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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE THIRD REICH

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B

B-TAG to BV

B-TAG (B-Day). Military shorthand and cover term for the opening day of the Barbarossa (q.v.) attack. The date was changed several times and finally was rescheduled for June 22, 1941.

BABI YAR. Name of a ravine near Kiev where, in September 1941, thousands of Jews were slaughtered. On September 19, 1941, a German Army group, after hammering at the Soviet defenses at Kiev for forty-five days, finally entered the city. A few days later tremendous explosions rocked the Continental Hotel, which housed the headquarters of a German command post, and nearby areas. In the huge fires which then followed, many German soldiers lost their lives. The German military command decided that the Jews of Kiev were responsible for the heavy loss of German lives. In reprisal the Jews were marched in small groups to the outer limits of the city to the Babi Yar ravine. There some 35,000 were killed in two days of summary executions. The bodies were buried in a pit about 60 yards long and 8 feet deep.

At the Nuremberg Trial (q.v.), Col. Gen. Alfred Jodl (q.v.) denied the theory that land mines had been planted in Kiev by the Jewish population of the city. He recalled seeing a captured chart showing the location of fifty land mines prepared by the Russian troops before their retreat. Investigators later claimed that evidence had been discovered implicating Russians in the Babi Yar massacre, but the facts became obscured in the sand dunes.

The massacre was the subject of a poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, a young Russian poet who expressed his distress not only because of German behavior but also because of Russian anti-Semitism. The opening and closing lines are:

No gravestone stands at Babi Yar,
Only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash.

Such dread comes over me. Today I am a Jew. . . .
No drop of Jewish blood flows in my veins,
But anti-Semites with a dull, gnarled hate
Detest me like a Jew.
O know me truly Russian through their hate.
Translated by Marie Syrkin.¹

BACH-ZELEWSKI, ERICH VON DEM (1899-1972). High-ranking officer of the Waffen-SS (q.v.). Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski was born in Lauenburg, Pomerania, on March 1, 1899. A professional soldier, he served in World War I and joined the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (q.v.) in 1930. From 1932 to 1934 he was a member of the German Reichstag (q.v.), representing Wahlkreis (Electoral District) Breslau. In 1939 he was promoted to *SS-Obergruppenfuhrer* (general) and in 1941 to *General der Waffen-SS*. On July 21, 1943, he was designated for the special task of subduing the Polish partisans. In 1944 and 1945 he commanded various SS corps and at the end of the war was commander of an army group.

BACKE, HERBERT (1896-1947). Food Minister during the last year of the Third Reich. Herbert Backe was born in Batum, in the Caucasus, on May 1, 1896. After attending the Russian Tifliser Gymnasium from 1905 to 1914, he studied at the University of Göttingen. In 1923 and 1924 he was an assistant at the Technical College of Hannover. He spent the years from 1914 to 1918 as a prisoner of war in Russia. An expert in agrarian politics, he served as Reich Food Minister in Hitler's last Cabinet in 1944 and 1945. He committed suicide by hanging at Nuremberg Prison on April 6, 1947.

BAECK, LEO (1873-1956). Rabbinical scholar and leader of the Jewish community in Berlin during the era of the Third Reich. Leo Baeck was born in Lissa, Prussia (now Leszno, Poland), on May 23, 1873, the son of Rabbi Samuel Baeck. After study for the rabbinate, he served as a rabbi in Oppeln (Opole), Düsseldorf, and Berlin from 1912 to 1943. An army chaplain in World War I, he won a wide reputation after the war as a rabbinical scholar. He rejected Adolf von Harnack's Christian theology, which he described as a romantic philosophy in contrast to classical Judaism. Baeck was also known for his scientific

¹By permission of Marie Syrkin.

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE THIRD REICH

Edited by
Christian Zentner and Friedemann Bedürftig
English translation edited by Amy Hackett

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B

→ **Babi Yar**, ravine near Kiev where on September 29–30, 1941, 33,771 Jewish men, women, and children were murdered by Sonderkommando (SK) 4a (see SPECIAL COMMANDOS) of Einsatzgruppe C (see EINSATZGRUPPEN), assisted by two commando detachments of the “Russia-South” police regiment. Shortly after the conquest of Kiev, placards were posted calling upon the city’s Jews to report to a specific place on September 29, 1941, for the purpose of resettlement. In an enormous column they were led to the ravine, where they were shot in groups. After the executions were completed, engineers blasted the rims of the ravine, burying the corpses under the soil. The commando report concluded: “Although at first the participation of only about 5,000 to 6,000 Jews was expected, over 30,000 reported. Because of very skillful organizing they believed in their resettlement until immediately before the execution” (Situation Report 128, November 3, 1941). The commanding officer of SK 4a, Paul BLOBEL, was sentenced to death at the OHLENDORF TRIAL and executed. The state court (*Landgericht*) in Darmstadt sentenced numerous members of the commandos to long prison terms in 1968. The Babi Yar massacre is the theme of a poem by the Russian writer Yevgeny Yevtushenko that is directed against antisemitism.

Baby Division, ironic but respectful Anglo-American nickname for the Twelfth SS Tank Division “HITLER YOUTH.”

Bach-Zelewski, Erich von dem, b. Lauenberg (Pomerania), March 3, 1899; d. Munich, March 8, 1972, SS-Obergruppenführer (November 1941). Germany’s youngest army volunteer in November 1914, Bach-Zelewski was a company commander by the end of the war. He then served in the Silesian border patrol and the Reichswehr. He joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SS a year later, becoming, successively, Führer of the SS districts (*Oberabschnitte*)



Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski.

Northeast (Königsberg) and Southeast (Breslau). He served in the Reichstag from 1932 to 1944. As early as the RÖHM AFFAIR, he demonstrated particular brutality. Promoted to *Gruppenführer* when the Russian Campaign began (June 22, 1941), he was Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer*) for the area of the Central Army Group (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).

In July 1943 Himmler entrusted Bach-Zelewski with “combating gangs” (*Bandenbekämpfung*) on the entire eastern front. This entailed not only the persecution of partisans, but above all the persecution and liquidation of Jews. Bach-Zelewski was awarded the Knight’s Cross for crushing the WARSAW UPRISING. After the end of the war, he made himself available as a prosecution witness at Nuremberg, and thus escaped extradition to the Soviet Union. It was not until 1949 that a German appeals court sentenced him to 10 years at hard labor (which he never served). In 1961 Bach-Zelewski was sentenced to 58 months’ imprisonment for his

ing "politically intolerable" Soviet prisoners of war.

A. St.

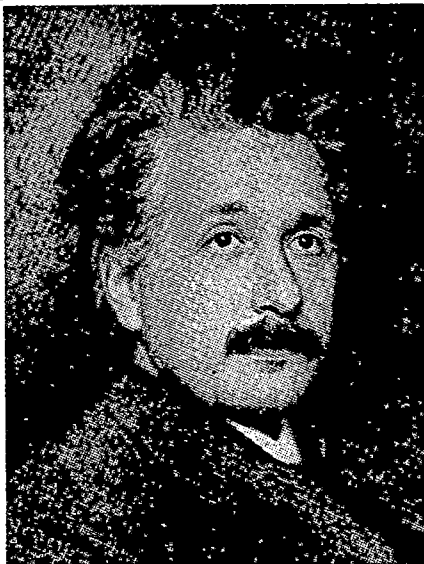
Einstein, Albert, b. Ulm, March 14, 1879; d. Princeton, N.J., April 18, 1955, German physicist. In 1901 Einstein was a science expert at the "Office for Intellectual Property" (Patent Office) in Bern. He later became a professor in Zurich (1909), Prague (1911), and again Zurich (1912). From 1914 to 1933 he served as director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics in Berlin. Einstein's supreme position as a theoretical physicist was undisputed from early on: in 1905 he developed the Special Theory of Relativity, and in 1907 the Law of Equivalence of Energy and Mass; in 1921 he received a Nobel price in Physics for his work on the quantum theory. As a Jew, however, he was subjected to antisemitism, which grew stronger when he became a pacifist during the First World War. Einstein's membership in the German League for Human Rights was criticized in National Socialist circles as "salon Bolshevism."

After the Seizure of Power, Einstein's property was seized, and in March 1934 his German citizenship was revoked. Since 1933 he had been in the United States at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. (In 1940 he became an American citizen.) The envy of experimental physicists (*see* Philipp LENARD) allied itself with political antisemitic persecution, and led to attempts to belittle Einstein's scientific achievements as of no practical significance because of their "purely conceptual and formal

character." This was frighteningly contradicted—for Einstein himself, as well—by the construction of the ATOMIC BOMB, which Einstein had proposed to President Franklin D. Roosevelt in a letter of August 2, 1939, in fear of a German bomb. After the war, Einstein unsuccessfully fought against the further development of nuclear arsenals, and increasingly withdrew from public life. In 1952 he refused election as president of the young Israeli state.

"Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer!" (One People, one Empire, one Leader!), National Socialist propaganda slogan expressing the demand for a "Great-Germany" (Grossdeutschland) that included all Germans in an ethnically uniform state. After the ANSCHLUSS with Austria, it was widely distributed on official placards with Hitler's picture to celebrate this interim success.

Eisenhower, Dwight D(avid), b. Denison, Tex., October 14, 1890; d. Washington, D.C., March 28, 1969, American general and politician. In 1911 Eisenhower entered the military academy at West Point. He fought in the First World War, eventually with tank units. From 1935 to 1940 he was chief of staff with Gen. Douglas MacArthur in the Philippines. In 1941 Eisenhower was made a general; from February 16, 1941, to June 26, 1942, as chief of operations in the War Department, he was significantly involved in planning the United States' entry into the European theater of war. After June 25, 1942, Eisenhower was supreme commander of United States troops in Europe; he directed the landings in



Albert Einstein.



Dwight D. Eisenhower.

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B

BABI YAR, ravine, situated in the northwestern part of Kiev, where the Jews of the Ukrainian capital were systematically massacred. At the southern end of the ravine were two cemeteries, one of which was Jewish.

Kiev was captured by the Twenty-ninth Corps and the Sixth German Army on September 19, 1941. Of its Jewish population of 160,000, some 100,000 had managed to flee before the Germans took the city. Shortly after the German takeover, from September 24 to 28, a considerable number of buildings in the city center, which were being used by the German military administration and the army, were blown up; many Germans (as well as local inhabitants) were killed in the explosions. After the war, it was learned that the sabotage operation had been the work of an NKVD (Soviet security police) detachment that had been left behind in the city for that purpose.

On September 26, the Germans held a meeting at which it was decided that in retaliation for the attacks on the German-held installations, the Jews of Kiev would all be put to death. Participating in the meeting were the military governor, Maj. Gen. Friedrich Georg Eberhardt; the Higher SS and Police Leader at Rear Headquarters Army Group South, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich JECKELN; the officer commanding Einsatzgruppe C, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Otto RASCH; and the officer commanding Sonderkommando 4a, SS-Standartenführer Paul BLOBEL. The implementation of the decision to kill the Jews of Kiev was entrusted to Sonderkommando 4a. This unit consisted of SD

(Sicherheitsdienst; Security Service) and Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police; Sipo) men; the third company of the Special Duties Waffen-SS battalion; and a platoon of the No. 9 police battalion. The unit was reinforced by police battalions Nos. 45 and 305 and by units of the Ukrainian auxiliary police.

On September 28, notices were posted in the city ordering the Jews to appear the following morning, September 29, at 8:00 a.m. at the corner of Melnik and Dekhtyarev streets; they were being assembled there, so the notice said, for their resettlement in new locations. (The text had been prepared by Propaganda Company No. 637 and the notices had been printed by the Sixth Army printing press.)

The next morning, masses of Jews reported at the appointed spot. They were directed to proceed along Melnik Street toward the Jewish cemetery and into an area comprising the cemetery itself and a part of the Babi Yar ravine. The area was cordoned off by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by Sonderkommando police and Waffen-SS men, as well as by Ukrainian policemen. As the Jews approached the ravine, they were forced to hand over all the valuables in their possession, to take off all their clothes, and to advance toward the ravine edge, in groups of ten. When they reached the edge, they were gunned down by automatic fire. The shooting was done by several squads of SD and Sipo personnel, police, and Waffen-SS men of the Sonderkommando unit, the squads relieving one another every few hours. When the day



Babi Yar, where Sonderkommando 4a of Einsatzgruppe C carried out the mass slaughter of 33,771 Kiev Jews on September 29 and 30, 1941.

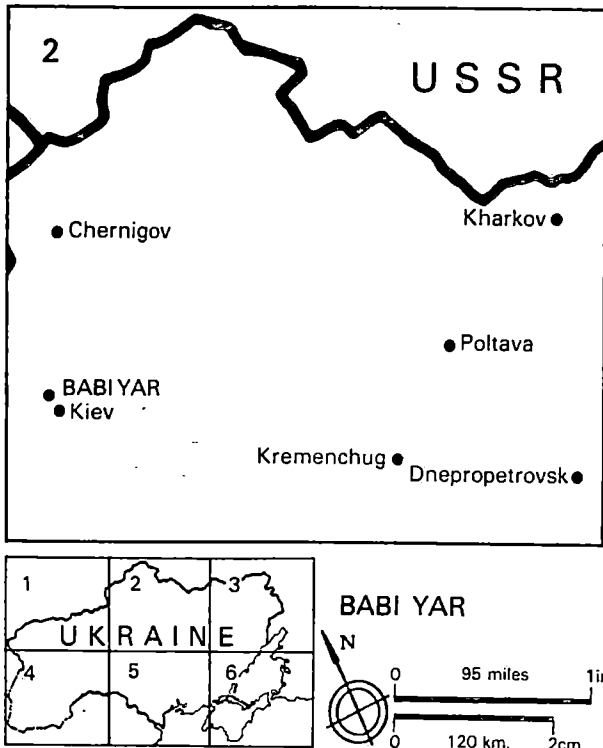
ended, the bodies were covered with a thin layer of soil. According to official reports of the Einsatzgruppe, in two days of shooting (September 29 and 30), 33,771 Jews were murdered.

In the months that followed, many more thousands of Jews were seized, taken to Babi Yar, and shot. Among the general population there were some who helped Jews go into hiding, but there were also a significant number who informed on them to the Germans and gave them up. After the war, the officer in charge of the Sipo and SD bureau testified that his Kiev office received so many letters from the Ukrainian population informing on Jews—"by the bushel"—that the office could not deal with them all, for lack of manpower. Evidence of betrayal of Jews by the Kiev population was also given by Jewish survivors and by the Soviet writer Anatoly Kuznetsov.

Babi Yar served as a slaughterhouse for non-Jews as well, such as GYPSIES and Soviet prisoners of war. According to the estimate given by the Soviet research commission on Nazi crimes, 100,000 persons were murdered at Babi Yar.

In July 1943, by which time the Red Army was on the advance, Paul Blobel came back to Kiev. He was now on a new assignment, in

coordination with SS-Gruppenführer Dr. Max Thomas, the officer commanding the SD and Sipo in the Ukraine: that of erasing all evidence of the mass carnage that the Nazis had perpetrated. For this purpose, Blobel formed two special groups, identified by the code number 1005. Unit 1005-A was made up of eight to ten SD men and thirty German policemen, and was under the command of an SS-Obersturmbannführer named Baumann. In mid-August the unit embarked on its task of exhuming the corpses in Babi Yar and cremating them. The ghastly job itself was carried out by inmates of a nearby concentration camp (Syretsk), from which the Germans brought in 327 men, of whom 100 were Jews. The prisoners were housed in a bunker carved out from the ravine wall; it had an iron gate that was locked during the night and was watched by a guard with a machine gun. They had chains bolted to their legs, and those who fell ill or lagged behind were shot on the spot. The mass graves were opened up by bulldozers, and it was the prisoners' job to drag the corpses to cremation pyres, which consisted of wooden logs doused in gasoline on a base of railroad ties. The bones that did not respond to incineration were crushed, for which purpose the Nazis brought in tombstones from the Jewish cem-



geni Yevtushenko published a poem, "Babi Yar," which begins with the lines:

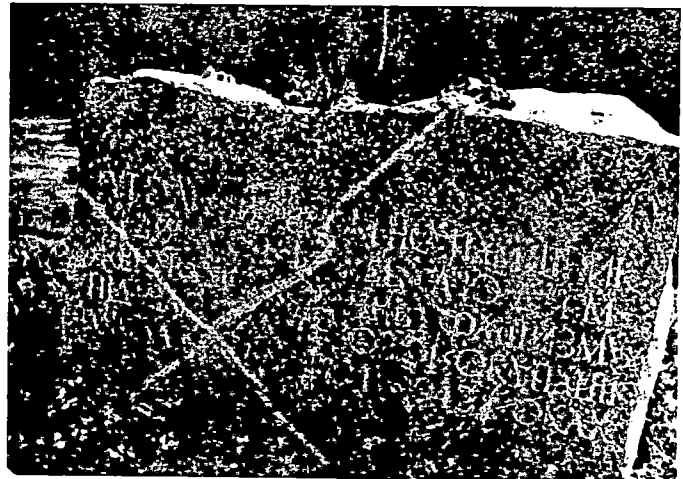
No gravestone stands on Babi Yar;
Only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash:
Such dread comes over me.

A year later, Dmitri Shostakovich set the poem to music, incorporating it into his Thirteenth Symphony. (Under pressure from the authorities, changes were made in the original text, and it is the amended text that is used today when the symphony is performed in the Soviet Union.) Both the poem and the musical setting had a tremendous impact in the Soviet Union, as well as beyond its borders. Demands increased for a memorial to be built at Babi Yar, but it was not until 1966 that architects and artists were invited to submit proposals, and it took eight more years for the memorial to be built. Since 1974 a monument stands in Babi Yar, but the inscription does not mention that Jews were among the victims there.

etry. The ashes were sifted to retrieve any gold or silver they might have contained. Cremation of the corpses began on August 18 and went on for six weeks, ending on September 19, 1943. The Nazis did their job thoroughly, and when they were through no trace was left of the mass graves.

On the morning of September 29, the prisoners learned that they were about to be put to death. They already had a plan for escape, and resolved to put it into effect the same night. Shortly after midnight, under cover of darkness and the fog that enveloped the ravine, twenty-five prisoners broke out. Fifteen succeeded in making their escape; the others were shot during the attempt or on the following morning.

It took a long time after the war for a memorial to be erected at Babi Yar. The demand for a memorial was first voiced during the "thaw" that set in during the Khrushchev regime, by which time Babi Yar had become a place of pilgrimage. Among those who made this demand were the writers Ilya EHRENBURG and Viktor Nekrasov, but their call was not heeded. In 1961, the poet Yev-



Monument erected in 1966 at Babi Yar. The Ukrainian text reads: "On this site there will be a monument for the victims of fascism during the German occupation of Kiev, 1941-1943."

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SHMUEL SPECTOR

BACH-ZELEWSKI, ERICH VON DEM

(1899–1972), SS commander. Born in Lauenburg in Pomerania, Bach-Zelewski served as a private during World War I and then joined the police. He became a member of the Nazi party in 1930 and the following year enrolled in the SS.

After the Nazis' rise to power, Bach-Zelewski's career progressed rapidly, and in 1938 he was appointed SS commander in Silesia, with headquarters in Breslau (now Wrocław). After September 1939, the Polish part of Silesia was incorporated into his district of command and he was responsible for the expulsion of tens of thousands of Jews from the area. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Bach-Zelewski became the Higher SS and Police Leader in central Russia, attached to the Central Army Group; in November of that year he was promoted to the rank of SS-*Obergruppenführer* and general of police. His duties also included command of Einsatzgruppe B, which mass-murdered Jews in Belorussia. In 1942, Bach-Zelewski was appointed Heinrich HIMMLER's representative in the fight against the partisans, and from January 1943 he was the commanding officer of all the forces fighting the partisans in eastern Europe. Between August and October 1944 he commanded the forces that suppressed the WARSAW POLISH UPRISING. Bach-Zelewski's units taking part in these operations became infamous for the mass murder of civilians and for the destruction of numerous villages and towns and of large parts of Warsaw. From the end of 1944 he was in command of various army corps.

After the war Bach-Zelewski appeared as a prosecution witness at the NUREMBERG TRIAL, before the American military tribunal there; at the Einsatzgruppen trial; at the trials of senior SS and army officers; and at the Warsaw trial of Ludwig FISCHER, who had been governor of the Warsaw district. Bach-Zelewski was held in prison; in 1951 he was given a ten-year sentence in a trial held in

Munich, but was released after serving five years of his sentence. Re-arrested in 1958, he was sentenced at Nuremberg in 1961 to a further four and one-half years.

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SHMUEL SPECTOR

BAČKA, district in YUGOSLAVIA that now forms the western part of the autonomous province of Vojvodina. Jews lived in Bačka in ancient times, but the first known organized Jewish communities were established there at the end of the eighteenth century.

Prior to the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, Bačka had a Jewish population of some sixteen thousand, representing 20 percent of Yugoslav Jewry and 2 percent of the district's population. There were seventeen Neolog communities, following a Conservative rite, and nine Orthodox communities. One-third of the Jews were engaged in trade and commerce, 20 percent were office workers, 10 percent were professionals (doctors, lawyers, and so on), and a similar number were skilled craftsmen and industrial workers. The Jewish community had a considerable impact on Bačka's cultural and educational life and on charitable activities. In the 1930s the Zionist movement gained the majority within most of the Jewish communities, and Zionist youth movements—Ha-Shomer ha-Tsa'ir (with twelve hundred members), Tekhelet Lavan (Blau-Weiss, with seven hundred), and Betar (with four hundred)—played an important role by running summer camps and *hakhsharot* (training schools for agriculture) and issuing their own regular publications. The clandestine Communist youth movement also had a substantial number of adherents among Bačka Jews. Some three hundred Bačka Jews had moved to Palestine, and Bačka communities helped tens of thousands of legal and "illegal" immigrants from

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AZRIEL EISENBERG

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one more inmate. They now number six. They stand in front of the fire, looking at it; they are turned away from us.

Now the Untersturmführer begins his speech, directing it at us. "One of you escaped. Because of him these people will be shot. From now on, for everyone who tries to do the same, I will shoot twenty of you. If I find out that you are planning an escape, all of you will be shot."

After this speech he turns to the chosen six, and shoots one after another. Each is shot in the back of his head, and kicked so that the body won't fall toward the Untersturmführer. When he finishes, he calls for four of us to pick up the corpses and toss them into the fire.

While the bodies are being thrown into the fire, the Untersturmführer walks around us as if looking for someone else. Suddenly he points at Marek and says, "Komm."

Marek asks, "Ich?"

"Ja, du, du."

Tears appear in the boy's eyes. Walking toward the point where the other six stood a few minutes ago, Marek asks again, with a tearful voice, "Why me?"

"Don't babble so—turn around." Marek turns around, and a moment later he, too, is lying dead.

"Two men!" Two men toss him into the fire. Before he is tossed in, the Untersturmführer tells the two men to take off Marek's boots. "Let's not waste such a good pair of boots!"

Now we are counted—122 men. We have lunch. After lunch we march back to the barrack.

Today we work only half a day.

Digging Up the Dead at Babi Yar

A vivid account of the exhumation operations was given in an affidavit sworn by Shloma Gol of Vilna in Nuremberg on 9 August 1946. Since all such operations were conducted on a similar basis, this description can fit any of the perhaps 200 mass burial places destroyed in this way in the occupied regions in the East . . .

From the Affidavit submitted by Shloma Gol at International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg, August 9, 1946).

I, Shloma Gol, declare as follows:

1. I am a Jew and lived during the occupation I was in Vilna.
2. The administration of the town commissioner of Vilna, regional commissioner of Vilna on Jewish questions was headed by [redacted] chief.]
3. In December 1943, 8 Jews and myself were ordered to live in a large pit which had originally been dug for a bunker, 60 metres in diameter, the top was partially covered by wooden rooms partially destroyed. We lived there six months, guarded by SA guards.
4. In the morning the camp was accompanied by 14 or 15 SA guards and friends are all ordered to complete your work. [redacted] can practice his own work.
5. Thereupon the SA ordered the Jewish prisoners to fasten the chains on their ankles and round the pit. [redacted] could take only small portions of food (nearly for six months in the kitchen) were not allowed.
6. After that we were ordered to dig up the bodies on the funeral.
7. Our work consisted in digging the bodies, arranging the wood around them.
8. We dug up altogether 100 Jews in the pit and the bodies: that was my own brother. I had been dead for two months. He was in a batch of 100 in September 1941.

Extermination

I, Shloma Gol, declare as follows:

1. I am a Jew and lived in Vilna, Lithuania. During the German occupation I was in Vilna ghetto.
2. The administration of Vilna ghetto was managed by the SA. The town commissioner of Vilna was an SA officer called Hinkst. The regional commissioner was an SA officer called Wolff. The Adviser on Jewish questions was an SA officer called Muerer. [He was the chief.]
3. In December 1943, 80 Jews from the ghetto including 4 women and myself were ordered by [an] SA officer whose name I forgot, to live in a large pit some distance from the town. This pit had originally been dug for an underground petrol tank. It was circular, 60 metres in diameter and 4 metres deep. When we lived in it the top was partially covered with boarding and there were two wooden rooms partitioned off, also a kitchen and a lavatory. We lived there six months altogether before we escaped. The pit was guarded by SA guards.
4. In the morning the officer standing on the edge of the pit accompanied by 14 or 15 SA men, said to us: "Your brothers and sisters and friends are all near here. Treat them properly and if you complete your work we will send you to Germany where each man can practice his own profession." We did not know what this meant.
5. Thereupon the SA men threw chains into the pit, and the officer ordered the Jewish foreman (for we were a working party) to fasten the chains on us. The chains were fastened round both ankles and round the waist. They weighed 2 kilos each, and we could take only small steps wearing them. We wore them permanently for six months. The four women (who worked in the kitchen) were not chained.
6. After that we were taken to work.
7. Our work consisted of digging up mass graves and piling the bodies on the funeral pyres and burning them. I was engaged in digging the bodies. My friend Belic was engaged in sawing up and arranging the wood.
8. We dug up altogether 86,000 bodies. I know this because two of the Jews in the pit were ordered by the Germans to keep count of the bodies: that was their sole job. The bodies were mixed, Jews, Polish priests, Russian POW's. Among those that I dug up I found my own brother. I found his identification papers on him. He had been dead for two years when I dug him up, because I know that he was in a batch of 10,000 Jews from Vilna ghetto who were shot in September 1941.

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ad at Babi

as given in an affidavit
August 1946. Since all
his description can fit any
this way in the occupied

International Military Tribunal

9. The procedure of burning the bodies was quite methodical. Parallel ditches seven metres long were dug. Over these a square platform of boards was laid. A layer of bodies was put on top, the bodies had oil poured on them and then branches were put on top and over the branches, logs of wood. Altogether 14 such layers of bodies and fuel were put on each pyre. Each pyre was shaped like a pyramid with a wooden funnel sticking up through the top. Petrol and oil were poured down the funnel, and incendiary bombs put around the edge of the pyre. All this work was done by the Jews. When the pyre was ready, the officer himself or his assistant (also in the SA) personally lit the pyre with a burning rag on the end of a pole.
10. The work of digging up the graves and building the pyres was supervised and guarded by about 80 guards. Of these over 50 were SA men, in brown uniforms, armed with pistols and daggers and automatic guns (the guns were always cocked and pointed at us). The other 30 guards consisted partly of Lithuanians and partly of SD and SS. In the course of the work the Lithuanian guards themselves were shot presumably so that they should not say what had been done. The commander of the whole place was Muerer (the expert on Jewish questions), but he only inspected the work from time to time. The SA (assistant) officer actually commanded on the spot. At night our pit was guarded by 10 to 12 of these guards.
11. The guards (principally the SA guards) hit us and stabbed us. I still have scars on both legs and on my neck. I was once knocked senseless onto the pile of bodies, and could not get up, but my companions took me off the pile. Then I went sick. We were allowed to go sick for two days: the third day we were taken out of the pit "to hospital"—this meant to be shot.
12. Of 76 men in the pit 11 were shot at work. 43 of us eventually dug a tunnel from the pit with our bare hands, and broke our chains and escaped into the woods. We had been warned by a Czech SS man who said: "They are going to shoot you soon, and they are going to shoot me too, and put us all on the pyre. Get out if you can, but not while I am on duty."

The readings for this of anthologies listed at the begi

Babi Yar by Anatoli Kuznetsov of Kiev based on eyewitness at Russian author. There is mor published by Farrar, Straus and

Readings

The readings for this chapter are covered in the histories and anthologies listed at the beginning of the book.

Babi Yar by Anatoli Kuznetsov, is the novel on the extermination of the Jews of Kiev based on eyewitness accounts and documentation by the celebrated Russian author. There is more than one translation in English—one was published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux; the other by Dial Press.

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Gorbachev Speech to GOSR Meeting
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[Speech by Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the festive meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Dear Comrades! Esteemed foreign guests! Seven decades separate us from the unforgettable days of October 1917, from those legendary days that became the starting point of a new epoch of human progress and the true history of mankind. October is truly mankind's hour genius and its morning dawn. The October Revolution is a revolution of the people and for the people, for man, for his liberation and development. Seven decades are quite a short time span in the ascent of the world's civilization over many centuries. Yet by the scale of what has been achieved history has not yet known a period comparable to the one our country has experienced since the victory of the Great October Revolution. There is no honor higher than to go the way of pioneers and to give all one's strength, energy, knowledge, and abilities for the sake of the triumph of October's ideas and goals. [applause]

An anniversary is a time to be proud, to be proud of what has been achieved. Very hard trials have befallen us, and we have borne them with honor, and not simply borne them but have wrested the country from devastation and backwardness, we have made it into a mighty power, we have transformed life, and have changed man's spiritual world beyond recognition. In the fiercest battles that the 20th century has seen we have defended the right for our own way of life and protected our future. It is with complete justification that we are proud, too, of the fact that our revolution, work, and struggle are continuing to exert profound influence on all aspects of world development, politics and economics, the social sphere, and the minds of our contemporaries. An anniversary is a time for remembering those millions of people, each of whom contributed to our common socialist achievements, those who smelted steel, sowed grain, taught children, advanced science and technology, attained the highest levels in art, and also for remembering with sadness those who fell defending the motherland and who paid with their lives for making society's progress possible; for the indelible memory of what we have gone through and lived through, for all this has created the present day.

An anniversary is a moment for reflection on how our affairs and fate were sometimes formed in a difficult and complex manner. There has been everything: both the heroic and the tragic, great victories and bitter failures. We are reflecting on 70 years of intensive creation from the position of a people who are prepared to mobilize all their strength and all the immense potential of socialism for the revolutionary transformation of life.

An anniversary is also a look into the future. Our achievements are magnificent, weighty and significant. They are a solid foundation and a basis for new accomplishments and the further development of society. It is precisely in the development of socialism and the continuation of the ideas and practice of the Leninism of October that we see the essence of our present affairs and concerns and our paramount task and moral obligation. This dictates the need for a serious and thorough analysis of the historical importance of October, of everything that has been done in the seven post-October decades. [applause]

Comrades, Comrades: Our pioneering path is immense and complex; it cannot be grasped or embraced in a brief analysis. The severity of the material and moral legacy of the old world, of World War I and the Civil War and the intervention; the novel nature of the transformations, the hopes of people linked to them, and the tempo and scale of invasion by the new and unaccustomed, which on occasions left no time to look around and reflect; and the subjective factors which play a particular part in periods of revolutionary storms; views of the future, permeated with the maximalism of revolutionary times, at times oversimplified and straightened out, and the pure, unrestrained desire of the fighters for a new life to do everything as quickly, well and justly as possible. The path that has been trodden, and its heroism and drama, cannot help but excite the minds of our contemporaries. We have one history; it is irreversible. And whatever emotions it arouses, it is our history, and it is dear to us. [applause]

Today, we turn to the October days that shook the world and we look for and find in them both a firm spiritual support and instructive lessons. Again and again we become convinced of the rightness of the socialist choice made by October. The objective logic itself of the historical progress of mankind led to this frontier. The October Revolution, for all the contradictoriness and the many variations of the path of civilization's forward movement, was the logical result of the development of the ideas and practice of the centuries-old struggle of the working people for freedom and peace and for social justice against class, national and spiritual oppression. The year 1917 showed that the choice between socialism and capitalism is the main social alternative of our age and that there is no way to advance in the 20th century without moving toward a higher form of social organization, to socialism. This fundamental Leninist conclusion is no less topical today than when it was reached. Such is the logical pattern of forward social development. The revolution in Russian became, as it were, the pinnacle of aspirations of liberation, the living embodiment of the dreams of mankind's best minds from the great humanists of the past to the proletarian revolutionaries of the 19th and 20th centuries. The year 1917 absorbed the energy of the people's struggle for their own development and independence, of the progressive national movements and the peasant risings and wars

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against serfdom that are typical of our history. It embodied the spiritual quests of the enlighteners of the 18th century, the heroes and martyrs of the Decembrist movement, the ardent tribunes of revolutionary democracy, and the heroic moral endeavor of the great figures of our culture. For our country's destiny, there was a determining significance in the time when, at the dawn of the 20th century, Vladimir Ilich Lenin led a closely serried group of like-thinkers on the road toward creating a proletarian party of a new kind in Russia. And it was precisely this great Leninist party that raised the people and its best and honorable forces to storm the old world.

The foundation of October's success was the cornerstone laid by the first Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1907. Here were the bitter lessons of 9 January and the desperate heroism of Moscow's December barricades, the feat of thousands of freedom fighters, known and unknown, and the birth of the first workers' soviets, the prototype of Soviet power. The victory of Great October grew out of the gains of the February 1917 Revolution that was the first triumphant popular revolution of the age of imperialism.

Following the February victory the development of the revolution proceeded with incredible speed. In it the main characters were the workers and peasants, clad in soldiers' overcoats. The spring of 1917 showed the might of the nationwide movement. At the same time there were displayed its limitations, the contradictions of revolutionary consciousness at that stage, the forces of historical inertia as a result of which the exploiting classes that were departing from the stage were able for a time to make use of the fruits of the people's victory. The February Revolution placed the major weapon into the hands of October, the organization of power in the form of the reborn soviets. February was the first experience of real democracy and the political education of the masses in practice which was acquired in the very complex conditions of dyarchy. February was unique in its opportunity for the peaceful transfer of power to the hands of the working people, an opportunity that did not, sadly, become a reality because of the historical circumstances. February was a most important historical stage on the road to October.

In the complex intertwining and confrontation of the class forces that took part in the February Revolution, Lenin brilliantly perceived the opening opportunity for the victory of a socialist revolution. The April Theses were the scientific foresight of and a model for the revolutionary program of action in those historical conditions. Lenin demonstrated not only the logic of the development of bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution but the form of that process as well, via the soviets, via their becoming Bolshevik, the essence of which lay in assisting the people, the masses, to comprehend the meaning of their own struggle and to bring about revolution consciously and in their own interests. The path from February to October was a time

of swift social changes, a time when the masses rapidly became politically mature and the forces of the revolution and its vanguard, the Leninist party, became consolidated.

In that period from February to October, there manifested itself with special force the political skill of Lenin and his comrades-in-arms, who gave an instructive lesson regarding the living dialectic of revolutionary thought and action. The party leadership demonstrated an ability to make a collective creative quest and to renounce stereotypes and slogans which only yesterday, in a different situation had seemed indisputable and the only possible ones.

It can be said that the very flow of Lenin's thought, the whole activity of the Bolsheviks, which was distinguished for its quick change of forms and methods of work, flexibility and unconventionality of tactical solutions, and political boldness, is a most brilliant model of antidogmatic, genuinely dialectic and thus new thinking. Thus and only thus do real Marxist-Leninists think and act, especially during crucial, critical times when the destinies of revolution and peace, socialism, and progress are being decided. [applause]

Let us return to April 1917. Lenin's program of a turn to socialist revolution seemed to many, friends and foe alike, a Utopia, virtually the fruit of unrestrained fantasy. But life showed that only such a program could have become and did in fact become the political foundation for the further development of the revolution and essentially the foundation of social salvation and prevention of national disaster.

Let us remember the days of July 1917. With what pain the party was forced to abandon the slogan of handing all power to the soviets. But it was impossible to act in any other way, for the soviets had found themselves for some time in the hands of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and powerless in the face of the counterrevolution. How sensitively Vladimir Ilich Lenin kept his hand on the pulse of the revolution, how brilliantly he determined the beginning of a new revival of the soviets which in the process of struggle acquired a truly popular essence, which enabled them to become organs of the victorious armed uprising and later also a political form of workers' and peasants' power.

All that is not merely pages from the chronicle of the Great Revolution. It is also a continual reminder to us, living now, of the lofty duty of the Communists to be always on the cutting edge of events, to be able to make bold decisions, to assume full responsibility for the present and the future. [applause]

The October Revolution was a mighty upsurge of millions of people uniting the fundamental interests of the working class, the age-old aspirations of the peasantry, the thirst for peace of soldiers and sailors, the unquenchable craving of the peoples of multinational Russia for

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freedom and light. In the intricate tangle of various interests the Bolsheviks' party was able to find the most important thing and unite conflicting trends and aspirations, directing them to the solution of the main question of the revolution, the question of power. In its very first decrees, on peace and land, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat replied in deed to the demands of the times, expressed the profoundest interests not only of the working class but of the absolute majority of the people, too.

Yet another most important and fundamental lesson of the October days needs to be recalled today. Lenin's answer to the question asked by life and revolutionary activity is in our times unusually topical. This is the question about the correlation between the theoretical model of the path toward socialism and the actual practice of socialist construction. As a creative teaching, Marxism-Leninism is not a collection of ready-made recipes and doctrinaire instructions. Far from being a narrow-minded dogma, Marxist-Leninist teaching provides an active interaction between innovative theoretical thinking with practice and with the course of revolutionary struggle itself. The Great October is a most instructive example of that.

As is known, many people, even major figures of the workers' movement of that time, refused to see the October Socialist Revolution as a natural phenomenon, alleging that it had happened contrary to the rules, not in accordance with the theoretical views that had taken shape. According to their conceptions, Russian capitalism had not created by October 1917 all the necessary material and cultural prerequisites for socialism. I believe it is instructive and useful to recall Lenin's reply to such criticism of our revolution. You are saying that to create socialism you need to have civilization, he retorted. Very well. But why were we unable first to create in our country such prerequisites of civilization as the expulsion of landowners and the expulsion of Russian capitalists and then start moving toward socialism? Those who interpret Marxism in a dogmatic and pedantic way are unable to understand the main thing in this teaching, its revolutionary dialectics.

It is precisely these dialectics that distinguish the entire post-October activity of Lenin; it was precisely these dialectics that helped to accomplish, literally on the border between the possible and the impossible, the political and moral feat of the Brest Peace Treaty that saved thousands and thousands of lives and the very existence of the socialist fatherland.

Another example: As both Marx and Engels had been, Lenin was convinced that the people's militia would become an armed defense of the revolution, but the specific conditions dictated another solution. The Civil War imposed upon the people and the outside intervention demanded a new approach, and by Lenin's decree

the workers' and peasants' Red Army was created. That was an army of a new type which gained immortal glory in the Civil War and the repulse of the foreign intervention. [applause]

These years brought severe tests for the young Soviet regime. In all its simplicity and severity the question arose of whether socialism was to be or not to be. The party rallied and mobilized the people to defend the socialist fatherland and the gains of October. The starving, ill-clad, ill-shod, and poorly-armed Red soldiers routed the well-trained and armed counterrevolutionary army, which was being abundantly fed by imperialists of the West and the East. The burning boundary of the Civil War passed through the whole country and every family and plowed up again the habitual way of life, psychology, and fate of the people. In this fight to the death the will of the people and the urge of millions for a new life won through. [applause]

The country did everything to help the young army. It lived and acted under the slogan put forward by Lenin: Everything for victory! The feat of the legendary heroes, the brave sailors and men of the cavalry armies, the soldiers and commanders of the young Red Army and Red partisans, will remain in our memory for ever. They defended the revolution. Eternal glory to them! [applause]

The decision on the New Economic Policy [NEP] is also permeated with the most profound revolutionary dialectics. It substantially expanded the horizons of conceptions of socialism and ways of building it. Or take the following issue: As is known, Vladimir Ilich Lenin criticized the limitations of cooperative socialism. In the specific conditions that arose after October as a result of the people gaining power, he looked afresh at this issue. The article on cooperative societies elaborates the thesis of socialism as a society of civilized cooperative members. Such were the strength, the boldness of Marxist dialectics, which expressed the very essence of revolutionary learning, and which Lenin wielded so brilliantly. He held that in creating a new world more than once we would have occasion to finish off, redo, and start afresh. Yes, more than once we have had occasion to finish off and redo what has been started, to endure a lengthy and sustained struggle, to go through historical processes of a reversing and revolutionary nature representing turning points, and they have done much to change the circumstances and conditions of our movement forward. They have also changed us ourselves; they tempered us, enriched us with experience and knowledge, and inspired us with even greater confidence in the success of the cause of the revolution. In assessing on a worldwide historical scale the headway we have made, one is convinced again and again: In a short time we have done what others needed centuries to do. [applause]

The socialist revolution was accomplished in a country with an average level of capitalist development, a high concentration of industry, a predominantly peasant population and deep remnants of feudalism and even earlier

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social structures. Russia had given the world major achievements in the sphere of science and culture, but three-fourths of its population were illiterate. The country had been ravaged to the extreme by the imperialist war and undistinguished leadership. Construction of the new life had no models; it required a tireless search for creative solutions.

The goal was clear for the party of Communists: Revolution and the path of socialism, soviet power. Lenin led the party along this path. The principles and norms of the future socialist system and forms of organizing society which were unprecedented in history crystalized in the lively creativity of the masses and the most complex material of Russia with its many structures. What were at first purely theoretical ideas about forms of people's power, means and limits of the socialization of property, organization of socialist production, setting up new, comradely discipline, and the place and role of the person in the new society were put into more precise form and filled with real living content.

The main meaning of October was the creation of a new life. It did not break off for a single day, and even a short respite was used to build and seek ways toward the socialist future. The beginning of the twenties was marked with a great take-off by the people's initiative and creativity. They became a genuine revolutionary laboratory of social innovation, the search for optimal forms for the alliance between the working class and the laboring peasantry and the shaping of a mechanism for implementing the whole spectrum of the interests of laboring people. The party went over from the war-communism methods of organizing production and consumption, which were applied of necessity in the conditions of war and destruction, to more flexible, economically based and regular instruments of influencing social reality. The NEP measures were directed at constructing the material foundations of socialism.

We are now turning increasingly often to Lenin's last works and to the Leninist ideas of the NEP and are striving to take from that experience everything that is valuable and necessary for us today. Of course, it would be erroneous to equate the NEP with what we are doing at present, at a fundamentally different stage of development. We do not have in the country today those individual peasant farmers, the arrangement of an alliance with whom determined the most pressing goals of economic policy in the twenties. But the NEP had a more far-reaching aim, too. The task was set of constructing a new society, not directly on enthusiasm, as Lenin wrote, but with the help of the enthusiasms brought forth by the great revolution, on personal interest, personal involvement and financial autonomy. This is what life and the objective course of the development of the revolution told us.

Talking about the NEP's creative potential, we must obviously talk once more about the political and methodological wealth of the ideas of tax in kind. We, of

course, are not attracted by its forms then, which were intended to ensure a union of workers and peasants, but by the opportunities contained in the idea of tax in kind of liberating the creative energy of the masses, raising the initiative of people and removing bureaucratic obstacles restricting the operation of the basic principle of socialism: From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor.

The socialist construction begun under Lenin's leadership brought a great deal that was fundamentally new. For the first time in world history, the methods of planned economic management were worked out and applied. The State Plan for the Electrification of Russia [GOELRO] was truly the opening up of, and an entire stage in the progress of world economic thought and practice; not only an immense plan of electrification, but a plan devised by Lenin to combine harmoniously agriculture, industry, and transportation in a comprehensive program—to put it in contemporary terms—for the deployment and development of the country's productive forces. Lenin described it as the party's second plan, a plan of work to create the entire national economy, and to bring it up to a modern level of technology.

A new culture was born, one which encompassed both the experience of the past and the variegated boldness and originality of talents and bright individualities which the revolution brought into play and inspired in the service of the people.

Lenin's initial stage of formation of a multinational state of the soviets is of abiding importance for us, not only through its results but also through experience and methodology. When reflecting about the time when socialist Russia would emerge from the Russia of NEP, Lenin was not able, nor did he try, to set himself the task of drawing a picture of the future of society in minute detail. But the actual ways and means of progress toward socialism, by way of establishing mechanized industry, wide-ranging unification into cooperatives, involving everyone of the working masses in governing the state and organizing the work of the state apparatus on the principle of: It is better to do a little but to do it well, by way of the cultural development of the entire mass of the people and strengthening the federation of free nations without falsehood and force. It is precisely this which was aimed at determining the shape of the country which was moving on to a fundamentally new level of social order.

A system of views upon, and the actual concept of, construction of socialism in our country took shape in Lenin's last works, which were endowed with an unusual degree of intellectual and emotional concentration. This comprises the party's great theoretical wealth.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin's premature death was a profound shock for all the party and the Soviet people. Grief exceeded all bounds; the loss was irreparable; everyone understood this. Tasks of colossal historical significance

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lay ahead. Without Lenin, but relying on his teachings and behests, the party leadership had to seek the optimum solutions capable of consolidating the achievements of the revolution and bringing the country to socialism, in the specific conditions of the Soviet Russia of that time.

History delivered a harsh ultimatum to the new order: either to survive by creating in the shortest possible time its own socioeconomic and technical base and to give mankind its first experience of a just organization of society, or to burn out and remain in the memory of the ages as, at best, only a heroic but unsuccessful social experiment. The question of bringing about socialist transformations at an accelerated speed, first and foremost, assumed a vitally important and, in the full sense of the word, fateful significance. The period after Lenin, the twenties and thirties, occupied a special place in the history of the Soviet state. In about 15 years or so, radical social changes were brought about.

So much was accommodated in these years, both from the viewpoint of searching for the optimal variants of socialist construction, and from that of actual achievements and the creation of the foundations of a new society. These were years of persistent labor at the limits of human possibilities and of keen struggle at a multitude of levels. Industrialization, collectivization, cultural revolution, strengthening the multinational state, establishing the USSR's international positions, new forms of running the economy and all social life—all of this fell precisely on this period, and all of this had far-reaching consequences. Over the decades we return again and again to this time. This is natural, for it was then that the first socialist society in the world was built. This was a feat of historic dimensions and historic significance. Admiration for the feats of our fathers and grandfathers, assessments of our real achievements, will live for ever like these same feats and achievements. [applause]

If today we look into our history with an occasionally critical gaze, it is only because we want to get a better, a fuller idea of our path into the future. It is essential to evaluate the past with a sense of historical responsibility and on the basis of historical truth. This has to be done first by virtue of the enormous importance of those years for the destiny of our state and for the destiny of socialism; second, because these years lie at the center of discussions of many years' standing, both in our country and abroad, in which, along with a quest for the truth, attempts are often made to discredit socialism as a new social system, and as a real alternative to capitalism; finally, we need truthful evaluations of this and of all the other periods of our history, especially at the present time, when restructuring has got under way. They are needed not to settle political scores, or cause suffering, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations.

And so to the twenties and thirties after Lenin. Regardless of the fact that the party and society were equipped with Lenin's conception of building socialism and with the work of Vladimir Ilich Lenin after the October period, the quest for a path was very difficult in a keen ideological struggle and an atmosphere of political discussions. The central place in these discussions came to be occupied by the fundamental problems of the development of society, primarily, the question of the possibility of building socialism in our country. Theoretical thought and practice were searching: Along which avenues and in what forms are social and economic transformations to be effected? How was their solution to be guaranteed on a socialist basis, in the specific historical conditions in which the Soviet Union found itself? There was placed on the agenda practical, constructive work which required the highest sense of responsibility. First and foremost, the question arose in acute form of the industrialization of the country and the reconstruction of the economy, without which socialist construction and the strengthening of defense capability were unthinkable. This followed from Lenin's direct instructions and from his theoretical legacy. In this same context and also in accordance with Lenin's behests, the question arose of socialist transformations in rural areas. It was thus a question of the most major, crucial matters, problems and tasks. And although the party, I repeat, had at its disposal Lenin's directions on these questions, keen discussions developed around them.

Perhaps it is worth mentioning that both before and after the revolution in the first years of socialist construction, far from all party leaders shared Lenin's views on a number of most important issues. Besides, Lenin's recommendations could not cover all specific questions of the construction of a new society.

When analyzing ideological disputes of the time, one has to bear in mind the fact that carrying out gigantic revolutionary reforms in such a country as Russia at that time was in itself a most difficult task. The country was on a historic march, its development was sharply accelerating, and all aspects of social life were changing rapidly and profoundly. An ideological struggle that was reflecting the whole gamut of the interests of the classes, social groups, and strata, the demands and tasks of the time, historical traditions and the pressure of urgent tasks, and also the conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement—that ideological struggle was intertwined indissolubly with events and processes in the economy, in politics and in all the spheres of people's life. In a word, it was extremely difficult to understand everything and to find the only true line in such a complex and turbulent situation.

The nature of the ideological struggle was being aggravated considerably by personal rivalry within the party leadership too. Old discords which were in evidence as far back as when Lenin was alive manifested themselves in the new situation too and, moreover, in a very acute form. As is known, Vladimir Ilich Lenin warned against

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the possibility of such a danger. In his "Letter to the Congress" he stressed that it was not a trifle or it was a trifle of the kind that could acquire crucial importance.

That was what actually happened in many respects. A petit bourgeois nature took the upper hand in the case of certain authoritative figures. They adopted factional behavior. This put the party organizations into a fevered state, diverted them from their vital activity and prevented them from working. They continued to provoke a split even when it became clear to an overwhelming majority of the party that their views ran counter to Leninist ideas and plans, that their proposals were erroneous and could divert the country from the correct course it had taken.

This applies above all to Trotsky, who after the death of Lenin made inordinate claims to the leadership of the party and thus in full measure confirmed Lenin's assessment of him as an excessively self-assured, always prevaricating and swindling politician. Trotsky and the Trotskyites rejected the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. In foreign policy they banked on the export of revolution, domestically on turning the screws with regard to the peasantry, on the exploitation of the countryside by the cities, and on bringing military administrative methods to the running of society.

Trotskyism is a political current whose ideologists, while using leftwing pseudorevolutionary phrases as a cover, actually held a capitulationist position. In essence this was an attack on Leninism along the whole front. What was virtually at stake was the fate of socialism in our country and the fate of the revolution. In these circumstances it was necessary to debunk Trotskyism on a nationwide scale and to lay bare its antisocialist essence. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Trotskyites entered into a bloc with a new opposition headed by Zinoviev and Kamenev. Realizing that they were in the minority, the leaders of the opposition again and again foisted debates on the party, reckoning to split the party ranks. But in the final analysis the party came out in support of the Central Committee's line against the opposition, which was ideologically and organizationally smashed. [applause]

Thus, the leading nucleus of the party, which was headed by Stalin, defended Leninism in the ideological struggle, formulated the strategy and tactics in the initial stage of socialist construction, and obtained approval of the political course from a majority of the members of the party and working people. An important role in the ideological defeat of Trotskyism was played by Bukharin, Dzerzhinskiy, Kirov, Ordzhonikidze, Rudzutak and others. [applause]

At the very end of the twenties, a bitter struggle also broke out over the issue of ways of putting the peasantry on the tracks of socialism. Essentially it brought out the different attitudes of the majority of the Politburo and

the Bukharin group toward the application of the NEP principles in the new stage of the development of Soviet society. The specific conditions of those times, both the internal and the international ones, put forward a substantial raising of the rate of socialist construction as a vital task. Bukharin and his supporters in their calculations and theoretical attitudes effectively underestimated the significance of the time factor in the construction of socialism in the thirties. To a large extent their position was determined by dogmatic thinking, by a lack of dialectic approach in their appraisal of the specific situation. Both Bukharin himself and his supporters soon recognized their mistakes.

In this connection it is worth recalling the description of Bukharin given by Lenin: Bukharin is not just a most valuable and major theoretician in the party. He is also legitimately considered to be the pet of the whole party. But his theoretical outlook can only be regarded with very great doubt as being fully Marxist, for in him there is something of the scholasticist. He has never learned dialectics, and I don't think he has ever fully understood it.

Life once again confirmed that Lenin was right. Thus the political debates of those times reflected the complex process in the party's development, typified by bitter struggle over the most important problems of socialist construction. In this struggle, which had to be gone through, the concept of industrialization and collectivization was formed. Under the leadership of the party and its Central Committee heavy industry, including machine-building and the defense industry, and chemical production, that was up-to-date for the times, were over a brief period effectively created over again in the country and the GOELRO Plan was carried out. Magnitka, Kuzbass, Dneproges, Uralmash, the Khibiny Combine, the Moscow and Gorkiy car Factories, aircraft plants, the Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk and Kharkov tractor factories, Rostselmash, Komsomolsk-Na-Amure, Turksib [Turkmen-Siberian Railway], the Great Fergana Canal, and many other great construction projects from the first 5-year plans became glorious symbols of these achievements. At that time dozens of scientific research institutions and a broad network of higher education establishments came into being.

The party proposed a previously unknown way of industrialization: that of immediately advancing heavy industry without relying on external sources of finance or waiting for accumulations built up over many years through the development of light industry. This was in those conditions the only way possible, although it was an inconceivably difficult one for the country and the people. It was an innovative step in which the revolutionary impulse of the masses was taken into account as a component of economic growth. In a single burst industrialization brought the country to a qualitatively new level. By the end of the thirties the Soviet Union occupied first place in Europe for industrial output production and second in the world and had become a

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truly great industrial power. This was a feat of labor of worldwide historic significance, a feat of liberated labor, a feat of the Bolshevik Party. [applause]

Looking at history through sober eyes and taking into account the totality of domestic and international realities, there is no avoiding the question: Could a course have been chosen in those conditions other than that put forward by the party? If we wish to remain on a standpoint of historic method and truth of life, there can be only one answer. No, it could not. [applause]

In those conditions, when the sense of the threat of imperialist aggression was visibly growing, the conviction strengthened in the party as to the need not of covering but literally of running in the shortest historical time scale across the distance between sledge-hammer and peasants' plow to developed industry, without which the demise of the whole cause of the revolution would be inevitable. The vitality of the plans put forward by the party, which were understood and taken in by the masses, the slogans and the projects which embodied the revolutionary spirit of October found its reflection in that enthusiasm that astounded the world, with which millions of Soviet people joined in the construction of Soviet industry.

In difficult conditions with no machinery and on semistarvation rations, people worked miracles. They were inspired by the fact that they were joining in a great historical cause. Not being sufficiently literate, they understood with their class feeling what a great and unprecedented cause they had become part of. It is our duty and the duty of those who will follow them to remember this, to remember the feat of our grandfathers and fathers. Everyone must know that their labor and unselfish performance were not in vain. They overcame everything that fate sent them and made a supreme contribution to strengthening the gains of October and to creating the foundations of our strength which enabled the motherland to be saved from a mortal threat and to save socialism for the future and for us all, comrades. Glory to them and may their good memory live on! [applause]

At the same time, the period being referred to here also brought losses. They were in a way linked to the very successes I have talked about. At the time people were being persuaded of the universal effectiveness of strict centralization and that the command method was the shortest and best way to resolve any tasks. This affected attitudes toward people and their living conditions. A system of administration by command arose in the party and state management of the country; bureaucracy increased, a danger that Lenin had warned about in his time. A corresponding management structure and planning methods also begun to take shape. In industry, with the size that it was at the time, when all the main sites of the industrial edifice were literally in the public eye, these methods and this system of management generally yielded results.

However, such a rigid system of centralization and command was inadmissible in resolving the tasks of transforming the countryside. It has to be said frankly: At the new stage, not enough careful attention was paid, in the Leninist way, to the interests of the working peasantry. Most importantly, they underestimated the fact that as a class, the peasantry had changed fundamentally over the years since the revolution. The middle-level peasant became the chief figure; he became established as his own master, this peasant toiler, who had received his land from the revolution and who over whole decades had become convinced of the fact that Soviet rule was also his rule. He became a true and reliable ally of the working class, an ally on a new basis, and he satisfied himself in practice that his life was increasingly turning for the better. If a little more consideration had been given to objective economic laws, if more attention had been paid to the social processes taking place in the countryside, if generally attitudes toward that huge mass of working peasantry, most of whom took part in the revolution and defended it from the White Guards and the Interventionists, had been better regulated politically, and if a policy of alliance with the middle-level peasants against the kulaks had been consistently conducted, then there would not have been any of the excesses which took place when collectivization was carried out.

Today it is clear that, in that immense operation which affected the fate of the majority of the country's population, a deviation from Leninist policy was committed in relation to the peasantry. The management of this most important and very complex social process, in which a great deal depended on local conditions, was carried out primarily by administrative methods. The conviction arose that all problems could be solved at a stroke, in a very short period of time. Whole oblasts and regions in the country began competing over who would carry out full collectivization more quickly. Arbitrary percentage-based schedules of allocations were issued from above. Gross violations of the principles of collectivization acquired a ubiquitous character. The conduct of the struggle against the kulaks did not proceed without excesses. The policy of the struggle against the kulaks, which was in itself correct, was often interpreted so broadly that it also caught up a significant proportion of middle-level peasants. Such, comrades, is the historical reality.

But, comrades, if we are to assess the importance of collectivization, overall, in the strengthening of the positions of socialism in the countryside, then in the final analysis it was a turning point of fundamental importance. Collectivization denoted a radical change in the whole structure of the life of the basic mass of the population of the country on socialist foundations. It created the social base for the modernization of the

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agricultural sector and its transfer to the tracks of cultivated economic management, made possible a significant increase in labor productivity and released a considerable number of the work force which were needed for other spheres of socialist construction. All this had historic consequences.

For an understanding of the situation in those years, one must bear in mind that the administrative command system, which began to take shape in the course of the industrialization and which received a new impetus during the collectivization, had effects on all public and political life of the country. Having consolidated its position in the economy, it also spread to the superstructure, limiting the development of the democratic potential of socialism and restraining the progress of socialist democracy. But what I have said does not reveal all the complexities of that period. What happened here?

Having in fact left behind the period of the ideological-political trials that were the most serious for the party, millions of people enthusiastically got down to work to put socialist transformations into practice and the first successes started to appear.

At the same time, the methods dictated by the period of struggle against hostile resistance by the exploiter classes were mechanically carried over into the period of peaceful socialist construction when conditions had changed fundamentally.

An atmosphere of intolerance, enmity, and suspicion was being created in the country. This political practice went on to broaden and was substantiated with the erroneous theory of stepping up the class struggle in the process of building socialism.

All this had a ruinous effect upon the country's sociopolitical development and had grave consequences. It is perfectly obvious that the lack of the proper level of democratization of Soviet society was precisely what made possible both the cult of personality and the violations of the law, arbitrariness, and repressions of the thirties—to be blunt, real crimes based on the abuse of power. Many thousands of members of the party and nonparty members were subjected to mass repressions. That, comrades, is the bitter truth. Serious damage was done to the cause of socialism and the authority of the party, and we must speak bluntly about this. This is essential for the final and irreversible assertion of Lenin's ideal of socialism.

There is a lot of discussion now about Stalin's role in our history. His personality was extremely contradictory. Holding positions of historical truth, we must see both Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and to the defense of its gains, and the gross political errors and arbitrariness permitted to occur by him and those around him, for which our people paid a great price and which had serious consequences for the life of our society.

Sometimes it is said that Stalin did not know about the instances of lawlessness. Documents in our possession say that this is not so. The guilt of Stalin and those closest to him before the party and the people for the mass repressions and lawlessness that were permitted are immense and unpardonable. This is a lesson for all generations.

Of course, despite the assertions of our ideological enemies, the cult of personality was not unavoidable. It is alien to the nature of socialism and is a deviation from its fundamental principles and thus has no justification.

At the 20th and the 22d party congresses, both the cult of Stalin and its consequences were harshly condemned. We now know that the political accusations and repressions against a number of figures in party and state, against many communists and nonparty members, economic and military cadres, academics and cultural figures were the result of deliberate falsification. Many accusations were subsequently quashed, particularly following the 20th party congress. Thousands of innocent people who suffered were completely rehabilitated. But the process of restoration of justice was not seen through, and it effectively stopped in the mid-sixties.

Now, in accordance with the decisions of the October 1987 plenum of the Central Committee, we have to go back to this again.

The Central Committee Politburo has set up a commission to make a thorough examination of the new, and already known, factual documentation relating to these matters.

As a result of the commission's work, the relevant decisions will be adopted.

All this will be reflected also in an outline of the history of the CPSU, whose preparation will be entrusted to a special commission of the Central Committee. We must do this, especially since even now we still encounter attempts to ignore sensitive questions of our history, to hush them up, to pretend that nothing special happened. We cannot agree with this. It would be a neglect of historical truth, disrespect for the memory of those who found themselves innocent victims of lawlessness and arbitrariness. Furthermore we cannot because truthful analysis must help us to solve our current problems of democratization, legality, glasnost, overcoming bureaucratism—in brief, urgent problems of restructuring. That is why here, too, we need full clarity, accuracy, and consistency, [applause] an honest understanding of our tremendous achievements and past misfortunes alike. A full and true political assessment of them will give a real moral guide for the future. [applause]

In drawing up the grand total of the period of the twenties and thirties after Lenin, one could say the following: We have traversed a difficult path, full of contradictions and complexities, yet a great and heroic

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path. Neither the grossest errors nor the deviations from the principles of socialism that were committed could turn our people and our country from the path they embarked upon in 1917, having made their choice, because the impetus of October was too great and the ideas of socialism that took hold of the masses were too strong. The people felt their participation in a great cause and began to enjoy the fruits of their labor. Their patriotism acquired a new socialist content. [applause]

And this, comrades, showed itself with full force during the harsh ordeals of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. The situation on the eve of the war is being actively discussed today in the West. Truth is being mixed with half-truths. The most zealous are those who are unhappy about the political, territorial, or social results of World War II, and who continue to ponder how to correct them. Therefore, they are interested in how to turn historical truth upside down, to interchange relations of cause and effect, and to falsify the chronology.

In this context, they resort to all sorts of lies to put the blame for World War II on the Soviet Union, alleging that the way to war was opened up by the Ribbentrop-Molotov nonaggression pact. This issue deserves to be spoken about in a rather more detailed way. In fact, World War II became a tragic reality not on 1 September 1939. The occupation of northeastern China by Japan—the Manchurian incident of 1931-32, the Italian aggression against Ethiopia in 1935 and against Albania in the spring of 1939, the German-Italian intervention against Republican Spain in 1936-39, Japan's armed intervention in northern—and then central—China in the summer of 1937: Those were the initial conflagrations of World War II.

It is another matter that the West still pretended that it was not its business and, if it was, then not to such a degree as to prompt it to defend the victims of aggression. The hatred of socialism, long-term calculations, and class egocentrism prevented it from understanding soberly the real dangers. Moreover, fascism was persistently offered the mission of a strike detachment in the anticommunist crusade. Austria and Czechoslovakia followed Ethiopia and China into the furnace of appeasement. The sword was held over Poland and all the states of the Baltic Sea and the Danube basin. Open propaganda was conducted to turn the Ukraine into the granary and stockyard of the Third Reich.

In the end, the main streams of aggression were channelled against the Soviet Union. Taking into account that they started dividing our country long before the war, one should have no trouble in imagining what limited choice we had. They say that the decision that the Soviet Union made by signing the nonaggression pact with Germany was not the best one. Maybe so, if one is guided not by harsh reality but by speculative abstractions divorced from the context of the time. And

in those conditions the question stood in about the same way as it did during the Brest peace treaty: Would our country be independent or not, would there be socialism in the world or not?

The USSR did much to create a system of collective security and to prevent worldwide carnage. Yet the Soviet initiatives met with no response from Western politicians and political intriguers who made cold-blooded calculations of the most adroit ways to drag socialism into the flames of war and make it clash head-on with fascism. Being already rejected because of our socialist origins, under no circumstances could we be right in the eyes of imperialism.

As I have already said, ruling Western circles, trying to whitewash their own sins, are striving to persuade people that the Soviet-German nonaggression pact of 23 August 1939 triggered the Nazi invasion of Poland and, through this, World War II. As though there had been no Munich agreement with Hitler signed by Britain and France back in 1938 with active assistance from the United States, nor the Austrian Anschluss, nor the crucifixion of the Spanish Republic, nor the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia and Klaipeda, nor the signing by London and Paris of nonaggression pacts with Germany in 1938—incidentally, prewar Poland concluded similar pacts. As you see, all this fit fairly well into the structure of imperialist policy, and was considered and is considered as normal.

It is known from documents that the date for Germany's invasion of Poland, no later than 1 September, had been set as early as 3 April 1939, that is long before the Soviet-German pact. London, Paris, and Washington knew everything, down to the smallest details of the preparations for the Polish campaign, just as they knew that the only obstacle capable of stopping the Hitlerites could be the conclusion, no later than August 1939, of an Anglo-Franco-Soviet military alliance. Those plans were also known to the leadership of our country, and for this reason it tried to convince Britain and France of the need for collective measures. It also appealed to the Polish Government of the time for cooperation in order to end aggression.

But the Western powers had other calculations: to lure the USSR with a promise of an alliance, and thereby to hamper the conclusion of the nonaggression pact which had been offered to us, to deprive us of the possibility of better preparing ourselves for the inevitable attack by Hitlerite Germany against the USSR.

Nor can we forget the fact that in August 1939 the Soviet Union was faced with the real threat of war on two fronts, in the West with Germany, and in the East with Japan, which had unleashed a bloody conflict on the Halhyn Gol river. But life and death, scorning the myths, came into their own. A new chapter, one of the hardest and most difficult in modern history, was opening. At that stage, however, we managed to put off the clash with

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the enemy, such an enemy that left both itself and its adversary one choice—to vanquish or perish. The aggression thrust upon us was a merciless test of the vitality of the socialist system, of the strength of the multinational Soviet state, of the strength of the patriotic spirit of the Soviet people, and we passed this test by fire and sword, comrades! [applause] We passed because that war became for our people the Great Patriotic War, for in a struggle with such an enemy as German fascism it was a question of life or death, of whether we were to be free or would fall into slavery; we passed because the war became nationwide, everyone came to the defense of the native land, old and young, men and women, all national and ethnic groups of our great country.

Also entering their first battle was the generation born of October and brought up by the socialist system. Unprecedented fortitude and heroism on the battlefields, the courageous struggle of the partisans and underground fighters behind the front line, virtually round-the-clock tireless labor in the rear—this is what the war was for us. The Soviet people fought and labored defending the homeland, the socialist system, the ideas and cause of October. When enormous misfortune befell our common home, the Soviet people did not flinch, did not bend, either under the blows of the first failures and defeats, or under the burden of millions of deaths, torments, and sufferings. From the first day they firmly believed in the future victory. In soldiers' greatcoats, in workers' overalls, they did everything at the limits and beyond the limits of human strength to bring closer that long-awaited day. And when victory came, on the 1,418th day of war, the entire world that had been saved breathed freely, paying due tribute to the Soviet people, the victor, the hero, the toiler, their valiant army which had covered thousands of embattled kilometers, each of which cost many lives, and no small amount of blood and sweat. [applause]

The talent of the outstanding commanders who emerged from the depths of the people—Zhukov, Rokossovskiy, Vasilevskiy, Konev, and other famous marshals, generals and officers—of those who commanded the army fronts, the corps, divisions, regiments, companies, and platoons, was manifested most powerfully in the Great Patriotic War. The great political will, purposefulness and persistence, and the ability to organize and discipline people which Stalin showed during the war years played their role in attaining victory.

But it was the simple Soviet soldier who bore the main burden of the war, the simple Soviet soldier, of one flesh with the people, the great worker, courageous and devoted to his fatherland: Great honor and eternal glory to him! [applause]

Millions of veterans of the Great Patriotic War are still at their posts today and are taking part militantly in the work of the revolutionary restructuring and renewal of society. Our filial gratitude to them! [applause]

Our Leninist party was the inspiration of all military and labor matters. At the front, in the trenches, Communists were the first to go into the attack, drawing others along with them by their example. In the rear, they were the last to leave their machines, fields, and farms. Soviet people felt as never before that the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) [VKPB] was their own party and the Communists were demonstrating in deed what it meant to be the vanguard of the people when the flames of war were raging and when it is a question of life and death. One can say with confidence that the years of the Great Patriotic War were one of the most glorious and heroic pages in the life of the party itself, written with the heroism and bravery and supreme self-sacrifice and commitment of millions of Communists. [applause]

The war showed that the Soviet people, the party, socialism, and October are indivisible. And there are no forces in the world that could shatter this unity. Socialism did not only hold out and did not simply gain victory: It emerged from the most terrible and destructive of wars, having grown morally stronger and having politically consolidated its authority and influence throughout the world.

At the end of the war our foes prophesied that we would suffer economic collapse, that our country would for a long time lose its place in world politics, and they considered that it would take us 50 years or more to cope with the consequences of the war. But in a very rapid space of time the Soviet people rehabilitated the destroyed cities and villages, raised from the ruins plants and factories, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, schools and institutions of higher education and cultural institutions. Once again the great power of the socialist state was manifested, as were the will of the party motivated by the understanding of the higher interests of the motherland of October, the steadfastness and proletarian wisdom of the workers, who shouldered the main burden of the peaceful transformation of the country's industrial might and the restoration of what had been destroyed: the self-sacrifices the endurance and patriotism of the peasantry, who gave their utmost in order to feed the devastated country; and the friendship of the peoples, and mutual assistance, the readiness together to help in a fraternal way those who suffered especially and to help back on their feet those areas of our common motherland upon which the merciless hand of war had lain particularly heavily.

The source of our achievements, of the economic and scientific and technical progress, mastery of atomic energy and the first spacecraft launches, the growth of the material and cultural prosperity of the people, lie in the heroism of the daily round of labor in the difficult postwar years.

But at this same time, a time of new popular upsurge in the name of socialism, the contradictions between what our society had become and between the previous methods of leadership made themselves felt increasingly perceptibly. Abuse of power and violations of socialist

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legality continued. The Leningrad plot and the doctors' plot were fabricated, and not just those. People worked selflessly, studied and strained for new knowledge, became reconciled to the difficulties and the shortages, but felt that both anxiety and hope were accumulating in society. All this gripped public awareness shortly after Stalin's death.

In the mid fifties, especially after the 20th CPSU Congress, the wind of change swept across the country. The people took heart, livened up, became bolder and more confident. It required no little courage on the part of the party and its leadership, headed by Khrushchev, to criticize the cult of personality and its consequences and to restore socialist legality. The previous stereotypes in domestic and foreign policy began to break down. Attempts were made to overcome the bureaucratic methods of management based on command which had become established in the thirties and forties, and to endow socialism with greater dynamism, to stress humanistic ideals and values, and to revive the creative spirit of Leninism in theory and practice.

The decisions of the September 1953 and July 1955 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee were permeated with the aspiration to change the priorities of economic development and to set in train incentives linked with personal interest in the results of labor. Greater attention began to be paid to the development of agriculture, housing construction, light industry, the consumer sphere, and everything connected with satisfying a person's needs. In a word, changes for the better, both in Soviet society and in international relations, were taking place.

However, no few subjectivist errors were committed, which hampered socialism's emergence at a new stage, and which in many respects compromised progressive undertakings. The fact is that qualitatively new tasks in domestic and foreign policy and in party construction were not infrequently solved by voluntarist methods, with the aid of the old political and economic mechanism. However, the main reason for the failure of the reforms that were undertaken in this period was the fact that they were not based on the broad spread of the processes of democratization.

At the October 1964 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, there was a change in the leadership of the party and country, and decisions were adopted to overcome the libertarian tendencies and distortions in domestic and foreign policy. The party strove to achieve some stabilization of policy and to provide it with realistic features and a solid foundation.

The March and September 1965 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee put forward a fresh approach in the running of the economy. An economic reform and large-scale programs for opening up new areas and developing the country's productive forces were drawn up and a start was made on their implementation. In the first few

years this altered the situation in the country for the better. There was an increase in the economic and scientific potential. The defense capability was strengthened. There was a rise in the level of the people's wellbeing. Many foreign policy actions were carried out which consolidated the international prestige of our state. Military and strategic parity with the United States was ensured.

The country possessed great possibilities to accelerate its development, but new cardinal changes in society and, of course, the appropriate political will were needed to use these possibilities and to bring them into action. There was insufficient of either. Even much of what had been decided remained just on paper and suspended in the air. The pace of our development was seriously slowed down.

At the April 1985 Plenum of the party Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress frankly specified the reasons for the situation that had come about, revealed the mechanism that was slowing down our development, and gave a principled assessment of it. It was stressed that during the latter years of the life and activities of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev the search for the way to achieve further progress was to a great extent held back by an adherence to customary formulas and schemes that did not reflect the new realities. There was an increasing gap between word and deed. There was a buildup of negative processes in the economy, which had in effect created a precrisis situation. Many anomalous features had arisen in the social, spiritual and moral spheres, which were distorting and deforming the principles of socialist justice, undermining the people's faith in it and giving rise to social alienation and amorality in various forms. The mounting divergence between the lofty principles of socialism and the everyday reality of life became intolerable. The healthy forces in the party and society as a whole felt increasingly acutely the insistent requirement and the need to overcome the negative features, alter the course of events, ensure an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and achieve a moral cleansing and renewal of socialism. A response to this most acute social requirement was the concept and strategy for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, which were put forward by the April 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee, and the course for revitalizing socialism, which were developed theoretically and politically in the decisions of the 27th Congress and subsequent plenums of the Central Committee and which were formulated into the general line for the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of life in socialist society.

The ideas of restructuring are based on our 70 years of history and on the solid foundation of the fundamentally new social edifice that has been built in the Land of the Soviets, combining continuity and innovation and the historic experience of Bolshevism with the present day of socialism. We have to continue and redouble the cause of the first pioneers of socialist revolution, and we will

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achieve this without fail by our labor, creatively using the experience of the generations who paved the path of the October Revolution ahead of us and for us. [applause]

Comrades: We are travelling a revolutionary path. It is not a road for the weak and timid; it is a road for the strong and the bold, which is what the Soviet people have always been, during the years of the very great social transformations, during the years of the war ordeals, and during the years of peaceful and creative labor. It is the people who creates their own history and destiny, a destiny that is never easy but unique and priceless like human life itself. This is true 100 times over as regards the history of socialism and continuing the cause of the Great Revolution.

The working class was and remains the people's cementing and vanguard force. At the very dawn of the revolutionary movement it followed the Leninist call to fight for freedom without for a moment abandoning thoughts of socialism and to work on its implementation and the preparation of forces and organizations for the attainment of socialism. It was the working class, in alliance with all working people, that carried out the Great October Revolution, built socialism and defended it in severe encounters with the enemy. It bore, experienced and withstood everything, and today too it is in the vanguard of developing socialism and the revolutionary restructuring. Glory and all honor to it! [applause]

Our Leninist party arose and developed as an active combat detachment of the working class, from which it absorbed the mighty strength of certainty, firmness, discipline and steadfastness in the struggle for the ideals of socialism, and a wise and humane understanding of life. Now, as the party of all the people, it preserves these best features of the attacking and creating class today and at all stages in the history of socialism. [applause]

The main and crucial meaning of our history consists in the fact that for all those 70 years our people have lived and worked under the leadership of the party for the sake of socialism, for the sake of a better and just life. This is the destiny of a creator-people, a builder-people. [applause]

Comrades: We have been brought to the conclusion that restructuring is essential by burning and urgent necessities. But the more deeply we have investigated our problems and grasped their meaning, the more obvious it has become that the restructuring has a wider sociopolitical and historical context as well. Restructuring means not only shaking off the stagnation and conservatism of the preceding period and correcting the mistakes committed, but also overcoming historically limited and obsolete features of social organization and working methods. It means imparting to socialism the most perfect forms appropriate for the conditions and requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and for

the intellectual progress of Soviet society. This is a comparatively lengthy process of society's revolutionary rejuvenation with its own logic and stages.

Lenin saw socialism's historical task in preparing the transition to communism by the work of a long succession of years. The leader of the revolution highly rated Marx and Engels' ability to analyze, in extreme detail, precisely the transitional forms in order to take into account each separate case's dependence on specific historical peculiarities and determine what transition, from what to what, is represented by any given transitional form. In short, our teachers gave much warning that the road of constructing a new society is a long succession of transitions. We have every reason to regard the restructuring as a specific historical stage in our society's onward advance. And to answer the Leninist question from what to what are we passing, it has to be said quite definitely: We are imparting new qualities to socialism—a second wind, as they say—and to do this we must effect a profound rejuvenation of all aspects of society's life, both material and spiritual, and develop as fully as possible the humanist nature of our system.

The objective of restructuring is to fully restore, both theoretically and practically, the Leninist conception of socialism, in which undisputed priority is given to the man of labor, to his ideals and interests, and to communist values in the economy, social and political relations, and culture. Our hope for revolutionary purification and revival lies in developing socialism's tremendous social resources by galvanizing the individual and the human factor. As a result of restructuring socialism could and should fully realize its capabilities as a system of real humanism, serving man and elevating him. It is a society for people, for the blossoming of their creative labor, prosperity, health, physical and spiritual development, of a society in which man feels himself to be completely in charge and is so in practice.

Two key problems in the development of society determine the destiny of restructuring. These are the democratization of all public life and the radical economic reform.

Continuing the cause of October, restructuring has put forward as a task of the highest priority the further deepening and development of socialist democracy. The democratization of society is the soul of restructuring; and on the future progress of democratization will depend also the success of restructuring itself and, it can be said without exaggeration, the future of socialism as a whole. This is the firmest guarantee of the transformation of policy and of the economy, and it excludes any backward movement. The reforms that are now taking place in this country are possibly the biggest step since October on the path of the development of socialist democratism.

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In restructuring our economic and political system, we are obliged to create, first, a reliable and flexible mechanism by which to ensure that all working people do, in reality, become involved in deciding the affairs of state and society. Secondly, we must in practice teach people to live in the conditions created by a deepening democracy; widen—widen and strengthen—human rights; and foster the modern political culture of the masses. In other words, we must teach and learn democracy. As we mark the 70th anniversary of our revolution, as we take thought for the future, we must look more closely at how the process of the democratization of society is going and what is hindering it.

Here there are considerable difficulties and contradictions, which are at times unexpected. There is no avoiding the struggle of what is new and progressive against what is old and obsolete. There is a degree of uncertainty and indecision. In the first days after October, Vladimir Ilich Lenin noted that the workers and peasants were still timid; that they were not yet determined enough; that they had not yet come to terms with the fact that they themselves must take into their hands all the levers of government. But the power, vitality, and invincibility of the October Revolution of 1917, Lenin wrote, lay precisely in the fact that it was awakening these qualities, breaking down all the old impediments; that it was tearing away the rusted shackles and leading the working people out onto the road of the independent creative endeavor of the new life.

Now, too, we see how difficult it is for people to get the feel of a new situation—to accustom themselves to the possibility and necessity of living and deciding all questions by democratic methods. Many are still afraid, act circumspectly, are chary of responsibility and remain in thrall to outdated rules and instructions. The task is to instill in people a taste for independence and responsibility in their approach to industrial and public affairs on whatever scale: to develop self-government as the power of the people, exercised by the people themselves and in the interests of the people.

Development of self-government will proceed above all through the soviets, which must, in accordance with the party's designs, fully justify their role as plenipotentiary organs of decision. Recently, the rights and opportunities of the Soviets at all levels have been considerably expanded. That process will continue, and therefore the soviets will gather strength and Soviet democracy will deepen. We have begun to improve the electoral system. The elections held in June this year have convinced us of the rightness and fruitfulness of the new approaches. They demonstrated the people's increased political activeness, and the interest that people have in seeing that the best representatives of the workers get elected to the soviets—though once again, formalism and over-organization were not avoided. Restructuring and development of democracy make it possible to turn on at full capacity the energy, possibilities, and rights of the trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations,

including those that have come into being in recent years, such as the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans, the Women's Councils, the Soviet Culture Fund, and the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Children's Fund. It is important that their day-to-day activities should be concerned with solving vitally important tasks and should reflect the interests of the broad masses of the working people. Much that is new and promising has appeared in the labor collectives and in work linked to places of residence. Wide scope is opening up for useful initiative, so that all vital questions may be settled efficiently and without red tape. The new processes that have got underway in our country also pose in a new way the question of general political and legal standards, which I would call the culture of socialist democratism. It is to a large extent the lack of that culture that gives rise to such defects as bureaucracy and abuse of power, undue reverence for rank, bad management, and irresponsibility. The true culture of socialist democracy will never accept either a command-pressure style nor organizational wooliness—substituting empty talk for business. Both are alien to socialism. There is no doubt either about something else: the broader and deeper that democracy is, the more attention is required by socialist legality and law and order, and the more we need organization and conscious discipline.

The culture of democracy cannot be limited to the political sphere. It must penetrate all spheres of human relations. Our premise is that socialism is a society of growing diversity in people's views, mutual inter-relations and activity. Each person has his social experience, his level of knowledge and education, and his own particular ways of perceiving events. Thus, there is an enormous range of opinions, convictions, and assessments, which naturally require careful consideration and comparison. We are in favor of a diversity of public opinion and of richness of intellectual life. We should not be afraid of openly posing and tackling difficult problems of social development, of criticizing and arguing. It is in such circumstances that the truth emerges and correct decisions are formulated. Socialist democracy must completely serve socialism and the interests of the working people. [applause]

Comrades: A solid basis for an accelerated advance in all directions can be created only on the basis of fundamental changes in the economy. Restructuring itself will gain full force only when it has deeply stirred the national economy. In its turn, this rests on profound transformations of the economic mechanism and the entire economic management system. The aim of the radical economic reform begun in the country is to guarantee in the next 2 or 3 years the transition from an excessively centralized, command-based management system to a democratic one, based predominantly on economic methods and an optimum combination of centralism and self-management. This presupposes a sharp expansion in the independence of associations and enterprises, their changeover to full financial autonomy and self-financing, and the provision of labor collectives with all rights necessary for this.

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Even now, economic reform is not mere plans and intentions, even less is it mere abstract theoretical argument. It is firmly and deeply entering life. A significant number of associations and enterprises in industry, construction, transportation and agriculture are today working on the principles of self-financing and financial autonomy. From the beginning of next year, enterprises producing 60% of industrial output will be working in these conditions and the law on state enterprises will come into force.

All this is already having an effect on economic management practice. In the collectives, there is a noticeable growth of interest in the financial and economic results of work. People are beginning to make a realistic reckoning of expenditure and results, to make savings in large and small things, and to find the most efficient solutions to problems.

Today we must once again firmly say: The party will permit no deviation from the accepted principles of economic reform. All the envisaged transformations must be and shall be fully implemented. Economic reform and restructuring actively put people first. Social justice requires that we give more attention to manifestations of the personal abilities by individuals and that we mark morally and materially those who work best and hardest, showing an example to others. Genuine talent and brilliant personalities are the priceless assets of society, and they must be cared for. Every necessary condition must be created for their creativity and life. We want each person's worth, knowledge, labor, and ability to be respected everywhere, so that the honest, industrious, creative person may be certain that his labor is duly appreciated, that he can always prove his case and find support. But the idler, the scrounger, the bureaucrat, and the lout will be put in their place and unmasked.

The positive changes which are now taking place in our country—and they are widely publicized in the mass media—are warmly supported by the working people. Today an unconscientious attitude to one's task is especially intolerable. A person armed with modern knowledge and equipment produces more and more output, and his labor depends more and more closely on the activity of thousands of other participants in public-sector production. In these conditions, negligence on the part of even one worker, engineer, or scientist can result in extraordinarily serious consequences fraught with huge losses for society.

I would especially like to stress the growing significance of intellectual labor, the interaction of science, technology and society, the humanitarian, moral-ethical bias of scientific and technical progress. We want all the achievements of science and technology to be placed at the service of man and not to lead to violation of the ecology. We extract grim lessons from such tragic events as the accident at the Chernobyl AES. We want to end the use of science for military purposes, to raise social

responsibility and professional competence. Creative performance today is the duty of engineers and scientists, physicians and teachers, literary and arts figures. [applause]

In restoring the rights of workers to a material interest, and thereby increasing attention to its collective forms, we must not allow an underestimation of social, cultural, moral, and psychological incentives. They are exceptionally important for normal development of relations of collectivism and comradeship and the socialist way of life and for strengthening our Soviet values in people's consciousness and behavior.

Comrades: We justly say that the nationalities issue has been resolved in our country. The revolution paved the way not only for the legal, but also the social and economic equality of rights of nations, having done an exceptionally great deal to level the economic, social, and cultural development of all republics and regions and all peoples. One of the supreme gains of October is the friendship of the Soviet peoples. In itself, it is a unique phenomenon in world history, and for us it is one of the main buttresses of the power and strength of the Soviet state. [applause]

In noting today the outstanding achievements of Lenin's nationalities policy, the peoples of our country pay a tribute of profound esteem and gratitude to the Great Russian people, for their disinterestedness, genuine internationalism, and inestimable contribution to the creation, development, and strengthening of the Socialist Union of free and equal republics, and to the economic, social and cultural progress of all peoples in the Land of the Soviets. [applause]

Let us, comrades, look after our great and common property: the friendship of the peoples of the USSR! [applause]

Therefore, we will never forget the fact that we live in a multinational state, where any social, economic, cultural, and legal decisions directly and immediately always touch upon the nationalities issue as well. Let us act in a Leninist manner and develop as much as possible the potential of every nation and every one of the Soviet peoples. [applause]

Relations between nationalities in our country are a vital issue of active life. We must be extremely attentive and tactful in everything to do with people's national interests or feelings and provide for the most active participation of working people of all nations and ethnic groups in resolving the diverse tasks of our multinational society. We intend to analyze and discuss in greater depth these issues in the near future, taking into account what restructuring, democratization, and the new state in its development are bringing into Soviet life. Friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR are a sacred matter for us; this is how it has been, and this is how it will be. This is in line with the spirit of Leninism.

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the traditions of Great October, and the fundamental interests of all the nations and ethnic groups which populate our Motherland. [applause]

Comrades: The transition of Soviet society to a qualitatively new state and the breakthrough to the future can only be accomplished on a broad front which includes also the intellectual sphere of socialism: science and education, literature and art, the whole totality of the Soviet people's social and moral values. Intellectual culture is not just an embellishment of society but one of its life-support zones; it is society's intellectual and cultural potential; it is, as it were, the alloying material for imparting social durability to it and a catalyst for its dynamism. We must raise the prestige of socialist culture even higher. Scientists, inventors, writers, journalists, artists, actors, and teachers, all workers in the various areas of culture and education are called upon to be advocates of restructuring. The party is counting upon an active civic and social stance from our intelligentsia. [applause]

The Soviet people have become an enlightened people, something which the great enlighteners of the past could only dream of. But complacency is inadmissible here. Our achievements should not conceal the vastness and urgency of tasks to be solved today. We can see that the system of education has in many ways ceased to meet contemporary requirements. The quality of tuition in schools and higher education establishments, and the training of workers and specialists far from fully meets life's requirements. It is essential to make a serious spurt ahead and in this sphere, too, to achieve fundamental changes. It is in precisely this way that the party is approaching reform of secondary and professional education and restructuring of the higher schools. The CPSU Central Committee has decided to examine the questions of education that have come to a head, at one of its Central Committee plenums.

Such, comrades, are our strategic tasks, which we must deal with in the course of the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life of socialist society. Two and one-half years have passed since the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. What have we managed to do? On what frontier are we now? I suggest that such questions are appropriate and unavoidable at today's solemn session.

The overall conclusion on this score of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that has just come to an end is as follows: We are living through a time of dramatic change. The first stage of the work to restructure has basically been completed. A concept of restructuring has been elaborated based on a profound analysis of the situation and outlook for the country's development. A new political, moral, and psychological atmosphere has been created in the country. The party has succeeded in raising people's interest in public affairs and their activity and in increasing the level of exactingness, criticism,

self-criticism, and glasnost, and in creating the prerequisites for genuine changes in people's thinking and moods. The main thing that defines the position of the majority of the Soviet people at this stage is support for restructuring and the demand that it advance steadily.

Workers, kolkhoz personnel, and the intelligentsia are reacting with understanding to the need to increase discipline, efficiency, and the quality of labor. In factories and on construction sites, on kolkhozes and sovkhoses, in scientific research organizations, an intense search for new forms of organization and remuneration of labor is under way. People are now becoming more exacting with regard to themselves, to their leaders, and specialists, and are coming out determinedly against poor management and lack of responsibility. We value highly this civic position of the working people and regard it as an undoubted and weighty support for the party's drive for acceleration. [applause]

There are grounds also for talking of some positive advances in practical affairs, above all in the social and economic sphere. The rates of production growth have increased, and there have been qualitative changes in the economy. Large-scale scientific and technological programs are being implemented and domestic machine-building is being modernized. Agriculture, and particularly livestock farming, has begun to develop more steadily.

You are all aware, Comrades, what unfavorable weather conditions there have been this year in most areas of the country. Nonetheless, we have managed to bring in a grain harvest of more than 210 million tons. This is the result of immense efforts by our people and the party that has roused them to work in a new way. [applause]

The economic recovery which has begun has allowed us to set about implementing major measures in the social sphere. The scale of housing construction has risen perceptibly, the services sector is expanding, the income of working people is growing, salaries for teachers and doctors have been increased, and major programs in the areas of education and medical services to the population are being implemented.

Still, this is just the start. Now we can talk about the beginning of a new stage of restructuring, when all our policy and all our decisions are transformed into concrete deeds and put into practice. This requires huge efforts from all the people, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all our cadres. Now life itself will check our ideas, plans, approaches, and methods of work. The growing tension of life can be felt in everything today, but it is the tension of creation, active labor and political and intellectual activity. It is a good tension, Comrades, the mobilizing kind. I should like to stress that, from this point of view, the next 2 or perhaps 3 years will be the most difficult, decisive and, in a certain sense, critical—primarily because it will be necessary simultaneously to solve large-scale tasks, both in

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the economy, and in the social sphere, and in the restructuring of state and public administration, and in ideology and culture. It is necessary to implement deep structural improvements in the economy, to reach a turning-point in acceleration of scientific and technical progress, to conduct, in the main, a restructuring of the economic mechanism and thus to take a decisive step in switching the national economy onto the tracks of intensification.

The difficult nature of the forthcoming period lies in the fact that the transformations will affect the interests of a larger and larger mass of people, social groups, and strata of society and all cadres. We are certain that the situation in the country will continue to be determined by broad support from the working people for restructuring, deep understanding of the necessity of the changes, and energetic continuation of restructuring despite certain problems along this path.

But it would be wrong not to see a certain strengthening of resistance from conservative forces who regard restructuring as merely a threat to their own selfish interests and aims. This is occurring not only in various levels of administration but in labor collectives as well. Nor can one be in any doubt that the forces of conservatism...the forces of conservatism will not fail to exploit any difficulties in order to attempt to discredit restructuring and arouse dissatisfaction among the working people. Some people even now prefer to stand around pointing to failings instead of rolling up their sleeves and battling with shortcomings and seeking new solutions. At the same time, naturally, nobody is saying that they are against restructuring. No, rather they are playing the role of fighters against its costs, of zealots of ideological foundations which allegedly might be shaken by the masses' growing activeness. But how long can they go on frightening us, Comrades, with all sorts of costs? Of course, costs are inevitable in everything—especially in something new. But the consequences of marking time, of stagnation, and of indifference are far more significant and expensive than the costs which arise for a time in the process of the creative setting-up of new forms of social life.

We must learn to recognize, to unmask, and to neutralize the maneuvers of restructuring's opponents, those who are putting a brake on things, those who put a wrench in the works, who gloat over difficulties and failures, who attempt to drag us back to the past. Nor must we submit to pressure from the excessively zealous and impatient, those who do not want to reckon with the objective logic of restructuring and who express dissatisfaction with the slow—in their view—pace of transformations, with the fact that they allegedly do not rapidly yield the necessary fruit.

It must be clear that one cannot skip stages and attempt to do everything in one stroke. Restructuring is continuing the cause of the revolution, and today it is extremely necessary to be able to wield to perfection the weapon of

revolutionary endurance. This endurance does not mean that one must remain where one is or flow with the current. It means an ability to assess the situation realistically, not to give in to difficulties, not to panic, and not to lose one's head either from successes or failures. It means an ability to work intensively and purposively every day, every hour, and everywhere and in everything to find, and to implement, optimum solutions dictated by life itself. [applause]

Hence the need for confident, persistent, purposeful work to implement what we have envisaged, for the performance of the set targets and tasks. To reveal, analyze the contradictions, understand their nature, and on this basis draw up a system of political, economic, social, organizational and ideological measures—this is what our approach should be, and nothing else. [applause]

Comrades: The success of restructuring depends primarily on the energy, purposefulness, and force of example of the party and each Communist. In this historically crucial moment of socioeconomic transformations the Communist Party has boldly and resolutely mounted a struggle for the renewal of society, has taken on its shoulders the most difficult burden of work. We can say with confidence that the great cause of October, the cause of revolutionary restructuring, finds itself in firm hands. The Communists will do their duty with lofty sense of responsibility to the people and the time. [applause]

A radical improvement in the activity of the party organizations, party bodies, and cadres is becoming today's main task. It is necessary to bring about a change in each party organization's activity, to step up the work of each party committee, each Communist. Where this has already succeeded in being done, where party leaders, Communists, have awakened the initiative and spontaneous action of the masses, have boldly embarked on the path of democratization, glasnost, introduction of financial autonomy, collective contracting, have given scope to new forms of labor organization and incentive, satisfaction of people's requirements, the matter has gone forward, and decisively at that.

However, we see in a number of towns, rayons, and oblasts, and even in certain republics, real restructuring has not yet got under way. This is the direct result of political and organizational inertia and a lack of initiative on the part of party committees and their leaders. One must see this too. This is also our reality.

Special responsibility for improving things is borne by the primary party organizations. All the threads of restructuring essentially meet in them. It is on the primary party organizations' initiative that the progress of transformation primarily depends, the ability to mobilize and inspire people, the ability to achieve a specific improvement in work. In general, Comrades, without a sharp stepping up of activity by all party

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organizations, we shall not accomplish restructuring. Therefore we need more businesslike activity, more democratization, more organization and discipline. We shall then be able to put restructuring into full swing and impart fresh impetuses to a developing socialism. [applause]

Comrades: The world would not have been as we now see it if it were not for the great revolution in Russia. Up until this turning point in world history, the right of the strong and the rich and the wars of aggression were the customary norm of international relations. By its first legislative act, the famous decree on peace, the Soviet power began to lead the struggle against this state of affairs. The Soviets brought into international practice what was previously outside the framework of major politics: people's commonsense and the interests of the working masses. During the brief years when Lenin was in charge of Soviet foreign policy, he not only worked out its starting principles but also showed how to implement them in a most unusual, drastically changing situation.

Indeed, contrary to initial expectations, the breaking of the weakest link of the capitalist system was not the final, decisive battle, but a beginning of a protracted and complex process. One of the greatest services rendered by the founder of the Soviet state was that he saw in good time the real prospects opening up for the new Russia as a result of the victorious end of the Civil War. As he conceived, the country succeeded in obtaining not only a breathing space, but also something much bigger, a new period of time when our main international existence within the network of capitalist states was one. Lenin decisively suggested the course of learning and getting to know how to coexist with them for a long time.

Counterbalancing leftwing extremism, he found a basis for the possibility of states with different social systems to coexist peacefully. After the Civil War only 1 and one-half to 2 years were needed to bring the workers' and peasants' state out of foreign political isolation. Treaties with the neighboring countries and then with Germany in Rapallo were concluded. England, France, Italy, Sweden, and other capitalist states extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Republic. First steps were taken to establish equal relations with the states in the East: China, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.

All this does not simply represent the initial victories of Leninist foreign policy and diplomacy; it was embarking on a fundamentally new international development. The cardinal direction of our foreign policy was laid, and we call it by rights the Leninist course for peace, mutually advantageous cooperation among states and friendship among peoples.

Of course, not all our subsequent foreign policy work consisted of successes and achievements alone. There were errors. It was not always and not everywhere, before and after World War II alike, that we succeeded in making use of the opportunities opening up. We were

unable to make use of the enormous moral prestige with which the USSR emerged from the war to consolidate peace-loving, democratic forces and to stop the organizers of the Cold War. Our reaction to the provocative actions of imperialism was not always adequate. Yes, some things could have been done better, and more effective action could have been taken.

Nevertheless, we are able at this festive time to state: The fundamental line of our policy invariably adhered to the general direction worked out and laid by Lenin, that is, in accordance with the nature of socialism, its fundamental orientation toward peace. [applause]

To a decisive extent and precisely thanks to this, we succeeded in averting the unleashing of nuclear war. We did not allow imperialism to win the Cold War. Together with our allies, we inflicted a defeat on the imperialist strategy of rolling back socialism. Imperialism had to moderate its claims to world supremacy.

At the new stage, it is on the results of our own peace-loving policies that we have been able to rely, elaborating new approaches in the spirit of the new thinking. Lenin's conception of peaceful coexistence has of course undergone changes. In the beginning it was justified primarily by the need to create the minimum external conditions for the construction of a new society in the country of the socialist revolution. But while being a continuation of the class policy of the victorious proletariat, peaceful coexistence has gone on, especially in the nuclear age, to become transformed into a condition for the survival of all mankind. The April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee also became a milestone in development of Leninist thought along this same avenue.

The 27th congress provided a new external economic conception in detailed form. Its point of departure, you will recall, is the following idea: Despite the profoundly contradictory nature of the modern world and fundamental differences of the states which comprise it, it is mutually connected, mutually dependent, and forms a definite integral whole. This is brought about by internationalization of world economic links, the all-embracing nature of the scientific and technical revolution, fundamentally new role of the media and communications, condition of the planet's resources, overall ecological danger, and glaring social problems of the developing world which affect everyone. But mainly it is brought about by the rise of the problem of mankind's survival, for the appearance and the threat of the use of nuclear weapons has placed a question mark over its very existence. Lenin's idea of the priority of interests of social development has thus acquired new sense and meaning.

Starting from the April plenum we have told everyone sufficiently clearly how we picture the movement toward a secure and solid peace. Our intentions and our will are recorded in the decisions of the supreme political forum of the party, the 27th congress, in the new edition of the

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CPSU Program, in the program for nuclear disarmament as set out in the statement of 15 January 1986, in the Delhi Declaration, and in other documents, and in the official speeches of the leading figures of the Soviet Union. Together with the countries of the socialist community, we have put forward a number of major initiatives at the United Nations, including a project for creation of a comprehensive system for international peace and security. The Warsaw Pact states have addressed to NATO and to all European countries a proposal to reduce armed forces and armaments to a level of reasonable sufficiency. We have invited comparison of the military doctrines of the two alliances with a view to giving them an exclusively defensive direction. We have put forward specific plans and are actively striving for the banning and elimination of chemical weapons. We have shown initiative in the field of organizing effective methods for monitoring [kontrol] a reduction in armaments, including on-site inspection. We have resolutely advocated strengthening the authority of the United Nations and making full and effective use of the rights invested in it and its organs by the international community. We do everything in our power so that the United Nations, this universal mechanism, can discuss and work with full authority to guarantee a collective quest for and a balance of all states' interests, and effectively carry out its peace-making functions.

The main thing is that our concept and the firm orientation toward peace have found reflection in deeds, in our entire conduct in the international arena, in the very style of foreign policy diplomatic work permeated with the striving for a frank and honest dialogue which takes into account mutual concerns and conclusions of world science, and is free from attempts at winning anything from anyone or cheating anyone. So, after these more than 2 years, we are saying with confidence that the new political thinking is not simply declarations and appeals but a philosophy for action or, if you like, a philosophy for life. It is continuing to evolve along with the course of objective processes in the world, and it is already at work.

The meeting at Reykjavik in October 1986 belongs among the events of the new stage of international development which has begun, the events that deserve to be mentioned on this day and which will remain in history. It instilled the new thinking with practical energy, allowed it to become firmly established in the most diverse social and political circles, and made international political contacts more effective.

The new thinking, with its criteria that are those of the whole mankind, and its orientation upon reason and openness, has started to make its way in world affairs, destroying the stereotypes of anti-Sovietism and suspicion toward our initiatives and actions. Of course, if one is to measure it by the scale of the tasks which present-day mankind is faced with solving, in order to ensure survival, then only a very, very small amount has yet

been done. But a start has been made, and the first signs of the changes are obvious. One convincing confirmation of this is the accord with the United States on the conclusion in the near future of an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. The conclusion of this agreement is of great independent significance. For the first time, a whole class of nuclear weapons will be eliminated, and the first real step will be made along the path of destroying nuclear arsenals. It has been shown in practice that it is possible to move in this direction without harm to anyone. This is undoubtedly an important success of the new thinking and the fruit of our willingness to seek mutually acceptable solutions, while strictly ensuring the principle of equal security.

However, the matter of this agreement was basically resolved in Reykjavik, at our second meeting with the President. At such a responsible time, the world expects more from a third and fourth meeting of the highest leaders of the USSR and the United States than just the formal registering of what was agreed on a year ago, and not just a continuation of the discussions.

Time is pressing, as is the growing danger of the refinement of weapons, which could get out of control. This is why we will be insistently seeking at these meetings tangible progress and specific results on the key issue of eliminating the nuclear threat, the issue of reducing strategic offensive weapons, and not permitting the transfer of weapons into space.

Nevertheless, what grounds do we have for optimism and for considering that an all-embracing security is indeed possible? It is worth dwelling on this. As we mark the 70th anniversary of our revolution, which would not have been victorious if it had not been theoretically prepared, we are now at a fresh watershed in world history and are working out in theory the prospects for advancing toward a stable peace. With the assistance of the new thinking, we have in the main substantiated the requirement for and possibility of an all-embracing system of international security in conditions of disarmament. Now we need to prove the necessary and realistic nature of heading for and reaching this goal and reveal the laws for the interaction of forces, which in struggle, amid contradictions and in the collision of interests, may provide the result that is sought.

In this connection, we should first of all, again from the standpoint of our Leninist teaching and making use of its methodology, ask ourselves difficult questions. First—and this has to do with the nature of imperialism, in which the main military threat is rooted, as is well known—the nature of the social system cannot, of course, be changed by the influence of external conditions. But is it possible at the present phase of world development and at the new level of interdependence and integrity of the world to have an influence on this nature that would block its most dangerous manifestations? In other words, is it possible to count on the

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natural logic of an integral world, in which general human values are the main priority, being able to limit the range of destructive actions of the egocentric, narrow, class-based features of the capitalist system?

Here is the second question, and it is connected with the first. Is capitalism able to free itself of militarism? Can it function economically and develop without it? Concerning our invitation to the Western countries for programs to be prepared and compared, on the reconversion of economies—that is to say, their transfer to a peaceful footing—is that not utopian?

The third question is: Can the capitalist system do without neocolonialism, one of the sources for its present life support? In other words, is that system able to function without its unequal exchange with the Third World, which is fraught with unpredictable consequences?

Along with this, there is a further question: How realistic are the hopes that an understanding of the catastrophic danger in which the world finds itself—and we know that such an understanding is penetrating even the topmost echelons of the ruling elite of the Western world—how realistic is it that this understanding will be carried over into practical policy?

After all, however strong the arguments of common sense might be, however developed the sense of responsibility might be, and however great the instinct of self-preservation might be, there are things that must in no way be underestimated and which are determined by economic and consequently class interests. In other words, it is a question of whether capitalism will be capable of adapting to the conditions of a non-nuclear and disarmed world, to the conditions of a new and just economic order, to conditions of an honest juxtaposition of the two worlds' spiritual values.

These questions are far from idle. The answers to them will determine how historical events in coming decades will unfold. It is enough to raise only these questions in order to see the full seriousness of the tasks. Life will provide the answers. The correctness of the program for a non-nuclear, secure world will be tested not only by the impeccable nature of its scientific foundations, but it will also be tested by the course of events, which is subject to influences from the most varied and new forces. It is already being tested, and here too we are true to the Leninist tradition, to the very essence of Leninism—the organic fusion of theory and practice, the approach to theory as a tool of practice, and practice as a mechanism for monitoring the correctness of theory. This is the way we are acting in transferring the new thinking to our foreign policy activity and by correcting and refining through experience obtained from real policy.

So what are we counting on, knowing that we shall have to build a secure world together with the capitalist countries? The postwar period has provided evidence of

a profound modification of contradictions which have determined the main processes in the world economy and politics. I have in mind, first and foremost, the fact that they have developed in a way that, in the past, inexorably led to war, to world wars between the capitalist states themselves. Now the situation is different. Not only the lessons of the last war, but also the fear of weakening itself in the face of socialism, which has become a world system, have prevented capitalism from taking its internal contradictions to the extreme. They have begun to involve themselves in a technology race against each other. They have discharged with the aid of neocolonialism, and a unique kind of new peaceful repartition of the world has taken place according to the same rule about capital that Lenin revealed: Whoever is the richest and strongest at any given moment gets the biggest share. A number of countries have begun easing economic tension by pumping resources into the military-industrial complex under the pretext of a Soviet threat. The transformations taking place in the technological and organizational basis of the capitalist economy have also helped to reconcile contradictions and balance interests.

But that is not all. If in the past, faced with the fascist menace, an alliance of socialist and capitalist states became possible, does not a definite lesson follow from this for the present day, when the entire world has come face to face with the menace of a nuclear disaster and need to ensure the safety of nuclear power engineering and overcoming the ecological danger? These are all completely real and acute problems, demanding not only that we be aware of them, but also that we seek practical solutions.

Further, is the capitalist economy capable of developing without militarization? Here one is reminded of the economic miracles in Japan, West Germany, and Italy. True, once the miracle was over they turned to militarism again. We must, however, establish to what extent this turn was determined by the essential laws of operation of contemporary monopolistic capital, and what role was played by transitory factors—the infectious example of the U.S. military-industrial complex, the cold war atmosphere, considerations of prestige, the need to have one's own military fist to talk to one's competitors in a language understood in that milieu, as well as the desire to reinforce one's economic invasion of the Third World by strong-arm policies. Whatever the case may be, a number of countries did go through a period of rapid development of the contemporary capitalist economy with minimal military expenditure, and this experience has remained a part of history.

One can approach the problem from the other side—from the opposite end, as it were. Since the war, the U.S. economy has invariably been oriented toward and based on militarism. Initially, this apparently stimulated it. But then this useless squandering of resources, unneeded by society, resulted in an astronomical state debt and other ills and defects. It turned out that ultimately

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super-militarization leads to the growing exacerbation of the situation in the country itself and puts the economy of others into a fevered state. The recent panic on the New York stock exchange and other stock exchanges of the world, unprecedented in almost 60 years, was a serious symptom and a serious warning.

The third point: unequal and exploitative relations with developing countries. In spite of all the fantastic innovations in the area of creation of a second artificial nature, developed capitalism has not been able to do without the resources of these countries and cannot do without them. This is objective reality. Relying on the destruction of the world's economic relations that have taken shape historically is dangerous and will not provide a way out. But the use of the resources of others through neocolonialist methods, the arbitrary rule of transnational corporations, the bondage of debts amounting to trillions which obviously cannot be repaid are leading into a dead end.

This gives rise to serious problems in the capitalist countries themselves, too. There are more than enough speculations here, and their essence consists in making the Third World a kind of scapegoat for many difficulties, including the falling living standards in the centers of capital. Attempts are constantly made to consolidate a nation on a chauvinistic basis, to involve the working people in a partnership for exploiting other countries and, at the same time, to induce them to put up with the policies of new capitalist modernization.

However, none of these or other similar tricks can resolve the problem itself; they can only damp it down for a time. Unequal exchange remains and ultimately leads to an explosion. The possibility of such an outcome seems to be dawning on Western leaders who are looking for a way out in all sorts of palliatives. Indeed, the novelty of the international economic and political processes of our time has not yet been understood and mastered to the end. But one must move toward this, for the processes that have been set in motion are endowed with the force of objective law. There will be either a collapse or a joint search for a new economic order which would take into account the interests of first, second, and third parties on the basis of equality.

A way toward establishing such an order seems to be taking shape now. It means the implementation of the concept: disarmament for development. So, searching for the answer to our third question, we see that the situation does not look insoluble; contradictions in this sphere, too, yield to modifications. But for this one has to understand realities and build practical actions in the spirit of the new thinking. This, in turn, will make movement toward a safer world easier. In a word, here too is a historic choice dictated by the laws of a world which is in many ways interconnected and integral.

There is yet another most important or even crucial circumstance: Socialism is an integral part of this world. Having started its history 70 years ago and then turning into a worldwide system, it has determined the aspect of the 20th century. It is now embarking upon a new stage of its development, once again demonstrating the possibilities that are inherent in it. One can imagine, for example, what a great reserve of peaceful coexistence lies in restructuring in the Soviet Union alone! By allowing us to attain world standards in all the most important economic indices, it will enable a vast and most rich country to join the universal division of labor and resources on a scale which has never been seen before. Its great scientific, technical, and production potential will become a considerably more important part of world economic relations. This will expand and strengthen, in a crucial way, the material base of the all-embracing system of peace and international security. This is, incidentally, another of the most important aspects of restructuring and the place reserved for it in the fate of modern civilization.

The class struggle and other manifestations of social contradictions will exert influence on the objective process in favor of peace. The front-ranking forces of the workers' movement are looking for ways toward raising its political level. They have to act in a far from simple, new and changing situation. Not only the issues of protecting the economic rights and interests of the masses but also the issues of struggle for democracy, including democracy at production enterprises, have been presented in a different way. For example, partnership is quite often offered to workers, yet a kind of partnership when access to the holy of holies of business is shut tightly and when free election of management staff is out of the question.

The Western world is full of theories that the working class is disappearing. They write that it has already dissolved in the middle class, has been socially reborn, and so on and so forth. Sure, there are large and considerable changes in the working class, but the class opponent is vainly lulling itself and trying to disorganize, disorientate and confuse the workers' movement. The working class now, in its new social frontiers, represents a numerically superior force and possesses the potential to play a decisive role, especially at the sharp turning points of history. The motives provoking it can be various, and one of the probable ones is the senseless militarization of the economy. The transition to a new phase of the technological revolution on a militaristic basis is a strong catalyst, especially as that is the path to war, and that means that it affects all strata of the population and expands the extent of mass protest beyond the limits of economic demands.

So, the ruling class and the lords of monopoly capital will have to make a choice here, too. We are convinced—and science confirms it—that, at the present level of technology and organization of production, putting industry

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back onto a civilian footing and demilitarization of the economy are possible. At the same time, this will be a choice in favor of peace.

The same applies to the consequences of the crisis in relations between the developed and developing worlds. If things go as far as the verge of an explosion, and it turns out to be impossible to continue to enjoy benefits through exploitation of the Third World, the question of the unacceptability and intolerability of a system which is incapable of existing without it could reach the political level, and very sharply. In general, and from this point of view, capitalism faces hard choices: to take matters as far as an explosion, or to take account of the laws of an interrelated, integral world, which demands a balance of interests on the basis of equal rights. According to the situation as we see it, this is not only necessary, but possible, especially as forces in the Third World itself are operating in that very direction.

It is customary to talk of the decline of the national liberation movement, but what is going on here, obviously, is a substitution of concepts and a non-recognition of the new nature of the situation. If the liberating impulse which operated at the stage of the struggle for political independence is meant, then it is weakening, of course, and that is natural. But the impulse necessary for the new, present stage of the development of the Third World is only just taking shape; and it is necessary to be clearly aware of this and not to fall into pessimism. The factors from which this impulse is formed are varied and heterogeneous. Here there is a powerful economic process which sometimes take on paradoxical forms: for example, some countries retain features on underdevelopment and emerge at the level of great powers in world economic and politics. There is also a growth of political energy in the course of formation of nations and consolidation of national states in the genuine sense, a considerable place among whom is occupied by countries with revolutionary regimes. There are also grapes of wrath on the soil of the glaring polarization of poverty and wealth and the contrast between possibilities and the real situation. The force of originality and independent action is working in an increasingly pronounced and active way in organizations reflecting the processes of the inter-state consolidation of developing countries.

This is characteristic of all organizations to a greater or lesser degree, and there are a number of them—the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, ASEAN, the Organization of American States, the Latin American Economic System, the South Pacific Forum, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the Islamic Conference Organization and, especially, the Nonaligned Movement. They reflect the kaleidoscope of contradictory interests, requirements, needs, ideologies, claims, and prejudices of the present stage. All of them, although they have already become a noticeable factor in world politics, have not yet developed their potential; this potential is colossal, and it is difficult to foretell its results over the next half century.

One thing is clear: this is a whole world, which is seeking the organizational forms for its effective and equal participation in resolving issues concerning all mankind; it encompasses 2.5 billion people. One may surmise that not only its influence on world policy but also its original role in forming the world economy of the future will make gigantic strides forward. For all the might of transnational capital, it is not this that will determine the ways in which the Third World will progress, but it is more likely itself to be compelled to adapt to the independent choice which the peoples themselves have made or will make. It is these peoples and the organizations representing them that have a vital interest in the new world economic order.

There is another aspect of no little importance. Within the capitalist world itself the development of recent decades has given rise to new forms of social contradictions and movements. Such are the movement against the nuclear threat, the movements for the protection of the natural environment, against racial discrimination, against the policy that splits society into the successful and the doomed, against the calamities of entire industrial zones that have fallen victim to the new capitalist modernization. Millions are participating in these movements; prominent scientific and cultural personalities, nationally and internationally acknowledged authorities, are becoming their inspirers and leaders. Social democratic, socialist and labor parties and mass organizations similar to or linked with these are steadily continuing to play an important role in the political process in a number of countries, and in some places are increasing their influence.

In all respects — economic, political, and social — we can see in the modern world the tenet that Lenin considered to be one of the most profound in Marxism is finding everywhere its justification: that is, as a historical action establishes itself, so too the number of the masses who are involved in the action will grow. This is always the truest sign and the most powerful factor of social progress, and that means peace. Indeed, the greatness and the novelty of our time lie in the fact that the peoples are increasingly openly and publicly present at the front of the historical stage. Their positions are now such as to make it possible to compel their being taken into account, and not just in the final analysis, but directly.

Thereby another new truth shines forth: constant choice is becoming increasingly characteristic of the movement of history at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, but the rightness of that choice depends upon how and to what degree the interests and intentions of millions, hundreds of millions, are taken into account. From this the responsibility of politicians is derived. For a real policy can be such, only if this novelty of the time is taken into consideration. The human factor is now emerging at the political level, not as a remote and more or less elemental result of the life and activities of the masses of the people and their intentions. It is irrupting

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into world affairs directly. Without an understanding of this, in other words, without new thinking based on present-day realities and the will of the peoples, policy becomes an unpredictable improvisation, which is risky both for a country itself and for others. There is no long-term support for such a policy.

These are the grounds for our optimistic view of the future and the prospects for the creation of an all-embracing international security system. Our position on defense issues is quite logically linked with this. As long as the danger of war remains and as long as social revenge-seeking remains the pivot of the strategy and militarist programs of the West, we shall continue in the future to do everything necessary to maintain our defensive power at a level that rules out a military superiority of imperialism over socialism. [applause]

Comrades, in these festive days we are paying due tribute to the merits of the international Communist movement. In the October Revolution, which has retained to this day its international stimulus, is the source of its viability. The international Communist movement is growing and developing on the soil of individual countries; but there is something in common in the very image of the communist, whatever nation he may belong to and in whatever country he may work. This is his dedication to the idea of a better communist society and his loyalty to the working people, above all to the working class, the struggle for their vital interests, for peace and democracy. [applause]

I believe that on this our anniversary the Third Communist International also deserves to be mentioned. We have yet to restore the full truth about it and to write its authentic and complete history. For all the shortcomings and miscalculations in its work, and however bitter it may be to recall certain pages of its history, the Comintern is part of the great past of our movement. Born of October, it not only became a school of internationalism and revolutionary brotherhood, it made internationalism a practical weapon in the struggle for the interests of working people, for the social progress of the nations and peoples. From its ranks arose the cohorts of the true knights of the 20th century: people of duty and honor, of lofty flight and inflexible courage, who felt the grief of the millions of the oppressed throughout the world, heard their call and summoned them to the struggle. [applause]

The Communists were the first to sound the alarm about the peril of fascism. They were the first to rise up in the struggle against it, and they were its first victims. They gathered from all over the world and were the first to take up the armed fight against fascism in Spain. They were the first to raise the banner of resistance on behalf of the freedom and national dignity of their peoples. And it was the Communists, above all, the Soviet Communists, who made a decisive contribution to the devastating defeat of fascism in World War II. [applause]

Later, and now, with the same irreconcilability and bravery, the Communists are in the first ranks against all reaction and all obscurantism. They are people of legendary heroism and self-sacrifice. They are not just individuals, but hundreds of thousands of people, organized and united by a single will, iron discipline, and incorruptible ideological commitment. The days of the Comintern, of the Informburo, and even of binding international conferences, have passed; but the international Communist movement exists. All parties are fully and irreversibly independent. We said that as long ago as the 20th congress. True, it took time to free ourselves from the old habits. Now, however, this is an immutable reality. In that sense the 27th CPSU Congress was also a final and irrevocable milestone. I believe we have shown this by our actions, in our relations with the fraternal parties and in the course of restructuring. [applause]

The international Communist movement is at the crossroads, and like world progress itself, its driving force. [sentence as heard] The Communist Parties are seeking their new place in the profound changes at the turn of the centuries. Meanwhile, their international movement is renewing itself, gaining cohesion by respect, who, who renewed norms of trust, equality of rights and sincere solidarity. [sentence as heard]

The movement is open to dialogue, to cooperation, to interaction and alliance with all other revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces. The CPSU has no doubt about the future of the communist movement, the carrier of the alternative to capitalism, the movement of the bravest and most consistent fighters for peace, and for the independence and progress of their countries, for friendship among all peoples of the earth. [applause]

Comrades: The most important milestone in post-October world history is the emergence of the world socialist system. For four decades now, socialism has been the common destiny of many peoples and a highly important factor of modern civilization. Our party and the Soviet people value greatly their opportunity to interact with our friends, who for several decades now have borne, as we do, responsibility at state level for socialism and for its advance.

All the socialist states have amassed much interesting and useful experience in solving the social, economic and ideological tasks of building a new life. The socialist system and the quest and experience which it has tested in practice are of universal human significance. It has offered to the world its answers to the fundamental questions of human life and appropriated its humanist and collectivist values, at the center of which stands the working man. The socialist system instills in him feelings of dignity, of being master of his country; it gives him social protection and confidence in the future, opening ample scope for acquisition of knowledge and culture, and creating conditions for realizing of individual abilities and talents. What has been achieved by peoples of the socialist countries is the object of our common pride.

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the more so since it is both the result of many years of fruitful cooperation and the fruits of a truly fraternal intercourse of unprecedented breadth and openness, of citizens, of party and public organizations, of production collectives of creative unions and cultural institutions, family and personal ties and the joint toil and study of tens of thousands of people.

From the heights of what has been covered, much is clearer. Life has amended our conceptions of the logical patterns and speeds of the transition to socialism and understanding of socialism's role on a world scale. We are far from thinking that all the progressive changes taking place in the world are due only to socialism, but the way in which the most important problems for mankind are presented and in which the search for their solution is proceeding, affirms an indissoluble link between world progress and socialism as an international force. [applause] This link is especially visible in the struggle to avert a nuclear catastrophe and in the presence of a correlation of world forces that permits various peoples to defend their social and political choice with greater success.

The experience accumulated permits relations among the socialist countries to be better constructed on generally recognized principles. These are unconditional and total equality, the responsibility of the ruling party for affairs in its state, and for patriotic service to its people; concern for the general cause of socialism, respect for one another, a serious attitude toward what has been achieved and tried out by friends; voluntary and varied cooperation, and the strict observation by all of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The practice of socialist internationalism rests upon these.

The world of socialism rises before us now in all its national and social variation. This is good and useful. We have become convinced that unity does not mean being identical or uniform. We have also become convinced that socialism does not, and cannot have, a model against which all are compared. The criterion for its development at every stage and in every country is the totality and quality of the real successes which have reconstructed society in the interests of the working people. [applause]

We also know what damage can be done by a weakening of the internationalist principle in mutual relations of socialist states, by deviation from the principles of mutual benefit and mutual aid, and by a lack of attention to the general interests of socialism in action on the world arena. It is with satisfaction that we state that recently our relations with all socialist states have acquired dynamism and are improving. Of course, cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA has become more fruitful and more businesslike, which, incidentally, in no way of principle separates their participants from the other socialist countries.

The 27th Congress gave a precise definition of the stance of the CPSU in politics and in all other areas of our cooperation with each socialist country. What is decisive is what ensures a combination of mutual interest and those of socialism as a whole. The strengthening of friendship and the all-round development of cooperation with the socialist countries is the main priority of the international policy of the Soviet Union. Welcoming today the delegations from the socialist countries, in their person we welcome the peoples of the socialist countries. [applause]

Dear Comrades, esteemed foreign guests, all our intentions and accomplishments have been and are being inspired by the life-giving force of Communist ideas. These ideas were inscribed on the banner of the revolution. They roused millions of people, who came to believe and cherish them and who accepted them as the goal and meaning of their life, to struggle and labor accomplishments. The people's work and struggle, their immeasurable persistence in attaining a freely chosen goal, their joys and sorrows—all this came to be embodied in the reality of the present-day socialism which proceeds along the path of revolutionary restructuring. It is in this that the force of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the force of the revolution consists and continues. [applause]

Throughout the entire period of these 70 years the Soviet people have been led by their tested vanguard, the Leninist party. The party and the revolution, the party and the Great October Socialist Revolution are inseparable. [applause]

There would have been no victory of the socialist revolution without a party, equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory. There would have been no socialism, nor our great state, nor the base upon which there currently proceed the renewal of all aspects of public life and the acceleration of the country's social and economic development without a party that learned how to build a new society.

Time demands that in the new conditions, too, the party should proceed at the head of the revolutionary renewal, that it should persistently and consistently enhance the effectiveness of its policy, and that it should develop democratization along all the directions and at all levels of public life. The growing role of the party is a logical process. However, this role is defined least of all by words or formalistic rituals. It is to be found within the depth and honesty of analysis and appraisals, in the fact that policy has been thought out and in resoluteness of action, in the skill to make compatible the private and the collective, the personal and the public, the present-day and the long-term. It is to be found in the enhancement of the responsibility of all party organizations and of each Communist for the course of events in society.

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Our party has just under 20 million Communists, one tenth of the country's adult population. It is an enormous force. However, the potential of the party's influence, the party's pressure on restructuring has not yet been fully brought into play.

The preparations for and the holding of the 19th all-union party conference ought to give serious impetus to improve this complicated and painstaking work. The destiny of the great cause of the revolution, of the great cause of Lenin is now in our hands. We are again proceeding along an untrodden path, and this places special responsibility on the party and on all of us. To use Lenin's words: The time of revolution is a time for action, action from above and from below. Such is the tradition of the party of a new type, right from its very first steps. Such is the demand to the vanguard of the Soviet society at the current stage of socialist development, a stage which is a most complicated one, but also one which inspires by its novelty.

Comrades, mankind crossed the threshold of real history in 1917. However, the 70 years that have elapsed, the economic shocks and social cataclysms which gave birth to fascism and World War II, the Cold War, and the arms race, the threat of a thermonuclear disaster and of global crises bear witness to the fact that the past still has a considerable proportion of mankind firmly in its grip. Nevertheless, we are right to regard as unique the time in which we live, the meeting point of the 20th and 21st centuries, both as far as the depth of social transformations and the global scale of the tasks that have arisen before the peoples of the world are concerned.

Today we see that mankind is indeed not doomed to exist in perpetuity the way it used to live prior to October 1917. Socialism has become a mighty, growing and developing reality. It is precisely the GOSR, it is precisely socialism that indicate for mankind the routes leading to the future and the new values of genuinely human relations. [applause]

Collectivism instead of selfishness, freedom and equality instead of exploitation and oppression, genuine people's power instead of the tyranny of a minority, an increasing role for commonsense and humanity instead of the elemental and harsh interplay of social forces, and general human unity and peace instead of discord, dissension and wars. The present generation, and not only in our own country, is accountable for the fate of civilization and life itself on earth. It will depend on them in the final analysis whether the beginning of a fresh millenium in world history will be its tragic epilogue or an inspiring prologue to the future.

Only a little over 13 [as heard] years remain before the beginning of the 21st century, and in 2017 our people and all progressive mankind will be ushering in the centenary of the Great October Revolution. What kind of world will it be when it steps over the 100 years' mark of our revolution? What kind of socialism will it be, and

what degree of maturity will have been achieved by the world community of states and peoples? Let us not speculate, but we should remember that it is at the present time that the foundations of the future are being laid. It is our duty to preserve our unrepeatable civilization and life itself on earth, to achieve the triumph of reason over nuclear madness, and to create every condition for the free and all-round development of man and mankind. [applause]

We see the possibility for endless progress. We realize that it is not easy to achieve it, but this does not intimidate us. On the contrary, it inspires us, since it fills life with a lofty humane purpose and profound meaning.

In October 1917 we departed the old world and irreversibly rejected it. We are traveling to a new world, the world of communism. We shall never deviate from this path. [prolonged and stormy applause]

TASS Reports Celebration Meeting 2 Nov
LD021932 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT
2 Nov 87

["Kremlin Palace: The Afternoon Sitting Is Over"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

"The stand of the Soviet youth is unambiguous: The reorganization process is our part of the revolution." These words of greetings by the Soviet youth were voiced in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses today at the celebration meeting on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Thus how the young people of the country expressed their attitude to the reorganization process.

These words of greetings from the young came at the end of today's sittings of the celebration meeting which had begun with a detailed report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

The Soviet leader reviewed the stages of the 70-year-long history of the Land of the Soviets, and spoke of the achievements and difficulties of the reorganization process, of the impact of the October Revolution on the character and development of international relations, and of the acutest problems of the contemporary world.

The general secretary's report had been heard by people on all continents. Radio Moscow broadcast a reportage in 75 languages of the peoples of the world. The viewers of many countries could watch the celebration meeting in live telecasts in the Kremlin.

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Comparison of Gorbachev 2 November Speech

Moscow *Pravda* in Russian on 3 November carries in its Second Edition on pages 2-5 M.S. Gorbachev's 2 November speech on the 70th anniversary of the GOSR entitled "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues." A comparison with the Moscow Television version published on pages 38-61 of the 3 November Soviet Union *Daily Report* reveals the following variations: Page 38: Column one, paragraph one, sentence four, reads in *Pravda*: October is truly mankind's shining hour and his dawn. [rewording] Column one, paragraph two, sentence one has "An anniversary is a time to be proud" in boldface Column two, paragraph two, is headed by the following: I The Path of October—the Path of the Pioneers [supplying subhead] Column two, paragraph two, sentence one begins with: Comrades, our pioneering...[rewording, changing punctuation] Page 40: Column one, paragraph two, sentence three, *Pravda* has the word "model" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph three, sentence one, has "contrary to the rules" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence four, has "you are saying that to create socialism you need to have civilization" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence five, has "Very well." through "moving toward socialism?" in quotation marks Column two, paragraph three, sentence two has "everything for victory" in quotation marks Same paragraph, at end *Pravda* has [prolonged applause] instead of [applause] Column two, paragraph four, sentence three has "cooperative socialism" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence five, has "cooperative societies" and "civilized cooperative members" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence seven, has "finish off, re-do, and start afresh" in quotation marks Page 41: Column one, paragraph three, sentence five, has "regular" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph four, sentence five, has Lenin quote from "not directly on" to "revolution told us." in quotation marks Column two, paragraph one, last sentence has "From each" to "to his labor." in quotation marks Column two, paragraph two, sentence three, has "combine harmoniously" in quotation marks Same paragraph, last sentence has "plan of work" through "level of technology." in quotation marks Column two, paragraph three, sentence one reads "and the variegated richness, boldness, and originality..." [supplying "richness"] Column two, paragraph four, sentence two has "socialist Russia would emerge from the Russia of NEP" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence three has "It is better to do a little but do it well"; "cultural development of the entire mass of the people"; and "without falsehood and force" in quotation marks Page 43: Column one, paragraph one, last sentence has "was not a trifle" through "acquire crucial importance." in quotation marks Column one, paragraph three, last sentence has "turning the screws" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph four, sentence five, has "new opposition" in quotation marks Page 43: Column two, paragraph two, has "Bukharin is not just" through "fully understood it." in quotation marks Page 44: Column one, paragraph four, at end *Pravda* has [prolonged

applause] instead of [applause] Page 45: Column one, paragraph five, sentence two has "theory" in quotation marks Page 46: Column one, paragraph three, sentence four, has "Manchurian incident" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph four, sentence four, has "appeasement" in quotation marks Same paragraph, last sentence has "Third Reich" in quotation marks Column two, paragraph four, first sentence has "no later than September 1" in quotation marks Page 47: Column one, paragraph one, at end of sentence two, *Pravda* has [prolonged applause] instead of [applause] Column one, paragraph three, sentence one reads "who commanded the fronts and armies, the corps, divisions" [rewording] Column one, paragraph four, at end of paragraph *Pravda* has [prolonged applause] instead of [applause] Page 48: Column one, paragraph one, sentence two has "Leningrad plot" and "doctors' plot" in quotation marks Same paragraph, same sentence reads: "plot" were fabricated. In short, genuine respect for the people was lacking. People worked selflessly" [rewording] Column one, paragraph five, sentence one reads: "to overcome the voluntarist tendencies and distortions" [rewording] Column two, paragraph two, sentence one, reads: "great possibilities to further accelerate its development" [adding "further"] Page 49: Column one, paragraph three, sentence two, has "fight for freedom" through "attainment of socialism." in quotation marks, and "without for a moment" in boldface. Same paragraph, at end *Pravda* has [prolonged applause] instead of [applause] Column one, paragraph six is headed by: II Developing Socialism and Restructuring [supplying subhead] Same paragraph starts with: "Comrades, we have [changing punctuation] Column two, paragraph two, sentence two has "to analyze, in" through "given transitional form." in quotation marks, and "from what to what" in boldface Column two, paragraph three, sentence one, reads "interests, and to humanitarian values in the" [rewording] Same paragraph, sentence two, reads "revival lies in revealing socialism's tremendous social" [rewording] Page 50: Column one, paragraph two, sentence four, has "timid" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence four, has Lenin quote "But the power" through "the new life." in quotation marks, and "independent" in boldface Column one, paragraph three, sentence two, has "afraid" in quotation marks Column two, paragraph one, sentence six, reads "reverence for rank, bad management, and irresponsibility." [subbing "bad" for "band"] Same paragraph, sentence seven, has "pressure" in quotation marks Page 51: Column one, paragraph one, sentence three, reads "of self-financing and commercial viability. From the beginning" [rewording] Same paragraph, last sentence, reads "on state enterprises (associations) will come into" [supplying word] Column one, paragraph three, sentence three reads "reform and restructuring as whole actively put people" [adding phrase] Column two, paragraph two, sentence two, reads "life and for asserting our Soviet values" [rewording] Page 52: Column one, paragraph one ends with [prolonged applause] instead of [applause] Column two, paragraph two, *Pravda* omits [applause] notation at end of paragraph Page 53: Column one, paragraph three, sentence three, *Pravda* does

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not repeat "the forces of conservatism" Column two, end of paragraph three, has [prolonged applause] instead of [applause] Page 54: Column one, paragraph two is headed by: III. Great October and the Modern World [supplying subhead] Column one, paragraph two, begins with "Comrades, the world" [changing punctuation] Same paragraph, sentence two, has "right" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence four, has "major politics" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph three, sentence one, has "weakest link" and "final, decisive battle" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence three, has "breathing space" and "a new period" through "states was won." in quotation marks [subbing "won" for "one"] Same paragraph, last sentence has "coexist" in quotation marks Column two, paragraph three, reads "imperialist strategy of rolling back socialism." Imperialism had to moderate its" [supplying quotation marks, rewording Column two, paragraph five, sentence one, reads "provided a new foreign policy conception in detailed" [rewording] Page 56: Column one, paragraph three, sentence two has "Third World" in quotation marks Column two, paragraph one, sentence six has "discharged", "peaceful", and "about capital" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence seven, has "easing" and "Soviet threat" in quotation marks Column two, paragraph two, last sentence, reads "completely real and terrible things, demanding not only" [rewording] Column two, paragraph three, sentence two, has "economic miracles" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence three, has "miracle" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence four, has "infectious example", "cold war", "military fist", and "Third World" in quotation marks Page 57: Column one, paragraph two, sentence two, has "second" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence two, has "Third World" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence three, has "consolidate a nation" and "partnership" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph five, sentence one, has "disarmament for development" in quotation marks Column two, paragraph two, sentence five, has "partnership" in quotation marks Column two, paragraph three, sentence one has "theories" in quotation marks Same paragraph, sentence two, has "middle class" in quotation marks Page 58: Column one, paragraph two, sentence two and last sentence, has "Third World" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph three, sentence three, has "Third World" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph four, last sentence, reads "foretell the results even over the next" [adding "even" and rewording] Column two, paragraph one, sentence three, has "Third World" in quotation marks Page 59: Column two, paragraph two, sentence one reads "at the crossroads, like world progress itself—its driving force. The Communist Parties..." [rewording, deleting editorial note] Same paragraph, sentence three, reads "gaining cohesion by its respect for the renewed norms" [rewording, removing editorial note following sentence] Column two, paragraph five, sentence three, *Pravda* reads "human life and approved its humanist and" [replacing "appropriated" with "approved"] Page 60: Column one, paragraph four, sentence four, has "model" in quotation marks Page 61: Column

one, paragraph two, sentence four, has from "The time of" through "and from below." in quotation marks Column one, paragraph three, sentence two has "cold war" in quotation marks Column one, paragraph six, sentence one has "little over 13 years remain before" [deleting editorial note] Column two, end of paragraph one, has [prolonged applause] instead of [applause]

Comparison of Gorbachev 4 November Speech

Moscow *Pravda* in Russian on 5 November 1987 carries in its Second Edition on page 1 an unattributed report on the speech by M.S. Gorbachev given in the Kremlin on 4 November. The *Pravda* report, under the headline "Speech by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev," has been compared with the Moscow Television Russian version published in the 4 November Soviet Union *Daily Report*, page 22, revealing the following variations:

The *Pravda* version begins: [Text] Esteemed Comrades, Dear Friends!

I welcome you once again—this time as participants in our meeting, which is unusual from all points of view and reflects the profound changes which the modern world is experiencing.

May I take this opportunity to thank you for visiting us and participating in our celebrations. This is an honor for us and a great support.

Dear Comrades, Friends!... (supplying *Pravda* opening paragraphs)

Page 22, column one, second paragraph, sentence three, *Pravda* reads ..."living in peace together"... (providing quotation marks)

Paragraph five, first sentence, *Pravda* reads ...of this highlights new aspects of the content of... (rewording)

Next paragraph, last sentence, *Pravda* reads ..."medium"... (providing quotation marks)

Same sentence, *Pravda* reads ...to a fundamentally different level which... (deleting "new," editorial note)

Column two, first paragraph, last sentence, *Pravda* reads ..."recessions"... (providing quotation marks)

Page 23, column one, paragraph one, sentence two, *Pravda* reads ...fear of the "Soviet threat" persists; for as... (deleting "military," supplying quotation marks)

Same paragraph, sentence two, *Pravda* has ..."subjects" ... "objects"... (supplying quotation marks)

Next paragraph, first sentence, *Pravda* reads ...fear of the "Soviet threat" and militarism loses... (deleting "military," supplying quotation marks)

Start pg 254

*also - famous
poem in
fuel
255-6*

NORA LEVIN

The Holocaust

THE DESTRUCTION
OF EUROPEAN JEWRY
1933-1945

UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST
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THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY · NEW YORK · Established 1834

810
J4
L455
1968

To R.

Then can I drown an eye . . .
For precious friends hid in death's dateless night.

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greatest distress to free themselves from the encirclement. Regardless of the fact that the Jewish people, among whom were also tradesmen, were mistreated in a terribly barbarous way in the face of the White Ruthenian people, the White Ruthenians themselves were also worked over with rubber clubs and rifle butts. There was no question of an action against the Jews any more. It rather looked like a revolution. . . .

In several instances I literally had to expel with drawn pistol the German police officials as well as the Lithuanian partisans from the shops. . . . I was not present at the shooting before the town. But it should suffice, if I point out that persons shot have worked themselves out of their graves some time after they had been covered.²⁹

The regional commissar had pleaded with the local battalion commander for a postponement of the killings, pointing out that Jews were working as skilled laborers and specialists, that White Russian mechanics were nonexistent. The commander did not contradict him but proceeded to encircle the Jewish quarter and start the massacre.

Kube was incensed by the regional commissar's report and sent a copy to Lohse and Rosenberg, adding a personal comment that the burial of seriously wounded people who could work themselves out of their graves was such a disgusting business that it ought to be reported to Hitler. Kube, apparently, still had his illusions. Meanwhile, vehicles loaded with ammunition for the armed forces were left standing in the streets of Sluzk. The Jewish drivers had been executed. Jewish specialists in the cannery were also killed and their work stood unattended. When questions were raised whether all Jews were to be killed regardless of the effect on the economy, Rosenberg's directive of December 18 swallowed them up; economic questions should not be considered in the solution of the Jewish problem, the directive stated. The armament industry gradually collapsed. Thousands of workers were "withdrawn"; ghettos were burned to the ground. Workshops that had once produced wooden carts, soap, candles, rope, leather and lumber for the German Army stood abandoned. There were no replacements for these thousands of Jews who toiled for the Army at a time when the lives of German soldiers were being dissolved by massive Soviet force, when they froze for lack of shoes and clothing, while Germans at home were wearing shoes with cardboard bottoms.

The greatest murder assignment of all in invaded Russia was given to *Einsatzgruppen* C and D. In their areas, the Soviet Ukraine Republic and eastern Galicia, annexed from Poland in 1939, lived the "reservoirs of Eastern Jewry" that had played such an important part in Nazi propaganda. There were two million Jews in this region. Many had fled the first drive, but before the end of 1941 between 150,000 and 200,000 had been killed in the Ukraine alone. The Nazi stampede across eastern Galicia was accompanied by pogroms in Lvov, Tarnopol, Zborow, Zloczow, and Dro-

hobicz, with 7,000 killed in Lvov alone. By the beginning of July, *Einsatzgruppe C* had already advanced well beyond Galicia. Four detachments were deployed across the width of the Ukraine from the Pripet Marshes to the Dniester. In the center of the line was Commando 4a, under the leadership of a Dusseldorf architect, Paul Blobel, who was to achieve a record for Jewish mass executions. Blobel was attached to the Sixth Army, commanded by Walter von Reichenau. Blobel first met Reichenau on June 26 at Sokal, where he had established his headquarters on a splendid Polish estate on the banks of the Bug River. He was walking about in a bathing suit, giving meticulous instructions to his aides. One included an order to Blobel to reduce the customary five rifle shots per victim to two in the case of Jews. While strutting about, he commented to Blobel on the "Führer Order" and the necessity for total ruthlessness.

Blobel's unit shot 2,531 Jews in Zhitomir in the last week in July and enclosed the survivors in a ghetto. Then his unit went into the main towns of the western Ukraine—Korosten, Berdichev, Uman, and Vinnitsa—and conducted further massacres. Back once more at Zhitomir within a few weeks, Blobel spoke to the garrison commander who agreed with him that the creation of the ghetto had "not stopped the gossiping and mischief of the Jews." Accordingly, he supplied Blobel with twelve army trucks and sixty Ukrainian helpers and had graves dug by Russian prisoners of war. Then 3,145 more Jews were executed. But it is with the mass killings of the Jews of Kiev that Blobel is chiefly associated.

→ On September 19, the day of the second massacre at Zhitomir, the Germans entered Kiev. The defense of Kiev had lasted forty-five days. It had cost the Russians an entire army group but was a dearly won victory for the Germans who, according to some military strategists, should not have fought the battle at all, but concentrated on the Moscow front.²⁰ A few days after the Germans entered the city, a big explosion rocked the Continental Hotel, headquarters of one of the commands. The fires spread rapidly and in fighting them hundreds of German soldiers were killed. The Kiev Jews were made reprisal victims. Notices were posted ordering Jews to report for "resettlement." They were marched in small groups, with their "resettlement" bundles, past the Jewish cemetery at the outer limits of the city to the Babi Yar ravine coiling in the sand dunes and there executed. The killing rate, almost 35,000 in two days, was unequalled even by the death factories of Treblinka and Auschwitz.

On October 22, 1944, W. H. Lawrence of the *New York Times* was shown over the Babi Yar ravine by M. Alosin, the Kiev city architect, who told him that "a German architect" had boasted to him of the slaughter. After the war, Blobel admitted to killing only 16,000 Jews; to a Gestapo expert on church affairs, Albert Hartel, he seemed more proprietary. While the two men were driving together near Kiev early in

1942, they approached the ravine. Hartel noticed small explosions which threw up columns of earth. The March thaw was releasing gases from thousands of bodies. "Here my Jews are buried," Blobel explained.

The massacre at Babi Yar has achieved a strange immortality in the poem of that name by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, a popular young Russian poet who dared to express his anguish over the dreadful event at Babi Yar, and over Russian anti-Semitism:

No gravestone stands on Babi Yar;
only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash.
Such dread comes over me; I feel so old,
Old as the Jews. Today, I am a Jew . . .
Now I go wandering, an Egyptian slave;
And now I perish, splayed upon the cross.
The marks of nails are still upon my flesh.

And I am Dreyfus whom the gentry hound:
I am behind the bars, caught in a ring;
Belied, denounced, and spat upon I stand,
While dainty ladies in their lacy frills,
Squealing, poke parasols into my face.

I am that little boy in Bialystok
Whose blood flows, spreading darkly on the floor.
The rowdy lords of the saloon make sport,
Reeking alike of vodka and of leek.
Booted aside, weak, helpless, I, the child
Who begs in vain while the pogromchik mob
Guffaws and shouts: "Save Russia, beat the Jews!"
The shopman's blows fall on my mother's back.

O my own people, my own Russian folk,
Believers in the brotherhood of man!
But dirty hands too often dare to raise
The banner of your pure and lofty name.
I know the goodness of my native land.
How vile that anti-Semites shamelessly
Preen themselves in the words that they debase:
"The Union of the Russian People."

Now, in this moment, I am Anna Frank,
Frail and transparent as an April twig.
I love as she; I need no ready phrases . . .
Only to look into each other's eyes!
How little we can sense, how little see . . .
Leaves are forbidden us, the sky forbidden . . .
Yet how much still remains; how strangely sweet
to hold each other close in the dark room.
They come? No, do not fear. These are the gales

Of spring; she bursts into this gloom.
 Come to me; quickly; let me kiss your lips . . .
 They break the door? No, no, the ice is breaking.

On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees
 Like judges loom and threaten . . .
 All screams in silence; I take off my cap
 And feel that I am slowly turning gray.
 And I too have become a soundless cry
 Over the thousands that lie buried here.
 I am each old man slaughtered; each child shot.
 None of me will forget.

Let the glad "Internationale" blare forth
 When earth's last anti-Semite lies in earth.
 No drop of Jewish blood flows in my veins,
 But anti-Semites with a dull, gnarled hate
 Detest me like a Jew.

O know me truly Russian through their hate!²¹

The poet was denounced in the Soviet press and accused of slandering the Russian people and of concentrating too narrowly on the sufferings of the Jews. The poem stands, however, simple and honest, a memorial to those who perished and a courageous indictment of Soviet anti-Semitism.

In March 1966, memorial plaques were erected at Babi Yar, but none bore any sign that Jews were killed there. Evidence has also been uncovered implicating Russians in the massacres.

The great fire in Kiev was said by the German military to have been started by the Jews. But the theory that land mines were laid here and elsewhere by Jews was disposed of at Nuremberg by Colonel General Alfred Jodl, who recalled that a captured chart showing the location of fifty land mines had been prepared by the Russian high command long before their retreat. And yet it is clear that Jodl himself had permitted the explosions to be blamed on the Jews for, in giving evidence, he unguardedly associated von Reichenau's order on "subhuman Jewry" with "the events in Kiev."²² In this order, dated October 10, 1941, Field Marshal Walther von Reichenau wrote:

The most essential aim of the war against the Jewish-Bolshevistic system is a complete destruction of their means of power and the elimination of asiatic influence from the European culture. In this connection, the troops are facing tasks which exceed the one-sided routine of soldiering. . . . Therefore the soldier must have a full understanding for the necessity of a severe but just revenge on subhuman Jewry. The Army has to aim at another purpose, i.e., the annihilation of revolts in the hinterland which, as experience proves, have always been caused by Jews.²³

During the winter of 1941-42, 15,000 more Jews of Kiev were executed. In Dniepropetrovsk, 11,000 old people and children were killed in a single day. At Rovno, 15,000 Jews were shot in two days. In Kharkov, 14,000 were

machine-gunned in groups of two and three hundred during the winter of 1941-42.

In the Ukraine, the Armament Inspectorate viewed the massacres with misgiving, but did not fight about the issue. On December 2, 1941, the Armament Inspector sent a letter to General Thomas enclosing a report from an economics expert, Professor Peter Seraphim of Göttingen University. The inspector pointed out that Seraphim's report was personal, not official, but that he, the inspector, agreed with the statements "in all respects." Seraphim wrote that "the kind of solution of the Jewish problem applied in the Ukraine" was based on "ideological theories," not on economic considerations, with the result that the elimination of Jews "had far-reaching economic consequences and even direct consequences for the armament industry." These Jews, Seraphim continued, represented industrial and commercial manpower badly needed and even indispensable to the armed forces. He wrote:

The attitude of the Jewish population was anxious—obliging from the beginning. They tried to avoid everything that might displease the German administration. That they hated the German administration and army inwardly goes without saying and cannot be surprising. However, there is no proof that Jewry as a whole or even to a greater extent was implicated in acts of sabotage. Surely, there were some terrorists or saboteurs among them just as among the Ukrainians. But it cannot be said that the Jews as such represented a danger to the German armed forces. The output produced by Jews who, of course, were prompted by nothing but the feeling of fear was satisfactory to the troops and the German administration. . . .

It [the planned shooting] was done entirely in public with the use of the Ukrainian militia and unfortunately in many instances also with members of the armed forces taking part voluntarily. The way these actions . . . were carried out was horrible. The great masses executed make this action more gigantic than any similar measure taken so far in the Soviet Union. So far about 150,000 to 200,000 Jews may have been executed in the part of the Ukraine belonging to the Reichskommissariat; no consideration was given to the interests of economy.²⁴

Professor Seraphim then raised the overriding question in a rueful, rhetorical aside: "If we shoot the Jews, let the prisoners of war perish, condemn considerable parts of the urban population by hunger during the next year, the question remains unanswered: Who in all the world is then supposed to produce economic values here? In view of the manpower bottleneck in the German Reich, there is no doubt that the necessary number of Germans will not be available either now or in the near future."

But the killers had first and last claim.

In the Crimea, the area of *Einsatzgruppe D*, the Romanian share in the massacres was very substantial. On October 22, 1941, a delayed-action land mine destroyed the former Russian NKVD building in Odessa, which had become the headquarters of the Romanian 10th Division and the town commandant's office. Some German and Romanian officers were killed.

The Romanians then applied the formula adopted by the Germans in Kiev—retaliation against the Jews. Between October 23 and 25, 26,000 Odessa Jews were massacred. German reports on October 26 accused Jews of resistance activity directed from the Great Synagogue, suggesting that the Germans may have been behind the massacre. The executions, however, were carried out by Romanian soldiers. Since early October, two of Ohlendorf's detachments had stood waiting vainly to enter the city. The Romanians wanted to deal with the Odessa Jews without German interference. (The Germans had blocked them from a too-premature dumping of deported Jews from newly acquired Bukovina and Bessarabia.)

Ohlendorf finally had to give up the area between the Dniester and Bug, complaining as he quit his headquarters at Ananiev in August, that some of the German colonists in the area "considered Jews quite innocent people" and even appointed Jewish political leaders. His large-scale killings had begun in September in Nikolaiev, Kherson, and Melitopol. In November, he moved his headquarters again, this time from Nikolaiev to Simferopol in the Crimea, which was also the headquarters of Field Marshal Manstein's 11th Army. Ohlendorf claimed that Manstein wanted the shooting completed before Christmas. Accordingly, *Einsatzgruppe D*, with the assistance of Army personnel, Army trucks and gasoline, completed the shooting of 9,600 in time to permit Christmas celebrations in a city without Jews.²⁵ Ohlendorf's adjutant Heinz Schubert supervised the executions, making sure that the non-Jewish population was not disturbed. He also checked to see that the victims were shot "humanely," since in "the event of other killing methods, the psychic burden would have been too great for the execution kommando."

The entire area of the Crimea was declared free of Jews by April 16, 1942, and in June, Ohlendorf returned to Germany, having directed the killing of 90,000 Jews.

In the drives early in 1942, the Army gave extensive cooperation not only in the Crimea but in all of the military areas. General Manstein's order is particularly instructive, for he was a severely professional soldier who disliked many features of National Socialism. Like many other German military commanders, however, he subscribed to the line taken early in the war by the German High Command that Jews instigated partisan warfare and constituted destructive political and cultural influences. Elaborating on von Reichenau's order on "subhuman Jewry," which was copied for distribution to the 11th (Manstein's) and 18th Armies, Manstein explained that the Jew was the middleman between the Red Army on the front and the enemy in the rear. He said:

The Jewish-Bolshevist system must be exterminated. The German soldier comes as the bearer of a racial concept. [He] must appreciate the necessity for the harsh punishment of Jewry. . . . The food situation at home makes

it essential that the troops should be fed off the land, and that the largest possible stocks should be placed at the disposal of the homeland. In enemy cities, a large part of the population will have to go hungry. Nothing, out of a misguided sense of humanity, may be given to prisoners of war or to the population, unless they are in the service of the Wehrmacht.²⁶

The extent of Army cooperation in the executions surpassed the wildest expectations of the *Einsatzgruppen* and exceeded by far the minimum support functions guaranteed in the Heydrich-Wagner agreement. There are numerous testimonials to Army help—and more—by the killing kommandos. In midsummer 1941, a unit in *Einsatzgruppe C* reported: “Armed forces surprisingly welcome hostility against Jews.” On September 8, *Einsatzgruppe D* reported that relations with the military were “excellent.” The Army went out of its way to turn Jews over to the shooting squads, to join in killing operations, and to shoot Jewish hostages in “reprisal” for “attacks” on German forces. In some towns, commanders did not even wait for the pretext of sabotage, but requested anti-Jewish actions as “precautionary” measures. The 17th Army ordered reprisal shooting of Jews whenever sabotage could not be traced to the Ukrainian population. “We must convey the impression that we are just,” explained the commander. “Whenever the perpetrator of an act of sabotage cannot be found, Ukrainians are not to be blamed. In such cases, reprisals are therefore to be carried out only against Jews and Russians.”²⁷

After a time, the growing callousness to death made some of the military impatient to keep up the killings when the *Einsatzgruppen* begged off for lack of personnel.

The erosion of the traditional military respect for prisoners of war completed the Wehrmacht surrender to the Nazi state. On July 16, 1941, Heydrich concluded an agreement with the chief of the General Armed Forces Office, General Hermann Reinecke. The text of the agreement provided that the Wehrmacht was to “free itself” from all Soviet prisoners of war who were carriers of Bolshevism.²⁸ The RSHA and the Army agreed that “special measures” would be carried out free from bureaucratic controls. Within a day of the signing of the agreement, Heydrich alerted his regional machinery to prepare for the selection of all “professional revolutionaries, Red Army political officers, fanatical Communists and all Jews” among the prisoners of war pouring into the Government-General and the Reich. The screening teams consisted of *Einsatzgruppen* who entered the prisoner-of-war camps where the Army had already done some preparatory screening and had sifted out “given appropriate elements.” By December 1941, 22,000 Soviet prisoners had been thus selected, out of which 16,000 (both Jewish and non-Jewish) were killed. Later figures on such screenings are not available. Altogether more than four million Soviet prisoners perished in German camps.

BABI YAR - KIEV

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→ Thinks the "never forget, never again" theme is a good idea. We have to remember that Ukrainians were in complicity when this massacre occurred -- POTUS will be speaking to people whose parents killed Jews. She a good person to call for language sensitivity.

INFO FAX TO
COME 7/25

MARIAN CRAIG, PR DIRECTOR

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INFO IN
FOLDER

AMY WEINBERG, RESEARCH INTERN

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