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20 July 1982

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 25/82)

CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES



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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

Zagladin on Unity, Tasks of World Communist Movement  
(SLOVO LEKTORA, Jun 82)..... 1

NATIONAL

Fedoseyev Offers Model Lecture for USSR Jubilee  
(P. N. Fedoseyev; SLOVO LEKTORA, Jun 82)..... 18

- a -

[III - USSR - 35]

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**INTERNATIONAL**

**ZAGLADIN ON UNITY, TASKS OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

Moscow SLOVO LEKTORA in Russian No 6, Jun 82 pp 34-42

[Abridged version of Prof V.V. Zagladin lecture: "In the Vanguard of the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress"]

[Text] The CPSU consistently supports the strengthening of the socialist community's solidarity with all detachments of the international communist, worker and national liberation movements.

From the CPSU Central Committee decree "60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR".

Our journal's readers, primarily international affairs lecturers, are vitally interested in various aspects of the world communist movement. Numerous requests are expressed for SLOVO LEKTORA to carry analytical, summary material on this topical subject.

Taking this into consideration, we are publishing an abridged version of a lecture by Prof Vadim Valentinovich Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the party Central Committee's International Department. The author analyzes the state of affairs in the fraternal parties as a whole and in respect of individual regions in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and with regard for recent events of international life. The approximate plan of the lecture is:

1. Growth of the role and strengthening of the positions of the communist movement.
2. Great force in the struggle for peace.
3. For the unity of the communist ranks.

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Unprecedentedly broad social forces have now become a part of the struggle for the solution of the truly far-reaching problems which currently confront the peoples of our planet. The degree of practical participation in politics of representatives of various social groups and strata has reached in the 1980's the highest level in man's history.

And there is no doubt that the most influential and energetic political force, which embodies this increased assertiveness of the masses and at the same time serves as a factor of its further increase, is the international communist movement.

The opponents of the communist movement, primarily the ideologists of imperialism, claim that it is experiencing a time of crisis and collapse, it is true. U.S. President R. Reagan incessantly repeats over and again that the communist movement has entered the stage of decline.

The same idea, although expressed somewhat differently, is also being put forward by the representatives of opportunist and reformist currents in the workers' movement. They believe that the communist movement, which "perhaps did play a definite part in the past," has now exhausted itself. In their opinion, the need for communist party activity has "passed".

Of course, the explanations as to why precisely the communist movement is either experiencing a "crisis" or has "exhausted" its potential are various. Bourgeois ideologists say one thing, the opportunists another, but there is little change in the essence here. It is in both cases a question of an attempt to discredit the great revolutionary movement in the present day.

It cannot, of course, be claimed that the communists are not encountering unsolved problems and difficulties. Certain problems and difficulties there undoubtedly are (they will be addressed further on). But there are positively no grounds for portraying the present state of affairs as our enemies depict it. In real life the role and significance of the communist movement in our day not only have not diminished but, on the contrary, are growing and continuing to grow. Why is this the case?

To answer this question the lecturer could recall the following basic points.

First, in our time a considerable proportion of mankind is already living under socialist conditions. Many revolutionary-democratic countries have embarked on the path of socialist development and are implementing concrete measures aimed at the creation of the foundations of a new society. All this is also stimulating the process of the maturation of the objective prerequisites of the transition to socialism on a world scale.

Naturally, there is a considerable increase under these conditions of the subjective factor in history, including the role of the communist movement, which is called on to head the masses in the struggle for socialism and impart to their independent creativity the necessary revolutionary sweep and due purposefulness.

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Second, man's biggest problem now is that of war and peace. The imperialist forces are not abandoning attempts to resolve the contradictions between the two social systems by way of the use of force. But such a policy course is creating a real threat to the future of all mankind. In our nuclear-missile age progress in any sphere of activity and, of course, social progress presupposes primarily the prevention and exclusion of world war.

In this situation there is an inevitable increase in the significance of the activity of the social forces which are capable of consistently and emphatically struggling for the prevention of a world thermonuclear catastrophe.

It is well known--and this is acknowledged by our class enemy even--that among the current political currents it is the communists who were the first to declare the need for the prevention of nuclear war and who have struggled in a broad front to achieve this great goal. The humanist essence of the ideas of communism and proletarian internationalism has been manifested anew with great force in the sharp, clear formulation of this question by the fraternal parties.

Third, mankind is now also confronted with such very appreciable problems affecting the future of all countries and peoples as the surmounting of underdevelopment and the energy, food, raw material and other problems which it is customary to term global.\* It has now already been proven not only in theory but in practice also that such problems can be radically solved only on the paths of a consistent class-proletarian approach and the surmounting of the social limitedness characteristic of monopoly capital and its policy.

It is precisely the communist movement which is the fighter for just such a class solution of man's problems. And it is only in the countries where the communists, at the head of the masses, have accomplished a socialist revolution that practical approaches for a solution of the said problems have now been found and real steps in their implementation are being taken.

Fourth, in the nonsocialist world a situation is currently taking shape wherein monopoly capital, incapable of surmounting the socioeconomic difficulties, is endeavoring to find a way out of them by shifting the entire burden onto the working people. It is a question both of economic burdens and of increased political reaction and capital's all-around offensive against the working people's vital rights and interests.

Under these conditions there is undoubtedly an increase in the significance and role of the social forces which are capable of putting forward a realistic program of struggle for the masses' vital interests and striving for its implementation without vacillation and deviation. It is the communist movement which acts as such a force.

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\*For more detail see I.T. Frolov, "Urgent Concerns of All Mankind," SLOVO LEKTORA No 10, 1981.

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Thus all mankind is today really vitally interested in the existence and activity of the communist movement. It needs it not less but more than in any other previous period of history.

It was from precisely this that our party proceeded, confirming anew at the 26th CPSU Congress the policy of the utmost development of relations with the fraternal parties of other countries, the strengthening of the international unity of the communist ranks and a further increase in the role of the communist movement in world development.

It is important to emphasize that the objectively conditioned growth of the communist movement's role is expressed in its continuing development, which was dealt with convincingly in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress. The congress stated that the international working class and its political vanguard--the communist and workers' parties--had arrived at the boundary of the 1980's in confident stride.

In this connection the lecturer should mention the outstanding role which the communist parties have performed in the process of the strengthening of the positions of the forces of social progress. This has brought about their further quantitative and qualitative growth and increased political influence. The number of communist parties in the world in the 1970's grew from 88 to 95 and the total number of communists increased in this period from 50 million to more than 77 million.

Developing this point, the lecturer could remind his audience that the following have emerged recently: the Communist Party of Malta (whose creation was announced in February 1970); the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia (whose first congress was in August 1975); the Jamaican Workers' Party (whose constituent congress was in December 1978); the Communist Party of Pakistan (whose constituent congress, illegal, was in 1974); the Egyptian Communist Party (whose first congress was in September 1980); and the Palestine Communist Party (1982).

The African Party of Independence and Labor of Senegal (whose constituent congress was in 1981), which was hitherto viewed as a revolutionary-democratic party, has become a part of the communist movement.

Together with communist parties which have been in existence for many years there have emerged in Australia and Sweden (respectively) the Australian Socialist Party and the Swedish Workers' Party-Communists, which have adopted clear-cut revolutionary, class positions.

As a whole, the number of communists outside of the socialist world increased by more than 1.5 million in the 1970's. The ranks of the fraternal parties were reinforced in practically all countries. In the developed capitalist states (West Europe, North America, Japan, Australia) the increase in this period was over 1 million persons. Communists in the Latin American countries grew by almost 90,000. Not that many, seemingly. But the lecturer must point out that the 1970's were years of difficult trials for Latin America: the Chilean revolution suffered a temporary defeat, counterrevolution strengthened

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in Uruguay and rightwing forces in a number of other countries of the continent seized power or consolidated their positions. In many cases the number of communist parties in Latin American states declined in the mid-1970's, but then began to grow again. And this growth is continuing. There are more than 300,000 more communists as a whole in the Asian (excluding Japan) and African countries.

It is important to note that in their social composition the communist parties are primarily combat parties of the working class which are strongly forged organizationally and ideologically. And although it is perfectly natural that they by no means close the door to persons from other social strata and groups but, on the contrary, endeavor to enlist them in their ranks, they pay the main attention to replenishing their organizations from the ranks of workers.

As a whole, according to available estimates, workers constitute over 40 percent of the fraternal parties' total strength. Together with employees their proportion of the overall communist movement is over 60 percent. Peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia and middle urban and rural strata and so forth account for the remainder. In other words, the present-day communist movement more or less reflects the social structure of the present-day world. This could also be put in a different way: practically all the main social groups of contemporary society, excluding, of course, the haute and monopoly bourgeoisie, are currently represented in the communist movement.

Peasants and representatives of the middle strata constitute the majority in the communist party ranks in Asian and African countries and in certain Latin American states also. This is an entirely logical reflection of the social composition of the population of the corresponding regions. Many representatives of the student youth and the intelligentsia have joined the ranks of the Afro-Asian and Latin American communist parties in recent decades.

The continuing "implantation" of the communist parties in the masses can also be easily traced in the following data. Whereas 15-20 years ago in the non-socialist countries where the communists participate legally in election campaigns 25-30 million people voted for them, the figure now is 35-40 million. Even the communist parties which do not obtain seats in the representative institutions as a result of elections are making increasingly skillful use of the election campaigns to spread their ideas and consolidate their political positions and relations with the broad masses.

The experience of the Communist Party of the United States is interesting from this viewpoint. In the 1980 election it nominated its presidential (Gus Hall) and vice presidential (Angela Davis) candidates. Not counting on their election, the party concentrated its forces on strengthening its position during the election campaign as the party of the working class defending the interests of all the oppressed and exploited. The party also made the maximum use of its opportunities for addressing Americans via the mass information media. G. Hall alone took part in 61 radio programs in 23 states. Candidates of the Communist Party of the United States gave more than 70 press interviews and organized 13 mass meetings. Over 3 million copies of printed matter were distributed.



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Summing up the development of the communist movement in the 1970's, L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress: "The communist movement has continued to extend its ranks and strengthen its influence in the masses. Communist parties are currently operating actively in 94 countries. In West Europe alone approximately 800,000 new fighters have joined their ranks in the past 10 years. Is this not testimony to the invincible magnetic force of communist ideas!"

2

The 1980's will undoubtedly occupy a special place in the history of modern civilization. It is in this decade that a question of extraordinary urgency and importance has to be cardinally solved. It is a question of the prevention of a world thermonuclear catastrophe. Mankind must at all costs do everything necessary to prevent its eruption.

The front of the struggle for peace is now broader than ever. And, furthermore, a particular, vanguard role in this greatest political current of the present day is being performed, as before, by the communists. As observed at the 26th CPSU Congress, the communist and workers' parties had arrived at the boundary of the 1980's "as active fighters for the working people's rights and peace and the security of the peoples."

It is well known that in a number of cases there are disagreements and different viewpoints in the ranks of the communist movement. They concern the problems of war and peace also to some extent (we will speak about this further on). However, as a whole, it is on precisely these questions that the communist movement acts far more cohesively and as a united front than with respect to many other problems.

What is the concrete manifestation of the communist movement's practical contribution to the defense of universal peace?

The first thing that should be emphasized in this connection is the fact that the communist parties provide a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current situation, which enables them to formulate a realistic, effective program of the struggle for peace.

To speak of recent times, particular significance from this viewpoint was undoubtedly attached to communist party congresses. There were 6 congresses of communist parties of the socialist countries and 17 congresses of communist parties of countries of the nonsocialist world in 1981 altogether, for example.\* Problems of the international situation were broached at all the

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\*For the lecturer's information: in the period January 1971 through December 1981 all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries held congresses (many of them twice) and there were 181 congresses of 69 parties of the nonsocialist world altogether.

6

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communist congresses without exception. And regardless of this difference or the other in their positions, they all reached the conclusion of the particular significance of the problem of war and peace and the need to do the maximum possible to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe.

As has already been said, there were certain differences of evaluation. Particular attention should be drawn here to the position of the leadership of the Italian and also Spanish communist parties, which, contrary to the generally known facts, are attempting to "share," as it were, responsibility for the present increase in tension between socialism and imperialism. According to the opinion expressed, for example, at the PCI Central Committee January (1982) Plenum, in a number of instances the policies of the USSR and the United States have little to distinguish them. Their actions, this party's leadership believes, have contributed "equally" to the deterioration of the world situation.

It is common knowledge, however, that the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, primarily the CPSU, have done and are doing everything possible and necessary to contribute to the strengthening of peace and to prevent man's further slide toward nuclear war. The great services of the CPSU and other fraternal parties of the socialist community in the struggle for peace have been acknowledged by all mankind, which, inter alia, was emphasized again and again at the time of the commemoration of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's 75th birthday.

On the other hand, it is well known that imperialist propaganda has been asserting for many years now that the threat to peace is created by the Soviet Union. Stories about the "Soviet military threat" literally fill bourgeois newspapers and journals. Under these conditions the objective result is that the statements of the PCI leadership only help the propaganda of the imperialist states. This fact, inter alia, has also been mentioned by many communist press organs like, for example, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, in the article "The Stronger Socialism, the Firmer Peace," and also the Greek communists' paper RIZOSPASTIS and many others.\*

On the basis of the analysis made by the congresses of the fraternal parties the communists have put forward wide-ranging, detailed and practical proposals concerning the struggle for peace. Particular significance from this viewpoint was attached to the Peace Program for the 1980's proclaimed by the 26th CPSU Congress. As is known, this program touches on the most basic questions of the international situation and, primarily, those which concern the arms race, which is being jacked up by the imperialists. The Soviet Peace Program provides for the concrete measures necessary to put a stop to this process, which is dangerous for all mankind.

It is important to emphasize that many interesting considerations have also been put forward by other fraternal parties. Thus, for example, the SED, CPCz

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\*In discussing these problems the lecturer could use the PRAVDA article "Contrary to the Interest of Peace and Socialism" (24 January 1982) and the KOMMUNIST article "On a Slippery Path" (No 2, 1982).

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and Greek Communist Party congresses held in 1981 proposed a number of important and well-considered measures aimed at the consolidation of peace in Central Europe and the prevention of a new twist to the arms race spiral in this part of the world. The Bulgarian Communist Party congress paid special attention to the problem of the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. The congress of the Mongolian communists advanced a set of proposals concerning the consolidation of peace in Asia. The congress of the Israeli Communist Party paid great attention to a peace settlement in the Near East and formulated realistic proposals aimed at its achievement. The congresses of the Mexican Communist Party,\* the Panama People's Party and the Communist Party of Ecuador concentrated their attention on the problems of Central and South America, emphatically opposed the expansion of imperialism and supported the completion of the liberation struggle of the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and other countries.

Big significance in this plane was attached to the collective meetings of the communist parties also. The lecturer could recall that there were seven such large-scale meetings in 1981, for example. The representatives of all communist parties of Arab countries discussed in April-May 1981 a wide-ranging set of questions concerning the Arab people's struggle against Israeli aggression and the actions of American imperialism in the Near and Middle East. A meeting of the communist parties of North America (the United States, Canada and Mexico) held in June 1981 examined problems of the struggle against the arms race and the spurring of international tension. The meeting of communist parties of the Mediterranean, the Near East and the Red Sea region held in September 1981 discussed a broad range of problems, from the Near East through the Cyprus question, from the viewpoint of stimulation of the struggle against imperialism's acts of aggression. Fundamental questions of the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism were extensively discussed at a meeting of secretaries for international and ideological questions of the central committees of the socialist countries' fraternal parties in November 1981.

True, thoughts have been put forward repeatedly recently on the proposition that joint actions of the communist movement and coordination of the actions of the fraternal parties, in the form of their joint meetings included, have, as it were, become pointless. Various arguments are adduced in support of this position. But the main thing which communists should consider is this: the danger of nuclear war exists regardless of the diversity of the national conditions and geographical location of this state or the other and its socio-political orientation. The prevention of such a war corresponds to the vital interests of every people, not to mention the global, long-term needs of all mankind. The continuation of detente and the implementation of effective and concrete measures to put an end to the arms race are essential components of the national policy of any communist party.

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\*It is now a part of the Mexican United Socialist Party, which was created on the basis of the country's five leading parties and organizations of the left at the end of 1981.

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It is recommended that the lecturer focus the audience's attention on the fact that the overwhelming majority of national detachments of the communist movement is now waging a purposeful and selfless struggle for the prevention of war and the removal of the mortal threat which has arisen to mankind and his future.

Tremendous, multifaceted and highly effective work in the struggle for peace is being performed by the communists of the socialist countries and, of course, our Lenin Party--the CPSU. Since the 26th party congress even Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally has presented a number of new ideas, initiatives and proposals which have attracted truly universal attention. As graphic examples of the good will and the unswerving, sincere endeavor of the Communist Party and the Soviet state to curb the arms race, avert the nuclear threat and again direct world development into the channel of detente and equal and mutually profitable cooperation it is recommended that the lecturer dwell on the new peace-loving proposals and ideas put forward by L.I. Brezhnev in speeches at the 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress and the festivities in Tashkent and in response to a question of a PRAVDA correspondent and on other Soviet initiatives.

In continuation of the theme that has been broached there are several further examples of the position of certain fraternal parties on cardinal problems of international politics. The U.S. communists are participating actively in the struggle against the threat of war. In the FRG communists are among the staunchest fighters against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles on their country's territory and insist on immediate negotiations to spare Europe and all mankind a dangerous new twist to the arms race spiral.

A great deal of laborious practical work in their countries aimed at their salvation from the American missile threat is being performed by the communists of Belgium and Holland. They are implementing a multitude of initiatives and striving for the maximum expansion of the number of participants in antimissile demonstrations.

This applies equally to the communists of North Europe also, who vigorously advocate its conversion into a nuclear-free zone. The ideas advanced by L.I. Brezhnev in an interview with the Finnish newspaper SUOMEN SOTSIALIDEMOKRAATI have encountered their warm support.

The communists of Greece and Cyprus are striving for the peaceful solution of all problems of the East Mediterranean, including the Cyprus problem, and struggling against the deployment of American military bases on these countries' territory.

The communists of South and Central America unanimously demand an end to U.S. interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador, Nicaragua and other countries of the Western Hemisphere and emphatically protest the dangerous policy of blackmail and military threats directed at revolutionary Cuba.

The Asian communist parties are conducting an extensive campaign of solidarity with the peoples of Kampuchea, Vietnam and other Indochina countries struggling against the military and political provocations of American imperialism and Chinese hegemonism.

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In a word, the communist parties--and the lecturer should take this into consideration in his speeches constantly--are operating tirelessly as unbending, consistent fighters for a lasting peace guaranteed for all peoples. The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th congress observed: "The communists' consistent struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race, which entails for the peoples the threat of nuclear catastrophe, serves as a great unifying principle and powerful factor of the further cohesion and increased authority of the world communist movement."

3

The communist movement's undisputed successes, particularly in the struggle for peace, by no means signify, of course, that it does not have its unsolved problems and difficulties. It does, of course, and at times very serious, moreover. What is the source of them? The answer to this question is by no means simple and straightforward. Reduced to a concise formula, it appears paradoxical even at first sight.

The main source of the problems and difficulties being encountered by the communists currently is their own successes and progress. In fact, it is these successes and the rapid dynamics of growth which have opened to the communist movement new prospects, but which at the same time have also posed new and, to be blunt, difficult tasks. The main thing here, of course, is the fact that the achievements of the communists and all forces of social progress have given rise to sharp opposition on the part of their main class enemy--the haute bourgeoisie, imperialist monopolies and the military-industrial complex.

The 1970's were marked by a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, and this, in turn, was also reflected in its policy--foreign and domestic. In what and how were imperialism's difficulties reflected in its political behavior? The answer to this question was provided by the 26th CPSU Congress. "Adventurism and a readiness to gamble with man's vital interests in the name of their narrow selfish goals," the CPSU Central Committee Report says, "are what is being manifested particularly clearly in the policy of imperialism's most aggressive circles.... They have truly set themselves the goal of attaining the unattainable--erecting a barrier in the way of progressive changes in the world and restoring to themselves the role of arbiters of the people's fate."

Erecting a barrier in the way of revolutionary social changes--such is the present goal of imperialism's aggressive, reactionary circles, for whose achievement they are truly prepared to spare neither forces nor resources. It is essentially a question of the fact that imperialism has begun a kind of crusade against the forces of peace and progress as a whole and against the socialist countries and the communist movement primarily. And this campaign is being developed, moreover, in literally all the main areas at once.

Ideologically, the manifestations of this crusade are on the one hand a sharp intensification of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism in all Western countries, beginning, of course, with the United States. The main accent here is being put on an attempt to discredit and compromise the socialist community and real

10

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socialism. Together with this there is an extension of the attacks on Marxism-Leninism--the ideological foundation of the activity of the communist and workers' parties.

Politically, the campaign against the forces of the revolutionary process is developing primarily into attempts to destabilize the situation in the countries of the socialist world and also in the revolutionary-democratic states. As far as the socialist world is concerned, imperialism's main efforts in this direction are now concentrated, together with continuing attacks on Vietnam, Laos and free Kampuchea (with the complicity of Beijing and surviving Pol Pot people) and with provocations against revolutionary Cuba, on the stimulation of subversive, diversionary actions and economic sanctions against people's Poland and, equally, our country.

Summing up in the Central Committee Report to the 26th CPSU Congress the essence of imperialism's antisocialist policy, L.I. Brezhnev observed: "The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically conducting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They are discrediting and distorting everything that is occurring in these countries. The main thing for them is to turn people away from socialism.

"Recent events confirm time and again that our class enemies are learning from their defeats. They are operating against the socialist countries increasingly subtly and insidiously."

There is also increased political pressure by the monopolies' state and propaganda machinery on the communist and leftwing forces of the West and the trade unions. We have recently witnessed a number of open attempts to legalize this pressure by way of the adoption of the corresponding legislation (in the United States, Britain and a number of other countries).

The repressive measures are making the communists' struggle more difficult. Currently 21 communist parties of the capitalist world are working under underground conditions or semilegally. In a number of Latin American, Asian and African countries the communists are constantly subjected to police surveillance, persecution and terror. "Through terror and persecution and through prison and the barbed wire of concentration camps and in selfless and frequently very difficult daily work for the good of the peoples," L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th congress, "the communists of the capitalist countries are carrying their fidelity to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

Socially it is a question of the monopolies' massed offensive against the working people's vital rights. Let us take, for example, the developed capitalist countries. Although the intensiveness of the class struggle has not abated here but, on the contrary, has increased rather, state-monopoly capitalism, having mobilized all its forces and resources, has nonetheless been able to achieve certain changes to its advantage. For the first time in a long period in the last 2-3 years a palpable decline in the real living standard of the working people has been observed in the United States, the FRG, France and a number of other countries. All this is markedly complicating the political situation which exists in these countries and making the conditions of the class struggle more difficult.

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So, the main difficulties for the cause of the communists and all revolutionaries are being created by imperialism and its political adventurism and ideological and military diversions and sallies. And if we are to sum up the real result of the path trodden by the communists in recent years, we should be surprised not that in a number of instances they have suffered defeats and failures but by how far they have advanced. By how successfully they are repelling the attacks of the class enemy. And by how strong their gains are proving.

Such is the general conclusion which may be drawn by analyzing the statements of the 26th CPSU Congress' foreign guests. "The speeches of our comrades in struggle here, at the congress, and at meetings in Moscow and other cities," L.I. Brezhnev emphasized in his speech at the conclusion of the congress, "have strengthened even more our belief in the invincibility of social progress and the irreversibility of the revolutionary transformation of the world."

At the same time the communist movement is encountering difficulties of a different nature, particularly those arising within its own milieu. In speaking of such difficulties, the lecturer could point out that their causes are various. They are frequently of an objective, but sometimes of a subjective nature.

Thus it is natural that the tasks confronting the communist parties will become increasingly complex and diverse as their influence grows. This, in turn, perfectly logically sometimes engenders differing evaluations and differences in the approach to the solution of concrete questions of the class struggle and gives rise to debate between parties.

Life itself proves convincingly that even given such differences it is possible and necessary to develop political cooperation in the struggle against the common class enemy. V.I. Lenin was profoundly correct when he pointed out that many disagreements "may disappear and unfailingly will disappear: this being the result of the logic of joint struggle against a really formidable enemy, the bourgeoisie..." (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 39, p 225).

But now about another aspect of the matter. In the course of the search which is currently under way everywhere for new forms and methods of struggle and answers to unsolved theoretical and practical questions there also arise in a number of instances imprecise or incomplete solutions which are subsequently not corroborated by practice. The class struggle has always been a complex science and difficult art. It is all the more complicated in our time--a time of rapid social change.

In analyzing the course of the theoretical search engaged in by the communists it is possible to highlight several central problems with respect to which imprecise or erroneous positions are being expressed, we believe, currently.

One such problem is the attitude toward Marxism-Leninism as the communists' single international teaching. The opinion is expressed in a number of

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instances currently that Marxism-Leninism is "outdated". The first to begin this "operation" in our time was the Chinese leadership, which subsequently directly substituted for Marxism-Leninism the fundamentally anti-Leninist, essentially counterrevolutionary "teaching" of Maoism. The consequences of this substitution are well known. But there are other instances of a "renunciation" of Leninism also. Attempts are frequently made to separate Leninism (as an allegedly "specifically Russian" phenomenon) from Marxism.

In speaking of these instances it is evidently necessary to first of all recall that the "advice" to rid yourselves of Leninism has been thrown at the communists extraordinarily persistently, not to say importunately, for literally years by bourgeois ideology. The West's philosophers and sociologists endeavor to portray matters such that all the difficulties currently being encountered by the communist movement have their roots in the "domination of dogmatism" in its ranks. And this "dogmatism" is, of course, a consequence of the communist parties' fidelity to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It transpires, accordingly, that the sole path toward a way out of the difficulties is the "de-Leninization" of the communist movement and, of course, liquidation of the close relations of the fraternal parties of the nonsocialist world with the communist parties of the socialist countries, primarily with the CPSU, which was created and raised by V.I. Lenin.

No objective observer can fail to draw attention to the most profound baselessness of this approach. In fact, in 1980-1981 many communist parties celebrated their "full" jubilees. Among these were a number of big parties, which have won recognition and enjoy great influence in their countries, which celebrated their 60th anniversary. What do the lessons of the history of these parties indicate? Primarily that they have reached such considerable heights precisely on the basis of the revolutionary principles formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In attempting to substantiate their remarks against Leninism certain comrades say, for example, that they would not wish to use the term "Leninism" out of tactical considerations. Reference is sometimes made to the fact that many currents have arisen in recent decades which have "abused" the term "Marxism-Leninism" and that for this reason this term is no longer acceptable. Others attempt in all seriousness to persuade us that Leninism has "exceeded" its time and is no longer a dependable support for revolutionaries.... However, it has to be said that objectively none of these approaches can in any way serve the overall, international cause of the working class and socialism.

Another big theoretical problem also causing much debate currently is that of socialism. The present debate about real socialism is brought about primarily by the fact that, as already mentioned, there has been a sharp exacerbation in our time of the need for a fundamental transformation of capitalist society. The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism which has been mentioned also testifies to this. This is indicated by the all-around exacerbation of the contradictions currently being encountered by the bourgeois world. Very material, finally, is the fact that imperialist "from-a-position-of-strength" policy, in the spirit of the cold war, and imperialism's attempts, in spite of the objective laws of social development, to halt the course of social progress are capable under present-day conditions of jeopardizing man's very

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existence. This is why the lecturer should in this connection emphasize particularly that in our space, electronic and nuclear-missile age socialism has become an urgent requirement of social development and the sole and dependable alternative to world chaos and military Apocalypse.

It is understandable that under these conditions there is an animated and, at times, very temperamental debate about socialism, the ways of advancement toward it, the methods of its creation and its characteristic features. The participants in the debate are also endeavoring to find solutions to the problems of the struggle for socialism which correspond most fully to their countries' national, specific conditions.

"Not so long ago," L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the leadership of certain communist parties presented a vigorous defense of the right to national specific features of the ways and forms of struggle for socialism and socialist building. However, if an unprejudiced approach to the question is adopted, it has to be acknowledged that no one is imposing on anyone any stereotypes and outlines which ignore the singularities of this country or the other.

"V.I. Lenin's position on this question is well known. 'All nations will arrive at socialism, this is inevitable,' he wrote, 'but not all will arrive entirely identically; each will impart distinctiveness to this form of democracy or the other, to this variety of dictatorship of the proletariat or the other and to this rate or the other of socialist transformations of various aspects of social life' (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 30, p 123).

"Our party adheres unswervingly to this directive of Lenin's, which has today been corroborated as convincingly as could be by historical practice. Just think, comrades. After all, in none of today's socialist countries were the forms, methods and paths of socialist revolution a mechanical repetition of another's experience....

"There has been armed struggle and there have been peaceful forms of transition to the new social system; and the rapid accession to power of the working people's classes and processes which have been prolonged. In some countries the revolution had to be defended against foreign intervention, others got by without foreign invasion.

"The creation and strengthening of the foundations of socialism and the building of the socialist society," L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "also had and continue to have their particular features in different countries.

"Thus it is only possible to speak of some 'standardization' and to contrast the communist parties according to recognition or nonrecognition of their chosen paths of the reorganization of society...by ignoring the actual facts."

The experience of all revolutions, past and present, and the experience of real socialism, as also the experience and practice of the present class struggle in the capitalist countries, unequivocally confirm the obvious fact that socialism

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may be established only as a result of the liquidation of capitalism as a system, but by no means by way of a compromise of the old and the new and a "gentleman's agreement" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The following thought may sometimes be heard. Future socialism in the developed capitalist countries could, it is said, assume various forms, but, what is most important, it must in no event "repeat" real socialism and must not be similar to it. The authors of such concepts usually accompany their considerations with a sharp and, it must be said, an unobjective critique of socialism, primarily the socialism which exists in our country. And such an approach is called "critical solidarity" with socialism.

"Certain communist parties," L.I. Brezhnev said in this connection at the 26th CPSU Congress, "sometimes express critical judgments with respect to this concrete aspect or the other of our country's development. We by no means believe that everything has been ideal here. Socialism in the USSR was built under unbelievably difficult conditions. The party was blazing a trail in virgin territory. And no one knows better than us what difficulties and shortcomings were encountered on this path and which have still to be surmounted.

"We listen attentively to comrades, constructive criticism. But we are emphatically opposed to 'criticism' which distorts socialist reality and thereby wittingly or unwittingly does imperialist propaganda and the class enemy a service."

A further consideration should be added to what has been said. The supporters of the building of socialism by any method, "just as long as it differs from others," frequently say that their position is connected with a need to take account of "national specifics". But is this so? Taking account of national specifics means first of all studying them in depth and drawing precisely from their own, national situation fundamental, scientifically substantiated conclusions for the future of socialism in their country. These conclusions could concur with someone else's experience and could differ from it. But they can by no means be drawn by way of a categorical disregard for this experience.

A quest for new ways to move forward is entirely explicable, more, it is essential. But, of course, only if it is a question of a movement forward, toward socialism and not back from it, toward an unnatural (and, we would note, impossible) hybrid of capitalism and socialism.

The world communist movement knows both the quest of the first kind and "quest" of the second. Experience, including that of the past decade, has shown perfectly convincingly that "quest" of the second kind leads directly...away from socialism; leads directly into the embrace of anticommunism, "to a class world". It is such a path, for example, which has been trodden by a group of new opportunists from the ranks of former members of a number of West European communist parties.

The question may, of course, be put: whence the appearance of such views in the communist movement? Among the various factors responsible for their appearance, we may cite the following:

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the influence of petit bourgeois views on the workers' movement as a result of the growth of its ranks thanks to nonproletarian elements;

the strong pressure of imperialist ideology, propaganda and the "lie concerns," which is becoming particularly dangerous precisely by virtue of the change in the social composition of the working class and presence within it of persons susceptible to arguments in favor of class collaboration; and

a certain weakness of the theoretical-political training of communists who have joined the party comparatively recently and their lack of due immunity to ideological principles hostile to the cause of communism.

At the end of the speech the lecturer should emphasize that the CPSU has done and continues to do everything to contribute to the consolidation of the unity of the communist movement, the cohesion of the fraternal parties and the development of their cooperation. For this purpose our party is stepping up contacts with the communist parties of other countries and strengthening interaction with them in the solution of the main present-day problems.

In the past 5 years alone Politburo members and candidates and Central Committee secretaries have received several hundred party delegations representing communist, worker and revolutionary-democratic parties of all continents.

The CPSU regularly and confidentially notifies the fraternal parties about events of our domestic life and the foreign policy acts of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. Foreign comrades also have a broad opportunity to acquaint themselves with the CPSU's practical activity locally--in the republics, krais and oblasts, at enterprises and construction projects and in rural areas. All this, as the representatives of foreign communist parties themselves observe, helps them in practical work. Permanent contacts with foreign communists also enable our party also to get a better grasp of the situation in individual countries and regions.

Summarizing what has been said, the lecturer could refer in conclusion to the finding of the 26th party congress that consistent struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race being imposed on the peoples, which entails for them the threat of nuclear catastrophe, serves under current conditions as a powerful factor of the cohesion and increased authority of the world communist movement.

As the CPSU Central Committee document on the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation observes, communists, armed with the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, are struggling constantly for the interests of the working class, the working people of their countries and democracy, peace and socialism.

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FEDOSEYEV OFFERS MODEL LECTURE FOR USSR JUBILEE

Moscow SLOVO LEKTORA in Russian No 6, Jun 82 pp 26-30

[Synopsis of lecture by Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The USSR: New Social and International Community"]

[Excerpts] History does not know of a state which in the shortest possible time could have done so much for the all-around development of the nations and nationalities as the USSR—the socialist fatherland of all our peoples.

From the CPSU Central Committee decree "60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR"

In consideration of readers' wishes we continue the publication of a series of lectures timed for the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. Our permanent heading is inaugurated today by the synopsis of a lecture by Academician Petr Nikolayevich Fedoseyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The author analyzes certain characteristic trends in the social development of the world's first unified union multinational state and shows the dialectical interconnection and social community of the international and the national at the stage of mature socialism.

A rough plan of a lecture or speech on this subject might be:

1. Triumph of the CPSU's Leninist nationality policy. New historical community of people--the Soviet people.
2. Socialist internationalism in action. Growth of the social homogeneity of the society of developed socialism.
3. The Soviet way of life--new historical form of man's existence. Dialectics of the international and the national.

The creative potential of the energy of the people's masses and their social and civic assertiveness are revealed even more fully and nationwide socialist

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competition for the efficient and high-performance fulfillment of the 5-year plan quotas is developing extensively at the current stage of developed socialism. Features of the maturity of the Soviet people as a community are revealed increasingly fully with the building and refinement of developed socialism in the USSR. L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 26th CPSU Congress in this connection that the family of Soviet peoples has become even more cohesive and is living even more amicably.

However, it would be wrong to believe that the Soviet people, as a new historical community, have acquired some particular specific ethnic traits which thereby compete with the ethnic characteristics distinguishing a person as a representative of this nation or the other and replace them. Such an understanding of the question inevitably engenders the fundamentally incorrect notion that any step along the path of the further development of the Soviet people's consolidation leads to a mechanical superseding of national communities. The Soviet people is not a phenomenon of the same order as ethnic formations and nations and nationalities. It is, and the lecturer should emphasize this, characterized by different parameters, different measurements and different levels of its manifestation. Our party has given a precise scientific interpretation of this question, determining that the Soviet people as a new historical community are not an ethnic and a particularly national but a social and international community of people.

In the report on the draft USSR Constitution L.I. Brezhnev criticized attempts to introduce the "single Soviet nation" concept. "The Soviet people's sociopolitical unity," he emphasized, "by no means signifies the disappearance of national differences" (for more detail see L.I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Lenin's Way], vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 525). The new historical community not only does not abolish the existing nations and erect some kind of supra-national superstructures over them but, on the contrary, is a model of the organic unity of people of different nationalities at the same time as the nations and nationalities themselves and their distinctiveness, language and culture are preserved. Furthermore, the Soviet people as a new historical community are an organic and effective form of the development and burgeoning of the material and spiritual forces of each nation and nationality.

In this connection it is recommended that the lecturer recall V.I. Lenin's instruction to the effect that the international is not the nonnational. It stands to reason that an international community is inconceivable without specific national components and without the presence and self-development of nations and nationalities.

And one further recommendation for the lecturer and rapporteur. The platform speaker must unfailingly draw the audience's attention to the fact that the development and rapprochement of the nations are not isolated processes proceeding in parallel but closely interconnected processes expressing the single internationalist essence of the socialist society. The optimum conditions and means both of national development and the rapprochement of the nations are created simultaneously, in organic interaction. This dialectical interconnection is warranted in respect of the material, social and spiritual conditions and the prerequisites of the formation, functioning and ongoing development of the new social and international community.

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Such primarily are the processes of the building of communism's material-technical facilities and the strengthening of the single all-state national economic complex representing the material basis of the fraternal friendship of the USSR peoples. The task of equalization of the levels of the Soviet republics' economic development has been accomplished, in the main, at the stage of mature socialism. The economy of each republic occupies an important place in the all-union division of labor and makes an increasingly impressive contribution to the country's national wealth (it is recommended that the lecturer use local illustrative material in this part of the speech).

The need for an increase in the role of all the national republics in the accomplishment of all-union tasks and the optimum combination of the interests of each nation with the interests of the Soviet people as a whole now becomes paramount. The general upsurge of the USSR's national economy and the realization of such majestic national economic projects as the development of the fuel-energy and raw material resources of Siberia and the Far East, the building of the Baykal-Amur Trunk Line, the development of the nonchernozem and the creation of the Angar-Yenisey complex are inconceivable without the unification of the efforts of the working people of all republics and the mobilization of the material and labor resources of the entire country.

Thus essentially all the union republics are participating in implementation of the vast comprehensive program of transformation of the RSFSR's nonchernozem zone which has been developed by the party. In consideration of the considerable shortage of labor resources in this region of the RSFSR the other union republics are sending specialized construction and installation convoys, mobile mechanized columns and equipment and, in summertime, student construction detachments. The party's socioeconomic strategy in the 11th Five-Year Plan and the period through 1990 envisages an increase in the material potential of each republic and at the same time its maximum use for the harmonious development of the entire country. This, as emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, is an essential and substantial condition of Soviet society's further progress, the strengthening of the USSR's economic and defense might and the growth of the working people's well-being.

The development of the scientific-technical revolution is also proceeding in the direction of a continued intensification of the process of the socialist internationalization of production in the country. Modern conditions objectively require a further increase in the efficiency and an extension of the cooperation of the nations and nationalities in the production sphere and in the sphere of scientific research and the speediest introduction of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution in practice. Under its influence the economic basis and operational life of the nations are becoming increasingly interconnected. New sectors of industry are growing rapidly in the national republics, and at the same time the working people's scientific-technical level is rising.

However, the effect of this factor, which is contributing to the rapprochement of the nations under the conditions of developed socialism, is realized far from automatically. Like any other complex and multi-aspectual process of socialist building, it requires a constant improvement in the scientific control of social development, primarily centralized planning in combination

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with the broad initiative of the union and autonomous republics, an increase in the creative assertiveness of the masses and a rise in their consciousness and cultural level and an emphatic struggle against all manifestations of localism and departmental preference (it is recommended that this point of the lecture also be illustrated as far as possible with figures, facts and concrete examples on the basis of local material).

Analyzing the prerequisites and regularities of the formation of a historically new social and international community, the lecturer should also emphasize that Soviet people, irrespective of their national origins, are united by the unity of their spiritual life and community of world-outlook orientations.

A single Soviet culture which is common and international for all the socialist nations and which imbibes the best, progressive achievements and values of each national culture has matured and strengthened. The profound dialectics of the common and the particular and the national and international exist in its development, as in other spheres of social life. Its essence is that the flowering of the national cultures is possible only on the basis of their rapprochement and interpenetration. The contribution of each nation and nationality to all-Soviet culture increases unswervingly as their socialist national culture develops.

It is recommended that the lecturer dwell in this part of the speech on the role of Russian, which under our country's conditions has become the means of inter-nation communication. Mention should be made here of the erroneousness of the opinion which is sometimes expressed to the effect that Russian is an ethnic characteristic of a single Soviet nation which is allegedly taking shape. In reality, Russian, as the language of the most populous nation, served even in prerevolutionary times to a certain extent as a means of people's operational and cultural communication in our multinational country.

Internationalization of people's social sphere and standards of behavior and the way of life as a whole is under way in the developed socialist society. Despite the preservation of national, local and group singularities, traditions, forms of community living and so forth, a single socialist way of life has been established under current conditions which is common for the entire Soviet people, determines the most essential and most important manifestations of people's vital activity and cements them in a single, organic community.

The socialist way of life as a new historical form of man's existence is established in the process of society's transformation on communist principles. The communist ideal is of an international nature. For this reason the new type of people's vital activity and their collective cooperation and communication engendered by socialism is also of a genuinely internationalist nature in its content and spirit. The process of the internationalization of the Soviet way of life, which integrates the most valuable features, traditions and singularities of the culture and social existence of each USSR people, reflects the objective requirements of the socialist society's economic, sociopolitical and cultural-historical development under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution and the building of communism's material-technical facilities.



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All this presupposes a concentration and degree of actual socialization of the means of production and a universalization of all spheres of Soviet people's vital activity which are incompatible with the remnants of national exclusiveness which still exist. In this sense the process of internationalization of the way of life is an objective regularity of the ongoing movement of developed socialism and a manifestation of the process of the socialist nations' continued rapprochement.

In this connection it is important that the lecturer emphasize that internationalist trends and features of the Soviet society's way of life, transforming the material foundations of people's vital activity, are contributing to the education of the new man, a man of high communist ideals with the all-Soviet traditions and traits of social life and mentality inherent in him, and increasing the significance of the common, related elements of the national cultures. Internationalism is exercised here in daily life and in Soviet people's creative labor and everyday life.

Thus the process of internationalization permeates all aspects of the socialist way of life--production, sociopolitical, spiritual, social and family--being realized in a specific way in each of them. However, despite all the intensiveness of the internationalization of Soviet people's way of life, it does not abolish the existing nations and does not erect any superstructures over them. International consciousness and behavior are not nonnational. The international does not exist other than in the national and via the national.

The Soviet people's way of life represents a unity of the international essence of the socialist way of life and national-specific features. It takes shape from common, international features engendered by the community of historical fate, living conditions and world outlook and from the specific singularities and forms of the embodiment of this that is common in the life of different nations and nationalities.

The internationalism of all aspects of the Soviet society and the diverse process of the rapprochement of the USSR nations and nationalities are a most important condition of the accomplishment of the tasks of communist building. However, the international, being the leading, main aspect of the socialist way of life under the conditions of developed socialism, is inseparably connected with and realized via the all-around burgeoning of the national.

The specifics of the dialectics of the international and the national at the stage of developed socialism are that the rapprochement and all-around cooperation of all our country's nations and nationalities and their all-around prosperity are not isolated but interconnected processes expressing the single essence of the socialist way of life. It is therefore methodologically wrong to reduce the national merely to the national-specific and national-particular. In reality, in the process of dialectical interaction the international and the national are continuously enriched with communist content, the essential prerequisites thereby being created for the achievement of the complete international unity of the Soviet people in the future.

The lecturer should also take account of the fact that under current conditions the very content of the "new" and "old" concepts with reference to the sphere of national relations is becoming more varied. For example, the "new" concept now expresses the progressive thrust of the changes in the technical basis of society, public well-being, city planning, education, health care, culture, art and so forth. The sphere of the struggle between old and new is also expanding as a consequence of the strengthening of the international positions of world socialism and the intensification of ideological and other forms of class struggle in the modern world. The totality of these changes is, in turn, conditioning the pointedness and implacability with which the Communist Party opposes petit bourgeois, ownership vestiges in people's minds and behavior and deviations from the standards of socialist ethics and morals.

In conclusion the lecturer should emphasize that the forward line of the struggle between new and old today lies not only in the sphere of ideology and international politics but also on the domestic front of peaceful economic building, where the task of the national economy's transition to the tracks of an intensive, highly efficient and economical economy is being tackled currently. Addressing the ceremonial meeting in Tashkent, L.I. Brezhnev pointed out that under the conditions of our multinational state internationalism in practice is primarily the honest, conscientious and full-fledged labor of all peoples of the country for the common good.

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