, therefore, problems of world socialism are dealt with in detail in the book.

Owing to the development of socialism and the impact of its example, conditions are ripe in the world for the further spread of the revolutionary movement and the liberation struggle, and for the launching of all other democratic movements. The international working class now regards socialism, and particularly the Soviet Union, as the foremost revolutionary force of our epoch, a reliable support for all the peoples fighting for national freedom, democracy and social progress.

Questions pertaining to the further strengthening and development of the world socialist system, and to relations with fraternal socialist countries and their communist parties were discussed in detail in the report on the 50th anniversary of the USSR, in the international

section of the Report of the CPSU Central Committee which L. I. Brezhnev delivered at the 24th Party Congress, in the speech at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, and in the report dedicated to the Lenin birth centenary. The book shows the ever-increasing importance of such factors as socialist economic integration and the development of extensive cooperation in all its forms between socialist countries, including coordination of their actions in the sphere of foreign policy and defence.

In the speeches and articles included in the book, the most urgent political and socio-economic problems facing mankind today are discussed and their theoretical aspects considered. These include international issues whose settlement is essential for protecting the interests of peace and democracy, the interests of building communism in the Soviet Union, and the interests of all countries and peoples.

The main trends of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state, as defined by the 24th Party Congress, are reflected in the Peace Programme which was formulated by L. I. Brezhnev at the 24th Party Congress and which signifies a new

advance in Soviet foreign policy (pp. 159-161).

The Programme outlines the practical tasks which must be carried out in order to settle the key international problems in the interests of both individual countries and regions of the world and of all mankind. Moreover, the Programme is distinctly of a class nature. "While consistently pursuing the policy of peace and friendship among nations, the Soviet Union will continue to conduct a resolute struggle against imperialism, and firmly to rebuff the evil designs and subversions of aggressors. As in the past, we shall give undeviating support to the peoples' struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism", stated Leonid Brezhnev, proclaiming this historic programme from the rostrum of the 24th Party Congress.

The material included in the present volume clearly shows how the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee, on the basis of a careful assessment of the obtaining situation, elaborated a bold and at the same time completely realistic policy aimed at achieving a détente and peace in Europe. The necessary conditions for such a change have been created in the course of normalization of relations between the USSR and European capital-

ist states, and above all owing to a settlement of outstanding European problems on the basis of the final recognition of territorial changes that had occurred in Europe as a result of the Second World War.

It was pointed out in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress that Europe was one of most important areas for the Soviet Union in its foreign policy activities. The report outlined the concrete tasks in the further development and strengthening of relations between the USSR and France, which is an important factor contributing to international security; it dwelt on the activities conducive to the normalization and improvement of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the socialist part of Europe in accordance with the treaties, which are of historic importance, concluded by the USSR and Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany; and the activities to improve the situation on the continent as a whole and in the advance towards a system of collective security (pp. 154-156).

In the brief period—two years—since the Peace Programme was made public, impressive progress has been made in implementing it; this confirms the correctness

and realism of the ideas contained in the Programme.

The consolidation of peace, the creation of a reliable barrier against imperialist aggression and the elimination of all situations which contain the danger of war are subjects which occupy an important place in the speeches of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee published in the volume. And a leading theme is that of fraternal solidarity with the people of Vietnam, who have become for all mankind a symbol of heroic struggle against aggression.

The speeches and articles dealing with the Middle East crisis, which resulted from Israel's attack on the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan, and with the support rendered to the Arab peoples thus subjected to imperialist aggression occupy a prominent place in the collection.

The policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government with regard to Middle East affairs is dictated by the main aim which meets the basic interests of the peoples of this region, namely, to seek a settlement of the conflict through the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression. The aggressor must not be allowed to get some kind of a prize in the form of the Arab territories he has seized. The Soviet

Union has more than once drawn attention to the short-sightedness and adventurism of the Israeli rulers whose actions show little concern even for the future of their own state.* In his speeches and statements Leonid Brezhnev has repeatedly pointed out that such a situation, if it should remain unchanged, is fraught with serious danger for this region and is also a threat to world peace.

Special attention is paid in the collection to problems of the present stage of the national liberation movement as a whole. "...Experience clearly shows", it is noted in the book, "that the further development of the newly-free countries along the road of national independence inevitably leads to a clash with the policy of imperialism and can only proceed in struggle against imperialist policy" (p. 190). Today with the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system in the main completed, the former colonial world has entered a new stage: it is becoming increasingly clear that the struggle today is no longer solely for national but also—and this is now the main thing—for social liberation.

The CPSU, while offering a resolute rebuff to imperialist aggression wherever it occurs and supporting in every way the peoples of Asia, Af-

rica and Latin America in their liberation struggle, carries out a clear-cut, principled Leninist policy in the Soviet Union's relations with capitalist states—a policy which fully meets the interests of peace and the basic interests of all countries and nations. This policy is also formulated with the greatest clarity in the present book. "Our principled line with respect to the capitalist countries, including the USA, is consistently and fully to practise the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop mutually advantageous ties, and to cooperate with states prepared to do so, in strengthening peace, making our relations with them as stable as possible," states the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress. "But we have to consider whether we are dealing with a real desire to settle outstanding issues at the negotiation table or attempts to conduct a 'positions of strength' policy" (p. 158).

Today we are witnessing the results brought about by the foreign policy of the Soviet state which combines rebuff to imperialism's aggressive aspirations with readiness to cooperate with capitalist countries in strengthening peace, showing respect for the rights of all peoples to independence and free de-

velopment. Thus, the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in May 1972, in Moscow have fully corroborated the conviction voiced in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress that "an improvement in Soviet-American relations would be in the interests of the Soviet and the American peoples, in the interests of a more durable peace" (p. 158).

The consolidation of the Soviet Union's relations with West European states, the establishment of cooperation with France, the normalization and development of relations with the FRG, for which there are great potentialities, the successful development of political, economic and cultural cooperation with Italy, Belgium, Holland, Finland, and the Scandinavian countries, and with a number of other European countries, the development of cooperation with Canada—all this also furnishes abundant and convincing evidence that the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress is being consistently implemented and has already become an effective factor in world politics.

The attainment of such results has become possible thanks to the revolutionary nature of the Soviet state's peace-loving Leninist foreign

policy which meets the aspirations of all mankind. The policy aim of uniting all the revolutionary and peace-loving forces, of utilizing all the latent forces of peace, including not only the vast working population of the capitalist countries, but also the more thoughtful, realistically-minded bourgeois circles,—this line of action, formulated by the CPSU taking into account the specific conditions in different countries, has borne fruit as may be seen in the changes currently taking place, leading towards a relaxation of tension in Europe and other parts of the world.

An important theme in the book is that the Soviet Union is constantly aware of the fraternal solidarity and support of the international working class and the progressive and democratic forces of the world, and that the Communists of the Soviet Union have always regarded it as their sacred duty to do everything in their power to facilitate the struggle of the working class and the democratic forces of all continents for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

Speaking on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the USSR Leonid Brezhnev stated: "Throughout our country's history we have had occasion time and again

to appreciate how important for us is our alliance with the international working class and with the communist movement, how important is the support by upright, progressive people across the world for our peace-loving policy. We highly value this support.

"On this momentous occasion we again assure our comrades-in-arms, our class brothers, our friends all over the world that the Soviet Union shall always be faithful to the great cause of the international unity of the

fighters for the freedom of the peoples, for socialism, for lasting world peace."

The present state of affairs in the world, the growing unity of all the revolutionary and peace-loving forces and their increasing influence on the course of events, are largely a result of the international activity of the CPSU. The peoples of our country are proud of the fact that the Soviet Union is confidently carrying aloft the banner of the Leninist foreign policy, the policy of peace and friendship among nations.

HOW THE USSR BECAME ECONOMICALLY INDEPENDENT

The book by V. Kasyanenko *The Winning of Economic Independence by the USSR* (1917-1940) issued by the Politizdat Publishing House last year provides an answer to the pivotal question of Soviet history: How did the Soviet Union become economically independent of the capitalist states?

The author analyses the significance of the nationalization of big industry and banks, including foreign banks and the cancellation of state loans and pre-revolutionary debts in the nation's winning of economic independence.

Kasyanenko gives a detailed account of the basic principles of the foreign economic policy of the Soviet state elaborated by Lenin. A number of major questions (policy on concessions, socialist pro-

tectionism, foreign trade monopoly, etc.) are dealt with in a more concrete way.

The author makes a thorough study of the process of winning economic independence by the USSR, the chief theme of the book, and analyses how the problem was dealt with during the period of the first three five-year plans (1928-40).

В. КАСЬЯНЕНКО. *Завоевание экономической независимости СССР* (1917—1940 гг.). 1972, 336 стр.

Looking into the process of building the country's own industrial and technical basis for the reconstruction of the national economy, the author emphasizes the significance of the vigorous effort to give priority to the development of those

industries which were vital to the economic independence of the USSR. This is the first book to offer a comprehensive generalization of the results of this effort in such areas as general engineering, the manufacture of farm machines, machine-tools, the power-engineering equipment and the means of transport, the production of ball-bearings and machinery for mining and for geological survey, the output of metallurgical equipment, and so on. Marked emphasis is placed on the progress of the metallurgical and fuel industries.

This monograph is the first of its kind on the history of economics to show in full detail how light industry became independent of imports in the period from 1933 to 1940. The description of the work of the Communist Party and the Soviet state to step up the output and reduce imports of agricultural raw materials is also of considerable interest.

Kasyanenko shows convincingly that the successes of socialist collective farming had a favourable effect on socialist industrialization. One of the most well-argued sections of the book is the author's account of the Party's efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in cotton production, and to boost this branch of agriculture which is so vital to the industrial progress of the country.

In analysing the economic crisis and its aftermath in the capitalist world, the author brilliantly elucidates the USSR's struggle for economic independence during the

period of the first five-year plan, 1928-1933. On the one hand, the world economic crisis encouraged the anti-Soviet activities of the most aggressive imperialist forces, while, on the other, it compelled a considerable part of the bourgeoisie to agree to expand economic ties with the USSR. During the crisis, orders from the Soviet Union were a major factor in improving the well-being of the workers in capitalist countries.

The book shows that although trade with the USSR was obviously beneficial, some Western businessmen used the sales of machinery as a means of sharp class struggle. The most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie attempted to institute a trade blockade of the USSR.

In his book V. Kasyanenko cites numerous facts to show how the Soviet Government was finding a solution to the currency problem in the difficult circumstances of those days. In particular, he describes the measures taken to boost the gold mining industry and improve the efficiency of sea transport.

Discussing the question of inviting foreign concessioners, Kasyanenko writes that in its policy on concessions the Soviet state had as its goal the strengthening of the economic independence of the USSR and normalizing relations with capitalist countries. The author then examines the reasons why foreign capital avoided developing concessions on Soviet territory.

Despite the biased assertions of a number of bourgeois historians who overstated the proportions of

foreign technical aid (which was exorbitantly expensive) the Soviet Union single-handedly, thanks to the Soviet scientists and engineers, built the overwhelming majority of its industrial giants, the pride of our country, in the period of the pre-war five-year plans.

The book shows that within the period of the second and third five-year plans, most machine-building factories became large specialized, series-producing, well-equipped enterprises able to fulfil any orders of the national economy. This enabled the government to greatly reduce the import of turbines and generators, locomobiles, a considerable part of metallurgical and mining equipment, textile machines, pumps, compressors, etc. Furthermore, even at that time the USSR began to export some of these types of machines to the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Denmark and Egypt.

Kasyanenko's analysis of the foreign economic relations maintained by the Soviet state in the 1933-1940 period and of the operation of the concessions and foreign firms in the USSR contributes significantly to the study of the way in which the USSR won economic independence.

In summary, the book convincingly shows that the author has attained his goal: his comprehensive research gives a clear picture of how the USSR became economically independent of capitalist states.

Yuri VOSKRESENSKY,
D.Sc.(Hist.)

THE THIRD WORLD: PROSPECTS OF ADVANCING TO SOCIALISM

Narody Azii i Afriki No. 1, 1973 (C)

Socialism and Newly Liberated Countries (Moscow, Nauka Publishing House, 1972, 557 pages), an impressive monograph by Professor Rostislav Ulyanovsky, a leading Soviet expert on problems of the liberated countries, begins with a survey of the classics of Marxism-Leninism on the national-colonial question and on questions of non-capitalist development.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism revealed penetratingly the connection between problems arising from the collapse of the colonial system and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the connection between the struggle for national and social emancipation. "Marx", the author emphasizes, "has advanced an idea of historic importance to the world: that national movements can develop into powerful allies of the revolutionary proletariat" (p. 24). In discussing Lenin's contribution to the theory of the national-colonial question and the problem of non-capitalist development of former colonies and dependent states R. Ulyanovsky stresses Lenin's interpretation of the national liberation movement as a reserve and ally of the world socialist revolution, and as an integral part of the world revolutionary process and the beginning of socialist transformations in these countries.

In this section, Lenin's views on the significance of Soviet experience in socialist transformations for the peoples of liberated countries are closely analyzed. "Under present conditions", the author writes, "of particular importance for countries which are embarking upon the non-capitalist road is the experience of the Soviet Government's

Р. А. УЛЬЯНОВСКИЙ. *Социализм и освободившиеся страны*. М., 1972, 557 стр.

New Economic Policy toward the peasantry and in the use of both local and foreign private capital. The NEP was primarily a concession to the peasantry as the largest class of simple commodity producers. It was also an entirely conscious and well-thought-out temporary concession to capitalism, admitting private domestic and partly foreign capitalist enterprise, on terms advantageous to the socialist state and under strict state control" (p. 56).

At the same time, the prospects for using Soviet experience in socialist construction are far wider and include, especially, the possibility of support from cooperative and communal institutions in developing the lowest echelons of national-democratic statehood and peasant cooperatives.

The second part of the monograph is devoted to the agrarian question and discusses the situation of the peasantry. The author concentrates upon the historical experience of India and convincingly

demonstrates that the agrarian reform in the Indian countryside, in principle, cannot be solved either by a Utopian redistribution of communal land or by capitalist reforms. In discussing the various peasant movements in present-day India, the author correctly emphasizes that the "essence of the class struggle in the present Asian and African countryside no longer consists in the choice of one of the ways of capitalist development. It consists in a struggle between the capitalist and non-capitalist modes of development, reflecting the struggle of the two world systems" (p. 292).

The third part of the work reviews issues arising from the radical reconstruction of post-colonial economy in the liberated countries. According to the author, in the specific conditions of struggle between two world systems, the economic independence of an underdeveloped country, is "relative" and relies upon the building of a multi-branch national economy; upon the gradual weakening of the influence of non-equivalent exchange—one of the forms of capitalist exploitation of developing countries; upon a basic change in the given country's place in the international division of labour; and, most importantly, upon intensive mutually advantageous technical and economic cooperation with countries of the socialist community (see p. 407).

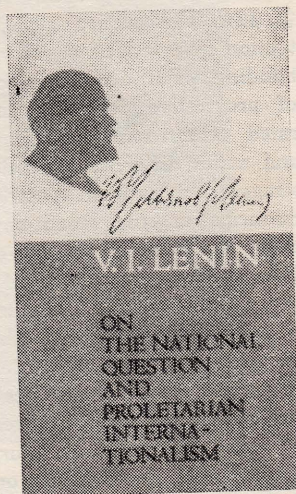
The world is facing two tendencies in the revolutionary process which is taking place in the libe-

rated countries. One is the accelerated liquidation of medieval feudal survivals and the development of state capitalism under total control of the democratic and progressive forces. In this case, socialist perspectives are to purposefully set the stage for a subsequent growth of bourgeois-democratic revolutionary changes into a socialist revolution. An alternative perspective of the liberated countries is transition to non-capitalist development, a struggle between opposing socio-economic sectors and political tendencies, which breaks ground for completing the socialist reconstruction of society. Non-capitalist development represents a transitional stage, the stage of national democratic transformations, which begins with the completion of the national liberation revolution and leads directly to the solution of tasks which are inherent in the socialist revolution.

Another section discussing the non-capitalist road of development and national democracy discusses focal theoretical and political problems of the social superstructure and ideological struggle in liberated countries.

From the many diverse economic systems of the liberated countries arises the complex transitional character of their social structures. R. Ulyanovsky emphasizes that "because of the undeveloped character of the class structure none of the social classes can, so far, without a close alliance with all anti-imperialist forces, direct socio-economic or political processes. The

Bookshelf



V. I. LENIN. On the National Question and Proletarian Internationalism, Moscow, 1972, APN Publishing House, 168 pp.

The collection includes Lenin's major works on the national question: *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, *On the National Pride of the Great Russians*, *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*, and his letter *The Question of Nationalities and Autonomization*. In these works Lenin treated such matters as the relation between the class and the national liberation struggle, the equality and self-determination of nations, the nature of the national liberation movement and the need to support it, and the essence of proletarian internationalism.

urge of one class or social section for undisputed possession of state power on many occasions leads to violation of political stability" (p. 424). This particular political situation gives added urgency to the building of a democratic coalition of progressive forces in the liberated countries. At different stages and under different conditions of struggle for national and social emancipation, the coalition takes either the form of an anti-colonial bloc, which is frequently led by the national bourgeoisie (at the stage of anti-colonial, national liberation struggle) or of a national democratic regime which consolidates within the anti-colonial bloc, a government in which the national bourgeoisie is deprived of monopoly on political power (mostly at the stage of national-democratic transformations) or, finally, the form of an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist bloc of national progressive forces with Marxist-Leninists and the arising national working class taking part.

It is for these reasons that the author makes an extensive analysis of the social essence of national democracy, which, he says, constitutes the "dictatorship of a wide bloc of the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the peasantry, the semi-proletariat and the working class" (p. 391).

National democracy is usually led by representatives of different groups of intellectuals. The intelligentsia, as a social strata, reflects the class structure of a transitional society, the ideological and psycho-

logical aspirations of its main social groups, including sections of the national bourgeoisie, mostly petty, which retains its progressive role in the national democratic state (see p. 479). "As a whole", Professor R. Ulyanovsky emphasizes, "national democracy, and above all, its left wing, has no basic points of contradiction with the working class or scientific socialism and, in many countries, does not prevent the latter from building up their prestige" (p. 309).

As the national working class takes shape and as national democracy adopts the ideas of scientific socialism, the more acute and the more important becomes the problem of unity of the national democrats and Marxist-Leninists in the struggle for social justice and economic progress.

This work by R. Ulyanovsky is an important contribution to the analysis by present-day Marxist science of the problems facing liberated countries and the theory of non-capitalist development.

Igor ANDREYEV, M.Sc.(Phil.)

SCOURGES OF "CONSUMER SOCIETY"

Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya No. 4, 1973 (C)

Bourgeois ideologists today, observing manifestations of the vices of capitalism, frequently attribute them to the progress of civilization embodied in scientific and technological advances, which they describe as baneful for mankind. One of these writers is the French so-

ciologist Georges Elgozy. He offers nothing original, but against the background of currently fashionable Western political writing which extols so-called "mass consumer society", "welfare society" and so on, his book stands out for its emphasis on some actual features and aspects of contemporary capitalist reality.

Entitled *Les damnés de l'opulence* (Plagued by Plenty),¹ his survey caustically exposes the commonly-known claims of bourgeois political science that soaring consumption and economic advance themselves lead to "overall satisfaction" and "social harmony". Elgozy writes emotionally about the depressing omnipotence of advanced technology in capitalist conditions, which, "doomed to perfection, loses its principal function—the function of serving mankind" (p. 312), which creates tools of destruction, threatens a "thermonuclear apocalypse" (pp. 86, 117); pollutes the environment with production wastes, ruinously devours natural resources and, finally, reduces the value of man below that of his "favourite creation—the calculating machine" (p. 9). Modern methods of automation and labour speed-up exhaust the human organism. "Man seeks happiness in his work only to find exhaustion and monotony" (p. 171). "For most of the workers daily fatigue is a calamity, which affects their mental equilibrium and health..." (p. 111). But the great

¹ Georges Elgozy. *Les damnés de l'opulence*. Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1970, 334 pp.

Bookshelf



A Collection of Articles: Ways of Overcoming Economic Backwardness, Moscow, 1973, APN Publishing House, 191 pp.

This collection written by prominent Soviet scholars traces the economic development of the Soviet Eastern Republics, and analyses their experience in overcoming economic backwardness in a brief span of history, and in going over to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage. Featured prominently are such matters as industrialization and the elimination of the multistructural character of the economy, the transition of farmers to socialism by way of cooperation, and the developing countries' prospects of utilizing the experience gained by the Soviet Central Asian Republics in the sphere of social and economic transformations.

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AGITATOR

(Agitator)

— fortnightly journal of the CPSU Central Committee, founded 1923, circulation 1.2 million.

ISTORIYA SSSR

(History of the USSR)

— bimonthly of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the History of the USSR, founded 1957, circulation 10 thousand.

KOMMUNIST

(Communist)

— theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee, 18 issues a year, founded 1924, circulation 859 thousand.

KROKODIL

(Crocodile)

— satirical magazine published by the newspaper *Pravda*, three issues a month, founded 1922, circulation 5.5 million.

MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN

(International Affairs)

— monthly political science journal of the All-Union "Znanie" (Knowledge) Society, founded 1954, circulation 113 thousand.

MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I
MEZHDUNARODNIYE OTNO-
SHENIYA

(World Economy and International Relations)

— monthly journal of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations, founded 1957, circulation 44 thousand.

NARODY AZII I AFRIKI

(Peoples of Asia and Africa)

— bimonthly journal of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Insti-

tute and the Africa Institute, founded 1955, circulation 4 thousand.

NAUCHNY KOMMUNIZM

(Scientific Communism)

— bimonthly journal of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, founded 1973, circulation 16 thousand.

POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRA-
ZOVANIE

(Political Self-Education)

— monthly journal of the CPSU Central Committee, founded 1957, circulation 1.9 million.

PRAVDA

(Truth)

— daily paper of the CPSU Central Committee, founded by Lenin on May 5, 1912, circulation 10 million.

RABOCHY KLASS I
SOVREMENNY MIR

(The Working Class and the World Today)

— bimonthly journal of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of the International Working Class Movement, founded 1971, circulation 21 thousand.

VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS

(Questions of the History of the CPSU)

— monthly journal of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, founded 1957, circulation 68 thousand.

ZA RUBEZHOM

(Abroad)

— weekly review of the Soviet press published by the USSR Journalists' Union, founded 1960, circulation 1 million.

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