
Lenin's Teaching and Cause Are Immortal

*(From the Record of the Scientific and Theoretical
Conference Held in Moscow in January 1974 on the
Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of Lenin's Death)*



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M. A. SUSLOV,
Member of the Politbureau,
Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

AN INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

Comrades,

January 21 will mark half a century since the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great thinker and revolutionary, the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, the leader and teacher of the working people throughout the world.

Lenin's name has gone down in the history of mankind as a symbol of the communist transformation of the world. His teaching and cause are immortal.

Over the past 50 years the Communist Party, created by Lenin and steered under his guidance in the great class battles, in acute struggle against bourgeois ideology and against all manifestations of Right and Left opportunism, carries high the banner of Leninism and under it has won historic victories of world significance. In his speech on the centenary of Lenin's birth, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "Lenin's ideas, his political steeling and his science of victory are the inexhaustible source

from which we draw confidence in our strength and our courage, optimism and will for victory."

Leninism is the true compass of the international communist movement, of the working class and of working people in the struggle for the bright future of mankind, for communism.

The entire course of social development, the great revolutionary transformations which have radically changed the social face of the world, convincingly demonstrate the historical correctness of Leninism, and its invincible strength.

An advanced socialist society, the first in history, has been built in the USSR. Its foundations were laid under the leadership and with the direct participation of Vladimir Ilyich. The Soviet Union withstood unprecedented trials in the years of the Second World War, and saved mankind from the threat of fascist enslavement. Today our socialist Motherland is in the prime of its power. It possesses a mighty social, economic, technical and military potential. The Soviet people, under the guidance of the Communist Party, are firmly and confidently advancing in the forefront of mankind, towards the radiant summits of communism.

The world socialist system, whose inevitable birth was scientifically foreseen by Lenin, has taken shape and is developing successfully. Political and economic cooperation among the countries of the socialist community is becoming ever stronger.

The colonial system of imperialism has disintegrated. The power of capital in the metropolitan countries and colonies has been under-

mined. Capitalism as a system is going through an acute crisis.

The path charted by the founders of scientific communism and proven by the historical experience has become mankind's high-road to the future. Leninism, the most advanced scientific ideology, reflecting the objective process of the development of society, is winning today in the extremely acute ideological struggle. Under the banner of Leninism the peoples of the socialist countries, the Communists of the world, the world working class and national-liberation movements are closing their ranks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, freedom and socialism.

Comrades,

This scientific and theoretical conference devoted to the immortal teaching and cause of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin is announced open.

**Academician B. N. PONOMARYOV,
Alternate Member of the Politbureau,
Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee**

V. I. LENIN AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Comrades,

Half a century has elapsed since Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the leader of the world's proletariat, the great thinker and revolutionary, the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, passed away. Unsurpassed is Lenin's tremendous influence on people's minds and deeds. He inscribed his name in history by effecting, as nobody else, historical changes in the interests of the working class and all working people.

L. I. Brezhnev said in the report dedicated to the centenary of Lenin's birth: "No matter to what summits mankind ascends, it will always remember that the gigantic figure of Lenin, thinker and revolutionary, stood at the sources of communist civilization. Nothing is more sacred to a Communist, to a Leninist, than to

devote all his strength, intelligence and will to bring nearer the future for which Lenin fought."

Under Lenin's leadership, the Communist Party and the working class of Russia, after successfully accomplishing the Great October Revolution, laid the channel for the impetuous socialist torrent.

Lenin raised Marx's doctrine to a new stage and produced a harmonious integral theory of revolution, covering and generalizing the diverse forms of revolutionary development, both on the scale of individual countries and on a world scale. Lenin went down in the history of the revolutionary movement as a great internationalist. The teaching of Lenin is internationalist because it incorporates the experience of all countries and peoples and expresses the demands of social progress. The practice of Leninism is internationalist because it stems from the general laws of revolutionary struggle. The world communist movement commenced by Lenin is also internationalist.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin has forged a proletarian party of a new type. The great process of the formation of communist parties in all countries commenced on his initiative and under his direction. They immediately showed themselves to be parties of revolutionary action. The world saw the emergence of new, truly militant revolutionary force, capable of leading masses in the struggle for the radical transformation of society.

The outgoing exploiter classes resorted to every type of political, economic, and ideological pressure and repression to destroy or sub-

vert the communist movement. Unable to oppose the ideas of communism, the dark forces of reaction have been intent on exterminating Communists, on incarcerating them in concentration camps and prisons. Before and during the Second World War millions of Communists were killed by the class enemy. In the postwar years Communists were subjected to particularly cruel repression in such countries as Indonesia and South Africa, Greece and Spain, Portugal and Guatemala, Chile and Brazil, Paraguay.

But despite all the persecution and terror organized by the forces of reaction, the army of Communists has been growing and strengthening its ranks both organizationally and politically. In 1924 there were 49 Communist and Workers' Parties with a total membership of 1,300,000; today there are Communist Parties in 89 countries and their membership is 50 million.

Attempts have been made to weaken the communist movement ideologically, to encourage the growth within it of concepts of reformism and conciliation, to push it onto the path of harmless "evolutionism" and "economism", and the Right and "Left" opportunism. But these schemes of the bourgeoisie and its accomplices have failed.

Over the last half century the communist movement has had its reverses. And yet, throughout the fifty years, the determining factor in its development has been the steadily growing influence of the world communist movement on the course of events and the increasing results of its efforts to transform

society. And we have every reason to say that today Communists and their struggle exert a decisive influence on all world developments. In actual fact, the achievements of the world communist movement embody the basic content of mankind's progress in the present epoch.

First of all, socialism was built in the Soviet Union on the basis of Lenin's ideas and according to his brilliant plan. The CPSU carried out truly titanic work and achieved the triumph of the new social system in spite of the fierce hostility of imperialists and the class enemy within the country, and in spite of the resistance put up by Trotskyists, the right and other anti-socialist groups. From a scientific theory socialism turned into a living reality. The Soviet people created an advanced socialist society and are now implementing the transition to communism for the first time in the history of mankind.

Secondly, the Soviet people and their Army, led by Lenin's Party, made a decisive contribution to the rout of fascism during the Second World War. The socio-political forces led by Communists saved world civilization, upheld and strengthened the social prospects in all mankind's progress.

Thirdly, a new stage evolved in the world socialist revolution a quarter of a century ago, under the leadership of the Communist Parties. The world socialist system, the bulwark and the main motive force of the further development of the world revolutionary process came into being. Having repulsed all the attacks of the old world, all its attempts to restore the system of exploitation and "roll back" socialism, the so-

cialist community created a vast economic, political and defence potential which exercised a decisive influence upon the correlation of forces in favour of the working class and all working people of the world.

Fourthly, thanks to this, victorious national-liberation revolutions which precipitated the downfall of colonial empires, became possible. Dozens of nations took the road of independent development, actively joined in world politics and in place of former colonies a whole group of states which chose a socialist orientation was formed.

Fifthly, Communists have played and continue to play a vanguard role in dealing with the task, which, without any exaggeration, is today an immediate and the most vital for all of mankind—the task of preserving peace and averting world war. The conviction that Communists constitute the most reliable and most active force in preserving and strengthening peace is becoming established in people's minds with greater force than ever before.

Sixthly, thanks to the Communists' activities, the organization and consolidation of the proletariat in capitalist countries is growing steadily, while pressure on the bourgeoisie, on the capitalist system of exploitation is increasing.

Finally, the ideas of Leninism have today acquired an unprecedented magnetic force on all continents and in all corners of the Earth precisely as a result of the accomplishments achieved under its banner and thanks to the selfless struggle the Communists wage for the interests of the working people, for socialism.

Such are the great results which the Communists may rightly be proud of. The past fifty years has seen the rapid advance of socialism, the steady growth of its influence on the course of history, along with the decline of imperialism, the inexorable shrinking of its spheres of power and the weakening of its positions in the world.

Living Socialism—a Decisive Factor in World Development

Living socialism, the new society, free of exploitation and oppression, for the sake of which Vladimir Ilyich lived and fought, is the supreme achievement of the communist movement. This society is a living embodiment of the powerful, creative force of the working class.

Creation of a new, communist, civilization is a crucial factor in the revolutionary transformation of the world and at the same time it is a powerful stimulus and support for the liberation struggle of all peoples.

Since the beginning of the existence of the Soviet Republic revolutionaries all over the world have drawn inspiration from the fact that a worker-peasant state exists where for the first time the ideals of genuine social equality, of genuine freedom, democracy and fraternity of nations, were being put into practice.

At present socialism is throwing impressive achievements in the implementation of tasks which were unthinkable in the past, onto the scales of the historic confrontation with capitalism. At the present stage, when we have ad-

vanced so far in fulfilling Lenin's behests, the implementation of the ideals of communism rests on the mighty material-technical basis, and on the high level of the social relations and socialist consciousness of the masses.

Advanced socialism does not only show the world the steady, harmonious and fast growth of its economy and rising living standards. But it creates a quality of life for the whole of society essentially different from that which exists under capitalism; this quality of life corresponds to man's personal and social interests and it encourages his moral and ethical development.

The genuine government by the people is an inherent and essential feature of socialist society. Lenin believed the emergence of socialist democracy, incomparably superior to bourgeois democracy, to be one of the greatest gains of the October Revolution. Socialist democracy ensures the rights of the working people. These include, above all, the right to work, to education, social security, free medical care, holidays, etc. This is a democracy which shows genuine concern for man's welfare, a democracy based on mutual support and real equality. It guarantees the people's effective participation in the country's labour sector, political and cultural life, in the management of state affairs and production. Our democracy expresses the moral and political unity of the people, and the inseparable links between the interests of the individual and the collective. The Party and the people in the socialist countries are solidly united. The guidance of society by the working class, by its Communist Party, ensures that the interests of every class and every sec-

tion of society are taken into account. The constant development and improvement of socialist democracy is the unswerving policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The strategic directions in the further development of our country were determined by the 24th CPSU Congress. The implementation of the decisions of the Congress will mark another big step forward along the road of consolidating the positions of world socialism and strengthening the attractive force of its ideas. As is known, the December (1973) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee thoroughly analyzed the key problems of the USSR's economic development. In his speech at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev outlined measures to bring about a rapid growth in the effectiveness of social production, the fullest possible utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and a further rise in the people's standards of living.

Even in the hardest first years of establishing Soviet power Lenin foresaw the inevitable victory of revolution in other countries. And he did not merely foresee this victory but did everything to bring it about. For more than half a century now there have existed a number of socialist states. The socialist community is gaining in strength and is advancing on all fronts. The economic integration of the socialist countries, their political and military cooperation, the coordination of their activities in the international arena have reached new stage. Cooperation among the fraternal parties in the ideological sphere is becoming closer.

The force cementing the multifarious process which produces the cohesion of the socialist community is the unity of the ruling Communist Parties, a unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. All-round contacts between these parties and their leaders promote this unity. This was once again demonstrated at the Meeting in the Crimea, last year.

A highly significant trend of present day reality is the steady growth of the role of socialism's foreign policy. The political, economic and defence potential of living socialism is making it possible to tackle ever greater tasks in the field of foreign policy.

These tasks are no longer confined to the defence of revolutionary gains against foreign encroachment and to effectively rebuffing the imperialist policy of dictation and aggression. They involve increasingly effective counteractions to check the danger of a war instigated by imperialism with its unchanging class character; they involve a successful struggle for the establishment of international relations founded on the principles of peaceful co-existence.

The Soviet Union, and the socialist community firmly maintain the initiative in the sphere of foreign policy. Socialism and the world communist movement, i.e. the forces whose ideological foundation is Leninism, play a decisive role in preventing a world war and they wage a successful struggle against local wars. The Peace Programme, advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress, has gone down in history as a genuinely popular programme, the aims of which

are clear to all peace champions, to all those who seek to build international relations on foundations of equality and democracy.

As is known, the idea of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems belongs to Lenin. The initial, essentially important experience in putting this idea into practice was accumulated under his direct leadership.

The successes scored in the field of foreign policy in the past few years have been especially impressive. Major advances have been made owing to the efforts of our Party and state and the united action of the fraternal socialist states. A general shift has taken place in favour of détente, in favour of peace and socialism, and in favour of all anti-imperialist forces.

While highly appraising these advances our Party does not lose sight of the fact that the most aggressive and militaristically minded imperialist quarters are trying to counter-attack, weaken and even undermine the process of détente. Moreover, one cannot fail to see that material preparations for war are being carried on and, to a certain extent, being intensified. The arms race which casts a sinister shadow on the development of international relations is continuing. Suffice it to say that in the past three years, i.e. the years in which so much was done to relax tension, the world's total military spending exceeded 600 thousand million dollars. Each year the military budgets of the NATO countries are increased by thousands of millions of dollars. The perfection of armaments has acquired an unprecedented scale.

In a word, imperialism is not laying down its

arms. This can be seen among other facts in the intensification of propaganda campaigns directed against the socialist states, and in plans for creation of a military-political alliance of West European countries, etc.

Ensuring peaceful conditions for the Soviet people, and strengthening world peace have always been among the most important aims of our Party. The CPSU takes constant care to strengthen the country's defensive capability, to augment the power of the glorious Soviet Armed Forces.

The Soviet Union and all peaceloving forces see their task in resolutely and consistently countering the negative trends in the world arena, in the persistent and active struggle against all intrigues of reaction and against imperialist aggression and in making irreversible the process of détente.

In the last few years the communist movement has encountered another hostile force—the anti-Leninist policy of the leadership of the People's Republic of China. In all areas of the world, the Maoist leadership is stubbornly adhering to a course spearheaded against the socialist system, against the national-liberation struggle and against Communist parties, operating under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and fighting in the grim conditions of the capitalist system.

By going out of its way to oppose the détente, by calling for a strengthening of NATO and other aggressive groupings, by coming out against all initiatives and negotiations concerning the reduction of armed forces and the limitation of the arms drive, the Peking leader-

ship is in effect trying to resume the "cold war" against the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

The Maoist leaders have done tremendous harm to the Chinese people themselves, forcing them to go through the chaos and torments of the "cultural revolution", having isolated them from the socialist countries and subjected to mass repression the tried and tested cadres of the Party and the state.

Having embarked upon the path of divisive activities in order to establish their great-power hegemony, the Maoists stooped to direct co-operation with imperialism. At the same time Peking, having drummed up the non-existent "threat from the north", is whipping up anti-Soviet hysteria among the population.

There is no doubt that the Maoist frontal attack on the forces of socialism and the revolutionary movement has failed in its purpose. The Peking leaders clearly overestimated their power when they took their stand against the world communist movement, and their fury against this movement is defeated by the indestructible loyalty of Communists to Leninism.

All this does not, of course, mean that the danger inherent in the course pursued by the Chinese leadership has passed. Therefore a consistent struggle against this harmful line is the foremost duty of Marxist-Leninists. The principled line in regard to China, charted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, is of immense importance both from the point of view of the state interests of the countries of the socialist community, and of the entire world revolutionary movement.

Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Revolutionary Process

To be successful, the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world requires a profound knowledge of the economics and policies of imperialism, of its contradictions, of its strengths and weaknesses. In this regard Lenin's theory of imperialism has always served and continues to serve as an unshakable foundation for a correct analysis of conditions and prerequisites of the working class revolutionary struggle in individual countries, and on a world scale.

Naturally, the situation in which imperialism now finds itself differs from the situation that existed in Lenin's time. But these differences emerged precisely as a result of the development of trends discovered by Lenin.

Life has amply borne out the correctness of Lenin's analysis of the essence of imperialism. "Imperialism," Lenin wrote, "is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is three-fold: imperialism is (1) monopoly capitalism; (2) parasitic or decaying capitalism; (3) moribund capitalism."¹

What can be said today about each of these three facets of imperialism?

As regards the **first** of them, the most essential element is, of course, the emergence of a full-fledged system of state-monopoly capitalism. Lenin repeatedly pointed to the tendency of monopoly capitalism to grow into state-monopoly capitalism. Under the influence of crises

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 105.

and wars, the advancing scientific and technical revolution, the development of productive forces and socialization of labour, under the influence of the struggle against socialism, and, finally, because of the pressure from the working class and other section of the working people, state intervention has turned from the emergency measure it used to be into a component part of the mechanism of capitalist production. The bourgeois state machine has merged with the machine of the monopolies.

State intervention has ensured monopoly capitalism enormous super-profits, it has led to the formation of monopolies immeasurably more powerful than the capitalist world produced earlier.

Concentration of capital on a world scale has reached an essentially new level, which is also inseparably bound up with the development of the state-monopoly system. There are already hundreds of supra-national or international corporations with their enterprises in dozens of countries. These corporations, which mostly belong to US capital, are grabbing a growing proportion of world capitalist production. However West European states and Japan are trying not to fall behind.

State-monopoly capitalism is, to use Lenin's term, a rung on the historical ladder which leads directly to a new system. As far as economic prerequisites are concerned, modern capitalism, if you take the most advanced capitalist countries, is not merely, as Lenin said, "ripe" but "over-ripe" for a socialist transformation. In its heart there had developed a ready-made machine, as Lenin put it, for "ac-

counting and control", which now has vastly grown and operates not only within a national framework but on an inter-state scale too. This machine is used by the financial oligarchy for the perpetuation and strengthening of the system of capitalist exploitation.

The **second** facet of imperialism, noted by Lenin—its parasitic character and decay—is also dramatically pronounced.

The enemies of Leninism alleged that scientific and technical progress and the industrial growth in capitalist countries "invalidates" the conclusion of the inevitability of a socialist revolution. However, economic growth does not at all mean that capitalism is cured of its ills. Lenin pointed out that decay and parasitism are not necessarily followed by economic stagnation. Lenin saw the meaning of capitalism's deterioration in the fact that the bourgeoisie was less and less capable of utilizing the productive forces, that discrepancy in the development of separate branches of economy and between countries was growing and the manifestations of parasitism and the constant upheavals were increasing in the economy of capitalism. All these phenomena result in chronic unemployment, a high cost of living and insecurity.

Apologists for capitalism allege that the principles of planning and organization have overcome the principles of spontaneity in capitalist development and that the bourgeois system has turned into a regulated one. But facts utterly disprove these contentions. Attempts to strengthen planning did not eliminate capitalist anarchy in production and exchange

with all its destructive consequences. For example, the present state of chaos in the monetary sphere in the capitalist world is without precedent.

Is not the untenability of the bourgeois conceptions of "planned capitalism" shown by runaway inflation, unexampled in peacetime, and the spasmodic transitions from booms to periods of stagnation? The combination of mutually contradictory factors—monopoly and competition, attempts at planning and market spontaneity, capitalist organization and production anarchy—are the rock-bottom foundation, noted by Lenin, for the most acute economic and social contradictions within contemporary capitalism.

The abnormous expansion of the military-industrial complex, the growth of militarism, represent the most blatant and at the same time dangerous form of the decay of capitalism. Monopolies connected with the armament business prefer keeping the world on the brink of war rather than agree to a limitation of the arms drive, much less to disarmament.

The enormity of this state of things stands out particularly now that the world can see the peaceful policy of socialism and its numerous initiatives to reduce military expenditure and achieve disarmament.

In the USA, even people far from Marxists admit that militarization seriously deforms the economy, impedes all social development and leads to the tremendous squandering of resources. Thus, Kenneth Boulding, ex-President of the American Economic Association, declared that the US Defence Department was inflicting

great economic damage on the United States; it caused a 15-per cent reduction in home consumption and was throwing the resources that could be used for development into the bottomless pit of the competing weapon systems. The war machine, he said, was a malignant growth on the body of American society. The pernicious influence of militarism is felt in a number of other capitalist countries as well.

Let us take the problem of the natural environment. The pursuit of profit by monopolies increases the scale of the rapacious exploitation of natural resources and the deterioration of the environment. This phenomenon is particularly widespread in the USA. But in other capitalist countries, too, preservation of the ecological balance has become a very acute social problem.

The decline of capitalism increasingly makes itself felt also in the political sphere. This is evidenced by the growing tendency towards reaction and fascism. Hostility of imperialism towards democracy takes the form of bloody coups, as in the case of Chile, and abuses of executive power. All-pervading corruption even in the higher echelons of the state machine, rising crime rates, moral degradation and frustration have become part and parcel of the imperialist system. Bourgeois ideology is in a state of chronic crisis.

The **third** characteristic feature of imperialism, mentioned by Lenin, is that it is moribund capitalism, i.e. a system that has outlived itself and is foredoomed by history to be superseded by socialism.

As a result of socialist revolutions and the

breaking away from capitalism, first of the vast country of Russia and later of a number of other countries, the world domination of imperialism came to an end. As a result of the disintegration of the colonialist system, the power of imperialism to exploit and subjugate the countries of the "third world" is being increasingly restricted.

At present bourgeois society is facing such an exacerbation of all its contradictions, which provides grounds for speaking about a definite qualitative shift in the general crisis of capitalism and an all-round deepening of this crisis.

— This is a crisis of the economic base of imperialism which goes beyond the limits of cyclic depressions and manifests itself, first and foremost, in the feverish inflation, in comprehensive price rises in peace time.

— This is a monetary crisis which played havoc with the currencies of a number of capitalist countries.

— This is a crisis of the entire system of relations between imperialism and the countries liberated from colonial oppression.

— This is a crisis in the relations between the modern centres of forces of the imperialist camp—the USA, the countries of West Europe and Japan.

— This is an energy crisis which is now acquiring the nature of a real calamity in capitalist countries.

— This is an ecological crisis, a sharp conflict with the natural environment consequent upon its rapacious exploitation by capitalism.

— This is a crisis of the entire foreign-policy course of imperialism and of many military-po-

litical doctrines designed for the armed suppression of socialism.

— Finally, this is a political and ideological crisis expressed in an all-round aggravation of the class struggle on capitalism's "internal front", inside its citadels, so to speak.

In recent months, an "oil hunger" has had a dramatic impact on capitalist economies. Here rolled into one are the consequences of rapacious monopoly mismanagement, and the deepening contradictions between imperialism and the "third world", various speculative machinations by finance capital, and inter-imperialist rivalry.

The global system of military-political imperialist blocs is falling apart. Today, persistent attempts are made to rectify the situation, to renovate this system of alliances. For example, the idea of a new Atlantic Charter has been advanced, etc. However, if one examines the processes taking place in the imperialist camp in their entirety, the prospects of an increasingly desperate inter-imperialist struggle can clearly be seen.

Hopes for a prolonged and lasting socio-political stabilization within the capitalist countries are clearly suffering a fiasco. Broad sections of the population are becoming increasingly aware that the existing capitalist system is useless and unacceptable and that a radical change is necessary.

While the general crisis of capitalism is deepening, the social forces which oppose the capitalist system are growing and gaining strength. Such is the dialectics of social development. The army of wage workers, which

form the main body of the industrial proletariat, is growing. In the non-socialist world it exceeds 500 million. This is a tremendous social force! The working class holds a key position in the principal, vital centres of the capitalist system; its power and influence, its organization have grown significantly.

Pressure from the working class is intensifying. The number of those who participated in strikes and other forms of mass action within the zone of advanced capitalism alone was 45 million in 1973. The struggle has become particularly sharp in the last few months. Each day brings in new reports showing the selflessness and staunchness of strikers defending their just demands, the militant spirit of the workers, the mounting wave of protest against policies aimed at resolving the crisis at the expense of the working people, the growing solidarity of the proletariat. Strikes often develop into demonstrations and meetings, into the take-over of enterprises, into sharp conflicts between national trade-union centres and governments. Mass action leads to serious clashes with the police.

The main thing is that a tangible qualitative shift is taking place in the content of the working people's class struggle. It is becoming more and more directed against the very system of state-monopoly domination.

The working class, on behalf of the entire people calls to account the power of big capital. With increasing force it asserts its right to solve together with other sections of working people the basic problems affecting national development in the people's interests, and not for the benefit of a handful of monopolies. The develop-

ment of the peasant struggle, mass action by students and other youth groups, the interest in radical ideas among the intelligentsia, and many other factors speak of an upsurge in the revolutionary movement.

Needless to say the proletarian struggle is characterized not only by successes. Certain sections of workers have passive attitudes or succumb to reformist illusions. In a number of countries neither professional nor political organization has reached a level which meets the demands of the present stage of the class struggle. On the whole, however, the working class struggle is developing successfully.

The national-liberation movement has fresh achievements to its credit. Lenin's prediction that "in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism. . ." has been fully corroborated.

The example and assistance of socialism has opened up real opportunities for the national liberation of the peoples and for the development of young states along a non-capitalist road. Today a whole group of countries with vast populations has taken this road.

The popularity of socialist ideas is growing in all young countries; the positions of the social forces which do not wish to link their future with imperialism, with the capitalist system, are being consolidated; considerable progressive changes are taking place in the domestic and foreign policies of a number of countries. Now this is typical not only of, say, India, Sri Lanka,

Nigeria, which have long adhered to anti-imperialist positions, but also of certain states which until recently seemed to be bastions of neo-colonialism (for example, Thailand and the Malagasy Republic).

The deepening and aggravation of antagonisms between the imperialist powers and the developing countries constitutes the basis for a further rise in the anti-imperialist movement. Here two different tendencies are in evidence.

On the one hand, there exist forms of neo-colonialism associated with the development of supra-national corporations. The countries of the "third world" attract these corporations with their raw material resources and cheap labour. International monopolies concentrate in these countries production of the most labour-intensive industrial items. In other words, they seek to develop a new form of exploitation.

On the other hand, processes of a quite different nature are growing stronger: positions of major corporations of the capitalist West are being increasingly limited and even liquidated in the developing countries. It is precisely in this context that one should examine the measures taken by these countries, by the oil-exporting countries above all, and the producers of other raw materials as well, aimed at the formation of a single front in order to oppose the predatory policy of the imperialist monopolies.

This is not an isolated episode but a drastic shift in the struggle of "third world" countries for economic liberation from imperialism, their economic independence, and the creation of conditions for the elimination of their backwardness.

Obviously, it would be wrong to conclude from

all that was said about the crisis of capitalism that the capitalist system will disintegrate automatically. The most important conclusion to be drawn from Lenin's theory of imperialism is that this crisis raises the question of the need for a fundamental revolutionary change with particular force.

The Communist Movement, the Vanguard of All Revolutionary Forces

The revolutionary character of Lenin's ideas and the transformation they have brought about are expressed in the activities of the world communist movement. The major factor in the development of this movement is to master the theory of Leninism and be able to apply its concepts and principles in practice. Only Leninism can provide the working class parties with the one correct line for revolutionary struggle which conforms to concrete historical conditions, the line which will lead to the triumph of socialism and communism.

All of Lenin's theses and conclusions have splendidly stood the severe test of history. Among them is Lenin's fundamental thesis on the role of the new type of revolutionary party. It is well known how indefatigably Lenin worked to make each Communist Party into a genuinely militant vanguard, into a party of revolutionary action.

Communists, he pointed out, both within national bounds and in the international arena "must act in such a way that all the other contingents recognize and are obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard."¹

¹ Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 426.

Most Communist Parties of the capitalist world are now in the midst of the mass struggle against the actions monopolies and governments are taking to deal with the growing economic crisis. They are in the frontline of class battles over the issues of wages and employment; they are fighting against inflation, skyrocketing prices, against unemployment, the curtailment of the working people's social gains; they are striving for the expansion of the activities of trade unions and for the extension of their rights. Communists are the most active and dedicated fighters for the vital interests of the working class, of all working people. They are mobilizing the masses against the danger from the Right, against the fascist menace and dictatorial regimes. Communists are the mainstay and the most militant and organized force protecting the democratic gains of the people, and defending genuinely national objectives. In the midst of the bitterest struggles against bourgeois and reformist ideology and all sorts of revisionists and "leftists" the Communists are working to ensure the development of political consciousness of the working class, to enable it to achieve its own unity and to rally other sections of working people around it.

The exposure of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, the dissemination by Communists of Lenin's ideas and of the achievements of living socialism, its defence against attacks by the class enemy and slanderers of all sorts, all these play an immense role in raising the militancy of the masses and their confidence.

The strength of Communists lies in the fact that they combine the struggle for the everyday necessities of life and the interests of the

working people with the struggle against the exploiter society as a whole, for the sake of a socialist future.

Lenin persistently taught Communists to learn the laws of class struggle. Summing up the vast experience of class struggle, he stressed that "... politics is a science and an art that does not fall from the skies or come gratis, and that, if it wants to overcome the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must train its own proletarian 'class politicians', of a kind in no way inferior to bourgeois politicians."¹

The acuteness of class contradictions in the capitalist system as a whole, the instability, the discontent of the masses in many bourgeois states have today reached such a pitch that a situation may arise at any moment in one or other link of this system that would open the way to radical revolutionary transformations.

The role of the subjective factor, i.e. of the correct and effective policy of the Marxist-Leninist Party, grows immeasurably in this situation. The correctness of policy, resolution, revolutionary preparedness and activity of the vanguard of the working class and loyalty to Lenin's strategic and tactical principles, all this constitutes the primary condition for the realization of the opportunities at hand.

The forms and ways in which the Party secures the necessary standard of political leadership are variegated. This includes:

(1) the elaboration and perfection of a scientifically substantiated class policy;

(2) the Party's profound awareness of its responsibility to both the working class of the coun-

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 80.

try and the international working class movement, strengthening unity with the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, the all-round study and mastering of historical experience of revolutions and socialist construction;

(3) the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the resolute struggle for its purity and against all and every manifestation of Right and Left opportunism;

(4) consistent abidance by the norms of Party life and democratic centralism, securing the ideological and political unity of the Party ranks and its militancy;

(5) lastly, the ability to draw conclusions not only from successes and victories but also from failures and defeats.

It can be said with confidence that the unswerving implementation by Communists of various countries of Lenin's teaching on the leading and organizing role of the Party lies at the basis of all the achievements of the communist movement, of all its outstanding victories.

Whether applied to the revolutionary struggle of individual fraternal parties or to the activities of the communist movement as a whole, Leninist policy is always the policy of broad-based alliances between the proletarian and non-proletarian sections of working people. Lenin resolutely refuted the doctrinaire schemes of Kautskyists and the Mensheviks and worked out a theory on the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. This alliance has opened the way to the socialist revolution and the victory of socialism in this country.

Lenin's brilliant concept of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry has

not lost any of its significance today. At the same time Communists take account of the profound changes that have occurred in the social structure of capitalist society over the half century. Lenin posed the problem broadly: he spoke of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and with all the working and exploited masses. In the countries of advanced capitalism, the working and exploited masses include intellectuals and the middle urban sections of society, who numerically exceed the peasantry. Following Lenin's behest Communists in these countries are fighting for the alliance of the working class with all these sections of working people.

Today the fraternal parties justly call attention to the growth of the danger from the Right. The events in Chile are a sharp and tragic reminder of the need for constant vigilance in regard to the machinations of reactionary forces. Exploiting the situation marked by growing social instability and crisis phenomena in the economy, reactionary, as well as neo-fascist, forces in many countries are trying to turn the discontent of the masses, particularly of the middle section of the population, against the left forces, against Communists and are increasingly resorting to social demagoguery.

This is a long-range policy designed to drive a wedge between the vanguard of the working class and the masses, between Communist Parties and the Soviet Union, and amongst the entire socialist community in order to try to change the entire political situation, to shift the centre of political life to the right.

It is known, that successes in the rallying of

anti-monopoly forces are directly in proportion to achievements in the struggle for the unity of the working class. Unity within the working class and formation of broad-based class alliances under its leadership are two inter-related pre-conditions of success in the class struggle.

In this connection the question of relations between Communists and Social-Democrats is of high relevance. The results of the two paths of development in the international workers' movement over the fifty years since Lenin's death are obvious. They convincingly demonstrate the triumph of Leninism in the historical argument with social reformism. They confirm another factor—that a division in the working class has always served the forces of reaction and fascism; that wherever various segments of the workers' movement managed to achieve mutual understanding and cooperation, the interests of working people and the cause of peace, democracy and socialism were advanced.

Today, in an atmosphere of détente, certain changes are taking place in the ranks of social-democracy. They are most strikingly expressed, on the one hand, in the fact that the leaders of most of the social-democratic parties in Europe strive to develop contacts with the socialist world, and on the other, by the practical and important steps being taken to unite the action of various detachments in the workers' movement of some countries, e.g. France. There is no question, however, of any weakening in the ideological opposition to the policy and theory of social-democracy. The Marxist-Leninist line of uniting the working class, of promoting relations with the social-democratic parties implies

at the same time the principled struggle against the erroneous positions and views of social-democracy, harmful to the workers' movement.

Leninist ideas today provide a key to understanding the historical necessity for close cooperation between Communists and Revolutionary Democrats in developing countries. Such cooperation may provide a political and organizational foundation for a united anti-imperialist front in many of the developing countries.

However, it would be wrong to forget the fact that on this path we are confronted with problems associated first of all with anti-communist views and prejudices. But these problems can be overcome. This is shown by the expansion and strengthening of relations between the governing Communist parties and revolutionary-democratic parties. This is shown by the experience gained in some countries, for instance in Syria and Iraq, where national-patriotic fronts including Communist parties have been organized and joint action programmes adopted.

Experience provided by the victories and defeats of the working class constantly remind one of the need to correctly analyze the road leading to the victory of the revolution. As is known, Marxist-Leninists consider possible both armed and peaceful roads to revolution, depending on the situation. Wherever there is a possibility of the peaceful development of revolution, Communists adopt this course. But in politics, as Lenin noted, one cannot definitely know in advance "...which methods of struggle will be applicable and to our advantage in certain future conditions. Unless we learn to ap-

ply all the methods of struggle, we may suffer grave and sometimes even decisive defeat, if changes beyond our control in the position of the other classes bring to the forefront a form of activity in which we are especially weak. If, however, we learn to use all the methods of struggle, victory will be certain, because we represent the interests of the really foremost and really revolutionary class..."¹

For many years the anti-communist ideologists have been reiterating that Communists are against democracy, that a peaceful revolution is a stratagem. Now the Chilean experience has demonstrated to the world **who** in fact is the enemy of democracy, **who** tramples upon laws, who resorts to terror. This is done, in fact, by bourgeois reaction.

The lessons of recent experience again bear out the profound truth of Lenin's conclusion that the revolutionary class must always be ready to defend its gains against attacks from counter-revolution, to swiftly change its methods of struggle in order to counter violence of the reactionary bourgeoisie with revolutionary action.

In present-day conditions ideological struggle is becoming an increasingly important sphere in the world class confrontation. Communists have always regarded ideological struggle as not merely a collision of ideas and views and theoretical conceptions but as an important essential element in the mass political work carried on by the fraternal parties, as a means of political education and mobilization of the masses.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 96.

The great internationalist actions of the communist movement have no parallel in any political movement in history. Addressing the delegates to the Fifth Congress of Comintern, the first congress to meet after Lenin's death, Mikhail Kalinin said: "What we call 'Leninism' stands for the most consistent, most comprehensive, most effective internationalism."

Our Party is proud of the fact that all through its glorious history it has unswervingly acted as a party of internationalists. The Soviet people had resolutely sided with the Spanish Republicans, with German, Italian, Hungarian anti-fascists. The Soviet Union had given tremendous support to the Chinese revolution, to the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders; it had assisted in the formation of the People's Republic of China. Marching shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the other socialist states, we, together with them, have been building and strengthening the socialist community.

The Soviet Communists resolutely acted against encroachments on revolutionary Cuba, against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam and other countries of Indochina. The Soviet Union has been steadfastly supporting the people of the Arab countries, all peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. Thousands of fighters against imperialism, reaction and fascism have found and still find asylum in our country. We have always considered the protection of foreign Communists and other democrats, victims of police repression, to be our internationalist duty. The whole world hears today the voice of the Soviet people who angrily

condemn the crimes perpetrated by the military-fascist clique in Chile.

At the same time, the CPSU, and the Soviet people have been constantly aware of the fraternal solidarity and support of the Communists of other countries, at all stages of their development, during the struggle for the establishment of Soviet government, during the building of socialism, in the years of the "cold war" and in the striving to promote the détente. During World War II Communists of many countries fought arms in hand against their common enemy—fascism.

Internationalism is impossible without constant care for such forms of relationship among the fraternal parties which would correspond to world developments and the needs of the communist movement. The present system of co-operation among the fraternal parties operating within the framework of the world communist movement embraces all spheres of their activities and as always is firmly based on the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. Through joint action, through broad and regular inter-party exchanges, through collective theoretical work, during regional and world meetings of the fraternal parties, the traditions of proletarian solidarity are being enriched and expanded, and the ideas of international unity of Communists are finding practical embodiment.

Recent years have demonstrated the great internationalist importance of the 1969 International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. No one—neither social-reformists, nor Maoists, to say nothing about the imperia-

list bourgeoisie, were able to oppose the programme advanced by the Communists with anything constructive. The Programme of united anti-imperialist action adopted by the Conference has been proved by the fact that it has largely been carried out.

Nowadays the conditions of revolutionary struggle are becoming ever more varied and the range and importance of the internationalist tasks of every Communist Party are increasing sharply. There is growing need for an internationalist approach to the attachment of national tasks. Life itself puts on the agenda new major initiatives designed to achieve the further cohesion and mobilization of the forces of the world communist movement.

* * *

We can assuredly say that initiative in raising vital questions connected with the destinies of mankind belongs to Communists. Communists are in the forefront of the major political battles of our time: in the struggle for socialism and communism, for the peace and security of all nations, for the national and social emancipation of peoples, and in the struggle against forces of reaction and imperialism.

The communist movement, loyal to Lenin's teaching, is full of historical optimism. It knows that future battles will bring greater successes to Leninism. The torch of socialism kindled by the great Lenin is burning brighter and brighter over the world. It illumines the path of the working people of all countries to a better future. The path of Leninism is the right way, it is the path of victory!

P. N. FEDOSEYEV,
Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences

CONSTRUCTION OF ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE USSR: TRIUMPH OF THE IDEAS OF LENINISM

The creative genius of Lenin was strikingly shown in his leadership of the masses' revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalist rule and in his handling of the constructive challenges that faced Russia's working class after power was established, in elaborating and implementing a theory and the concrete programme for socialist construction.

While seeking solutions to problems concerning the proletarian revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie one could draw on the vast historical experience amassed in the course of preceding revolutionary movements but when it came to building socialism one had to advance along uncharted paths.

The permanent international significance of Lenin's work as a great revolutionary reformer of society consists not only in his having elaborated the first plan for the practical implementation of Marxist ideals, but, above all, in the fact that he was able, in the concrete Russian situation, to understand and formulate the general

laws governing the advance to socialism, to create a truly international theory of socialist construction and to map out the road to communism for all nations.

Main Stages in the Establishment and Development of the Communist Social Structure

In exploring the prospects for socialist development, Lenin began by analyzing the latest experience and emerging trends, while, at the same time, he paid close attention to giving a concrete definition to the general concepts of the aims of social transformations contained in the theories on the two phases of communism advanced by the founders of Marxism.

On the basis of Marx's teaching Lenin drew a clear distinction between the main stages in the establishment and development of the communist social structure, precisely defined the boundaries of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, revealing the economic and political foundations of socialism as a distinct first phase of communism.

Armed with Lenin's doctrine, the Bolshevik Party, when it was gaining power, was fully aware of two qualitatively different periods that lay ahead—the period of revolutionary transformation of society from capitalist to socialist in order to abolish the exploiting classes and social antagonisms, and the period of victorious socialism, with its steady advance and gradual development into communist society.

A start was made in tackling problems of the transitional period under Lenin's direct supervi-

sion. The Party later solved some of these problems and carried on the building of socialist society according to Lenin's farsighted plans.

Revisionists of the right and the "left" persuasions distort Marxist-Leninist teaching on the main stages of the establishment of the communist system by either denying the need for a transitional period or extending it up to the last phase of communism.

In his well-known book, "The State and Revolution", Lenin stressed that the opportunists, who fear a socialist revolution, ignore the historically inevitable stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. Today Right-wing opportunists still refuse to see the transitional period as a period of profound revolutionary transformation, of sharp class struggle, a period of proletarian dictatorship.

On the other side of the spectrum, the Maoists and similar pseudo-revolutionaries spread their theory on a perpetual transitional period until full communism is reached thus rejecting socialism as a distinct first phase of communism, and including it in the transitional period. On the strength of this the Maoists assert that there exist hostile classes under socialism and that the life-or-death class struggle will continue until there is full-fledged communism.

What purpose is served by such an anti-Leninist theory? In the first place it serves to justify the Maoist military-bureaucratic regime in China, the constant reshuffling of the top echelon of the Chinese Communist Party, and the wide-spread repression against the cadres who resist attempts to undermine the socialist gains of the Chinese working class.

This theory of the Maoists represents a repudiation of the principles of socialism and expresses their long-term, virtually indefinite, commitment to the preservation of capitalist elements who, incidentally, emerged unscathed both from the "big leap forward" and the "cultural revolution".

The Maoists use their anti-Leninist interpretation of the transitional period to cover up their rejection of the socialist road and their attempts to deform the socialist economic system.

It is characteristic that revisionists use the confusion between the transitional period and the socialist phase to justify their contention that a great number of "models of socialism" exist. Since the forms of transition to socialism vary according to the differences in various countries in the relationship between economic patterns, class structure and political superstructure, revisionists present these historically substantiated differences as special "models of socialism".

The historical experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has vindicated the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the main phases in the establishment and development of the communist social structure.

The socialist phase of the communist system emerges from the "upheaval" of the transitional period which is a period of revolutionary transformation in all spheres of social life. In the Soviet Union that period lasted approximately two decades, its completion was officially established by the Constitution of 1936 and the decisions of the 17th and 18th Congresses of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union which appraised it as a "victory of socialism in the USSR" and the "construction of socialism in the main". Countries of the socialist community recorded "the creation of the foundations of socialism" in the early sixties.

In developing further Lenin's teaching the CPSU, together with the fraternal parties, has reached the conclusion based on the experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries that socialism is not a brief, but a relatively protracted phase of economic, social and political development on the way to communism, consisting of two main periods.

The first period begins with the construction of socialism in the main and culminates in the creation of a full-fledged socialist society.

The main goals and accomplishments of that period are:

- creation of an advanced industrial material and technical base, the consolidation and promotion of socialist production relations and the socialist principles of distribution according to labour;

- establishment of a new social structure based on unity and friendship among social classes and strata, among nations and nationalities, and the development of new types of social relations—collectivism, cooperation and mutual aid;

- enhancement of the leading role of the working class and the guiding role of the Communist Party, the strengthening of the political system of socialism, the wide-scale development of nationwide socialist democracy;

- accomplishment of the main tasks of the

cultural revolution, establishing complete dominance of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism and of the moulding of a new type of person—the socialist man.

That period is referred to in Lenin's works, in the documents of the CPSU and the fraternal parties as the period of "completion of socialist construction", "full construction of socialism" and "consolidation of socialism." All these imply the construction of a full-fledged, or advanced socialist society.

The concept of an "advanced socialist society" was introduced by Lenin to denote the stage in the development of the first phase of communism when socialism "is finally consolidated" and reaches "final victory".¹ He first used this concept in March 1918 when he was preparing a rough draft of his article **Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government**. Advanced socialism is juxtaposed to the early steps of socialist construction and is described as the aim of that construction.

In February 1920 Lenin again took up the idea of full-fledged socialism stressing that the transition period would take many years and would include a number of stages, a number of smaller transitions and that "the entire art of politics consists in taking account of the specific tasks of every such transition".²

On the eve of the sixties, the complete and final victory of socialism was announced in the Soviet Union which was followed by a more advanced stage of socialism that affected every

aspect of life—political, economic, social and intellectual.

Lenin described advanced socialist society in general as an embodiment of the theoretical principles of socialism. The Communist Party proceeding from the experience of genuine socialism, gave a detailed description of advanced socialist society. The documents of the 24th CPSU Congress, the speeches by Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet Party and Government leaders provide a profound theoretical analysis of the economic, socio-political achievements and spiritual values of full-fledged socialism.

With the construction of advanced socialism society enters the second period of the socialist phase. This is the period when the construction of the material and technical base of communist society is directly tackled and a gradual transition takes place "from conclusively victorious and consolidated socialism to full communism".¹ This transition is a long process which takes place within the framework of advanced socialism.

It would be wrong to assume that transition to communism implies a narrowing of the sphere of socialist principles which give way to communist ones. Lenin has advanced the profoundly dialectical idea of **socialism growing into communism**, an idea which has been given concrete form and is being implemented by the CPSU. The crux of the matter is that the road to communism lies through development and improvement of socialism, which leads to the emergence and growth of new forms of social

¹ See Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p.147, Vol. 30, p.286.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 331.

¹ Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144.

relations, of communist forms of consumption and of the new mould of man. This represents the real dialectic of socialism growing into communism.

In emphasizing the dynamic character of the new system, Lenin firmly rejected the widespread bourgeois notion of socialism as something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all. "In reality", he wrote, "**only** socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first **the majority** and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life."¹

Solution of Socialism's Economic Problems

In Lenin's teaching about socialism a key place is occupied by his analysis of its economic foundations—its material and technical base and production relations. In developing the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin created a new division of Marxist economic doctrine, the political economy of socialism. He gave a detailed scientific description of the historical advantages of the socialist economy, revealing its vast potential in increasing social labour productivity and in using the results of that increase to benefit all members of society.

Lenin's analysis of these advantages is especially relevant today in the context of the competition between the two opposing social systems, when the Soviet people are tackling the historic task set by the 24th CPSU Congress of combining the achievements of the scientific and

technological revolution with the advantages offered by the socialist system.

Lenin viewed socialist property as the basis of socialism's advantages. The emergence of socialist property is an objective consequence of social development.

Regarding social property as the basis for centralization of production, which was necessary in order to run it according to a single plan, Lenin waged a relentless struggle against any reformist and revisionist distortions. It is known that reformists seek to present the emergence of integrative forms of capitalist property in the shape of joint stock companies, trusts and state monopolies as a process of "socialization", an alleged development of "socialist tendencies" and the forming of socialist property in the bosom of capitalist society. Lenin qualified as a bourgeois-reformist invention the assertion that monopoly or state-monopoly capitalism is **no longer** capitalism, that it can be described as "state socialism" and so on and so forth.¹

The state takeover of the means of production does not **per se** constitute a socialist process of socialization. The key question is which class organizes social production, in whose interests and how. Lenin has shown that state ownership is nationwide only when the working class is in power and production is organized on socialist lines, since the state ensures that property is used in the interests of all working people.

Lenin showed that the anarcho-syndicalist attitude towards social ownership is incompatible with socialism. From the first days of Soviet

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472.

¹ See Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 443.

power he led the Party's battle against the so-called "workers' opposition" which advocated the handover of state-owned enterprises to individual workers' groups. Lenin proved this would have undermined the foundations of the socialist system.

Lenin's ideas about the consistently socialist, nationwide character of state ownership in a new society provide us with guidance in our struggle against present-day revisionists who try to resurrect the old thesis to the effect that group property is allegedly the highest form of ownership under socialism. Lenin stressed more than once that a cooperative enterprise only becomes a socialist one when public property is dominant and performs the guiding and determining function relative to other forms of ownership.

The Party proceeded from Lenin's conception of the relationship between state and cooperative forms of property in carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture, by setting up a system of state-owned enterprises (sovkhozes) and collectivizing millions of peasant farmsteads.

While explaining theoretically the great historical significance of public ownership as the cornerstone of the new society, Lenin made the people aware of the necessity of complying with such ethical rules as protecting public property as one's own, using material means economically, resolutely combatting wastefulness and pilfering of socialist property.

The establishment of public ownership of the means of production enables the whole product to be used in the interests of the working peo-

ple in order to improve their welfare or to expand production.

Of great significance in this connection are Lenin's notes on economic theory recently discovered and deciphered at the Marxism-Leninism Institute. These represent Lenin's elaboration of Marx's formulas for expanded production. Of particular relevance for the present purpose is the fact that Lenin has developed Marx's formula to include socialist society.

His approach is based on the radical change in production relations and in the aim of production itself, which involves an entirely different distribution of the national product, notably, that part of the surplus product which is parasitically consumed by exploiters under capitalism. Lenin thereby revealed the economic basis of the growth of public consumption fund and the accelerated expansion of social production under socialism.

Today, with socialism having reached an advanced stage, we are able to make another major stride forward in utilizing the advantages of the socialist system and, as pointed out by the 24th CPSU Congress, orient the economy even more towards raising the people's living standards. This involves reorganizing the economy to rely largely on intensive growth factors. Industries comprising group I of social production have built up a powerful economic potential. Using this capacity "margin" and the advantages of socialist production relations we can achieve a rapid and balanced growth of both groups of public production, and effect a closer link between production and consumption. This is an important feature of the economy

of advanced socialism.

An immense advantage of socialism over capitalism, as Lenin saw it, lies in the **planned running of socialist production**, a principle which Lenin sought vigorously to implement.

Lenin's theses on the role of centralized planning assume a new urgency at the present stage in the development of our economy. Effective utilization of potential, the rapid tempo of the scientific and technological revolution, and subordination of the entire social production to its supreme goal can only be ensured by consistently implementing Lenin's ideas on managing the economy as a complex.

Lenin saw another great advantage of socialism in the **socialist competition movement** which provides a means of boosting labour productivity, sharing advanced experience, and offers a new form of relationships among workers and in their production collectives.

Our Party has developed Lenin's ideas on the socialist competition movement and its role in communist construction. The Party is promoting the movement, using it as a means for speeding up economic development, and is doing its utmost to make it more widespread and better organized and to provide it with all the conditions necessary to encourage creative initiative.

In this age of industrialized labour and wide-scale use of machinery in every sphere of the economy, the effectiveness of production and its end results depend to a vital extent on the utilization of production assets. The cost of the production assets in the USSR (machinery, equipment and industrial premises) has reached

by the beginning of 1973 the gigantic figure of 623 thousand million roubles, an increase of almost three times over 1960.

The number of hours per day, month and year each machine works, the degree of the rational use of each equipment unit and the care and skill with which they are handled directly determine the growth of output and the technological level of the product. In other words today the effectiveness of human labour primarily depends on how effectively it makes use of materialized labour, the labour represented by machines and equipment.

Experience shows that we possess enormous untapped potential in the field of labour productivity. That is why the Central Committee in its appeal to the Communist Party and the Soviet people stressed that in order to make production more efficient it is necessary to get the maximum use out of plants and machinery, to cut down sharply on the amount of time wasted, to introduce new technology energetically and on a universal basis, to assimilate advanced technological processes, to cut down the time of launching new projects and running them at full capacity and to improve labour discipline.

It becomes increasingly apparent to us today why Lenin attached such great importance to a new labour discipline based on a conscious attitude towards labour and the understanding that in our new social system we are working for ourselves. Lenin called such an attitude **labour self-discipline**.

Referring to the signs of a new conscious attitude towards labour, that had been revealed during the first Communist subbotniks, Lenin

believed them to mark "the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more tangible, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism."¹

Among the most important means of increasing effectiveness of production Lenin mentioned widescale use of material and moral incentives to encourage individuals and collectives who have shown the best performance in socialist competition campaigns and material penalties and social censure for slackers who do not fulfil their obligations towards the community, nor take full advantage of the opportunities granted them by society.

In an advanced socialist society, moral incentives become increasingly important. However, they must be closely combined with material incentives if they are to develop and grow stronger. Lenin regarded the distribution of consumer goods under socialism as "... a method, an instrument, and a means of increasing output."²

In the course of the economic reform Lenin's ideas on this subject have provided a theoretical basis for improving production incentives and have been developed further.

Improvement of production relations at the advanced stage of socialism opens up great opportunities for effecting profound qualitative changes in society's material and technical base. To sum them up, they are the creation of conditions for restructuring the economy to in-

tensive-type expanded production based on extensive use of the advances of the scientific and technological revolution.

Today the main trend in the development of production relations is the rise in the level of the socialization, concentration and centralization of production, with the public property playing an increasingly leading role. The process of improvement of production relations and forms of economic management is characterized by the setting up of production amalgamations, inter-sector cooperation, large economic complexes, inter-kolkhoz, inter-sovkhoz and kolkhoz-sovkhoz associations. All these open up new opportunities for a more advanced organization of production and rapid assimilation of scientific and technological achievements in the national economy.

Lenin's thesis to the effect that socialism demands "engineering based on the latest discoveries of modern science"¹ is today more relevant than ever before. The harnessing of science and technology to mass production and the emergence of scientific-production complexes are a characteristic feature of advanced socialism. Scientific and technological progress is setting the pace in every aspect of economic life.

Lenin did not only reveal the interdependence of production relations and scientific and technological progress, but pointed out a practical way to put science and technology to effective use in a planned economy. The GOELRO plan, "an integrated economic plan on scientific

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 411.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 448.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 339.

lines"¹, was the first experiment and model for combining the historic advantages of socialism with scientific and technological progress. Lenin repeatedly stressed that the nationwide plan had not only an economic but also an ideological and political mission to perform.

Proceeding from these Leninist principles and based on the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, a long-term economic development plan up to 1990 is being worked out. When this plan is carried out the Soviet Union will have reached a qualitatively new stage in the building of communism's material and technical base.

Leonid Brezhnev stressed that we must approach the Soviet long-term economic development plan as Lenin approached the GOELRO plan, i.e. as a second Party Programme. He pointed out: "Our long-term plan will, furthermore, provide for the widest utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology in all spheres of the national economy for the benefit of the whole people and for a further very considerable rise in labour productivity."

Lenin had formulated the main principles of a comprehensive policy on technology, a policy which does not look at the achievements of science and technology in isolation, but as a part of a whole complex within the framework of the national plan, harnessing science and technology to the building of a new society. In planning the decisive step forward in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the Party proceeds from the Leninist idea on the interconnectedness of scientific-technical and

socio-economic tasks. Within this frame of reference, the building of the material and technical basis envisages:

- socializing production to a level that ensures consolidation of the common national property, bridging the existing gap between town and country, between manual and mental labour, eliminating class differences and achieving an increasingly homogeneous society;

- creating material conditions for a gradual switch-over from distribution according to work to distribution according to needs;

- transforming labour into a vital need by enhancing its creative character, eliminating unskilled manual labour and raising the people's educational standard;

- raising production effectiveness to a level unattainable under capitalism and securing on that basis the final economic triumph of the new social system in its competition with the capitalist system.

The most important factor in the technological reconstruction of the economy is the rapid development of a modern machine-building capable of providing the economy with sophisticated tools and equipment.

The electric power industry and electrification set the pace in the development of machine-building and of the entire national economy. The GOELRO plan was the first step towards comprehensive electrification of the country. Today the amount of power generated in one year is several times greater than the targets of the GOELRO plan, which were originally to be achieved in 10-15 years. In the future the production of power will increase several times

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 140.

over, with atomic power stations producing a considerable part.

A qualitative shift is to take place in agriculture: industrialization of agricultural production will be largely completed, and power available to it will increase several times. Agricultural machinery is to be produced which will fully mechanize all the labour processes involved in plant growing, animal husbandry and land-reclamation. This will help solve one of the country's main long-term development objectives: to provide all the population with enough food for a well-balanced diet according to scientific standards.

One form of scientific and technological progress to which the Party and the Government give high priority is improvement of economic management techniques by use of computers in management and control to bring them up to the present level of communist construction. In the coming years thousands of various types of computers are to be produced, modern communications systems and methods of information processing and its utilization are to be developed which would improve the efficiency and flexibility of management and planning, freeing millions of people from monotonous office work.

Our ultimate goal is communism, and the Party views all scientific and technical problems in terms of this goal. We do not look at engineering as purely and simply engineering, nor at scientific breakthroughs as an end in themselves, we see them as playing their part in building communism, the embodiment of mankind's best aspirations. That is why the main

criteria for scientific and technical progress are social criteria, for this is the only approach which corresponds to Leninist principles.

Development of Socio-Political Relations

Progress in the building of communism involves not only production growth but a transformation in the social structure of society. The process of this transformation is a long one, starting with the liberation of the working people from bourgeois exploitation and ending with the complete elimination of all classes. A careful study of Lenin's works will reveal that he divided this process into two stages. What is achieved in the first stage, embracing the period of transition to socialism, is not a classless society, but the elimination of class antagonisms by getting rid of the exploiting classes. In other words, Lenin had in mind the abolition under socialism of a class division characteristic of all antagonistic societies. Lenin considered that complete disappearance of classes and the elimination of the substantial distinctions between various social groups, were bound up with the transition from socialism to communism. He pointed out that "Marx and Engels used to ridicule the idea that classes could disappear before communism, and said that communism alone meant their abolition."¹ And, went on to explain, on the basis of an exact scientific analysis, that to bring about the complete abolition

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 250.

of classes it was necessary not only to overthrow the exploiting classes, the capitalists and land-owners, not only to abolish their property, but also to abolish any private ownership of the means of production, the differences between town and country, and between manual workers and mental workers.

Lenin considered the working class to be the main agent in solving these social tasks, stressing that this class alone "... can help the working masses unite, rally their ranks and conclusively defend, conclusively consolidate and conclusively build up a communist society."¹

The working class, being a proponent of consistent collectivism and proletarian internationalism, is called upon to create a cohesive society united both socially and internationally. Lenin said that the division among different strata of the population, which is a feature of capitalist society, "... must disappear once and for all, and the whole of society must become a single workers' co-operative."² At the same time, he insisted that socialism would establish such forms of community life under which "... the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of **each** nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity."³

Past experience has shown that the new forms of social relations created by socialism were precisely defined and foreseen by Lenin.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 292.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 333.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 39.

The early Soviet decades saw the abolition of the exploiting classes, a transformation of the class of petty proprietors into a socialist class of collective farmers and the creation of a new socialist intelligentsia, which is a genuine people's intelligentsia. The society that emerged was of friendly and closely united classes and social groups of working people led by the working class. The unity of the interests of every section of society achieved in the course of these radical social transformations provided the basis for an unbreakable fraternity of more than a hundred nationalities and national groups, which formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Lenin's lifetime. The emergence of a new historical community, the Soviet people, represents a victory for Lenin's ideas of the social and international unity of working people under socialism.

This new pattern of social relationships continues to bring closer together the working class, collective farmers, and the intelligentsia, a process in which the leading role is played by the working class, the largest class of our society, which now holds key positions not only in industry but in other branches of production and sets an example of political maturity, organization and discipline.

As Lenin foresaw, socialist society moves towards complete social homogeneity by overcoming the essential differences that exist not only between classes, but between town and country, and between manual and mental labour.

Under socialism that trend is manifested in various forms. New cities spring up which draw an increasing proportion of the population (ur-

ban dwellers accounted for 18 per cent of the population in 1913 and for 59 per cent in 1973). Simultaneously, there is a greater tendency towards the industrialization of agriculture. This provides the basis for the gradual merging of the cooperative-collective farm property with the property of the whole people, which can be clearly seen in the setting up of agrarian-industrial complexes.

The changing character of labour gives rise to another social process, viz., the disappearance of the principal distinctions between workers engaged primarily in manual labour and those who are mainly involved in brain work. As scientific and technological progress is increasingly introduced in production, work becomes more and more intellectual and creative. The new section of worker-intellectuals, whose jobs demand more mental than manual effort, is playing an increasing role in the structure of Soviet society.

This has been made possible, of course, by the fact that the gap, both in general and specialized education, among various groups is being overcome. In mapping out a programme for a cultural revolution, Lenin dreamt of a time when all workers would be educated and capable of assimilating modern scientific and technical achievements. The fact that introduction of universal secondary education is being completed in the Soviet Union is indicative of the great strides our country has taken towards solving that problem.

Lenin pointed out that socialism is impossible without scientifically trained experts. Our country's success in moulding a socialist intelli-

gentsia has been spectacular. The number of specialists with higher and secondary education engaged in the economy increased from 2.4 million in 1940 to 17.9 million in 1971. The number of research workers has been growing at a considerable rate, having increased by six times in the last two decades.

The successes achieved in education and training of specialists can be attributed to the cultural revolution which Lenin regarded as an indispensable factor in social transformations which will take place during the building of socialism. It must be stressed that Lenin did not think that the cultural revolution should confine itself to merely raising the educational level of working people. He vigorously opposed those who tried to separate culture from ideology, and educational work from political training. Addressing the Third Congress of the Young Communist League, Lenin pointed out that mastering communism means not only assimilating the knowledge accumulated by mankind but acquiring the new moral qualities based on the principles of communist ideology and ethics.

The Party has been guided by these principles at every stage of socialist construction, linking the development of education with the task of changing people's outlook, of educating the masses politically, of inculcating communist convictions, and a public-minded spirit based on the principles of proletarian collectivism, internationalism and active revolutionary humanism. These qualities characteristic of the new socialist mould of man have been demonstrated by the Soviet people's enthusiasm in the years

of peaceful construction and the mass heroism of the millions who defended their country in the Second World War. Developing these qualities in all members of society and bringing up the new generations of Soviet people in the spirit of the ideological and moral traditions forged by the working class is the main aim of the tremendous job ahead of us. The Party attaches no less importance to the task of moulding the character of the builder of communism than to the creation of the material prerequisites for communism.

The social changes which take place during the advanced stage of socialism and the ideological challenges involved in educating the new man, are inseparable from the task of improving the Soviet socialist way of life and strengthening its communist foundations. The socialist way of life, with its new form of social and personal relationships, reveals more and more its advantages over the bourgeois way of life. Its humanistic nature provides a powerful attraction for all progressive mankind. It is reflected in daily activities, in production, in social and domestic life, in behaviour based on the principle of collectivism, mutual cooperation and in the accepted standards of a genuinely comradely community life. A feature of the socialist way of life is man's social involvement and direct participation in determining the destiny of his country.

Socialist democracy has given broad scope to nationwide participation in labour and social life, in running production and social processes, and in political life. The system of mass public organizations which are links in the political

organization of socialist society embracing millions of people is a powerful instrument drawing man into a way of life which does not allow him to retreat into a superficial existence but encourages him to be a conscious citizen, a social activist and a participant in the making of history.

Lenin repeatedly stressed that an essential and most important factor in promoting the social activity of the masses and their historical role would be the transfer of political power into their hands, which is the basis of genuine democracy.

Lenin's concept of democracy is radically different from that of the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists who regard it as "pure democracy" devoid of class content. Past experience shows that working-class rule alone can establish democracy for the masses, for the majority, which gradually grows into universal democracy. Present-day realities make it increasingly apparent that bourgeois democracy is a limited and formal democracy, a democracy for the rich minority. In the age of the scientific and technological revolution, with the increasing trends towards technocracy in bourgeois ideology, the conception of democracy tends to assume a technocratic, essentially elitist, anti-popular character. At this juncture it is particularly relevant to recall how indignantly Lenin wrote about the false bourgeois democracy and its inherent limitations which exclude the masses from politics, who are ignored by "one who has never known want himself and has never been in close contact with the oppressed classes in their mass life (and nine out of ten, if

not ninety-nine out of a hundred, bourgeois publicists and politicians come under this category)".¹ Such blindness is highly characteristic of the present-day champions of "pure" democracy among whom are both professional anti-Communists and renegades who betrayed socialism.

Socialist democracy presupposes guidance of the masses by the Communist Party, which is their political vanguard.

The Communist Party is the highest supreme form of democratic organization for the working people. Thus its guidance ensures the genuinely democratic character of the whole political organization of advanced socialist society.

The Party is constantly concerned to improve this system, to promote nationwide participation in the management of social affairs and the creative activities of the people by allotting a greater role to the Soviets of People's Deputies, the Trade Unions, the YCL, the People's Control bodies and other organizations of socialist democracy.

The powerful torrent of creative energy of the millions of working people led by the Party of Lenin is an invincible force which transforms society to correspond to the interests of man's all-round development, to the ideals of justice and happiness of people—the ideals of communism.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 461.

G. MARKOV,
First Secretary,
Board of Soviet Writers' Union

LENIN AND THE SOCIALIST CULTURE

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was the great architect of a new, socialist culture. Having elaborated the main principles on the culture of a future society before the revolution, Lenin did his utmost to put his most important theories into practice while he was head of state.

From the first days of the existence of the young Soviet Republic, Lenin wasted no time in tackling the subject of culture along with such problems as consolidating the political power of the victorious proletariat, the defence of the country in face of the onslaught of the world bourgeoisie, the building up of a socialist economy and creating government and party systems. Lenin thought of culture as one of the cornerstones on which the new state of the working people would be built. In the years since Lenin's death, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has displayed unswerving commitment to Lenin's ideas on building a socialist culture and has implemented them with characteristic drive and enthusiasm.

The profound socio-political and economic

transformations in the USSR, and the Party-led cultural revolution have transfigured the social and intellectual world of the peoples which built the first socialist state. Once an economically and culturally backward country, where the masses had been materially and spiritually robbed by tsarism and the exploiting classes and most of the population could neither read nor write, Russia became a land of advanced socialist culture. The new system of education set before it the goal of bringing up a new citizen, a conscious fighter for socialism, and of training specialists for the developing economy from working-class and peasant youth. Secondary specialized and higher education surged ahead on an unprecedented scale. Millions of people have been able to benefit from knowledge of the cultural values accumulated by mankind over the centuries. Literature and the arts, by reflecting socialist reality, understanding the laws of development of a new society and encouraging this development, have become part of the proletarian cause. In the process of our economic, social and cultural development a new intelligentsia has emerged, which is one with the people. Socialism and the advance of science and technology are providing the basis for implementing one of Lenin's main behests, i.e., the gradual overcoming of the essential differences between brain and manual labour and closing the gap between town and country.

As we look back on the path our people has traversed from the depths of poverty, darkness and lack of rights to our advanced socialist society today, we feel legitimate pride. We

owe all our achievements first and foremost to Lenin, and his great teaching, and to the Communist Party which has carried the victorious banner of Lenin through incredible trials and hardships and has demonstrated what miracles can be accomplished when the creative energy of the masses is released from the oppressive system of private property and exploitation and organized in the name of great ideals.

Today, as we honour Lenin as a leader and as a man, it seems appropriate to recall some of his ideas on culture and art, some of the events and decisions which marked his varied activities and set us an example of how the most complex questions involved in building a new culture should be handled.

In developing the theories of Marx and Engels, Lenin tirelessly exposed the hostility of the bourgeoisie towards culture, and the irreconcilable antagonism between art and the bourgeois system, which prevents intellectual growth and thwarts the creative spirit of the people. Lenin spoke with biting sarcasm about the alleged freedom of the artist in bourgeois society, which in fact boils down to disguised (or hypocritically masked) dependence on the moneybag, on being bribed and kept by the bourgeoisie¹.

Socialism and Soviet power have produced a fundamentally new type of relationship between culture and society, and between the artist and the people. With brilliant insight Lenin defined and envisioned these relationships. He

¹ See Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 48.

wrote during the First Russian Revolution in an article **Party Organization and Party Literature**: "It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks."¹ Today we are in a position to say with satisfaction that this literature exists and is flourishing in 75 languages of Soviet national groups and nationalities, serving, as Lenin envisaged "millions and tens of millions of working people—the flower of the country, its strength and its future."²

The development of questions dealing with socialist culture is a highly important and enormously relevant part of Lenin's priceless theoretical legacy. Lenin approached the creation of a socialist culture as a great thinker and theoretician and as a practical organizer and leader of the world's first state of workers and peasants.

One can never cease to admire Lenin's self-denying dedication to his work and his ability, in spite of the heavy demands on his time as leader of state, to consider key problems of the development of culture in a new society, to lay down its guidelines and at the same time to examine details affecting the work and living conditions of cultural workers.

In the grim years of the Civil War and foreign intervention Lenin signed a number of government decrees on improving the material conditions of scientists, writers and artists. At

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

an extremely critical time for the country, Lenin found time to talk with Clara Zetkin on important problems concerning art, to discuss urgent questions with the geologist Ivan Gubkin, the architect Ivan Zholtovsky, the mathematician Vladimir Steklov and to meet foreign writers such as H. G. Wells, John Reed and Albert Rhys Williams. The history of Lenin's meetings and correspondence with Maxim Gorky is widely known. While he always remained an understanding and sympathetic friend of the great writer, Lenin stood on his principles in regard to some of Gorky's conceptions of the complex revolutionary development of society. Lenin had an abiding interest in classical music and works of art, in Russian and world literary classics and in the work of contemporary writers. He was deeply aware of the fact that a new society was inconceivable without a genuine culture.

Today, turning to Lenin's invaluable works in search of answers to urgent contemporary problems, we marvel at his far-sightedness and the correctness of his predictions. In solving major problems of cultural development we invariably draw on Lenin's teaching and his counsel.

Our literary scholars, philosophers and historians have done a good deal of research on the impact of Lenin's ideas on culture. In studies expounding Lenin's ideas on the role of the Party and the masses in literature and art, Lenin's attitude to the cultural heritage and his enormous contribution to the development of Marxist aesthetics, a question that merits special attention is the effect of Lenin's ideas on

Soviet literature as a whole and on the work of Soviet and some foreign writers. Every socialist realist writer or artist experiences this creative and constant influence throughout his life and work. Leninism arms writers and all cultural workers with a genuinely scientific advanced world outlook which gives them a profound and correct understanding of social processes. The Leninist principle of a social, class-oriented approach to the past and present lies at the basis of the creative quest of Soviet writers and artists, of our colleagues from the fraternal socialist countries and progressive Western artists.

One could quote the comments of dozens of eminent Soviet and foreign writers and artists on how much they learned from Lenin's theoretical heritage and what valuable experience and knowledge of life Leninism gave them.

Lenin's ideas and his teaching are an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the whole Soviet intelligentsia. Naturally, they find of particular interest the part of Lenin's great body of work which provides developed and well-grounded theories on culture, a genuinely popular, socialist culture called upon to serve the millions of working people, to equip them with knowledge, to praise their work and raise them up to a level in which they become conscious builders of communism.

Lenin passionately believed that the human mind would always continue to produce something of value. He conceived of Marxism as a continuation and brilliant culmination of three major ideological trends of the 19th century¹.

¹ See Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 50.

Lenin's own work was a brilliant development of the major Marxist tenets. He constantly stressed that neither a communist world outlook nor a socialist culture could be built without the firm foundation created by preceding generations. A genuine culture cannot be invented or made overnight, being always a result of the development of nations, a consequence of social movements and the fruit of colossal effort. "...It would mean falling into a grave error for you to try to draw the conclusion that one can become a Communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind. It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring the sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result."¹

But Lenin did not think of the heritage of the past as something fixed and divorced from the problems and concerns of the moment. He himself set the best example of what a modern approach to our classical heritage should be by his comments on Russian and world literature and his practical activity to preserve the cultural values of the past.

It is a deeply symbolic fact that in the first year of the Revolution, the Council of People's Commissars passed a number of decrees proclaiming old monuments the state property of the young Soviet Republic. "The beautiful must be preserved," Lenin said, "taken as an example, as the point of departure even if it is 'old'. Why turn our backs on what is truly beautiful,

¹ Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 286.

abandon it as the point of departure for further development solely because it is 'old'?"¹

But, Lenin warned, preserving the heritage did not mean confining oneself to that heritage. Lenin regarded our classical heritage as the foundation on which socialist culture was to be built. It is important to stress that Lenin's approach to this heritage was also dialectical. He found equally alien both the nihilism of the adherents of "proletarian culture", who vaunted their rejection of tradition, as well as sweeping uncritical acceptance of the whole of our artistic heritage. The Leninist theory about two cultures within each nation in an antagonistic society remains to this day a tested methodological weapon of Soviet theoretical thinking which provides a correct approach to evaluation of the complex phenomena of past and present cultures.

Each historical monument, literary and artistic masterpiece has an interesting story behind it, just as do many of Lenin's ideas and plans. Take for instance the government decrees on cultural questions. One of these, adopted at the Council of People's Commissars meeting on January 17, 1920, presided over by Lenin, deals with the perpetuation of the memory of Alexander Herten, a writer whom Lenin admired and frequently wrote about. The decree envisaged, among other things, the publication of Herten's complete works, the erection of a monument to him in front of the Moscow University building and renaming Bolshaya

Nikitskaya Street—Herten Street. One article of the decree reads: "To nationalize the Naidonova mansion (25, Tverskoi Boulevard) with all its premises and outbuildings, which is the birthplace of Herten, and to hand it over to the All-Russia Trade Union of Writers (Moscow)..." It seems to me symbolic that today Herten House is the home of the Gorky Literary Institute. The brainchild of the great proletarian writer Maxim Gorky, the Institute has, in its forty years of existence, produced many outstanding literary masters who are now in the forefront of our multi-national literature. Each year boys and girls from all parts of our country and from the fraternal socialist countries flock to the Institute, and its ancient walls reverberate with the young voices! This is what happened to one of Lenin's decrees, of his many plans and initiatives in creating and developing socialist culture.

Lenin saw two sides to the building of socialist culture. On the one hand, the people are liberated intellectually, the masses are introduced to art and culture and become educated, and on the other hand, literature and art seek to associate themselves as closely as possible with the life of the people, their exploits and aspirations. Lenin saw the task of both revolutionary propaganda and literary and artistic works as consisting in "...**raising** the workers to the level of revolutionaries."¹

The inculcation of a socialist world outlook was, in Lenin's view, a long and arduous process demanding painstaking work.

¹ *V. I. Lenin on Literature and Art*, Moscow, 1969, p. 663, in Russian.

¹ *Lenin. Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 470.

On the questions of the people's aesthetic education Lenin remained loyal to the same principle: not to reach down to the "average" cultural level of the masses, but elevate them, and bring in contact with the great aesthetic values. "...Our workers and peasants deserve something better than spectacles. They are entitled to real great art," he said in a talk with Clara Zetkin.¹

Socialism has made feasible Lenin's programme of building a new, genuine culture for the people. Sweeping socio-economic transformations have brought a radical change in man's spiritual attitudes, increasing his striving for knowledge, culture and spiritual enrichment. Under no other social system has man such opportunities for discovering his intellectual capacities and satisfying his cultural needs as he can under socialism.

Our reputation for being the most reading nation in the world is well-earned. The mass and constantly increasing editions of our magazines and books have aroused the amazement and envy of our colleagues abroad. If it is true that the level of literature is to a large extent determined by the level of the reader, then we Soviet writers should speak with deep gratitude about our thoughtful, highly educated and exacting readers whose interest in our work we are constantly aware of and whose expectations we try to live up to. This interest is most vividly manifested during our meetings with people who are doing constructive work in factories and fields, for the good of our country. Each year the number and scope of these

meetings increase. I am referring particularly to the practice in recent years of large groups of writers visiting major construction projects in the country's remotest areas. Here we have the clearest example of Lenin's two-sided approach to the building of a new culture. It is enough to imagine an audience of a thousand of people listening with keen interest to the writers addressing them—whether in the grim Tyumen oil-fields or in the sweltering cotton-growing plantations of Uzbekistan—to be able to say proudly: Lenin was right when he said that under socialism the roots of art "should be deeply implanted in the very thick of the labouring masses."¹

We writers, too, benefit from such trips, for each trip brings us in closer contact with what the working people are achieving, and gives us a feeling of the intense, powerful rhythm of creative work. It also makes us more fully aware of another important Leninist concept: art must draw on the life of the people, and the spiritual experience of the masses.

One cannot fail to notice that what irritates and provokes our ideological adversaries more than anything is precisely our closeness to the life of the people, our involvement in the country's labour achievements and boundless loyalty to the Communist Party. Soviet writers do not see the lofty mission of their work as remaining independent from the interests of the Party, state and the people, but in conscious and open service to their interests and in harnessing li-

¹ *U. I. Lenin on Literature and Art*, pp. 665-6.

¹ *U. I. Lenin on Literature and Art*, p. 251.

terature to the task of the people's struggle to build communism.

The correctness of Lenin's cultural policy has been brilliantly vindicated by the whole development of socialist art. Soviet literature and art today command higher prestige than ever before, as attested by numerous writers and artists of the socialist states and progressive men-of-letters in other countries. But it must be said in all fairness that there still exists some lack of understanding, even on the part of people friendly to us, of the real meaning of the Leninist views on the Party principle in literature and its popular character. Some are inclined to regard them as restriction of "creative freedom", while others tend to reduce the whole thing to the question of Communist Party membership. Other misconceptions exist as well. Yet the realities of our day lead progressive men-of-letters throughout the world to regard Soviet culture more and more as an example of the constructive relationship that can exist between the artist and society.

The elaboration of the Party principle in literature, and hence in all art, a principle which not only embraces the essence and the spirit of artistic work, but also implies direct involvement of the artist with the life of the Party and of the masses, and their struggle for the high ideals of communism, is one of Leninism's great achievements.

In the situation today Party guidance of literature and art can be seen above all in the great interest and care that is shown in developing Soviet multi-national art. While upholding the Party and class character of culture,

Lenin was perfectly well aware of the specific nature of the artistic process and its complexity. "...In this field," he stressed, "greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual inclination, thought and fantasy, form and content."¹

An unsurpassed example of deep philosophical analysis combined with an appreciation of literary quality is provided by Lenin's articles about the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy. A dialectical approach to the great classic's literary heritage has enabled Lenin not only to reveal the "glaring contradictions" in his outlook and link his work with the social processes of the epoch, but to show the great aesthetic power of his art which represented "...a step forward in the artistic development of humanity as a whole."²

In carrying out Lenin's national policy socialism has scored one of its major victories. During the years of socialist and communist construction in the USSR a new historical community has emerged—the Soviet people, with a single multi-national culture, socialist in the content and the main trend of its development, varied in its national forms, and internationalist in spirit and character. The Leninist principles on making culture internationalist in spirit, without which it would be impossible to understand the Party principle in arts and popular character of culture, fully retain their relevance and are, if anything, even more important today in the ideological struggle with

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, p. 323.

various categories of revisionists and falsifiers of Lenin's teaching.

The idea of internationalism is making an increasing impact on the atmosphere in the life and struggle of people in all countries. People of good will all over the world are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that in the present epoch of unprecedented scientific and technological development, and of social upheavals, it is impossible to take decisions on the fate of big and small nations without considering their interests. This is a feature of our time that was impressively demonstrated at the recent World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

Lenin, understanding the specific nature and demands of literature and art and forms of expression, showed brilliant foresight in predicting the emergence and flourishing of literatures among peoples who had no written language before the Revolution and who were predominantly illiterate.

Our ideological opponents never miss an opportunity to distort and criticize the process of "internationalizing" Soviet culture, representing it as a mechanical process of "raising" less advanced cultures to the level of more advanced cultures thereby losing national characteristics and traditions. This is a flagrant distortion of Leninism and a complete misrepresentation of our society. Lenin emphasized that the creation of a socialist culture does not by any means imply levelling, but on the contrary, enriching the common socialist culture with all that is vivid, original, talented and progressive in the culture and history of any people, no

matter how small in comparison with other peoples. The whole world can see that Soviet multi-national culture is made up of the creative achievements in literature and art of all national groups and nationalities of our country.

What is the secret of this great advance in cultural development among many national groups and nationalities which only acquired their own alphabet and became literate a few decades ago? The secret is this: socialism has released the creative energy of the people which was formerly thwarted and suppressed. Even the most gifted artists among them in old Russia had no way of communicating with the masses, their reputation being confined to their native village or nomadic camp. Revealing the great reserves of talent in our country is one of the most important achievements of the Revolution. Thanks to the cross-pollination of fraternal cultures, the unprecedented scope in the field of translation, especially translations into Russian, books written in every language of the fraternal peoples are available to readers throughout the Soviet Union. Many books by Soviet writers, including those written by authors representing people who had no written language before the Great October Revolution, have become widely known in this country and abroad. Our multi-national literature, which is over fifty years old, with its active involvement in the building of a new life and the many artistic revelations Soviet writers have to their credit, has firmly established itself in world art.

Leninist ideas which colour and affect the

whole fabric of our society continue to help us today in developing further our Soviet multinational culture and in providing an inexhaustible source of inspiration to Soviet writers and artists.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Leninist Central Committee and the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev pay tremendous attention to cultural matters and the development of every sphere of intellectual life in Soviet society. The resolutions of the 24th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee documents of recent years show a responsive, creative, truly Leninist approach towards culture. Whether it is a question of improving secondary and higher education, or vocational training, or literary and art criticism, or the situation and problems of the Soviet cinema, we are constantly aware of the force and vitality of Lenin's ideas which the Party and the people are developing and carrying out in a new historical situation.

We are committed to the Leninist course, we are marching along the trail blazed by Lenin and no force can stop us.

УЧЕНИЕ И ДЕЛО В. И. ЛЕНИНА — БЕССМЕРТНЫ

на английском языке

Цена 11 коп.