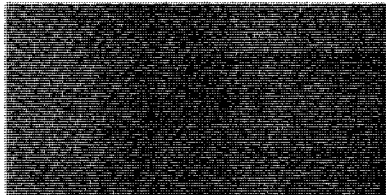
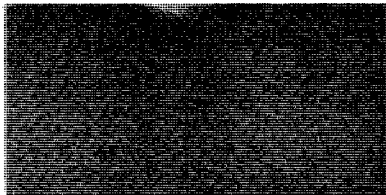
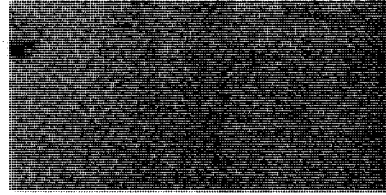
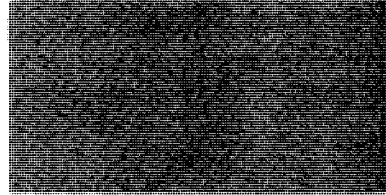
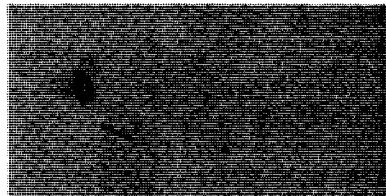
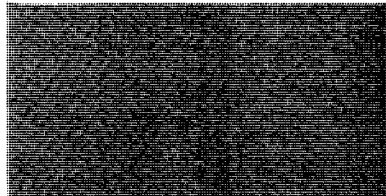


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15 June 1977



U S S R



TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 7, MAY 1977

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No. 7, May 1977

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EFFECTIVE PRINCIPLE OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 3-10

[Text] The celebration of May Day--a day of international class solidarity of the working people in their struggle for a socialist renovation of life, for democracy, and peace, and against imperialism--is becoming evermore widespread and socially significant with every passing decade or year. The optimistic and militant mood which embues this springtime holiday reflects one of the main distinguishing features of the epoch initiated by the October Revolution in which, to use Lenin's words, freeing itself from slavery mankind converts to true freedom. "Our time is a time of steadfast upsurge of the universal-historical role of the working man," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, addressing the 16th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions. "Everywhere the working people are in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and international security and for national liberation and social progress. They are taking in their hands the fate of civilization. These hands are reliable and strong!"

The process of the revolutionary transformation of the world is proceeding at a fast pace, and an ever-broader scope. The positions of socialism are continuing to strengthen and broaden. The victories of the national-liberation movement open new horizons to countries which have gained their independence. The class struggle of the working people against monopoly oppression, for democracy, and against the exploiting order is growing. Today mankind has reached an exceptionally important level of development. Unparalleled possibilities for progress are opening to it. At the same time the old world is intensifying its resistance in an effort to hinder at all costs the advance of the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism. The active efforts of the universal labor army and its contribution to the positive solution of the basic problems of our time are of determining significance to the rate of progress of the nations toward their historical objectives.

The Great October Socialist Revolution radically changed the course of development of all mankind. Many decades already separate us from the fiery revolutionary days of 1917, days which became legendary to the new

generations. However, the people will never forget the exploit of those who were the first to rise to the attack of the fortifications of the old world. The significance of the October Revolution to the progress of mankind and the world's proletariat will never fade.

It was precisely in the course of those years, inflamed by class clashes, that the power of international proletarian solidarity was manifested for the first time in such an all-embracing scale. Under the influence of the October Revolution an unparalleled revolutionary crisis developed in the capitalist countries on the grounds of the destruction caused by World War I, a crisis which, following the overthrow of the Russian monarchy, swept off the map of the world the German and Austro-Hungarian monarchies, led to a powerful striking movement in the members of the Entente, and accelerated the process of ideological and organizational shaping of the communist movement. At that time proletarian dictatorship and a Soviet system became realities not only in our country but in Hungary, Bavaria, and Slovakia as well. In Hungary the working people remained in power 133 days--a time longer than history assigned the Paris Commune. A movement in the defense of the victorious revolution from imperialist aggression developed extensively in the capitalist countries. "Action committees" were set up by progressive and democratic forces in Britain, Germany, France, the United States, and other countries, heading the mass movement of solidarity with the Russian workers and peasants under the slogan of "Hands Off of Soviet Russia!" In our country thousands of communists-internationalists from different countries actively participated in the struggle for the establishment of a Soviet system and in its defense against domestic reaction and the interventionists, while undergoing, at the same time, major training in revolutionary work.

The Soviet people keep in their hearts a warm gratitude for the working people and all progressive forces who showed their solidarity with the country of the October Revolution in its most difficult period and who have supported it unflinchingly for over half a century. In turn, our people and Leninist party have always considered that their activities and experience are part of the activities and experience of the entire world communist movement.

Many examples of revolutionary internationalism have been recorded in the history of our state. This includes the solidarity of the young Soviet Russia with the German and Hungarian revolutions, the long years of support of the struggle waged by the Chinese people against the forces of imperialism and reaction, and the unforgettable epic of combat brotherhood with revolutionary Spain. The historical victory of our people in the Great Patriotic War rescued many countries from fascist slavery. The solidarity of the Soviet Union was a most important factor in the establishment of the new people's democratic countries.

For nearly 60 years the working people of our country, after accomplishing a tremendous historical coup d'etat, have been free from the rule of the monopoly oligarchy or the fear of crises, unemployment, and other social calamities. We live in a society of people who are equal in the broadest possible meaning of the term, a society which not only proclaims human rights but in fact insures the opportunity to exercise them, a stable, dynamic, and united society. Now, when all progressive mankind is preparing solemnly to celebrate the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, as always the Soviet people and its Leninist party are actively participating in the tremendous changes occurring in the world. Justifiably proud of their successes, the peoples of the Soviet state are advancing toward the great anniversary with new labor victories and new labor accomplishments at all sectors of the great front of the struggle for communism.

The doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which guides the Soviet people in all its actions, is clearly demonstrating its great revolutionary-transforming power. The entire world can see that the gigantic intellectual power of our epoch may be found precisely in creative Marxism-Leninism which provides exhaustive answers to ripe problems arising within the thick of life and which applies without delay in revolutionary practice newly elaborated concepts. Inflexibly loyal to Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concentrates the collective judgment and comprehensive experience of the masses, earmarks ways for leading the Soviet society to communism, reveals the true nature of the historical processes occurring in the contemporary world, and applies theoretical conclusions to its vast practical activities with invariable success. The 25th CPSU Congress has become the biggest event of recent times exerting a profound and varied influence on the course of the building of communism in our country and the fate of socialism, social progress, and peace on earth.

The mature socialism built in our country reformulates many tasks related to economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual development. A deep reorganization of various aspects of the practical activities of the party and the people is taking place. Under such circumstances their unity is becoming ever-stronger. The Soviet people profoundly understand the party's policy and support it unanimously, with all their heart. The CPSU is properly fulfilling its role as the political leader of the working class and all working people. The strict observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the force of scientific predictions and political realism determine its ability successfully to direct the energy of the masses to resolving the problems of the building of communism and to struggle tirelessly for the triumph of the communist ideals.

These days the entire development of the Soviet society is taking place under the growing influence of the ideas of the 25th CPSU Congress. The great advantage of socialism and the source of its powerful strength and dynamism lie in the fact that our social system stimulates the creative

activeness, initiative, and labor enthusiasm of the masses. To an ever-greater extent the revolutionary creative spirit of the congress, understood and adopted by the multimillion-strong masses, is becoming the type of material force which accelerates the progress of our society. The implementation of the congress decisions has become an inner need for the working people of town and country. This is also manifested in the new upsurge of the nationwide socialist competition which is today inseparable from the scientific and technical revolution and is focusing to an ever-greater extent on production effectiveness and quality of output, and is aimed at achieving the best final national economic results. In the first 15 months of the 10th Five-Year Plan total industrial output equaled 670 billion rubles. This is considerably higher than the entire output of the first two postwar five-year plans together. This period was also noted by new outstanding achievements of Leninist agrarian policy.

The systematic internationalism of the Soviet person is one of his characteristic qualities, vividly manifested in days of revolutionary celebrations and in ordinary working days. He takes to heart the concerns and joys and worries and hopes of the working people of all countries. He displays invariable solidarity with the struggle waged by the progressive forces of all continents for peace, democracy, social and national liberation, and socialism. The Soviet people firmly know that the building of communism in the USSR is the most important structural part of the world's revolutionary process, and that the power of our state and its example and prestige, and its activeness in the international arena, placed at the service of the ideals of freedom and socialism, are assuming ever-greater importance to the solution of world problems in the interest of the nations.

The CPSU invariably proceeds in its activities from the basic international interests of socialism and the entire revolutionary movement. Loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, this powerful and tried weapon of the workers' movement, our party has never separated the fate of the Soviet state from the fate of the entire world. Both the domestic policy of the USSR and its foreign policy, aimed at strengthening the cause of the peace and freedom of the peoples, are our contribution to the joint struggle waged by the progressive forces for the better future of mankind. In the view of the CPSU the international solidarity of the working class and the communists of all countries in the struggle for common objectives, their solidarity with the struggle of the nations for national liberation and social progress, and the voluntary cooperation among fraternal parties, with a strict observance of the equality and independence of each one of them, have retained their great significance.

The range of actions of international solidarity of the working people, which now has a tremendous and direct impact on world policies and the course of all international development, is broadening steadily. At each historical stage internationalism gains new functions and appears in new forms. Methods consistent with the requirements of the times and the

interests of the aggressive progress of world socialism are used for its implementation. Here the Marxist-Leninists stand firmly on the ground of the systematic class struggle waged by the proletariat, subordinating the transient interests of the working class to its basic long-term interests. This is the great power of proletarian internationalism.

Socialist internationalism, which includes intergovernmental and economic relations among socialist countries, is the practical implementation and the natural result of the development of proletarian internationalism in the new historical conditions prevailing today. The comity of socialist states, following the path of socialism and communism, joined by common interests and objectives and the close ties of fraternal solidarity, lives a rich and full life. It is characteristic that despite the tremendous variety of conditions in which the building of socialism is taking place in a large group of countries, life is confirming quite convincingly the effect of its common laws discovered by Lenin and first manifested in the practice of our country. The existence of such laws is decisively contributing to the fact that as each socialist nation blossoms and as the sovereignty of the socialist states strengthens, their interrelationships become ever-closer. Ever-greater common elements appear in their policies, economics, and social life. The combat alliance of ruling communist parties, and their single outlook, objectives, will, and actions is the basis for the close cooperation among socialist countries, its living soul, and its guiding and organizing force.

The positions of the working class of the socialist countries, headed by the communist parties, are strengthening and broadening ever-further in the course of building mature socialism and communism, both within the public production system and in political life. The working class plays a basic role in the intensive economic development of the fraternal countries. Its labor, political, and moral qualities, high-level organization, and purposefulness secure its leading position in all political and social processes in the building of a new society. Expressing the basic interests of all working people, and being the politically most mature and most organized social force, the working class rallies around itself the broad popular masses, involving them in collectivistic and internationalist norms of work and life.

The steady and ever-intensifying interpenetration of the patriotic and the internationalist principles is characteristic of the socialist world. In the socialist countries patriotism is measured not only by love for the homeland but is combined with loyalty to the entire socialist comity, to the cause of world socialism.

The initiative of the Krasnyy Chepel' Collective, in People's Hungary, chose the vivifying nature of the fraternal ties linking the working class and peoples of the socialist countries. Launching a competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the collective assumed specific obligations to meet ahead of schedule export deliveries to

the Soviet Union. Similar initiatives were launched by workers in Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, here we are dealing with a qualitatively new phenomenon: an international movement of millions of builders of the new world inspired by a single objective. "This is an experience of tremendous significance," he said, "which has a great future."

The influence of the socialist countries on the course of world events is becoming ever-stronger and deeper. The growth of their power and the increased beneficial impact of their international policy constitute today the main direction followed in the social progress of mankind. The attractiveness of the ideas and the example of socialism has become even greater against the background of the crisis experienced by the capitalist world. The obvious inability of the bourgeois countries to pull out of the crisis clearly proves the inability of capitalism to resolve basic economic and social problems. As monopoly capitalism is revealing its reactionary and antidemocratic nature evermore clearly, it is becoming evermore difficult for the bourgeoisie to maintain the fiction of equality and freedom in the part of the world where it is still retaining command positions. The unquestionable advantages of factual socialism compared with capitalism, including in the area of civil rights and freedoms, are manifested particularly convincingly in today's reality.

Relations of solidarity and cooperation, support for peace and freedom, and disgust for all forms of aggression, exploitation, or domination of one country over another link the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries with the overwhelming majority of countries which appeared as a result of the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system. The socialist countries have always been on the side of peoples meeting with imperialist aggression, dictate, and coercion. They are developing equal relations with the young countries and assist their economic growth to the extent of their possibilities. The foreign policy of the socialist countries paralyzes the forces of imperialism which are trying to retain an obsolete order and plant the seeds of hostility and conflicts among liberated countries.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which have long stopped being passive objects of history and are actively fighting imperialist aggression, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism, know from personal experience that they could rely as friends on the socialist countries and the international workers' movement. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that the enemies of socialism are creating most stupid fabrications concerning the objectives and intentions of the socialist countries toward the liberated states. However, no slander could refute the facts.

"The October Revolution revealed profoundly and comprehensively the great universal-historical mission of the working class," states the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution." Today the workers' movement is acting as an evermore powerful factor of social progress.

It is above all the working class that is providing a proletarian answer to the circumstances created by the present economic crisis in countries ruled by private ownership, and to the attempts of monopoly capitalism--the main culprit for all social calamities--to launch an offensive against the democratic gains of the working people in the world of the exploited and the oppressed. The scope of the striking movement is broadening. Whereas over 10 years ago, in 1965, there were 20 million strikers in the developed capitalist countries, in the 1970's the annual number of striking workers is already exceeding 40 million; in 1976 it totaled over 60 million people. In the course of the present class battles the economic struggle is growing evermore frequently into an opposition to the entire system of state-monopoly rule. The unity of action among trade unions is strengthening nationally and internationally.

The ability of the workers' movement to carry out the historical mission of the social liberation of mankind largely depends on achieving unity of action among different parties and currents within its ranks and within the anti-imperialist and democratic movements as a whole. The trend toward surmounting the division within the international working class and the democratic forces is clearly growing regardless of the calculations and actions of the rulers of the capitalist world. The political vanguard of the working class--the world communist movement--is the bearer of the ideas of such unity and a tireless fighter for its implementation.

Reality has confirmed that the Communist Party, the revolutionary party of the working class, is a political organization guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, an organization which provides an accurate guideline in the struggle for the victory of the cause of socialism. It is a party most closely linked with the masses, directing its activities exclusively in the interest of the working person. It is a party with high consciousness and uniform discipline, a party of proletarian internationalism. The solidarity of the communists of all countries in the struggle for common objectives, their support of the struggle waged by the peoples for national liberation and social progress, voluntary cooperation among equal and independent fraternal parties, which organically combine within their policy the national with the international interests of the working people, are the distinguishing features of communist internationalism.

The communist and worker parties have become a considerable and prestigious social force in many capitalist countries. The current period of social development in which real prerequisites are developing for the prevention of a new world war, the implementation of social changes in the interest of the working people, restriction of monopoly power, and elimination of the social inequality and injustice created by capitalism, offers new favorable opportunities to the communist movement and all democratic forces. In this connection the ideas and conclusions of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Europe, which confirmed their loyalty to the principles of internationalism, are of great importance to the struggle for unity within the communist movement.

The working class of the capitalist countries, of Western Europe above all, welcomed the spring of 1977 with a sharp increase of strikes. The successes achieved by left wing forces, including those of the French Communist Party at the French municipal elections, and the legalizing of the Communist Party of Spain, after nearly 40 years of ban and deep clandestinity, were major events in the life of Western European communist and worker parties.

On May Day our party sends fraternal greetings to the communist and worker parties--the militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and all working people, and the firm fighters against imperialism and for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

The May Day slogans of the CPSU Central Committee proclaim the following:

"Long live proletarian internationalism--the tried and powerful weapon of the international working class! May the unity and solidarity of the communists the world over strengthen on the inviolable foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!"

The broadest possible dissemination and victory of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and its decisive influence on the development of the world's revolutionary process are triggering the fierce rage of our ideological opponents and lead to tireless attempts to distort and to slander Marxism-Leninism in front of the popular masses and the progressive public of different countries. Today anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are the principal ideological weapon, directly used in the defense of the interests of monopoly capitalism against the pressure of the liberation struggle of the toiling masses.

The Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist comity, and the peoples of other countries are welcoming yet another May Day under conditions of peace. This is the great merit of the CPSU, its Central Committee, the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and of all progressive and peace-loving forces to mankind and our time. The main reason for the successes of Soviet foreign policy is that it is a class and internationalist policy in its nature, and that it serves the interests of world socialism, the international workers' movement, the national-liberation movement, and the interests of social progress. Therefore, this policy is fully consistent with the objective tasks of the revolutionary transformation of the world. It inseparably combines the insurance of the national interest of the Soviet Union with service to the international objectives of the workers' movement.

No single country, no single political party has ever formulated such a broad, specific, and realistic program aimed at reducing and, subsequently, totally eliminating the danger of a new war as has been accomplished by our country and the CPSU at its 24th and 25th congresses. The foreign policy of the USSR enjoys the respect and support of the multimillion-strong popular masses throughout the world.

In recent years the peace loving forces have been able to achieve substantial changes in abating the threat of a nuclear war. To an ever-greater extent the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among countries with different social systems are becoming a norm of international life while detente is becoming the dominating trend of our time. Creating new forms of communication among countries, detente also contributes to the international consolidation of revolutionary and democratic forces. At the same time, the energetic actions of the working class and its allies in favor of a durable peace are organically blending with the struggle for real social progress.

The path to securing a lasting and unbreakable peace is neither simple nor easy. The enemies of detente are not abandoning their attempts to aggravate the international circumstances once again and to complicate relations among countries. They are trying to hinder the implementation of ripe measures for the reduction of armaments and are doing everything possible to urge on the armament race. So far progress on such a most important matter as limiting strategic weapons has not been achieved as a result of the position assumed by the United States. Guided by considerations of political realism, the Soviet Union intends to continue its adamant search for mutually acceptable solutions based on effective agreements and previously achieved accords, and work for limiting armaments and for a conversion to disarmament.

The struggle for the further improvement of the international climate and for strengthening security and consolidating detente is inseparably linked with the task of eliminating existing hotbeds of tension and preventing new conflicts. Of late certain progress has been noted toward a Middle Eastern settlement. At the same time, however, the danger arises of the appearance of a new sort of international tension in the center of Africa in connection with the internal military conflict in Zaire. Like the other peace loving forces, our country categorically opposes any foreign intervention in this conflict.

The CPSU and the Soviet state assert their resolve to continue to do everything they can for the elimination of the threat of a new war and for strengthening the peace. The course of further detente and its materialization, and of adding military to political detente is consistent with the vital interests of the nations of all countries and no sallies against the policy of detente or attempts to distort objectives and meaning could conceal this unquestionable fact.

Today's successes of the working people of the Soviet state and of the worldwide labor army are the direct continuation of the cause of the October Revolution and the practical embodiment of the great Lenin's ideas. The fighters against imperialism and for the bright future of mankind are marching from victory to victory under the tried revolutionary banner of Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live Marxism-Leninism--the eternally living revolutionary international doctrine and the banner of the struggle of the working people of all countries against imperialism and for the victory of socialism and communism!

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SOVIET PRESS--WAYS FOR UPGRADING EFFECTIVENESS AND QUALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 11-21

[Article by S. Tsukasov, PRAVDA executive secretary]

[Text] The morning begins with the newspaper...to millions and millions of Soviet people this has become as much a natural vital need as their daily bread but in the spiritual, the sociopolitical realm. When it is said of our people that they are the biggest readers in the world, the justice of this claim, naturally, is most directly linked with the tremendous popularity enjoyed by the Soviet press. Its mass and profoundly democratic nature and inflexible party-mindedness, and its truthfulness and internationalism determine, above all, the prestige which the printed word has acquired among the working people.

Speaking of this on the eve of the great historical date--the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution--we turn our minds to the vivifying sources of the development of the bolshevik press which was tempered in the revolutionary flames started by Lenin's ISKRA, and which, in the crucible of Lenin's PRAVDA, gained its combat strength as a collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer. V. I. Lenin perspicaciously saw in the publication of PRAVDA, 65 years ago, "The first swallow of that spring in which all Russia will be covered by a network of worker organizations with worker newspapers." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 22, p 71). Today's tremendous development of the Soviet press network is a clear embodiment of Lenin's dream, one of the visible examples of the historical changes which have occurred along our post-October path, characterized by the 25th CPSU Congress as a "path equaling centuries."

Today's arsenal of the Soviet periodical press is truly powerful: 7,985 newspapers published in 56 languages of the peoples of the USSR with a circulation of nearly 170 million copies; and 4,726 journals and journal-type publications with an annual circulation in excess of 3.8 billion copies. Subscription data show that there are over four periodical publications per family in our country.

The quantitative growth achieved in recent years is closely linked with the qualitative changes in the work of the press. At the 25th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, pointed out that "In the period under consideration problems of upgrading the ideological standard and the coordination and operativeness of the work of mass information and propaganda media were dealt with extensively by the Central Committee. As a result, their impact on the development of the economy, science, and culture, and of all social life increased even further."

Now, when the party is successfully resolving the many-faceted problems of economic and social construction, communist education of the working people, and international policy, formulated at the 25th congress, the qualitative aspect of the activities of the press assumes particular importance. One could boldly say that the main requirement facing our journalism is expressed in the combat slogan of all detachments of Soviet working people: "Upgrading the effectiveness and quality of the work!"

The topical nature of this formulation of the problem is determined by a number of objective processes of the current stage of social development. Above all, the party's ideological-theoretical, organizational, and educational activities have expanded considerably and reached a higher level. Consequently, the importance of the press as its accurately aimed ideological weapon and powerful organizing force, and as an instrument for the assertion of the Leninist style of work, is continuing to grow.

Of late the CPSU Central Committee has passed a number of decrees stipulating an overall system of measures aimed at improving further the activities of mass information and propaganda media. These measures directly stem from the instructions of the 25th congress on the need for a comprehensive approach to the entire matter of education--instructions which are the concentrated expression of the party's policy in ideological work. The daily implementation of such instructions would enable us to enrich the content of the press and to upgrade its ideological level and effectiveness.

V. I. Lenin metaphorically compared the newspaper with trees surrounding a building under construction, earmarking the outlines of the structure and helping the builders to see the overall results of collective work (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 5, p 11). Today the scale of our communist building is so big that the trees "around the erected building" must cover a very broad range of topics. It is a question, above all, of a systematic and substantive development in the press of a large number of problems related to the implementation of the socioeconomic program of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The party's Central Committee decree "On the Guidance of Mass Information and Propaganda Media by the Tomskaya Oblast CPSU Committee," points out that all efforts must be focused on the deeper coverage of problems related to upgrading work effectiveness and quality, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the growth of labor productivity, and increased economy. The active participation of the press

calls for the further development of the socialist competition, the dissemination of progressive experience, initiative, and innovation, and of improved national economic management. The CPSU Central Committee directs the attention to the need to intensify the role of mass information and propaganda media in ideological and educational work among the working people, particularly the youth and the adolescents, and face the press, television, and radio broadcasting with the task of influencing evermore actively the molding in the Soviet people of a Marxist-Leninist outlook, communist attitude toward labor, and high morality, vividly to indicate the advantages of the Soviet way of life, expose decisively bourgeois propaganda intrigues, and cite deviations from socialist moral norms.

This anniversary year all ideological and political activities of the press are assuming a new scope and significance. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" extensively characterizes the basic topic directions to be followed in this work largely determining now the aspect of our newspapers and journals.

As early as the period of establishment of the Soviet press, Lenin closely linked its development with the course of the world's revolutionary process. "The 10th anniversary of the daily legal bolshevik PRAVDA," he wrote, "clearly shows us one of the landmarks of the great acceleration of the greatest world revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 174). Loyal to Lenin's banner, our press acts today as a powerful social force defending the cause of peace, democracy, and socialism on an international scale. The planet responsively listens to its voice: those who care for the peace and the bright future of the peoples listen with hope, confidence, and optimism; the enemies of social progress listen with irritation and, occasionally, confusion. This as well is a confirmation of the high responsibility of the Soviet press.

The most important task of the mass information and propaganda media is to explain comprehensively, and contribute actively to the implementation of the 25th party congress program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the nations. They have been called upon to cover extensively the fruitful foreign political activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state, directed toward the implementation of this historical program. At the same time, they must depict more vividly the struggle waged by the party for unity within the communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, substantively criticize right wing and left wing revisionist concepts, and rebuff firmly anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, and opportunism of all hues.

All areas in which the party and the people are working demand the permanent attention of the press. Taking and explaining the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state to millions of people, the press helps them to orient themselves. It informs and comments. It educates and persuades. It recommends and appeals, and it rallies and organizes the

masses. It shapes public opinion and asserts systems of social values and moral examples. At the same time, it is a direct, open, and broad feedback channel, accumulating both the attitude of the masses toward party and state decisions and occurring events, and critical remarks, reports, and suggestions, and a democratic assessment "from below" of the activities of various organizations and establishments.

Even such a brief enumeration of the present main functions and topic directions in the work of the Soviet press, covering the full variety and entirety of the processes in social life, gives us an idea of the progressively growing extent, complexity, and responsibility of its tasks.

On the other hand, we cannot fail to consider the essential changes in the requirements of the contemporary reader who is rapidly growing along with the country, becoming spiritually richer, more educated, and more politically active and, consequently, assessing newsprint "output" more strictly. The instruction that the growth of the awareness and level of information of the people increases the requirements facing our entire work among the masses, formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress, fully applies to the press.

Hammering a press of a new type, Lenin saw in it a project of the working people themselves. He called for the study and analysis of the way they accepted the printed word. He called for paying attention to any report on the impact of one or another article or pamphlet on various reader strata (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 46, p 221). This enables the editors to know whether or not its sermons are accepted and reacted to, how their activities change, and the type of corrections and supplements that are required (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 47, p 74).

The first stage of a new sociological study entitled "PRAVDA And Its Readers" was recently completed. This is the second time that such a vast scientific study is being made, eight years after the first. A comparable program would enable us to see the specific dynamics in the development of interrelationships within the newspaper-reader-newspaper system, characteristic to one or another extent of other publications as well.

The sociological compass indicates important positive processes depicting the steady growth of the influence of our press. They include a noticeable increase in the share of women and young people in the readership structure, and a more representative inclusion of nonparty people, i.e., a further intensification of the nationwide nature of the press. Let us add to this the increased interest of the readers in important topics such as national economic problems, socialist competition, international life, the education of the young generation, and the development of science. Today critical remarks and the effectiveness of the printed word are rated higher than before. However, it was also revealed that on some views there exists a certain gap between readership "demand" and the "offer" of the newspaper.

To sum up briefly the sectors in which, from the viewpoint of our many-faceted reader, journalistic work must be improved, they cover mainly precisely the central problems which the party formulates now as the focal point of public attention. The interests of the "consumer" are related to a more thorough coverage of party life and, above all, problems of the activeness and responsibility of the party membership and the style of work of party committees, ways for the intensification of production and management, practices of communist education, and problems of peaceful coexistence and ideological struggle in the international arena. The reader expects greater information saturation, genre variety, and the necessary professionalism of press articles.

The objective requirements of social progress which enhance the role of the press within the system of social institutions of developed socialism presume, therefore, the need to upgrade the standard of its work. How can this be achieved?

The view has been expressed that the time has come to increase the size of a number of central publications, particularly taking into consideration the increased number of official publications caused by the energetic and fruitful activities of our party and Soviet state. The tradition is recalled that as early as the 1920's PRAVDA came out in six or eight printed sheets and reference is made to most newspapers in the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, whose size has increased in recent years. All this is timely, pertinent, and just. Unquestionably, the interests of intensifying the political and organizational influence of the press as one of the levers in the party's management of the building of communism place on the agenda the task of a certain increase in the size of our leading newspapers. However, it is just as clear that this would be hardly possible in the immediate future because of a lag in the production of newsprint, as mentioned at the 25th CPSU Congress as well. That is why it is so important to make fuller use of the existing material and creative potential of the press, i.e., to upgrade the effectiveness and work quality of each newspaper and journal, and of all mass information and propaganda media. It was precisely this that was the focal point of attention of the Fourth Congress of the USSR Union of Journalists, held last March.

Discussing the effectiveness of the press we hear, occasionally, the unequivocal and initially convincing advice given the journalists: "Write better! Write more clearly, analytically, intelligibly, and emotionally..." However, even by extending this series of adjectives we would not come closer to an understanding of the nature of the complex problem of effectiveness and quality in press work. Yes, it is based on the creative work of journalists, a wide circle of worker and rural correspondents, and other authors. However, in order for this to be heard "in the concert of the political newspaper," as Lenin wrote, a skilled "orchestra" is needed--the editorial collective whose activities must be skillfully guided and organized on modern principles. Such activities organically link

political and literary work with the production process and with large-scale mass daily editions and, consequently, obeys the various requirements of the production process. Understandably, we must also take into consideration the changing dialectics of relations between readers and listeners and various types of mass information media, and the way this influences the acceptance of the printed word.

It follows from this that improving the organizational aspect of the work and rationally using the possibilities of the press play an important role in the system of measures insuring its upgraded effectiveness. Here we must discuss, first of all, the increased coordination of the work of our press in its entirety.

A newspaper or journal is a structural part of a widespread ideological complex performing a specific role within it. Thanks to daily party guidance the press, television and radio operate and develop precisely as a single complex, resolving common problems through their specific methods. At the same time, the new conditions call for a more clear and systematic demarcation of functions among the various press organs.

Care for each newspaper line or journal page means insuring the precise aim and proper optimality and completeness of all articles. We cannot consider as convincing the simplistic idea that the multiplicity of homogeneous publications based on the principle that "repetition is the mother of learning" could yield certain propaganda benefits and upgrade the social prestige of one or another event. The purpose would not be achieved by this considering the present level of education, political orientation, and activeness of the reader, the more so since the saturation of the readership with a variety of publications has increased, even though demand has not been met for all of them.

According to the study we mentioned, for example, only 25 percent of PRAVDA's subscribers read one central newspaper, while the mass turns to the materials covered by two to four papers. And, naturally, nearly everyone regularly watches television (92 percent), or listens to the radio (87 percent). Furthermore, one could see that the habitual order of daily reading itself is changing. The rhythm of life has become noticeably faster and, evermore frequently, the people are resorting to a brief or selective glance at newspaper articles. According to the same data, approximately one-third of the subscribers average today no more than 30 minutes per issue.

In our view, all this predetermines the need for further intensified specialization on the part of the press organs, a precise orientation toward a specific circle or readers, and the economical and effective utilization of the limited available space.

The reciprocally complementing nature of the mass information and propaganda media is a characteristic of their functioning today. The question of the content of operative newspaper work is raised in a new way because of the

high mobility of television and radio, even though the leading position of the press in the information flow remains. Over four-fifths of the readers belonging to different sociodemographic strata consider the newspaper their basic source of domestic and international information. The nature of newspaper is a different matter: it is expected to provide commented information for the radio brings events to the people faster, while television "leads" in the fields of aesthetics, scientific propaganda, and entertainment. Under such circumstances, it is more important for the press "to promote facts" of daily life than to disclose their significance and analyze and depict the phenomena which are behind one or another event.

The broad and steadily expanding range of topics in newspapers and journals, and the multiplicity of the social requests addressed to them make a responsive structure to the requirements of the time and of the editorial organization entirely necessary. This determines the ability of the journalistic collective to see to it that, to use Lenin's words which apply to other mass information and propaganda media as well, it lead. Naturally, in the sense that, illuminating our development in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, and showing the way for the successful solution of the general problems formulated by the party, the press must rally public opinion and discover and carefully support anything that is new and progressive and help it to make its way. The clear distinction of such basic directions and the purposeful implementation, issue after issue, of most important themes are the foundations of the present strategy and tactics of press work and increased effectiveness.

The methodology of socialist planning and the wealth of ideological content and organizational experience found in party documents are reliable foundations for searches, initiatives, decisions, and editorial work. The methods for improving planning in a broad all-embracing sense were profoundly substantiated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Briefly stated, they include a systematic approach, skillful combination of long-term with operative planning, as well as its optimizing, i.e., increasing its effectiveness. The specific means for the implementation of such general principles by the press may vary. However, invariably they are based, first of all, on the ever-closer link between editorial plans with the plans of party committees whose organs the newspapers are; secondly, giving planning the nature of a continuing process covering all parts of the journalistic collective and all stages of its creative activities; thirdly, the unification within a single system of long-term and current, and directional and topic planning.

The art of management, Lenin pointed out, is to take promptly into consideration and know where to focus one's main forces and attention (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 85). Of late the central press has tried a new already proven planning method--the elaboration of comprehensive long-term programs serving precisely this objective and enabling journalists and authors to focus their joint attention and efforts on the cornerstone problems of our construction and to consider them systematically from their various aspects.

For example, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee decree "On the All-Union Socialist Competition for Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality and Successful Implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan" brought to life comprehensive programs for the interpretation of this most important topic in which production, social, and moral-educational problems merge. In all its aspects this program specifically determines basic lines, campaigns, and creative actions on a long-range basis and on a broad scale: dissemination of the Leninist principles of socialist competition in their dynamics; study of the practice of party management of this mass patriotic movement and of the level of its organization; depiction of the content and course of the competition on a scale ranging from primary production units to republics, krais, and oblasts; interpretation of its role as a school for a communist attitude toward labor and social activeness; and publicistic interpretation of the experience of leading workers and their moral example.

The elaboration of such programs covering the main problems of press activities could become the basic link in long-term and current editorial planning, and one of the means for the implementation of the instructions of the 25th congress on adopting a comprehensive approach to ideological work and improvements in journalistic practices in the interest of the expedient utilization of newspaper space and the solution of basic topic problems.

The systematic study of public opinion and of the suggestions and critical remarks of the working people through their letters to the editors offer new opportunities for optimizing planning aimed at intensifying the impact of the printed word. The growth of the political conscientiousness of the masses and of the prestige of the press contributed to the further strengthening of its relations with all social strata. The annual mail received by each of the leading central newspapers already numbers approximately half a million letters. The importance of insuring maximal social returns from such a tremendous wealth which encompasses the collective judgment and civic responsibility of the Soviet people is obvious.

The extensive publication of letters to the editors and of the materials submitted by worker and rural correspondents, and concern for the prompt and proper solution to any question they raise is an inviolable Leninist tradition stemming from the profoundly national and democratic nature of our press. The current scale of relations between the press and the readers and the objective requirements governing its development as a lofty social rostrum also presume an effective system for the study of the content of the letters. Such a continuing study based on topics and administrative-geographic characteristics, involving the use of modern technical facilities, enables us to detect sensitively the pulse beat of public opinion and its dynamics, and to know what is today in the center of attention of the working people, and what are the problems particularly

awaiting a resolution. Naturally, this yields real benefits only if such a study is constant and if the resulting data are a source for the substantiated amendment of editorial plans, specific newspaper campaigns, topics, and aims of articles, and are operatively submitted to interested party and state authorities for their information.

The level of the material possibilities of even the central publications does not as yet enable them to organize on a scientific basis the expanded structural study of the mail or of the elements of newspaper work which determine the effectiveness of the printed word such as the frequency of articles on main problems, the content of the information flow, the social "profile" of characters and the authorship structure, the social direction of criticism, the geographic origins of publications, and so on. The solution of such problems which will face the entire press, if not today then tomorrow, is possible through sensible cooperation: the establishment of information agencies at the big publishing houses or of special analytical centers based on the regional principle. Equipped with computers, they would become the base for a major sociological service to mass information and propaganda media.

The production, distribution, and delivery of drastically increased circulation remains the main direction to be followed in the technical efforts related to the development of the press at the present stage. Today the central press is transmitted photographically to 25 out of the 44 towns in the country where they are printed. This year four new transmission lines have already been installed. Our phototelegraphic network is the most widespread in the world. Under the conditions of the two editions of the leading newspapers, this makes possible to supply the morning edition to the overwhelming majority of the population regardless of considerable geographic time differences. Experiments are already underway to transmit printed pages with the help of satellites. Recently, for the first time central newspapers received through outer space were experimentally published in Khabarovsk.

We believe that the time has come to make more energetic use of contemporary technical facilities to help the journalistic collectives themselves. One such topical direction on which work can no longer be postponed is the automation of information-reference services. Centralized information banks for the press, i.e., an information-retrieval system for reference, storage, and retrieval of materials of a documentary-referential nature, established on the basis of practical experience already known in the world, would be justified. In the future there will be new possibilities for the automation of a number of links in editorial-publishing work, including text editing, proofing, printing, and some managerial functions. We must begin to prepare for this, for it is likely that the task of upgrading the quality of work of journalistic collectives will be facing us even more sharply tomorrow.

Writing the history of our time, which was considered by Lenin as the permanent task of the journalists, is possible only by proceeding from the requirements of the time itself, understanding and expressing its needs, and using the creative facilities which are most consistent with its social atmosphere. Not only each epoch but each of its historical stages face journalism with specific professional tasks. Our time, the current stage of the building of communism with its dynamism and scope of constructive activities, the growing intellectual level of society, and the sharp ideological struggle in the international arena unquestionably demand of the journalist a deeper and more analytical penetration into the essence of vital processes, fresh and convincing thoughts, and a broad style combining expressiveness and brevity, strict scientific knowledge, political sharpness, and writing mastery.

We frequently consider the inspired and precise statement that theory becomes a material force the moment it conquers the masses. However, we cite less frequently the second part of the entire formula which Marx expressed as follows: Theory can conquer the masses when it is proven (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, p 422). It is precisely provability in a broad sense such as the ability to draw the attention of the masses, to interest the people, and to lead to considerations and specific conclusions and trigger the energy to act that occasionally is still absent in the journalists.

The 25th CPSU Congress criticized stereotypes and cliches in ideological work. Surmounting such weaknesses is particularly important to the press where the interconnection of form and content applicable to any individual article as well as to the entire newspaper or journal largely determines their clarity, and level of perception by the readers. Yet, we notice a certain inertia in journalistic thinking which occasionally leads to a banality of slogans and meaningless descriptiveness, and a simplistic reproduction of phenomena in life in which the significant reiteration of unquestionably true yet elementary truth can cover only slightly the triteness of the author's statement. Such serious creative waste could be considered as a certain waste of press resources. The time dictates the need for quality changes in publicistic work.

"The creation of mature and developed socialism has reformulated many problems of the economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual development of the country," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 16th Soviet Trade Union Congress. "Both our possibilities and social requirements have become different. A profound reorganization of many aspects of the practical activities of the party and the people is taking place...the contemporary stage of development of the Soviet Union demands from all of us the greatest possible responsibility, motivating every one of us to formulate for himself and his work stricter requirements in order to make a worthy contribution to the solution of the problems set by the party."

This fully applies to the creative content of the work of Soviet journalists whose main criterion is the way their writings serve the party cause.

The ability to depict the positive hero and describe lofty examples of the implementation of social duty plays an important role in the overall number of components determining journalistic mastery of basic significance to upgrading the effectiveness of the press. This is also determined by the steadily growing power of example in our life and by the most important function of journalism itself expressed in the familiar advice given by the great founder of the Soviet press: "Greater attention must be paid to the way the worker and peasant mass is factually building something new in its daily work. Let there be greater control of the extent to which this novelty is communist" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 91).

Let us note that Lenin's thought presumes an analytical approach, problem-orientation, and even a certain polemical nature of the journalistic approach to new experience. However, purely descriptive means still predominate newspaper journalism dealing with the heroes of our days. Instead of trying to bring to light the personality and the nature of the creative person in all the aspects of his development, single out that which distinguishes him from others, and consider, together with the reader, the social nature of an instructive fact and analyze the phenomenon which stands behind it, the authors of such simple materials frequently acknowledge only the rosy coloring and the exclamation points, avoiding the problem-oriented sharpness of life. This results in the loss of both expressiveness as well as practical importance of journalistic work.

On the other hand, many problem-orientated materials published in the mass press, particularly on matters of economic construction, are artificially "separated" from man, considering economic categories and production processes outside the practical activities of specific people. This also lowers the interest of the reader in the topic and, above all, the real effect of such writings.

Also deserving particular attention is the nature of critical materials in the press. In its decree "On the Condition of Criticism and Self-Criticism in the Tambovskaya Oblast Party Organization," the CPSU Central Committee formulated a number of concepts of party-wide significance. Determining the nature of criticism it emphasized that its objective is the comprehensive and objective study of shortcomings for the sake of their elimination; in this case trust in and respect for people must be combined with principled exactingness. Hence the increasing role of constructive criticism in the press, i.e., criticism which not simply lists but describes negative phenomena and, in the course of the analytical study, sums up the view of a broad range of people and earmarks factual means for the correction of errors.

Convincing restraint gives materials written from such viewpoints an expressive power and an effectiveness which is, unquestionably, higher than some "thundering" publications. Today Lenin's instruction that a "negative" slogan unrelated to a specific positive solution is a rubber nipple, an empty shout, or a meaningless declamation, is more applicable than ever before. The militancy of our press lies in the profound substantiation, arguments, and precise direction of the criticism, and the ability to find the optimistic prospect.

The skill of the publicist is an alloy of political maturity, competence, and literary talent. The all-round description of requirements facing today the Soviet journalist may be found in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Measures to Improve the Training and Retraining of Journalistic Cadres." Above all, the journalist must solidly master Marxist-Leninist theory, the party's historical experience, its domestic and foreign policy, and methods of ideological work. At the same time, he must always study the topical problems of the socialist economy, scientific and technical progress, organization of the socialist competition, and foundations of party and Soviet construction. He must tirelessly master the Leninist art of political persuasion of the masses and the ability to link the propaganda of communist ideals with the solution of practical problems. He must wage a convincing and aggressive struggle against the ideological opponent. Understandably, the journalist--the active promoter of party policy--must also combine within himself high ideological-moral and professional qualities.

Initially, such a program may seem excessively vast and demanding. However, there is no other way for the nurturing of cadres capable of reaching the creative level of the outstanding publicists whose names today hold a proper position in the history of the Soviet press. All of them were passionate party fighters, real encyclopedists, and tireless workers. The fact that today journalists of such high standing, deserving national fame and recognition are found less frequently in our journalism than we would wish represents yet another weak point in the chain of problems determining the effectiveness of the press. Naturally, real talent is rare. However, it is equally true that it could be discovered, strengthened, and displayed only under certain circumstances, and that this must be our concern.

One such condition is a truly creative atmosphere within the press collective, as with oxygen, with the zeal, initiative, and dissatisfaction with accomplishments, and the steady aspiration for the better. It can be created wherever the emphasis is on creative management methods, where a collegial spirit is established, where a system of frank and critical professional discussions is developed, and where truly talented work is valued and encouraged.

It is equally important for the fast growth of journalistic cadres to broaden the possibilities for their deepest possible penetration into the processes of social life. The Soviet journalist is the direct and immediate

participant in our construction, our struggle. Lenin pointed out that without such personal participation "The writing itself becomes less political" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 47, p 54). A stock of knowledge, and a profound understanding of vital processes and of the very spirit of our time become possible not as a result of short trips and superficial study of the matters of party organizations and production, management, and scientific collectives, but the thorough and detailed study of one or another area, and constant personal involvement in social activities, including work in elective organs.

Finally, let us mention the study of journalism as a profession. In recent years such training has taken a qualitatively new step forward. However, it is still far behind a level consistent with the high party requirements and the variety of demands facing the press. The weakest area in its training of young cadres remains that of poor professionalism. This is having an adverse effect on the use and further growth of reinforcements in the journalistic "shop." This is due mainly to the shortness of practical training and the limited possibilities to develop one's creative potential under the working conditions of a newspaper or journal under the guidance of experienced journalists. Further improvements of training programs at journalism departments emphasizing a closer interconnection between theoretical and practical training, and expanding the institution of trainees consisting of higher school graduates and contributors to the local press with the leading press organs, as well as other similar measures would enable us to move matters ahead.

Our complex yet very interesting time awaits new masters of party journalism. Their number must and will grow!

The power of the Soviet press lies in the party's guidance and the attention and concern displayed by the party organizations. They, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, must provide daily and specific management of the press and work for upgrading the ideological standard and effectiveness of its materials. This also means that, resolving specific problems of the direction and quality of the work of mass information and propaganda media, and of their interaction, training, and education of creative cadres, they must insure the steady upsurge of the effectiveness of the press as an important political, ideological, and organizational institution of the socialist society.

...The morning begins with the newspaper. How will it look to the readers today and tomorrow, what will millions of people take from our newspapers and journals? One could confidently say that, day after day, our press will serve ever-better the great cause of the party and the people, the cause of communism.

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BROTHER-SOLDIERS; WRITER'S NOTES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 22-24

[Article by Boris Oleynik]

[Text] To the Soviet journalists the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution has a characteristic directly applicable to anyone: it is precisely this year that all of us summed up the results of our work for the past several years at republic journalist congresses, and at the fourth all-union journalist forum.

Each congress of journalists is an event which is always noticeable and significant within the context of the sociopolitical and ideological life of the country. The present congress set, in addition, its own particular intonation and coloring: its entire work was influenced by the historical plans of the 25th CPSU Congress.

A journalists' congress represents not only a business study and a scientific interpretation of previous accomplishments. It is also a celebration of brothers by profession, a holiday of reciprocal enrichment and of far reaching plans for the future.

It was also my personal celebration since I, as a long-time professional journalist, have shared with my colleagues the hard bread of the newspaperman. I am not an exception. The latest directories of the Writers Union authoritatively prove that the overwhelming majority of writers in different genres came to literature after passing the strict examination of creative maturity in the exacting school of journalism. To this day many of them deprive themselves of sleep by working in newspapers, journals, the radio, the television, various publishing houses, TASS, and APN.

The newspaper requires total dedication and, if you wish, self-sacrifice. I claim this on the basis of personal experience, for journalists are, above all, people of duty and, as it is said, fearless and pure knights. Individuals who tend to seek safe detours and avoid the sharp problems of our reality, and philistines and cowards have no business among us.

To speak the truth and only the truth: only people with a clean conscience, people who do not perform simply their duty but their party duty, have the right to profess this essential principle of Soviet journalism.

That is why, before crossing the editorial threshold, any young person who dreams of the life of a newspaperman should read once again attentively the front page of our newspaper, the words written at the top on the margin: "Workers of the World, Unite!" and recall that in a questionnaire Lenin answered the question of "profession" by entering in his own handwriting "journalist."

Yes, a newspaper demands total dedication. The journalist does not have intimate offices isolated from the hustle and bustle of the world: he must be always ready to answer the alarm and take to the road at any time of the day. He does not have free days in the usual understanding of the term. No references to family circumstances, lack of inspiration, or bad mood are recognized.

Yes, the newspaper takes away from the writer many blessed minutes of inspiration. However, it also gives him a priceless stock of live impressions which, in the course of time, are smelted into the gold of artistic discoveries. Writers with journalistic training are familiar with contemporary life not from the footnotes of written conclusions but from the original of life. Fate has enabled them to meet unusual and original people who later become artistic characters and facts and phenomena of great literature.

Let us think of M. Gor'kiy, V. Korolenko, V. Mayakovskiy, A. Tolstoy, P. Tykhina, A. Malyshko, Ya. Galan, A. Fadeyev, and Vs. Vishnevskiy, or many others--writers and poets--who were subjected to a reliable training in ideological and artistic skills in the operative field of the periodical press.

I could also cite the example of the contemporary Ukrainian literary workers of the senior generation. All of them are dedicating a great deal of time and creative energy to our press gaining, in exchange, the most precious and valuable feeling of personal involvement in the actions and accomplishments of our people with their beautiful souls and high spirit.

Indicative in this respect is the creative biography of Stepan Oleynik, who bears my surname. He began his path in literature prior to the war, in journalism. He covered the entire Great Patriotic War as a journalist and participated in the legenday battle for Stalingrad. Even after the war Stepan Ivanovich did not break his ties with the press. For almost a quarter of a century he has been an editor of the journal PERETS'. An acknowledged master of satire and humor, to this day he regularly sends his poems to the newspaper in his native rayon, in the Odessa area.

Quite recently we noted a sort of anniversary--the 100th publication of topical humor and satirical verse by Stepan Oleynik in PRAVDA. This is an example of the active invasion into life by a literary worker through the channels of the daily press, worthy of thorough emulation by our young writers.

In a word, all of us writers, working in the press, have become fellow-journalists.

Anyone who wishes to play with words should remember that a word is not a toy but a weapon which must be always kept in complete readiness. The more so today, when the struggle between the capitalist and our world in the realm of ideas has become particularly aggravated, when finely tuned bourgeois propaganda is feeling night and day the foundations and walls of our system in the hope of finding even a most minute break--it is precisely now that our words, the words of truth and goodness, must become a shield, more monolithic than ever, as well as a weapon accurately striking at the enemy.

The Soviet journalists are friends and fellow workers in a particularly important party matter. Together with them, shoulder to shoulder, we, writers, are working the field of the spiritual and aesthetic education of our contemporaries who have had the luck to continue the great historical project initiated by our predecessors in October 1917. Periodicals, and radio and television offer the most mobile communications between readers and writers. It is a tremendous happiness to have such a powerful audience rallying millions of people, the entire Soviet people! It is a happiness yet it is also the greatest responsibility. That is why we must jointly be concerned with the fact that only works worthy of our contemporaries appear on the bookshelves.

An example of this is given by our beloved PRAVDA, the organ of the CPSU Central Committee. The best examples of our multinational literature were carried precisely on its pages, including the poems of Pavlo Tychina, whose aphorisms have become the condensed definition of the Soviet way of life and outlook: "The Party Leads," "Winning and Living!," and "The Feeling of the United Family," and the fiery journalism of Mikhail Sholokhov, Konstantin Simonov, Oles Gonchar, Chingiz Aytmatov, and many other writers.

Let us recall how many literary workers became famous in our republic thanks to the publication of their works in RADYANS'KA UKRAINA and PRAVDA UKRAINY, organs of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, and how many young talents were promoted by Molod', the publishing house of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, DNIPRO, the youth journal, and MOLOD' UKRAINI, the Komsomol newspaper, still actively covering the literary process not only in the Ukraine but beyond it.

I am grateful to fate which gave me the pen of the journalist, and am proud to belong to the corps of ideological party fighters promoting the present and pioneering the future.

Recently I had the pleasure of attending as a guest the fourth congress of Ukrainian journalists which took place in a truly festival atmosphere, an atmosphere of high civic pathos. I did not feel like an accidental guest, for in the same hall I saw my fellow-soldiers with whom I began my career in journalism along with still very young people who had chosen such a restless and difficult yet such a necessary and noble profession--the eternal search for the new!

Some words have their own physical shape and identifying color. To me the words "newspaper" and "PRAVDA" have always been associated with the flames of the Great October Revolution, and the flag of the regiment which, in the most decisive moment, rushed out of the trenches leading to the attack the fighters--the sons of all nations and nationalities of my fatherland--with slogans which continue to call for victory on the peaceful front of building a new life.

Today we, Soviet journalists, are celebrating a double holiday: not only the 60th anniversary of the Soviet system but the 65th anniversary of the great PRAVDA--the flagship of our press. On this press day of the anniversary year we feel with particular emotion the touch of our neighbors and feel ourselves, particularly strongly, as fellow-soldiers marching in the common ranks of the party fighters.

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25TH CPSU CONGRESS AND SOME PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST POLITICAL ECONOMY

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[Article by V. Medvedev, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The Communist Party bases all its revolutionary-transforming activities on the solid foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory. This theory plays a particularly great role under developed socialist conditions, characterized by the ever fuller and more systematic manifestation of the laws governing the new social system and, therefore, demanding their ever-deeper knowledge. At the same time, developed socialism is distinguished by a clearly expressed dynamism, and rapid quality changes in various aspects of social life, particularly under the influence of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. This makes necessary continuous scientific research, summation, and study.

On the basis of comprehensive experience in the building of communism, the 25th CPSU Congress greatly enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of the mature socialist society. Economic theory was developed further. The present article will be a discussion of some of the economic problems of developed socialism in the light of the congress materials.

1

The congress continued and intensified the elaboration of a basic problem of guiding significance to socialist political economy such as the dialectical interconnection between the scientific and technical revolution and the socialist social system. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated at the congress the principled Marxist-Leninist approach to the all-round elaboration of this problem. "We, communists," he said, "proceed from the fact that the scientific and technical revolution acquires a true direction, consistent with the interests of man and society only under socialist conditions. In turn, the final tasks of the social revolution--the building of a communist society--could be implemented only on the basis of the accelerated development of science and technology."

The scientific and technical revolution represents a profound change in production forces, and a qualitative leap in their development on the basis of radical changes occurring in the system of scientific knowledge. It developed under the conditions of the existence of two opposite social systems--socialism and capitalism--and represents today the most important arena in which they are competing, a competition whose outcome will determine the destinies of mankind. The scientific and technical revolution is organically linked with the main content of our epoch--the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. It does not oppose the socialist revolution but broadens its material base and prerequisites, and energizes its motive forces. Accelerating the process of production socialization, under capitalism it leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on an increasing scale.

The growth of crisis phenomena in the capitalist economy totally refutes the bourgeois-apologetic theories of an allegedly possible healing and recovery of the bourgeois society through scientific and technical progress. Equally groundless are the apologetic attempts to explain the aggravation of contradictions under the conditions of contemporary capitalism and, particularly, of the ecological crisis, and scientific and technical progress itself, as well as the advice of artificially hindering it and even converting to zero economic growth. It is not the scientific and technical revolution but the capitalist system that is the source of crises and upheavals and which threatens the development of society.

The scientific and technical revolution is the greatest good of mankind: it increases the power of man over nature to a tremendous extent. It offers new opportunities to control the exchange of matter between society and the environment. It creates conditions for the real humanizing of the production process and for the blossoming of the individual. However, this potential of the scientific and technical revolution could be realized only under the conditions of a socialist system which puts an end to exploitation and oppression, pursuit of profit and rivalry, and subordinates the development of output to the satisfaction of the needs of society as a whole, giving it a planned nature.

Essentially, the scientific and technical revolution is a social process covering all realms of material output, science, education, and so on. It requires centralized and planned handling of production (including natural) resources. It is incompatible with divisions among producers, the rule of private interests, and the existence of socioeconomic barriers in the national economy. Not only scientists but, essentially, all participants in the public production process are the makers of scientific and technical progress. All of them must be interested in its results. Socialism alone can provide such conditions.

In turn, the scientific and technical revolution is a powerful factor for strengthening the material foundations of the new system. It contributes to the development of its collectivistic nature, determines the need for

continuous improvements of production relations and of the entire socialist way of life, and prepares the objective prerequisites for its growth into a communist way of life. This is related above all to the further development of the social nature of the production process.

The social division of labor expressed in various forms of production specialization--sectorial, intrasectorial, regional, international, and so on--is given powerful impulses. Production differentiation is a general form of its development. It is not only the result of scientific and technical progress but a prerequisite for it. It increases the complexity of production relations in the national economy. Each individual product contains an ever-larger share of materials, i.e., of labor invested in other sectors and economic areas and is the result of intensive social circulation. The internal links within the national economic organism become more varied and complex. According to some data the number of such relations is increasing proportionally to the square of the number of involved production and economic units.

Production differentiation has its other side, integration. The latter as well has a general, a universal nature, and is expressed in production concentration, the establishment of local, regional, and intersectorial production complexes, the development of a unified production infrastructure, and so on. V. I. Lenin described concentration as the most vivid and most emphatic manifestation of production socialization (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 3, p 599). Under socialist conditions this process acquires a planned nature while its limits are dictated directly by technical and socioeconomic expediency.

The tremendous impact of the scientific and technical revolution on the intensification of the social nature of output may be traced also through its personal factor--manpower. K. Marx himself noted and studied the process of the establishment of the overall worker under hand and, subsequently, factory manufacturing conditions. Under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution this process exceeds the limits of the individual enterprise and leads to the establishment of a single overall manpower on the scale of the entire society. Its complex, sectorial, professional, qualificational, and functional structure and unified system of cadre training and retraining are developed; a trend toward manpower universalization develops along with its interprofessional and intersectorial migration.

One of the most important processes in the development of the overall manpower, occurring under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution, is the fast increase in the general educational standard of the working people. Demands for the renovation of worker knowledge increase with the expansion of production mechanization and automation. This problem is particularly acute in the case of engineering and technical workers, specialists, and economic managers. In recent years the USSR has developed a uniform system for upgrading the skills of such categories of working people. However, it is not as yet meeting entirely the needs of the national economy and requires further improvements.

The scientific and technical revolution substantially changes the conditions under which the environment is utilized, ascribing it an evermore social nature. It expands tremendously the realm of interaction between man and nature and determines the need for a conversion to intensive reproduction within the single "production-environment" system. The influence of society on the environment assumes a comprehensive, global nature. The development of science and technology broadens the range of natural elements forming the natural resources of society. At the same time, natural resources are being involved evermore energetically in the circulation between man and nature.

The intensification of the social nature of the production process pre-determines the main directions in the development of the socialist economic system and in improving its operational mechanism. They were comprehensively described at the 25th CPSU Congress. They include, above all, the strengthening and development of the system of nationwide utilization of assets and of production results, and centralized economic and planning management. "...today," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "we are faced with the task of raising the level of planning and making it consistent with the new scales and aspect of our economy, and the new requirements of the time." In this connection the congress earmarked measures such as the concentration of forces and resources on the implementation of the most important national programs, the more skillful combination of sectorial with territorial planning and of long-term with current tasks, insuring the balancing of the economy, and surmounting narrow departmental and parochial tendencies. Directing all managerial and planning efforts to the achievement of end national economic results which directly determine the achievement of the highest objective of socialism, assumes particular importance.

The intensification of centralized planned management of the economy does not deny but, conversely, presumes the development of its democratic foundations, and the development of local and socialist initiative. To this purpose we must make fuller use of the sum total of socialist economic relations, including the transient ones which, however, are objectively necessary at the present stage, particularly commodity-monetary relations, and the cooperative-kolkhoz form of output. Nor have the possibilities of private auxiliary farms become exhausted.

The sum total of measures aimed at strengthening and improving the ways and means of socialist economic management is factually backed by the harmony between production relations and the nature of contemporary production forces, inherent in socialism, and the increased economic effectiveness of our national economy.

2

The 25th CPSU Congress substantially expanded the scientific concepts on a central problem of socialist political economy such as the supreme objective of socialist output.

Under conditions governed by the social ownership of capital goods its main purpose and meaning, as in all other realms of human activities, is the development of man, and the fullest possible satisfaction of his needs. Theoretically this was proved by Marxism-Leninism, and practically confirmed by the entire development of the socialist society, particularly in its mature stage.

As we know, upgrading the prosperity of the working people was defined as the main task of the 9th and, subsequently, 10th five-year plans. The 25th congress reemphasized that the steady upsurge of the material and cultural living standards of the people is the supreme objective of the party's economic strategy. The party systematically implements this objective in the course of all its practical activities.

The formulation and implementation of the supreme objective of socialism are organically linked with the solution of a number of other strategic problems: gaining victory in the economic competition with capitalism, establishing the material and technical foundations for communism, surmounting the major disparities between town and country and between physical and mental labor, and converting labor into creativity, into a prime vital need for all. Not one of these tasks could be considered separately from the development of man, from his needs, and from the extent of their satisfaction. Each step forward in the building of communism contributes to the development of the individual and to improving his prosperity. This is an evermore vivid manifestation of the humanism of the socialist system and of the tremendous possibilities of developed socialism in the simultaneous and comprehensive solution of current and long-range problems.

The general historical law of increased requirements, described by Lenin, emphatically manifests itself in the developed socialist society. The fast qualitative growth of the volume of consumption is accompanied by qualitative changes characterized by a transformation, by a change in the methods used to satisfy traditional needs and, occasionally, the disappearance of some of them, and the manifestation and development of new needs on a higher order. The aggressive development of social production forces, influencing needs not only directly but, largely indirectly as well, through a set of socioeconomic, ideological, cultural, and psychological factors, is the common base for such changes. Consistent with each level of prosperity is a structure of needs with their own qualitative and quantitative definition. In the course of one human life, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, on several occasions the socialist society converts to a qualitatively new consumption level.

Despite all its complexity and multiple factors, the process of changing needs requires deliberate control. Spontaneous development in this area could lead to the reproduction of familiar standards, models, and consumption norms, rather than to a movement toward essentially new consumption forms and structures of the future communist society. That is precisely why the social program of the 10th Five-Year Plan, formulated at the 25th

CPSU Congress, calls for purposefully influencing the volume and structure of needs. It proceeds from the fact that the growth of consumption is not a self-seeking aim for the socialist society but a means for the molding of the new man, for the all-round development of the individual, and for improving the socialist way of life. The 10th Five-Year Plan calls for substantial progress in all directions determining the qualitative aspect of human life, including the fuller satisfaction of human needs above all for high quality consumer goods, comfortable housing, good medical and consumer services, the development of education and culture, and increased protection of the environment.

The consideration of the increased role of social factors in the system of human requirements is also manifested in the fact that improving the socioeconomic and production conditions of labor, intensifying its creative nature, and comprehensively reducing the share of manual, underskilled, or heavy physical labor hold leading positions in the program for raising the living standards of the working people. This is a topical economic task whose urgency is related to the limited nature of manpower resources. It is also a very big social problem affecting the basic realm of human activities and man's self-assertion in society. It is a question of developing the need of man to work and of raising this need to a level without which the full blossoming and assertion of the individual of the communist future would be inconceivable.

A great deal remains to be done in this area. Several tens of millions of people are engaged in manual labor in the national economy. The current level reached by science and technology enables us to mechanize a considerable share of the work they perform. This particularly applies to various types of auxiliary processes, servicing the production process, control, loading and unloading operations, and so on. No single scientific and technical or production problem could be resolved today without taking into consideration its influence on the nature, content, and conditions governing human labor, and the requirements this raises concerning the education of the workers, and their culture.

The 25th congress indicated the need to consider the material requirements of the people as inseparably linked with their spiritual requirements and moral qualities. Material needs cannot exist outside a specific social environment, ideology, spiritual culture, or moral and psychological atmosphere in society. Hence, as was pointed out at the congress, the need for doing everything in such a way that "the growth of material possibilities is always accompanied by the enhancement of the ideological-moral and cultural standard of the people. Otherwise we could have recurrences of a petit bourgeois, philistine mentality." Here the exceptionally responsible and active role of the spiritual sphere is revealed--ideology, culture, and science--in the life of the socialist society whose target is the development of man and the all-round satisfaction of his requirements.

Determining the growth of the material and cultural living standards of the working people under socialist conditions as the main objective of social progress predetermines the increasing significance of establishing a scientific picture of prosperity--both the one factually achieved as well as the ways for changing it in the future. This is a complex problem by its very nature. Its solution will demand the participation of all the humanities, both natural and social. The establishment of rational scientific norms for the consumption of basic comestible and industrial commodities is only part of this problem, not the most complex at that. We need scientifically substantiated parameters regarding prosperity components such as labor conditions, length and content of working and leisure time, education, culture, housing, possibilities for recreation and sports, protection of the living environment, level of spiritual requirements, social activities of the people, their participation in management, and so on.

The complexity of the task lies not only in the fact that the general level of prosperity depends to a decisive extent on the development of material output but also on the fact that the different needs are closely interrelated. In many cases they could be fully or partially interchangeable while the limited nature of resources at any given moment forces us, on every occasion, to resolve the question of the degree of urgency and priority in their satisfaction. Society has a great freedom of choice in selecting alternatives for upgrading the prosperity, naturally within the limits of the resources at its disposal. It is precisely this freedom that enables us to form on a planned basis the consumption structure in such a way that, step by step, we can come closer to the communist ideal of a harmoniously developed individual.

Everything points out that the target in the development of the socialist society, growing into a communist society, could be presented as a series of prosperity values (with specific quality and quantity characteristics) each of which corresponds to the gradual stages of ascension toward communism. Such a target function should be applicable to all economic sectors and areas of production or nonproduction human activities.

The functioning and development of material production are subordinated to the overall socialist objective. However, within this overall objective socialist output has its specific function which it alone can perform, and which no other realm of human activity could. It is the creation of the social product directly aimed at the satisfaction of requirements and representing, in the final account, the material base for the satisfaction of all human requirements and for their harmonious development. "...the growth of output, the increased production of goods and the improvement of its qualities are the main and decisive prerequisites for upgrading the prosperity of the people," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th congress.

The definition of the target function of the socialist society and of socialist production as its main subsystem is of tremendous importance to the planned management of social development. At the same time, it is of exceptional methodological importance. It is a question, essentially, of the basic economic law of socialism expressing the most profound essence of the new social system. Without it we would be unable to understand the content of the most important economic categories of socialism, their interconnection, or the inner logic of socialism as an economic system.

The direction followed by the socialist production process toward the satisfaction of the needs of society predetermines the entire mechanism governing the functioning of socialist production. The main motive force of this functioning is the public interest. It consists of obtaining a maximal social product (naturally, consistent with the needs of society) with specific resources or, which is one and the same, obtaining a social product of a given volume and structure with a minimal resource outlay.

3

The most important component of the economic strategy of the developed socialist society, as was formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress, is reliance on upgrading production effectiveness. The October 1976 Central Committee Plenum reemphasized that effectiveness and quality "express the objective needs of the present stage in the development of the national economy." The views formulated in the Central Committee Accountability Report on production effectiveness and, particularly, on the need for upgrading it comprehensively, are of tremendous practical and theoretical significance.

Pointing out a number of specific historical factors which make upgrading production effectiveness particularly urgent--the limited nature of manpower and natural resources, and the growing cost of environmental protection--the congress emphasized that basically it is determined by the deep foundations of our society.

Upgrading the effectiveness of socialist output is dictated, above all, by its specific function. The prosperity level is both directly and indirectly dependent on effectiveness. With a fixed percentage of workers engaged in material output in terms of the entire population, and the fixed ratios among the replacement, consumption, and accumulation funds in the social product, real per capita income can be increased only through higher labor productivity. Furthermore, the share of the population engaged in material output is reduced in connection with the faster growth of the number of workers engaged in the nonproduction sphere, the higher age at which young people begin their labor careers, and the increased percentage of retired people.

In addition to higher labor productivity a change in the ratios of distribution of the social product offers a certain possibility for upgrading the prosperity by reducing the share of replacement and accumulation funds within it. Under current circumstances this possibility is entirely realistic. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the share of the consumption fund in the national income will grow. However, it is precisely this that requires higher effectiveness--lowered material intensiveness and capital intensiveness of goods, and upgrading their quality. This would enable society to replace used production funds with new ones and increase output with an outlay of resources lower than before. Therefore, the target function of socialist output and its effectiveness are profoundly inter-related. In economic publications the effectiveness category is considered sometimes merely as an indicator of capital investment returns. However important this aspect might be, it does not entirely cover the problem. Before considering specific manifestation of production effectiveness we must consider production effectiveness as such. In its most general aspect socialist production effectiveness may be defined as the ratio between the immediate social product used to meet the needs of the associated producers and the overall outlays and resource investments. The essence of the socialist production relations is expressed in this category more concretely than in the target function. Here a general statement of the direction taken by socialist output toward the satisfaction of needs is no longer sufficient. We must determine the extent of their satisfaction based on the level of development of production forces. The volume of the social product is compared with labor outlays and investments. The social product must be of a size most consistent with its purpose. In our view the size of the end social product meets this requirement.

An underestimating of the category of effectiveness of socialist output is also manifested in rejecting the possibility to measure it with the help of a single indicator. Such a rejection is groundless methodologically above all. If the nature of the studied relations enables us to speak of the existence of an economic category, however complex this category might be it could not fail to have a summed-up expression. The fact that at this moment our insufficient knowledge of the inner nature of this category has prevented researchers from developing an adequate formula which would reflect it in social relations, is a different matter. However, this is no reason for rejecting the basic possibility of its formulation.

Also favoring the single expression of effectiveness is the fact that it is sharply needed by economic practice. The fact is that the effectiveness components--labor, material, and capital intensiveness and the quality of output--change quite frequently their pace and, occasionally, develop in opposite directions. All components must be coordinated in order to reach a final conclusion as to the effectiveness of one or another step in the development of output.

Unquestionably, certain difficulties exist here based on the different qualities of the effectiveness components, particularly of current outlays and simultaneous investments, which cannot be directly summed up. The main thing is that the socioeconomic homogeneity of the production factors and their immediate social nature exclude any separation, not to speak of antagonism, between labor and materials, and between current outlays and simultaneous investments. It is precisely this that enables us to speak of the possibility for reducing all outlays and investments to a single denominator.

The link between current outlays and simultaneous investments is that simultaneous investments in capital goods lower current labor outlays. It is on this basis that the values of simultaneous investments are reduced to current outlays through corresponding coefficients taking into consideration the time factor, and vice versa. The ratio between the end social product and the reduced outlays could be used as an indicator of social production effectiveness.

The concept of production effectiveness, elaborated in party documents of recent years, is based on the familiar Leninist indications of the role of labor productivity. It enriches and concretizes them in terms of the conditions governing developed socialism and the scientific and technical revolution. Lenin considered increasing labor productivity the basic economic task of the socialist society, and a decisive prerequisite for the transition to the higher phase of communism. He took a broad approach to the content of the "labor productivity" concept, adopting national economic positions, considering as conditions governing its growth increased work success and intensiveness, the establishment of a material foundation for large-scale machine industry, better utilization of natural and, in general, material resources, upgrading the general educational standard of the population, and so on. Essentially, Lenin laid the foundations of what is now understood by production effectiveness.

At the same time, the priority given to the concept of effectiveness reflects the fact that under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the ratio between the growth and production improvement factors changes substantially. The relative reduction of material outlays (materialized labor), increased quality of output (economy of future labor), and reduction of capital intensiveness (economy of abstract labor) assume tremendous importance along with increased individual output. From the viewpoint of the final result for the national economy all such processes lead to a reduction of outlays and labor per unit finished product. In other words, they represent a growth of socialist production effectiveness.

Naturally, in modern production, despite the increased role of labor tools and objects which materialize scientific knowledge to an ever-greater extent labor remains the only creative and constructive force. The party has always proceeded from the fact that human labor is the basis of all successes. This concept was expressed in giving priority to the slogan of comprehensively upgrading work quality at all national economic levels.

The consistency between human labor and the system of requirements and norms objectively required by technology and the organization of modern production, mature socialist production relations, labor and technological discipline norms, and so on, is the criterion of high quality work.

Lenin gave us a methodological approach to understanding the concept of work quality. In his initial post-October works, as we know, he called for learning how to work by combining a conscientious attitude toward labor, created by the new social system, with the latest achievements of science and technology and production organization. To this day this task remains topical and the very big changes in the production process and the improvement of social relations make it particularly extensive and significant. This includes the growth of professional skills and production habits, economic literacy, a rational organization of the work, perfect mastery of the equipment, and strict observance of technological discipline. The most important economic result and the material embodiment of the quality of the work are found in the quality of output or, in the nonproduction sectors, the quality of services.

At the same time, we should take into consideration that the quality of the work is not only an economic but a social, a moral-psychological, concept. It encompasses the attitude of the people toward the work and public property, and the observance of both elementary moral norms as well as lofty principles of mutual aid and comradely cooperation. Upgrading the quality of the work also means, under present-day conditions, to work for the development of a communist attitude toward labor among all working people

4

The content of the other economic categories of socialism could be described more fully on the basis of a deeper theoretical knowledge of the problems related to the target function of socialist output and its effectiveness. It is a question, in particular, of categories expressing the socioeconomic nature of the factors governing socialist output.

Labor is the main, the decisive one among them. In the socialist economy it displays its social significance directly in the production process in its natural form of expedient activities aimed at the manufacturing of one or another commodity needed by society. Consistency between labor and the established socially necessary outlays formulated by society in accordance with the specific organizational-technical and natural conditions governing a given production process, remains a criterion in the assessment of labor. In such a direct social quality labor acts both as the main factor in the creation of the immediate social product as well as as a basis for organizing the competition among the working people and their collectives, as well as the main criterion for the distribution of the individual consumption fund. The socioeconomic form of the capital goods is also based on their role as a factor for the creation of the

direct social product. The size of the economy of direct social labor, reflecting the contribution of capital goods to the creation of the product, characterizes their direct social assessment.

Natural resources as well, i.e., that on which, in the final account, human labor is concentrated, and which is either converted into a labor product or creates conditions for such conversion, assume a specific social form and acquire corresponding quantitative assessments. The methodological base for such assessments is a topical scientific task. It was particularly stressed at the 25th CPSU Congress that the environmental and population problems which have become particularly aggravated of late should not be ignored by the scientists. This remark applies, above all, to political economy. Until recently that science paid obviously insufficient attention to natural resources. They were considered only in the study of relations within agriculture, even though this is a general economic rather than sectorial problem.

Gnosologically, such an approach to natural resources could be explained, obviously, by the fact that socialist political economy did not develop its own methodology, consistent with the new social system, but operated on the basis of criteria based on the study of previously developed economic forms, commodity output in particular. However, the heart of the matter is precisely the fact that under socialism it would be erroneous to base the economic form of natural resources on commodity-monetary relations. Even though the latter may be an important element of the economic base of socialism they are not representative of its essence.

The economic form of natural resources and their assessment express the role of such resources in the production of the direct social product needed to satisfy the requirements of associated producers. The contribution of one or another natural resource to public production could be expressed by the economy of social labor related to the utilization of this resource.

The effectiveness of a natural resource is determined by comparing the work saved by society thanks to the use of such a resource, and the work required for its reproduction. In this respect the assessment of natural resources is not distinguished essentially in the least from the assessment of conventional capital assets developed through human labor. The difference remains only whenever the use of the natural resource does not require preliminary outlays for finding and replacing it. Such situations, however, are becoming evermore infrequent, for the reproduction of an ever-growing range of natural resources is achieved through the intermediary of labor.

Establishing the economic role of natural resources in the implementation of the target function of the socialist production process, and determining thus the very principles governing their social assessment, political economy makes a basic contribution to the new scientific discipline--the economy of the utilization of nature--providing society with a major tool for the planning and effective management of the complex process of the development of the "production-environment" system.

The elaboration of the concept of socialist output as being basically the immediate social production of a product needed to satisfy the requirements of associated producers enables us to increase our understanding of an important problem of political economy such as distribution according to labor. Distribution according to labor is a consistent socialist direct social relation consistent with direct social output, and not in the least an "instrument of bourgeois law" as supporters of a primitive leveling socialism try to depict it.

Distribution relations experience radical changes in the process of the socialist socialization of output. The value of manpower stops being a criterion for the distribution of goods among the working people. The share of the individual worker in the overall amount of direct social labor becomes the criterion for the distribution of the individual consumption fund inherent in socialism. Basically, distribution according to labor presumes the neutralizing of the influence of material (organizational-technical and natural) factors on the level of wages. Such factors are common property and their entire effect should go to society as a whole.

In practical terms such neutralizing is achieved by using outlays (output norms) in the assessment of labor, established on the basis of the specific conditions governing its application. In terms of entire enterprises the problem is resolved through a differentiation in planned assignments and norms governing the formation of bonus funds. Identical results could be achieved also by determining, on the basis of the social product, the value of the material factors involved in its output.

The political-economic consideration of the economic socialist system could and should be studied, up to a certain level of ascension from the abstract to the concrete, regardless of commodity-monetary relations, using concepts and categories of direct social output. Essentially, as a level of development of communist output, socialist output is the direct social production of a commodity needed for the satisfaction of the requirements of associated producers. However, the moment the secondary forms of socialist socialization begin to be taken into consideration--the relative autonomy of enterprises and associations which act as subjects of economic relations within and on the basis of a single nationwide acquisition and of the kolkhoz form of output--commodity-monetary relations become a necessary and an exceptionally important target of political-economic research.

In the socialist economy the realm of commodity relations is quite broad, covering most economic processes. As though superimposed on the basic content of socialist production relations, commodity-monetary relations give it specific forms without, however, changing the nature of socialist production as being a direct social production. They play a substantial, even though not main role in the mechanism of its functioning, different at the various levels and various realms of economic relations.

The more skillful utilization of economic levers and incentives, including those related to commodity-monetary relations, such as cost accounting, profits, prices, and bonuses, was described at the 25th CPSU Congress as one of the important directions in the improvement of the socialist economic mechanism.

In an effort to make a fuller use of commodity-monetary relations in the interest of upgrading production effectiveness, the socialist society proceeds from the fact that such relations are not an alien element to it. Notwithstanding the assertions of bourgeois economists and Maoist ideologues, the use of commodity-monetary relations does not mean in the least that we have borrowed capitalist economic management methods. Such relations are inherent in socialism as the first stage of the communist system. They have a new, socialist content and reflect the real aspects of socialist production relations, even though they do not characterize their essential nature.

The views expressed at the 25th CPSU Congress on the nature of theoretical work which develops the Leninist principles of party activities in this area are of tremendous importance to the further development of socialist political economy.

The party's Central Committee Accountability Report reemphasized the need for close ties between theory and life and revolutionary practice which is the highest criterion of the truthfulness of any doctrine. The development of basic theory must nurture special studies in various areas. It has nothing in common with a scholastic theorétizing which could only hinder progress.

Under present-day conditions, as was noted at the congress, studies at the crossing points of various fields of knowledge and a comprehensive approach to the study of social development problems with the help of the social and natural sciences have assumed tremendous topical significance. This applies, for example, to trends in the development of the production forces of the socialist society, changes in its social structure, nature of the work, environmental problems, population problems, and so on. Naturally, the synthesized and comprehensive consideration of any problem could be successful only if it is based on the results of each of the individual sciences involved in such a study. Here the unity between analysis and synthesis and their dialectical interaction in the course of the study process find their full confirmation.

The significance of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism was particularly emphasized in the Central Committee Accountability Report. A creative and innovational attitude toward theory presumes the systematic support of the theoretical views and principles expressing the nature of Marxism-Leninism and a firm rebuff of attempts to distort them on the part of bourgeois and revisionist ideologues. Meanwhile, the successful struggle against ideological opponents would be inconceivable without a theoretical interpretation of the new stage of social development and of the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of problems created by reality.

Having enriched the content of socialist political economy, and provided a new impulse to its development, the 25th CPSU Congress thus equipped the party even better for its political, practical, and theoretical work.

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DIFFICULT TRANSITION

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[Essay by V. Sevast'yanov]

[Text] The main task in capital construction is to upgrade the effectiveness of capital investments and insure the fastest possible growth and qualitative improvement of capital assets, and the fastest installation and reaching of plant capacity of new production facilities in all national economic sectors. This can be achieved by improving the planning, designing, and organization of construction output, and reducing the time and lowering the cost of construction.

One of the ways for the solution of this problem is the extensive use of brigade cost accounting initiated by Nikolay Anatol'yevich Zlobin.

Following the completion of the experiment in Zelenograd, Moscow's satellite city, PRAVDA published an article by Nikolay Zlobin. "We signed a contract with the administration," he pointed out. "It described clearly our reciprocal obligations. The brigade earmarked rigid deadlines for the completion of the housing. Reducing them was advantageous to both us and the state. In such a case production costs would be lowered and profits would be higher. A certain percentage of the profits goes to the construction workers. Therefore, our earnings depend precisely on our level of organization and on how well we work. As we can see, the contract itself, based on cost accounting, includes our direct interest in working faster, with high quality, and economically. Naturally, this calls for supplying materials to the construction site according to schedule, and the efficient operation of all units." This was part of the counter-obligations of the managers who signed the contract.

Everything looked simple. The worker collective became part of the construction project management. Cost accounting was the basis for the organization of the work. The end result was the submission of the complete project. At this point the unity and closest possible interrelationship between the interests of the state and of the individual appeared clearly, visibly reminding us of its existence every day and every hour. Initially

this is nothing remarkable. Cost accounting has been, and remains the method of socialist economic management. However, the working man had never been faced with economic problems so tangibly and closely as through the brigade contracting method. Naturally, he was industrious and tried to work in such a way as to fulfill and overfulfill the assignment so that the foreman could initial good earnings. However, he hardly thought of the project he was building itself, and of its fastest possible completion. At any time the brigade could have been transferred somewhere else, in which case the initiated construction project would be completed by someone else. Some economic managers try to justify such a practice which reveals substantial shortcomings in construction planning and organization by citing the need to shunt resources and cadres. The Zelenograd experiment proved that progressive construction workers no longer wish to work this way. It is not merely a question of earnings. Converting to the brigade contracting method, in which the construction of a project is the work of a single collective from beginning to end, gives them the feeling of a thrifty manager, and a statesmanlike approach to the work.

Yet, all this is quite complicated. From their very first steps the cost accounting brigades came across the type of abnormal phenomena in capital construction which prevents them from organizing a rhythmical work and leads to unfinished output. This includes errors in planning and material and technical supplies, departmentalism, a formalistic approach to the conversion of the brigade to the contracting method, and an obsolete method used in assessing the work of the collective based on the amount of funds used. Prior to the conversion to the new planning and economic incentive conditions construction managements, trusts, and ministries tried, above all, to fulfill their plans based on the amount of funds used. That is why manpower and material resources were used for more expensive projects, frequently at the expense of priority work. To a certain extent this situation still prevails. Since in order to submit a finished project a contracting brigade must do all the work, rather than the expensive part, the new method inevitably conflicts with the practice of the notorious "gross output." Such a conflict situation called for the adoption of a critical approach to the existing planning and management system, ranging from the brigade to the ministry.

Learning the new method of economic management was difficult. Many brigade leaders had to experience the bitterness of failure. It was inconceivable to expect that the Zlobin contracting method would be mastered immediately. Established construction methods cannot be made to yield to something new without a struggle. Today brigade cost accounting is gaining a place in the sun in the literal meaning of the term.

A new concept of the primary unit leader developed in the course of the introduction of Nikolay Zlobin's experience. Today it is insufficient for such a manager to be highly skilled and get along with people. Managers, particularly those of general contracting brigades, must assume functions previously performed by foremen and work superintendents. It is a question

of coordinating the work of all subcontracting brigades participating in the construction of the project. It is no accident in the least that both in our country and in other socialist countries applying the experience of the Moscow innovator, preference is given to a contracting system headed by an engineer. Practical experience has confirmed that the brigade leader and the collective he heads find it very difficult to assume responsibility for the entire project and, performing a specific operation, find it impossible to supervise constantly the entire project, to lead the process. Yet, as the experience of Kaluga, Kuybyshev, and Voronezh construction workers proved, technicians and engineers can meet such obligations perfectly adequately.

The first to realize this were the Kaluga construction workers. It is they who suggested this alternative to the construction cost accounting system. Leonid Senatov, a construction technician, assumed the leadership of such an experimental system. True, initially he refused for a long time. His answer to all persuasions was the same:

"I am not against contracting. However, I cannot convert to it installation workers alone. They would put up the frames and what then?"

Viktor Grigor'yevich Semenov, director of the house building combine, was at the conference and listened carefully. He was the senior of all those present both in age and practical experience. He was not in a hurry. He also noted the words of chief economist Viktor Patskevich:

"The structure of the Zelenograd Construction Administration is different from ours. We make parts and assemble houses with them ourselves. We have specialized rather than complex brigades. It would be easy to combine them in a system by coordinating their work with a single contract."

The director realized that Valentin Il'inskiy, chief of the scientific organization of labor laboratory, was also on Senatov's side. He felt that these people would not adopt the contracting method simply, mechanistically. Yet, what would they suggest? He liked it when heated arguments developed like this one. The moment the passions cooled off Semenov rose:

"Let Senatov, Patskevich, and Il'inskiy think about this again and calculate the results. We shall make a decision then."

The variant which was suggested soon afterwards was interesting. As in the brigade contracting method it was based on cost accounting and on the end labor result--the fully completed project. However, the organizational structure was different. The contracting method was to be applied not to a single brigade but the entire sector. This coordinated the work of installation workers, carpenters, plasterers, painters, and roof makers. The system could be clearly traced. Success was based on its efficient rhythm. The foremen and the sector chief were in charge of developing such a rhythm. Together with the brigade leaders they carried full--moral and material--responsibility for the fulfillment of all contractual stipulations.

The combine director read the suggestion, studied appended norm charts, cycles, and schedules, and said doubtfully:

"Would there be forces enough to conduct this experiment with the entire sector?"

He was well aware of the consequences. The systems of planning and supplies, management methods, and relations with subcontracting organizations would have to be changed substantially. Such conversion could not be made in a single day. However, nor could Semenov block the path of this new development which was persistently knocking at the door.

Senatov dispelled his doubts:

"Let us establish a single system first and see."

Two systems were established on a parallel basis; two methods were used. Each system built its own houses. The contracting method was faced with proving its advantages. One year passed. To Leonid Senatov it was a difficult one. On paper everything appeared planned and calculated. Reality, however, occasionally disturbs all computations. Yet, it was too late to retreat. The 110 people entrusted to him were applying all their forces. Furthermore, the city was watching the course of the experiment.

Following its completion, Senatov said:

"Matters reached extremes. I threatened to annul the contract..."

Yet, the experiment succeeded. The Kaluga variant of the management of primary construction units, based on the contracting method, added a number of new aspects to Nikolay Zlobin's experiment. First, the rights of line engineering and technical workers were restored. They became direct participants in the contracting, whereas in the past they held a certain intermediary position between the workers' collective and the administration. Secondly, a contract with a single specialized brigade (Nikolay Zlobin's complex brigade) would have lowered the role of the other brigades involved in the construction process.

How did the Kaluga experiment take place? I recall that Leonid Senatov asked me to see No 4 Silikatnaya Street. It was a five-story house, typical of the city. The first contract covered its completion. The system was formed by the brigades headed by Vladimir Avdeyenko, Nikolay Khokhlov, Vladimir Zaytsev, Sergey Komarov, and Viktor Lapykin. The construction project was headed by Leonid Senatov, sector chief, Anatoliy Kubakov, work superintendent, and Aleksandr Khlopenkov, foreman. Individual duties were strictly stipulated in the contract itself. The system stopped should anyone fall behind. The assemblymen headed by Vladimir Avdeyenko erected the frame in 26 days. The electricians and sanitation technicians completed their work on time. Then the carpentry

brigade headed by Nikolay Khokhlov took over. It saved yet another 20 days. Roofers and plasterers worked well. Only the house painters were late as a result of their incompletely staffed brigade. However, this did not potentially affect the overall time of completion. While the finishing workers were completing their work in the first house building the others had already moved to the second site...

"What was the economic effect of the experiment?" said Senatov, repeating the question. "The above-ground part of the first house (the foundations were laid by another specialized organization) was built in 75 days instead of 105, the norm. The cost per square meter of housing declined by 3 rubles. Above plan profits totaled nearly 10,000 rubles. Of this 30 percent went to bonuses to the participants in the system. Another 2,000 rubles were awarded to us for good quality completion. Most importantly, the collective was able to see the end result of its work--the finished project."

Comparing the achievements of the participants in the system with the results of brigades working on a parallel basis and using conventional methods, it becomes clear that contracting work won on all points. Construction time was shortened and quality and labor productivity were higher. As a result, average daily wages and bonuses were higher than those of the neighbors. What reserves were used? Did the contracting system operate under special conditions? It did not. Here is what the brigade leaders themselves, the direct performers of the work, said.

Nikolay Khokhlov: "Never before had the people displayed such thrift. They saved every lath..."

Sergey Komarov: "The clear technological route was very pleasing. Completing the work at one site, we passed on to another with no delays. Like a machine assembled in a plant, the house building under construction passed from hand to hand."

Vladimir Zaytsev: "We always felt the help of the engineers and technicians. It would be impossible to enumerate all the innovations we applied. Let me say only that their use was speeded up with the conversion to the contracting system..."

Vladimir Avdeyenko: "I admit, at first I did not understand fully what the contracting method represented. Now everything is clear. An inflexible law operates here: You have signed a contract, fulfill it. You are the master at the construction site and must act like one..."

The most important thing was that a strong collective was developed in the course of the experiment. The rolling stone, drunkards, and idlers dropped out. They were unable to maintain the high labor rhythm based on profound trust, mutual aid, and individual responsibility to all. In the course of the experiment the joint collective built five house buildings saving a great deal of time at each one, and earning above-plan profits.

Now the Kaluga house builders were faced with the task of broadening the contracting method. This was the target set to the enterprises' administration by the city party committee whose bureau heard Leonid Senatov's report. However, a number of problems had to be resolved before the new form of management of primary construction units could strengthen and develop into the general line of the combine. Thus, the experiment at Leonid Senatov's sector proved that the enterprise had to manage material and technical complementing supplies. Idling or raw material over-expenditures were inevitable without an efficient schedule of material procurements and high level of readiness. Order had to be brought to laying the foundations which was in the hands of another construction-installation administration which frequently fell behind the house builders.

Leonid Senatov was agitated by the following idea as well:

"Could subcontracters be included in the system and convert to the contracting method as well? So far they were not economically interested in the joint success..."

Was this possible? Entirely. Usually, along with each collective in the sector there are permanent brigades of electricians, sanitation technicians, power crane operators, and truck drivers. They had become involved with the construction workers, sharing their interests and were ready to apply the contracting system. Different departmental affiliations were the problem. However, the view of the Kaluga specialists was that this could be surmounted.

"All this," concluded Candidate of Technical Sciences Valentin Il'inskiy, chief of the scientific organization of labor laboratory of the Kalugastroy Administration, "would enable us to upgrade the effectiveness of sector contracting and make possible planning on the basis of a future growth of labor productivity and reduced cost of construction and installation work. The sector contracting system means, above all, a strictly cyclical nature of operations, starting with the foundations to moving into the house."

The experiment conducted at Leonid Senatov's sector is the creative extension of the brigade contracting method. Unquestionably, it will find extensive use in construction.

At the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan Nikolay Zlobin's collective was the only one working on a contractual basis. The Zlobin method was followed by 2,000 brigades in 1972, 9,000 in 1973, 16,000 in 1974, 40,000 in 1975, and 43,000 in 1976, out of a total of 206,000 brigades. As we may see, the contracting method was not an outbreak of enthusiasm or a means for setting a record. Slowly but steadily it is becoming a method for the organization and management of construction output and an expression of the new economic relations among people at the construction site.

The study of six-year results has proved that cost accounting brigades reduce construction time by 17 to 20 percent, save 3-4 percent on the cost estimates of the work, and raise labor productivity 25 percent. The end result is the most important feature: a finished house building--enter and live.

The contracting method is not only broadening its realm of influence but is improving. Practical experience has indicated that converting a single brigade to cost accounting, a brigade assembling building frames, for example, yields no major economic results. The time it saves is subsequently lost in finishing the building. The desired results are possible only on a comprehensive basis, through a construction system similar to a plant conveyer belt.

The assembly line method of organization of the work was possible for collectives of house building combines, for everything is focused in their hands and they are not split by departmentalism. This was clearly confirmed by the experience of the Moscow, Leningrad, and Kaluga construction workers. The house building combines now existing in practically all big cities are powerful associations engaged in the production of housing. It was precisely here that it became possible to convert construction sites into highly mechanized assembly grounds. Entirely ready parts and structures reach the site complete per section or floor. Such an organizational method enables the best cost accounting brigades, such as the Moscow House Building Combine No 1, for example, to assemble a story in 60 hours.

Other collectives have contributed a great deal of new and interesting aspects to improvements in the method of the Moscow innovator. Several years ago a system for continuous construction of housing and public projects was tried in Orel, based on two-year planning. The system provided a good incentive for the use of brigade cost accounting. What does it consist of?

Still quite frequently our construction conveyer belt slows down its progress, loses its rhythm, and a considerable percentage of the annual amount of housing area is completed in the last quarter. This affects the quality of the work and increases the duration and cost of construction. The reason is that, as a rule, the construction of heterogenous projects is included in the system--house buildings, schools, or cultural-consumer establishments. They are financed out of different sources, planned by different departments, and frequently "not included" in the construction conveyer belt. Difficulties arise in laying water and sewer grids, installing heat and electric supply facilities, and building communications.

The following question was asked: Why not have a single client per city? Without it it would be difficult to develop a rhythmical house building conveyer belt, and engage in comprehensive construction work, the more so since the overall city building project sometimes involves tens of clients. In the big cities of the country they total some 10,000! A single client,

represented by the city executive committee, could bring order in this matter: it would assume the levers of urban construction control and efficiently coordinate the efforts of all its participants.

This was done in Orel. The people of Orel gave their new development the name of planning-design-construction conveyer belt. A centralized base is its characteristic feature. Here there is a single client: the capital construction administration of the city executive committee, a single general designer--the Orelgiprogor'stroy Institute--and a single general contractor--the Orelstroy Administration. The conveyer belt operates on a city-wide scale. It is based on the comprehensive solution of problems and strict planning discipline. The assignments are based on the five-year plan for capital investments and the general plan for the development of the city. The current work is organized on the basis of a two-year continuous plan. The first year assignment is the operating one and is not subject to change; the second year is preparatory, fundamental, and subject merely to minor refinements: the unfinished projects of the preceding year are included in the assignment of the current year. Added to them are a certain number of new buildings and installations, constituting the new work plan. This "continuity," as the Orel system has been named, is formulated by all the participants in the construction process: the planning, design, and construction-installation organizations, equipment, material, and structure suppliers, and others. A coordination council manages the entire project.

The use of this system offers great economic advantages, particularly when combined with the brigade contracting method. In the first two years of work overall savings totaled about 1 million rubles. House buildings are rhythmically completed. The annual average percentage of construction plan fulfillment was the following, on a quarterly basis: first quarter, 25 percent; second, 26 percent; third, 28 percent; and fourth, 21 percent of the annual volume of housing. The number of simultaneously built projects has been reduced substantially. An end has been put to the practice of scattering capital investments and freezing funds. Work costs have declined by over 7 percent and factual construction time has been reduced by 20 percent; labor productivity has risen 16 percent. Construction quality has improved.

All this was accomplished without additional allocations or resources, under standard production conditions. The people of Orel are successfully resolving the problem of the comprehensive building of the city. The interests of the former numerous customers are being taken more fully into consideration. Now they act as shareholders who receive on time and in full their allocated housing and who have become convinced of the advantages of a single client.

The design institute, relieved from worthless operations and repeated corrections has begun to provide technical documents on time. The designers have entered the rhythm of the system and as early as 1 August submit all

necessary documents for construction to be done the following year. By the end of December the institute completes all designs for new house buildings. Let us note here that it has not increased its personnel.

The dissemination of the Orel experience is of great importance to upgrading the role of house building combines as the most important link in the construction conveyer belt. This increases the incentives for technical progress, leads to the utilization of reserves, and strengthens cost accounting. Thus, the city converted to the production of nine-story homes with improved apartment layout without interrupting the work of the combine. Currently such house buildings account for over 70 percent of built-up useful area. The construction of such buildings made it possible to raise construction density over 100 percent. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone this resulted in savings of about 8 million rubles.

The experience of the Orel people indicates that construction should be focused not only in the hands of a single client but a single general contractor. In other words, we must take a course toward the creation of city building associations capable of fulfilling the entire complex of city building operations. Currently the Orel experience is being successfully applied in Ryazan', Ufa, Krasnodar, Tula, Baranovichi, and tens of other cities throughout the country.

The economic mechanism of the brigade contracting method shows its advantages particularly tangibly under the conditions of rhythmical construction and continuous planning. It embodies the best features of socialist competition: it breaks down remaining views on output norms and reveals completely the possibilities for the display of initiative and a creative approach to the work. It enables the growth of labor productivity to take a tremendous leap forward.

The brigade contracting method is introducing new aspects to the socialist competition and is influencing its organizational improvements, for the purpose of the labor contest is to upgrade labor productivity, reduce construction time and improve its quality, and insure the rational utilization of materials and equipment. Directing the entire work of the collective toward the end result, the brigade contracting method makes possible steadily to improve the sum total of such indicators. It simplifies the organization of the competition, increases its effectiveness, and intensifies its educational function. It helps to develop in the workers a communist awareness, a statesmanlike approach to the work, and a feeling of responsibility. It is precisely this that creates the feeling of involvement of the individual worker in the final results of the collective's labor.

The Orel continuous planning method was what Nikolay Anatol'yevich Zlobin dreamed about from the very first days of the brigade cost accounting method.

Naturally, the brigade cost accounting method could not fail to draw the attention of the collectives around industrial projects--plants, factories, and electric power plants. Successes here have been modest. However, an initial experience has been developed. I frequently had the occasion to visit with Murmansk brigade leader Vladislav Serikov. The last time I saw him was in the winter of 1976.

"Look, this is the very image of a lighthouse," he said, pointing at a building standing on concrete foundations by the steep slope of the bay.

The thermoelectric plant looked very much like a lighthouse. Seamen returning to their home port would see from afar a high stack smoking night and day. The power plant gives life, breath, and heat to the new microrayon--60,000 people.

A number of people had visited the power plant. They listened carefully to the words of Vladislav Pakhomovich, admired, and exclaimed. There was what for. The people of the north had refuted views that the experience of Nikolay Zlobin could not be applied in industrial construction.

"It was difficult at the beginning," recalls Igor' Shupa-Dubrova, chief of the normative-research station, Glavmurmanskstroy, an enthusiast who rapidly catches on to everything new. "We had to be certain of the correctness of the chosen way in order not to give up should circumstances become difficult."

The result was that Nikolay Zlobin's experience, enriched by new principles of organization of the work, was applied in construction work under the northern conditions.

The construction of an industrial project is far more complex than of a residential building. Such a project may cost millions of rubles and may take not months but years. This is the main difficulty which faced the Murmansk brigade. Individual specialists proved that it would be unable to surmount the building of an electric plant alone. Vladislav Serikov was supported by the city and oblast party committees.

"Some comrades tried to depict me as some kind of shock force. They said that the hero of the Soviet Union star helped. That particular conditions had been created. Nothing like it. The brigade was ready to follow the new work method."

His talent as an organizer and managerial skills were manifested with particular emphasis at the power plant. He sought the advice of engineers, made extensive computations, and corrected schedules and plans. The program for action was drawn up. It was decided to build the thermoelectric power plant, consisting of 16 big and small projects, in two stages. The initial complex, worth over 3 million rubles, was entrusted

to the brigade. The contract seemed to cover everything. However, after 3 months results were summed up. The brigade ended the quarter at a loss. False rumors began to circulate and not only within the administration; the brigade began to complain. A meeting was held. Vladislav invited Lidiya Zhivilo, chief of the planning section of Construction-Assembly Administration No 2 to attend. His thought was simple: Let the brigade's collective be told of the economic aspect of the organization of the work and the reasons for fund over-expenditures. He was not wrong! Lidiya's words were a revelation to many:

"Why are you losing? The cranes are not loaded. You are using a powerful bulldozer wherever you could do full well with a less powerful machine. The truck you are maintaining has cost you 1,500 rubles because of wasted runs."

The facts of negligence were irrefutable. It was perhaps then that, for the first time, the people began to think of their personal responsibility for the matters of the brigade and realized that they had to prove the existence of a better way for the organization of construction work. Viktor Gutsalo took the floor: "It would be a good thing to rate our work this way so that we may not move ahead blindly..."

Other suggestions were made. The brigade leader listened, pleased. The people were reacting sharply to the failure. He saw in this a psychological change. Therefore, things would be better. Indeed, there was a quick economic change. The elected brigade council reorganized its entire economy and brought it in order. Unnecessary equipment was removed and replaced. Available machinery began to be rented out to neighbors. The entire brigade considered how to save on materials. Timber-metal casings were used and there was an immediate surplus of lumber which was sent back to the warehouse. Every day Lidiya Zhivilo summed up the results of the brigade's work. The people saw a visible reduction of losses.

The social tuning, as Vladislav Serikov said, was more difficult. The council removed from the brigade Aleksey Grazhdankin, Vladimir Yes'kov, and Viktor Parfenov for their lack of faith in the new method. The collective also parted with Nikolay Yakovlev, its best bricklayer, who thought that he was allowed to do anything he pleased: he insulted people and was late for work. Yet, the people who rated highly the trust of their comrades were able to prove their abilities. The brigade still remembers the way Vladislav Serikov once brought together Yuriy Belkin with the leader of the subcontracting brigade:

"Yura, this is the leader of the intermediary brigade; see where the apertures should be made. Catch up with them, outstrip them!"

Yuriy Belkin alone kept up with the 10 members of the brigade. He made apertures in the walls for conduits and pipes. He did work which would be usually avoided by a construction worker, shifting it to the assemblymen.

The type of apertures they made required weeks to correct. Now no corrections were needed. Yet, Yuriy is as capable a bricklayer as the others. He could have refused. But he did not: the comrades had given him this assignment. This may seem an insignificant fact but it proves a great deal. Fifty people shared a single interest and pursued a single objective. They were united by the power plant. Brigade cost accounting is strong through the unity of spirit of the collective with its reciprocal trust and a true communist attitude toward labor.

The brigade concluded successfully the first step of the work. The project was completed 45 days ahead of schedule, with good quality work. Labor outlays were reduced by 5,135 man/days. The collective received a bonus of 20,500 rubles. At that time Serikov made the following entry in his diary: "The first step has been made. The people have realized the advantage of contract cost accounting. There has been a change toward more research. The influence and the help of the engineers have been felt. We are now beginning the most difficult part--the second stage."

The year of completion turned out indeed to be difficult. Until that time the brigade was engaged in general construction operations and was responsible for them only. Now the subcontracting organizations became involved. The danger arose that the entire economy of time and funds would be absorbed by the slowness of workers in related operations. Here the administration of Construction and Installation Administration No 2, with which Vladislav Serikov's brigade signed a contract, had to prove itself. The administration management worked hard. Its help to the collective played a decisive role in the fact that a contracting system began to develop on the site of the power plant. This was the most creative aspect in the use of Nikolay Zlobin's experiment in Murmansk.

The contracting system was joined by the brigades headed by Vladislav Kostetskiy, Gennadiy Polyakov, and Oleg Shcherbakov who signed contracts with their management. They launched a competition with the collective of the general contractor for the completion of the power plant ahead of schedule. Comradely mutual aid sharply accelerated the course of the work. Here is the way, subsequently, Vladislav Kostetskiy, brigade leader at the Prodmontazh trust assessed his participation in the system:

"For a long time I had not been so satisfied with the work. We tried to keep up the pace of Vladislav Serikov's brigade. We finished our work three days ahead of schedule and our bonus was substantial. I am convinced that if we wish to complete projects quickly construction work must be done on a complex basis and all participants must adopt the contracting cost accounting system."

Here, at the power plant, the role played by the Orgtekhstroy trust was manifested. This is a subdivision more frequently criticized than praised. The plan for a scientific organization of labor it presented was profoundly thought out and purposeful. It had 34 items. The Orgtekhstroy specialists

focused their attention on the preparation and servicing of workplaces. A trust's instructors' brigade shared its experience. They trained every member of the collective in a related skill, proved how to organize better the supply of materials to the workplace, how to mix the concrete directly in the trucks, and the type of tools which were needed. The brigade followed all the advice given by the instructors. Fully implemented, the plan for a scientific organization of labor made it possible to save 359 man/days and 5,766 rubles. Above all, it helped to reach the final result, which is the very basis of the contracting method.

The thermoelectric power plant represents two years of intensive life for Vladislav Serikov. How many sleepless nights and unforgettable accomplishments he experienced! Opening new paths is incredibly difficult. One had to be firm, believe in the assignment one has undertaken and victory would follow. Vladislav Serikov signed the delivery document and felt a great weight come off his shoulders. What a document that was! Construction time for the power plant had been reduced by 87 days. Fifty people had accomplished what would have been accomplished previously by 300, far more rapidly and better at that.

"We see a building we have constructed from beginning to end," Vladislav Serikov concluded.

This was the first and very successful experience in the use of brigade cost accounting in industrial construction. Vladislav Serikov's brigade did not rest on its achievement. It went on and undertook to build a meat combine worth some 10 million rubles. The entire project was broken down into technological stages. Schedules were drawn up clearly determining the sequence of construction and installation operations.

The role of the engineering personnel and their responsibility for the fulfillment of their counterobligations were manifested with particular emphasis in the solution of the problems. Anatoliy Konovalov, the young and energetic chief of Administration No. 2 of Murmanskpromstroy Trust, assumed a great deal of worries. Major difficulties existed. As Konovalov said himself, the chief of an administration has a number of obligations yet few rights. For example, he was not always able to influence designers, equipment suppliers, or subcontracting collectives. This could be achieved far more fruitfully and operatively by the trust's management.

However, the project was underway and it was too late to retreat. Three years passed. The meat combine was finished. The delivery document was signed. Vladislav Serikov's brigade did general construction work worth 3 million rubles, 1 million rubles' worth every year. The brigades headed by Mikhail Zhikharev, Prodmontazh Trust, Yegor Kozub, Sevzapelektromontazh Trust, Vladimir Krutykh from Promventilyatsiya, Al'bert Stolyarov, Tsentrosantekhmontazh Trust, and Nikolay Ordinets from Sevzapmontazhavtomatika, and tens of other collectives worked in close cooperation with

the construction workers. The brigade headed by Vladislav Serikov, the general contractor, was able to maintain the system which developed in the building of the power plant. The deadline for the completion of the meat combine was shortened by 250 days: 42 days were saved during the first stage; 105 during the second; 81 during the third, and 22 during the fourth. The fifth and concluding stage covered the tuning of the installed equipment, for which reason time could not be saved. The planned cost of construction and installation operations was lowered by 54,000 rubles. The gradual delivery of the projects took place in such a way that they were able to operate and yield output. For example, the refrigerator, completed in 1975, was immediately able to accept for storage 1,000 tons of goods.

To speak merely of the successes achieved by Vladislav Serikov's collective would mean to ignore the structural changes in Administration No 2 as a whole. Yet, such changes did occur. Today all brigades operate on a contracting basis. They are headed by Vladimir Nilov, Viktor Gutsalo, Vladimir Gerasimov, and Vladimir Kalayev. As we can see, bigger subdivisions, administrations in particular, are ready to sign contracts. However, such a promising development is hindered by the fact that the superior authorities--trusts, main administrations, and ministries--do not dare to include in the contracting system the engineering personnel on the line and link their wages to the implementation of the target program of the cost accounting brigades or, rather, the administrations, or even their superiors--trusts and main administrations--whose activities are still assessed on the basis of the amount of capital investments used rather than the end results--the finished construction output. However, the demands of reality are merciless. The task was directly formulated at the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: This year measures must be elaborated to convert to new methods of capital construction planning and financing. The activities of contracting organizations must be assessed on the basis of finished projects and priority complexes, completed and delivered to the client. Therefore, a course toward technological construction systems must be charted, based on cost accounting brigades which could build housing and industrial enterprises quickly, with lower outlays, and with good quality work.

Thus, having experienced substantial changes, the method developed within the collective of the Moscow innovator Nikolay Zlobin, is becoming the form of organization and management of construction work. Naturally, the search for better ways has not ended. It is going on. Its importance is due to the fact that this five-year plan contracting collectives must account for 70 to 80 percent of the housing, do 60 to 70 percent of work in the countryside, and account for 20 to 30 percent of industrial construction. It has been estimated that this would make it possible to save on the work of 200,000 people and economize 3 million rubles. Naturally, the contracting collectives are a powerful obstruction to unfinished output, for they deliver entirely ready projects. This is the economic meaning of brigade cost accounting, of the method born in Zelenograd, Moscow's satellite city.

BAYKAL-AMUR MAIN LINE: PEOPLE, EXPERIENCE, PROBLEMS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 47-56

[Letters to the editors]

[Text] The people have named the building of the Baykal-Amur Main Line the construction project of the century. The name is accurate. It would be difficult to compare the scale of the work done here with anything else: there has never been in our country another project in which, as at the BAM [Baykal-Amur Main Line] literally each republic and oblast has sent its representatives to work; nearly all industrial sectors are supplying their goods to the BAM-- whether powerful construction equipment or prefabricated housing, or clothing or shoes for the people building the main line.

The editors of KOMMUNIST have received a number of letters from the BAM describing the lives of the builders of the main line today. Following are some of them.

We Are Maturing, by V. Novik, head of complex brigade, Construction-Installation Train No 576

In 1974, while on leave I took a trip to Amurskaya Oblast. I wanted to take part in the building of the Zeyskaya GES. Actually, having reached full agreement, all that remained was to run back home, to the Donbas, resign from the Donkoksokhimstroy Trust, collect my documents, and go east, to the Zey. However, out of pure curiosity I went as a tourist to Tynda and stayed there, at the "capital of the BAM." I requested my documents by mail.

Someone may ask why? The reason, probably, is the desire of a cadre construction worker to work wherever possibilities are extensive, and where an initiated project demands efforts, experience, and individual skill. At the time of my visit to Tynda I had acquired nearly 25 years of practical experience in construction projects, true, not in the field of

transportation. Yet, the initial BAM detachments consisted mainly of young people who had a rather remote idea of the work at the construction project and of how to organize properly construction output. For example, this applied to the Moskovskiy Komsomolets Detachment to which I was initially assigned. At first I had to perform three roles: brigade leader, production training foreman, and educator. Probably this combination was successful, for the meshing of the human with the organizational aspects was quite rapid and, within a short time, our carpenters' brigade became the best brigade of Construction-Installation Train No 573.

I must point out that the other collectives as well were unable to bypass the complex and quite conflict-prone stage of the organization. At that time, an order on organizing a new construction-installation train, for example, did not mean as yet that such a train exists and is active. Tens of thousands of people who had come from different parts of the country to the tracks of the second Transsib, had different production and practical experience, and the reasons for their joining the BAM did not coincide. It was difficult to find one's way in such a "Tower of Babel," for which reason all sorts of clashes occurred. Thus, skilled construction workers were assigned to the different brigades without any specific system; unsuitable people who, true, had submitted entirely favorable documents, were appointed managers of primary or bigger subunits. Naturally, this adversely affected the implementation of assignments. In order to prevent breakdowns, the party bureau and party committees were forced with resolving problems of work organization, occasionally doing the work of the administration.

I was made particularly aware of this two years ago, when I was elected secretary of the party bureau of the newly created Construction-Installation Train No. 576. Its collective was assigned work along the Tynda-Berkakit track which, as we know, links the BAM with the very rich south Yakutian cokable coal deposits. In the new train I was assigned a brigade which was immediately assigned to the tayga, at a site of the present Mogot settlement. Having fulfilled ahead of schedule our assignment of building housing facilities and consumer service projects, we moved directly to the tracks where, together with other brigades, we began to lay water pipes.

Everyone seemed to start projects jointly. However, for some reason no single collective could meet its deadline. The party bureau had to study the reasons for the lagging. The following became clear. As I mentioned, the brigades (consisting of 15 to 20 people each), laid "their own pipes," performing the full operational cycle. At all points work was done simultaneously, for which reason each collective needed a bulldozer and an excavator; it happened that several collectives needed identical materials at the same time and there was no possibility to meet all requirements immediately. It became clear that such scattering of efforts was a hindrance.

That is why the party bureau decided that the construction process itself had to be organized differently by using the assembly line method of organization of the work. That method had yielded very good results at the Donkoksokhimstroy Trust, my previous place of employment. On the suggestion of the party bureau small collectives were combined into a big complex brigade and, reorganized as teams, undertook the consecutive implementation of technological operations in the laying of water pipes. A team, having completed its assignment and prepared the work front for the following one, moved to another area with the necessary equipment and mechanisms. The amount of machinery in the complex brigade did not increase compared with the sum total available to all the old brigades. Now, however, the equipment began to work in three shifts and its utilization coefficient rose sharply. Economists estimated that whereas the previous output did not exceed 800 rubles per man per month, it reached 2,700 rubles with the assembly line method. In 2 months the complex brigade carried out work worth 900,000 rubles. Had we followed the old labor organization system, this would have taken us over 1 year.

Naturally, however, it was not a question of volume or rubles. Our complex brigade delivered all systems ahead of schedule, as a result of which work on the bed of the railroad track could begin earlier. Soon afterwards the progressive nature of the assembly line method in the organization of construction output at the BAM was confirmed most definitely in the implementation of the most important assignment: laying the track from Sivachkan Station to Mogot. The deadline was short. We were scheduled to cover a sector almost 50 km long in eight months. However, the construction and installation train used up one-half of the allocated time to cover only 2 km from Sivachkan to the Gilya River. Here individual stages of the technological process were carried out by different brigades. A consolidated complex brigade was set up to catch up with the lagging. It was assigned all operations, ranging from lining the sections to spreading ballast on the embankments. As a result, the remaining 47 km of tracks were laid in two and one-half months, and the first train reached Mogot ahead of schedule. Let me point out that the work was done by half the number of workers compared with preliminary estimates.

Currently our experience in complex assembly line work has become widespread in the construction of the BAM. The comrades are saying that this method will help a number of construction subdivisions to increase their labor productivity and improve the quality of their work. It seems to me, however, that something else is more important. The assembly line method made it possible to interest every worker in the labor results of the entire collective. Such an interest, naturally, could not fail to influence most positively labor and production discipline. In our brigade, for example, even though it was expanded and, therefore, became more complex to manage, absenteeism, drinking on the job, or coming to work intoxicated disappeared entirely. The teams did not leave the project before bringing it to a state of complete readiness for the subsequent technological operation. In a word, we were able to set up a real labor collective. We aspired to

achieve this realizing that in the future we would be facing more complex and responsible assignments which could be implemented only if the principle of one-for-all and all-for-one was observed.

I would be expressing the general opinion by stating that the further dissemination of the assembly line method contributed to the unification of the other collectives, the more accurate deployment of forces, and the solution of the problem of strengthening the leading teams at all levels. Naturally, complex brigades are merely one of the elements of the "maturation" of BAM collectives, an organizational growing up accompanied by a spiritual one. Their overall effect was expressed in the fact that the party organizations could now be free from occasionally petty economic supervision over construction subunits and begin to deal more extensively with their specific obligations: educational and ideological work, control over the implementation of decisions made by the party members, and so on.

As member of the Dzheltulakskiy Rayon party committee, I participate in the work of its plenums. Therefore, I could say that this trend is becoming evermore apparent in rayon party committee activities as well.

I hope to be understood correctly: Naturally, the raykom does not ignore problems related to the fulfillment of governmental assignments or control over cadre work. However, it approaches the solution of these and similar problems from the positions of a party rather than economic organ.

In a word, we are growing up. The elapsed time proved the correctness of the slogan "We Are Building the BAM and the BAM is Building Us." In less than 3 years hundreds of kilometers of steel tracks were laid over hills and the wild tayga. Collectives which could perform any assignment have developed. They are strong not only by virtue of their equipment and skill of their engineers, but their friendship and purposefulness. Tremendous future assignments are awaiting us. The completion of the BAM will essentially mark merely the beginning of the economic development of extremely vast territories between Lake Baykal and the Pacific Ocean, and of previously inaccessible areas of Yakutiya and Buryatiya, and the Amurskaya and other oblasts in the RSFSR. There is literally no end to the work and we believe that the people who are building the BAM today will have yet other opportunities to apply their forces.

One Must See The Future, by A. Kas'yanik, engineer

Already now a great deal of freight is being hauled along the BAM, all of it needed by the BAM itself. Powerful equipment and a variety of materials, parts of modern multiple story residential buildings, fuel, industrial goods and foodstuffs are arriving at the construction project along the tracks from Bam Station, on the old Transsib, to Tynda. True, the Bam-Tynda track is provisional. However, it is precisely it that will become the first permanent part of the Baykal-Amur Main Line as of the autumn of 1977.

The time of the completion of this major section of the main line is nearing. However, not everything at the target project is being done the way it should, or as dictated by the deadlines. This is caused by objective and subjective reasons.

The plan for the construction of the Bam-Tynda track was elaborated in 1969 by the Mosgioprotrans Institute. It was believed at that time that trains would not go beyond Tynda, for which reason the plan called for running along the tracks no more than 8 pair of trains per 24 hours. Bamstroyput', the general contracting construction administration, began work on the track in 1972. In 1974, however, following the promulgation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Line, it became clear that the plan must be reworked. On the assignment of the Ministry of Railways, the Mosgioprotrans Institute drew up a plan for linking Bam with Tynda with a transit track. According to the new plan an eastern approach had to be built to the existing Trans-Siberian Railroad, while the Bam-Tynda track had to be expanded by five sidings and other elements which would increase its handling capacity.

In 1975-1976 the construction workers of the Bamstroyput' Administration fulfilled their assignments on laying the railway tracks outstripping the deadlines listed in their obligations. This made it possible to start train traffic from Bam Station to Tynda ahead of schedule. However, a railway is more than merely cross ties, tracks, and light signals. It includes station buildings, technical equipment, housing, schools, and other children's institutions. Without such complex facilities the efficient operation of any railroad would be impossible, the more so a railroad such as this one, in a rough weather and earthquake-prone zone. It was precisely this part of the complex that fell behind seriously. The annual plans for construction and installation projects were fulfilled no more than 92 percent. In order to insure the permanent operation of the line by the third quarter of this year, the Ministry of Railways formulated and ratified a target complex which includes the most necessary premises and equipment for the normal and reliable operation of the tracks. Furthermore, considerable volumes of labor intensive finishing operations must be completed.

However, so far the Bamstroyput' Administration continues to increase the capacity of the construction organizations in the sector very poorly. The subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification are slow in stringing outside power supply cables at the Magdagachi-Skovorodino-Bam, and Skovorodino-Tynda sectors. They failed to fulfill their 1976 work plan and the pace of work has remained practically the same as it was at the beginning of the year. Yet, the completion of the electric power transmission lines directly determines the supply of power along the tracks and to the station and the settlement, as well as the timely permanent completion of the entire railway section.

We already have a great deal of knowledge of the behavior of railway bridges, water pipes, and the earthbed under permafrost conditions. Let us point out that wherever the quality of the work was high, strictly in accordance with the plan, no deformations were detected. However, we had to replace 11 corrugated metal pipes laid faultily. In some areas icing up to 5 m high showed up on the earthen embankments or the bridges, triggered by the inevitable changes in the natural surface cover in the course of the construction. Extensive icing at kilometer 135 was eliminated very simply: by building a covered deep ditch which drained the water of underground springs allowing it to freeze at a safe distance from the bed.

Several previously built railway bridges remain along the track. Three of them cannot meet the handling capacity of modern equipment. Their superstructures have been replaced. However, we must also strengthen supports and their foundations. Yet, such most important operations remain undone. Mosgiprotrans, the design institute, has not as yet supplied the necessary documentation.

The work on the railway stations and the permanent settlements of Murtygit and Belen'kaya is being done by the sponsors--the construction workers of Voronezhskaya and Gor'kovskaya oblasts. The Gor'kiy people undertook the construction of the Belen'kaya Station promptly and on an organized basis. Unquestionably, they will meet their assignment precisely on time. The situation at Murtygit Station is different. Here very little work has been done. In 1975 and 1976 we appealed repeatedly to the Voronezhskaya Oblast party committee to help the BAM. However, the situation has remained almost unchanged.

Naturally, failure to complete the construction of the station on time will endanger the timely delivery of the entire track for permanent exploitation. In order to prevent this, Bamstroyput' has removed a number of subdivisions from other, no less important, projects and sent them to Murtygit. The situation has now improved somewhat.

The people have named the 10th Five-Year Plan a five-year plan of effectiveness and quality. That is why demands concerning the quality of construction in the first BAM sector to be completed must be stricter. The fact that all the projects of Bam Station were delivered in 1976 with ratings of "good" and "excellent" proves the possibilities of the construction workers. However, defective work is still being allowed to take place, requiring hundreds of thousands of rubles for redoing.

A particular problem facing the Bam-Tynda track, as, in fact, the entire BAM, is the fate of motor vehicle roads along the track. The BAM will spend hundreds of millions of rubles on their construction. However, this is not a reason for the wasteful neglect of roads along the tracks following the completion of the main line. In the future they could and should develop into a substantial help to the economic development of the area.

That is why roads along the tracks must not only be kept in proper order but strengthened and turned into highways. In this connection the initiative of the party and soviet authorities of Dzheltulakskiy Rayon, and the BAM construction directory to set up an administration in Tynda in charge of motor vehicle road repairs and upkeep, is worthy of approval. This administration is already operating and has assumed supervision over the section of the road from Tynda to the future Kuvykta Railway Station. This initiative should be extended to the entire BAM.

In the completing stage of the laying of the tracks the railroad men of the Zabaykal'skay Railroad will participate actively in assembly and tuning operations, related to electric power, communications, and communal and commercial projects. A working commission on the acceptance of the track has already been established, to begin operations in May.

Less than six months remain before the completion of the Bam-Tynda Track for permanent exploitation. All interested ministries, departments, and organizations must see future developments and clearly realize that this event will provide a new powerful impulse to the building of the big BAM and will make possible to improve material and technical supplies to the construction project. Therefore, they must not only take measures to insure the strict completion of the track within the stipulated deadline but learn the lesson from the building of the small BAM, for the next unit in the main line to operate on a permanent basis will be the Tynda-Berkakit Track. This will open direct access to the south Yakutian deposits of cokable coal. After that the Baykal-Amur Main Line will begin to work directly for the country's economy.

A Young City is Growing, by S. Pekarskiy, executive committee chairman, Tynda City Soviet of Deputies of the Working People

Tynda, located at the junction of the Bam-Tynda and Tynda-Berkakit railway tracks and the main tracks of the Baykal-Amur Main Line, has become the administrative center of the junction. The administrative authorities were set up here--the Main Line Construction Directorate, and Glavbanstroy; 10 trusts, construction administrations, associations, a number of construction and transportation enterprises, city institutions, and consumer service enterprises are located here.

Since the start of the construction of the BAM the city's population has increased tenfold. Today the Tynda population numbers in the tens of thousands of people, some 22,000 of whom are transportation construction workers. The youth of the population is a demographic characteristic of the city. Seven out of 10 Tynda residents are under 30 years old. This is the reason for the fast increase in the number of young families and of their share in the overall population size, and of the high birth rate. Naturally, this formulates entirely clear requirements concerning the development of the urban economy, giving priority to the construction of children's institutions, schools, maternity homes, and sports, education, and mass cultural institutions.

The Irkutsk transportation construction technical school and the Khabarovsk Railway Transportation Engineers Institute have opened training-consultation centers in Tynda on the basis of which, in the course of time, the institute will create a Tynda branch. There are evening and fulltime-correspondence schools for working youth; the construction trusts have set up a network of training-consultation centers for upgrading the skills of the workers and training them in new skills.

It is on the basis of such specific factors that the rayon party organization is conducting its work on the territories of Tynda and Dzheltulakskiy Rayon. Considerable attention is being paid in the city and the rayon to the ideological and political aspects of educational work. The tutorship movement has become widespread: About 600 experienced workers and real masters of their work are training over 1,000 young workers. Socialist competition has assumed a broad scope. It was based on competition methods developed at the BAM such as "I Am the Master of the Construction Project," and "Komsomol Guarantee for Quality Work at the BAM," and the movement for the effective utilization of construction equipment, its careful use, and insuring its maintenance throughout the entire period of construction of the BAM.

The party organization of the city and the rayon has increased considerably since the beginning of the project. Today it numbers almost 3,200 party members. The intensive growth of its ranks is continuing both through the arrival in Tynda and Dzheltulakskiy Rayon of party members from other areas, as well as thanks to the acceptance into the party of the best workers in construction, transportation, consumer services, and other sectors. The overwhelming majority of the new party members are young people. For example, in 1976, 145 people became candidate party members. Of them 105 were under 28 years old.

But let us go back to the city's problems.

The development of Tynda as a city began, for all practical purposes, in 1974, when construction along the BAM developed energetically. A number of construction organizations were transferred to Tynda from other rayons and some were established on the spot. The city undertook the development of a powerful construction base for work at the central sector of the BAM and, above all, along the Bam-Tynda and Tynda-Berkakit lines.

The general plan of the city was elaborated by the Lengiprogor Institute in April 1975 while the detailed planning of the first part of building facilities for 46,000 people was elaborated by the Administration for the Designing of Residential-Civic and Communal Construction (Mosproyekt-1) in January 1976.

In the first stage, along with the elaboration of the general plan and the detailed plan, intensive and, to a large extent chaotic, construction was launched on the city's territory. Temporary wooden settlements for transportation workers were erected.

In November 1975 the Tyndinskiy settlement was reorganized into the city of Tynda by ukase of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; 1976--the first year of the 10th Five-Year Plan--may be considered as the year of the factual birth of the city, for that year the first nine-story high residential buildings covering an area of 17,500 square meters, received their first occupants.

These high quality multiple story houses built by the sponsors--the Moscow construction workers--were the first visible features of the future city. In the first quarter of 1977 a children's combine for 250 children was completed. Currently the construction of a standard school, a kindergarten, and a polyclinic which can handle 750 consultations per day and a consumer service house is being completed. More residential buildings are under construction. A network of treatment systems and engineering facilities, a baking plant, a production-technical school, and many other projects are under construction. Tynda is expanding rapidly.

However, shortcomings are particularly noticeable against such a background. The city has heterogeneous housing facilities consisting of three basic parts: one- or two-apartment wooden houses on the territory of the old Tyndinskiy settlement account for 30,000 square meters; prefabricated wooden buildings for temporary residence account for 130,000 square meters. Finally, the housing area in comfortable nine- and four-story houses totals 25,000 square meters. In accordance with this classification three housing-communal operations services have been set up: the old housing stock is operated by the Tynda city communal enterprises combine; the houses with amenities are managed by the Zabaykal'skaya Railway; and the Tyndatransstroy Trust has set up a housing-communal section to service the temporary settlements of construction workers. Some settlements are not part of this system and are operated by the organizations to which they belong. Such a division of communal services does not make possible the organization of the effective exploitation of the housing facilities and hinders the planning of the territory and the maintaining of a satisfactory level of hygiene.

According to Glavbamstroy the main thing is to provide the construction workers with temporary housing. Little attention is being paid to the complex development of residential districts. That is precisely why a number of city microrayons have no kindergartens or schools; stores are few and the existing ones are located in unsuitable premises. At mealtime there is a tight squeeze in the cafeterias. Consumer service centers are in short supply. Sports facilities have not been developed.

In the view of Glavbamstroy the transportation construction workers are temporarily in the city. For this reason the main administration is not investing funds in building its own capital housing-residential base or establishing in Tynda comfortable housing facilities for its workers. We believe this to be a serious error. The fact that in the immediate future several construction subdivisions (mechanized columns, construction and

installation trains, and bridge-building detachments) will be moved out of the city will not result in any substantial reduction in population. Construction trusts and administrations do not consist of the administrative apparatus alone. Motor vehicle resources, repair bases, mechanization administrations, administrations and offices for production-technical supplies, and other subdivisions are not mobile. A frequent relocation of base organizations is economically inexpedient. Furthermore, we should take into consideration the developing desire of a certain percentage of the personnel of construction subdivisions to remain in our city as permanent residents. Currently the city executive committee is receiving petitions from young families to be given comfortable premises precisely because, as the petitions state, "We do not intend to leave Tynda."

Obviously, the development of the urban economy--the construction of comfortable housing, of consumer, trade, and communal service establishments, regular schools and children's preschool institutions is a topical problem which must be resolved by the Ministry of Transport Construction, bearing in mind not only departmental but national interests.

Naturally, no less important is the fact that the BAM is more than a transportation artery. It is, so to say, the center where the economy of a vast area is crystalizing. Unquestionably, new enterprises will be built here to exploit the very rich mineral deposits of Eastern Siberia. This is determined by the general line formulated by our party. The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized the significance and need for the development of the areas of Eastern Siberia and the Far East, the retention of cadres in these areas, and the creation of a stable population contingent. This task cannot be implemented without the construction of new well-planned cities and settlements. They must be not simply new but beautiful and attractive. Their designing must make use of the most modern city building principles and architectural-planning solutions.

It would be hardly expedient to dismantle the capacities developed in the area by the Ministry of Transport Construction, and for other ministries to set up construction bases. Obviously, it would be better to erect the economic building on the basis of already-laid foundations. The expediency of such an approach is proved, among others, by the experience of hydraulic power construction workers. Kuybyshevgidrostroy did not build an electric power plant only but the huge Volga motor vehicles enterprise. It participated in the development of both the city of Tol'yatti and of the enterprises located in it. Bratskgesstroy has become, essentially, a general purpose construction association now building both cities and industrial complexes. These are additional arguments favoring the fact that, resolving problems of today, the Ministry of Transport Construction should think of the future of the vast territory linked to the BAM.

The Tynda general plan calls for the development of the city in two stages. The first is based on the construction deadlines of the BAM while the second extends to the year 2000. The cost of the construction of the railway section of Tynda (i.e., the section financed by the Ministry of Railways, "Tynda Junction" project) is based on the technical plan adopted by the Ministry of Transport Construction. Furthermore, some 315 million rubles of capital investments in urban construction will come from other non-BAM financing sources. These funds will be used essentially in the 10th and 11th five-year plans. Within that time Tynda will build several industrial enterprises (baking plant, meat and dairy combine, brewery plant, petroleum base, industrial forestry farms, power industry, transportation, and communications enterprises, and others). However, the main city-forming factor--big industry--which will determine the future of the city's development, is unclear as yet. To the best of our knowledge neither planning nor scientific forecasting authorities have issued as yet recommendations on the development of industry in the city and its district. The specific nature of the areas of severe natural-weather conditions and permafrost (high cost of settlement construction, complexity of engineering-structural solutions, low population density) leads us to assume that factors of urban and demographic nature will have a major influence on the location of big industrial enterprises. In other words, it may be expedient to raise transportation expenditures in order to link industrial enterprises to the existing city with a developed economy and use available manpower rather than establish new settlements in uninhabited areas.

In our view, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, coke-chemical industry, based on the south Yakutian coal deposits, Amurskaya Oblast iron ore deposits, and Udokan copper deposits are promising sectors. The development of petroleum-refining and timber-processing sectors here would be realistic. Let us also take into consideration that comprehensive surveys and the assessment of minerals in the BAM zone, far from completed, could reveal additional conditions for the economic development of the area. The necessary water reserves for industrial requirements could be created by building water reservoirs along the local rivers--Gilyuya, Tynda, Getkana, and others.

A number of problems exist at the present stage in the development of the city demanding their solution within the shortest possible time. Otherwise we cannot insure a further harmonious and comprehensive building development. Considerable difficulties are created by the multiplicity and lack of coordination of financing sources. Currently the Ministry of Railways is the main Tynda builder. The capital investments allocated by this Ministry are channeled only into the construction of the railroad part of the city which will house a population of 16,000. Yet, according to the estimates of the general plan, in the future the city's population will be between 70,000 and 80,000. True, the union ministries of power industry and electrification, communications, food industry, and meat and dairy industry, the RSFSR Main Petroleum Supply Administration, and the republic's motor vehicle transportation ministry plan to allocate capital investments

for the construction of production enterprises and the development of a residential area in Tynda. However, these departments are allocating funds only for the construction of housing and do not intend to participate in the building of projects of citywide importance. For this reason the five-year plan calls for the completion of a lesser number of schools and children's preschool institutions, and trade and public catering projects than will be necessary. Nor does the five-year plan include projects so necessary to the city such as a hotel, youth club, sports complex, and others. The problem of centralized heat supplies is being resolved unsatisfactorily. Currently the city has 38 small boiler facilities belonging to different organizations and with an overall productivity of 50 gigacalories per hour whereas the city needs 85 gigacalories per hour. The upkeep of such a large number of small boiler premises is uneconomical and, furthermore, requires additional service personnel. Coal dust, soot, and discards pollute the environment and harm human health. Yet, the district boiler premise, planned by the Mosgioprotrans Institute will fail to supply heat even to the projects to be completed before the end of 1977. Its reconstruction will be needed immediately following its completion in September. Also lagging behind construction requirements are engineering facilities, and power and water supply projects.

We were informed recently that the Ministry of Railways has agreed to assume the obligations of general client in the construction of the city. We hope that problems of centralization of funds and the effective use of capital investments will be resolved.

Heated arguments are taking place as to who, in fact, is building Tynda. This city has practically no construction organizations other than those of the Ministry of Transport Construction and its subcontractors. However, Glavbamstroy is rejecting requests of clients for the construction of urban projects, explaining its refusal by the fact that it has not been assigned the functions of general contractor in building the city as a whole. The absence of a general contracting organization prevents us from undertaking the planning and building of a number of projects. This could hold back the development of the city and lower the effectiveness of capital investments.

The question of the choice of types of housing and other installations and of a base for the construction industry remains to be resolved. Currently the housing, schools, kindergartens, and hospital complex built for the Ministry of Railways is based on the shipping of structures from Moscow. Only one type of nine-story residential housing of the P-49D (BAM-I) is used for the residential districts. Naturally, this creates neither variety nor an interesting architectural composition. The natural landscape is helping to a certain extent--the rugged topography by itself improves the planning structure of residential districts. Furthermore, the architects try to improve the appearance of the buildings by adopting interesting color solutions and different facades.

In the future nine-story residential housing of the BAM-II, and 122 series will be built in Tynda. The parts will be supplied by the Shimanovsk construction industry complex. However, these series will be developed only in two years.

The sponsoring organization--the Glavmosstroy construction administration at the BAM--is in charge of the building of the residential zone. It is operating on the basis of a subcontracting contract with Glavbamstroy. The Moscow construction workers are building residential housing and civic buildings within the stipulated deadlines and with good quality work. However, their participation in the development of the city is limited: Glavmosstroy has been asked to build up in Tynda no more than 144,000 square meters of housing for the Ministry of Railways. No one knows who will build housing for other clients, what type buildings will be used, and what construction industry bases will supply the structures.

As we may see, Tynda is not only at the junction of railway lines but is the epicenter of the interests of many departments. Yet, occasionally, such interests diverge. This creates the knot of problems which have developed in the city and which are becoming evermore difficult to untangle. For this reason the local party and soviet authorities are forced to deal constantly with problems of the development of the urban economy and of building of the city. Such problems are regularly discussed by the Dzheltulakskiy Rayon party committee and the executive committee of the Tynda City Soviet with clients and construction workers. Decisions are being made to improve the organization of construction work. In 1976 the Tynda City Soviet considered at one of its sessions the question of "Tasks of the City Soviet of Deputies of the Working People in the Implementation of the Program for the Construction of Housing and Consumer Service Projects." A number of problems related to Tynda were considered by the Amurskaya Oblast party committee and oblast executive committee. The USSR Gosplan, RSFSR Council of Ministers, and Gosgrazhdanstroy have been informed of the problems related to the building of the city.

The prompt solution of urban construction and organizational problems will enable us to increase the effectiveness of capital investments allocated by various ministries for the development of Tynda and insure its comprehensive buildup on a high urban construction and architectural level.

5003
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MOVEMENT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE TOWARD SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 57-66

[Article by M. Rutkevich, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist program stipulation of building a classless society. The main directions of the progress toward this objective were concretized by V. I. Lenin, soon after the October Revolution, as follows: "It is clear that the total destruction of classes requires not only the overthrow of the exploiters, landowners, and capitalists, and not only the elimination of their ownership; we must also eliminate any private ownership of capital goods. We must eliminate both the disparity between town and country as well as that between people engaged in physical and mental labor. This is a rather long matter" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 15).

Within a historically short period of time the Soviet people, guided by the Leninist party, has covered a considerable segment of this "rather long" path. The exploiting classes have been long eliminated in the USSR. In accordance with Lenin's cooperative plan the petty private ownership of private farmers was converted into collective ownership. The differences between the two forms of socialist social ownership of capital goods and, therefore, between the two basic social classes--the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry--are being systematically reduced. To a certain extent, at the stage of mature socialism, the Soviet society has already become socially homogeneous, for it consists only of working people who base their work on social ownership. However, this is far from being total homogeneity, for differences remain, including substantial ones, among classes, social groups, and strata. The 25th CPSU Congress noted as one of the most important results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan that "the social structure of the Soviet society improved. A process of gradual elimination of major disparities between mental and physical labor, and between town and country, continued."

The congress formulated a program for the socioeconomic development of our country for 1976-1980, and for the further improvement of social relations. The increasing role of the conscious planned principle in social life is manifested in particular in the fact that along with the formulation of practical assignments, the basic directions in the development of the social sciences were formulated. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev particularly pointed out that "the deeper study of problems related to trends in the development of our society and its production forces is of substantial importance. This includes, for example, the nature and content of labor under mature socialist conditions, and changes in the social structure."

The documents of the latest CPSU congresses and Soviet scientific publications consider the social structure of the society in a number of interrelated aspects: sociodemographic, the nature of the people's settlement, their residence in various types of settlements, and on a national basis. The Soviet people have developed as a new historical human community based on the unbreakable alliance among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia, with the leading role of the working class, an alliance of all nations and nationalities in the country. The development of the Soviet society toward full social homogeneity is inseparable from the further strengthening of the friendship among the peoples. However, as before, the socio-class structure, closely linked with the social division of labor and the professional structure, retains its decisive significance. The socio-class structure of the Soviet people is being improved by progressing toward the full "destruction" of classes, i.e., the surmounting of disparities among them and among the social groups and strata which compose them.

1

The Marxist-Leninist theory of classes, in its creative application to the conditions of developed socialism, remains the methodological foundation for the study of the ways of development of the Soviet society toward social homogeneity. In the article "The Great Initiative," the fullest and most expanded definition of classes, Lenin pointed out that classes are big groups of people classified by their position within a historically established system of social output, attitude toward capital goods, role in the social organization of labor, and means and sizes of their income (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 15). Accordingly, the surmounting of social disparities between the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry in Soviet society today should be considered, above all, as a surmounting of disparities in the realm of production relations and, subsequently, of related disparities in living, cultural, and socio-psychological conditions.

At the present stage the process of advance toward social homogeneity assumes a number of important characteristics. The first is that the rapprochement among classes and social groups is becoming evermore closely interwoven with the elimination of disparities within them, i.e., between

the strata and detachments which compose them. In other words, the trend toward a growing social homogeneity imbues both interclass as well as intraclass relations, i.e., the entire system of socio-class relations.

Under the conditions of developed socialism the social heterogeneity of the working class is manifested in two basic aspects. First, disparities among its individual detachments employed in the basic public production sectors and, above all, between the industrial nucleus and the agrarian detachment of the working class, have not been fully eliminated. Secondly, disparities among the skilled strata of the working class, whose existence is based on the socioeconomic heterogeneity of labor and is expressed in the area of distribution, have not been eliminated.

A certain heterogeneity is inherent also in the kolkhoz peasantry, within which the share of unskilled workers is higher than in the working class, and the growing army of intellectual workers, the intelligentsia. Here social heterogeneity remains, related to differences between simple and complex, performing and organizing mental work, and between mental work on the secondary and higher skill levels.

Unquestionably, the working class occupies the central position in Soviet society as the leading force in all social changes and in the building of socialism and communism. The process of rapprochement among the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia is inseparable from the further consolidation of the working class and the elimination of social disparities within it.

The second most important characteristic in the development of total social homogeneity is the fact that the rapprochement among classes and social groups and strata within them is achieved on the basis of a general enhancement of the skill and educational levels and the material and cultural living standards of the working people. Thus, the increase in the social homogeneity of the working class is achieved not by "averaging" the existing skill, educational, and cultural levels of its strata and detachments, but on the basis of the steady enhancement of such indicators in all of them.

In recent decades the development of the working class in the USSR took place under conditions marked by its fast numerical growth whose pace could be judged by the fact that workers with their families accounted for one-third of the population in 1939, about one-half in 1959, and now over 60 percent of the entire population. This circumstance contributed to upgrading the leading role of the working class in all fields of life and accelerated the pace of upsurge of the cultural and technical standard of the Soviet society as a whole. At the same time, however, such a fast increase of the working class could not fail to have a certain influence on the process of its qualitative growth. In the course of decades the kolkhoz peasantry was the main source for working class reinforcements. Essentially, the peasantry was at a lower level in the

fields of general education, culture, and professional training. In recent years the significance of this factor has been gradually lowering, for a considerable similarity has been reached in the levels of education and culture of the kolkhoz and worker, rural and urban youth entering life, as well as because the reproduction of the working class today is insured, to a growing extent, through young people coming from worker families and, as a whole, through the urban population. According to sociological studies conducted in the Ninth Five-Year Plan in Chelyabinskaya, Ufimskaya, and Moscow oblasts, worker families account for 55-60 percent of the young working class generation.

Similarly, the rapprochement among the social strata within the kolkhoz peasantry is achieved on the basis of a general cultural and educational upsurge, the growth of technical labor facilities, and increased percentage of mechanizers among kolkhoz members. Among mental workers the same process is manifested, first of all, in the changed ratios among their various categories. Whereas in 1960 the number of specialists and employees (non-specialists) was approximately equal, in 1975 graduated specialists accounted for about two-thirds of the overall number of mental workers. Secondly, it is manifested in the gradual reduction of the stratum of "practical workers," i.e., people who occupy specialist positions but lack VUZ or technical school level education.

The third characteristic of the process of surmounting social disparities at the developed socialist stage is that an acceleration of the growth of border strata, combining the characteristics of different social groups, is taking place on the basis of the developing scientific and technical revolution.

Let us trace the effect of these characteristics of the process of the establishment of social homogeneity at the mature socialist stage along the directions consistent with Lenin's characteristics of class disparities.

At the present stage the elimination of remaining disparities in terms of the attitude toward capital goods is expressed in the continuing rapprochement between national and kolkhoz-group ownership, based on the increased level of production socialization. The 25th CPSU Congress paid particular attention to developing the specialization and cooperation of agricultural output, agro-industrial integration, and the expansion of economic relations between kolkhozes and state enterprises and among each other. There already are some 7,000 interkolkhoz, kolkhoz-sovkhoz, and other economic associations in the country today.

The social significance of this process is that the border stratum of workers whose work is based on a characteristic combination of two forms of ownership is broadening, while the basic kolkhoz-member mass is coming ever-closer of sovkhoz workers as being the working class detachment closest to them in terms of working and living conditions. The process of rapprochement between the agrarian detachment of the working class and its

industrial detachment is inseparable from coming closer to sovkhos workers and the kolkhoz peasantry. The mechanizer in crop growing, the machine milking master, and the machinery operator and other workers in animal husbandry have become the main personalities of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. On 1 April 1976 there were 2,181,000 mechanizers in kolkhozes and 1,850,000 in sovkhoses. These numbers are continuing to grow rapidly.

The process of increased social equality in terms of fixed assets is also based on national ownership. Here production and scientific-production associations are assuming growing economic and social significance. Their development contributes to the accelerated growth of labor productivity through the specialization of enterprises within associations, their cooperation, and the strengthening of relations between production and science. The growth of associations contributes to the consolidation of the working class, and to "urging on" workers in small enterprises (where, as a rule, the level of organization of the work and available technical facilities are lower) to reach the standards of workers at big enterprises.

At the same time, the production process in the service sphere is being concentrated. The average size of the base labor collective in trade, public catering, and consumer services enterprises remains low; in 1975 it averaged 6.9 people. Such fragmentation substantially affects the organization of the work. Necessity--population convenience--triggers the expansion of the network of reception centers and consumer service workshops, booths and stands in trade, and snack bars and cafeterias in public catering. However, the future of consumer, trade, and public catering services is based on the creation of dry cleaning shops, laundry and bathing combines, general stores, and food combines, i.e., big enterprises on the basis of which such reception centers, cafeterias, and others are developed. The social significance of the growth of the socialization of labor in the area of services consists of the consolidation of labor collectives, and changes in the nature and organization of the work. Socially, the big detachment of the working class employed in the service industry comes closer to industrial workers and to the employees and specialists working in that area.

The development of the scientific and technical revolution, and the saturation of all economic sectors with new equipment lead to profound changes in the nature and content of the work and thus contribute to the rapprochement among classes, social groups, and strata in accordance with the role they play in its organization.

The scientific and technical revolution determines the need for the intellectualization of labor in the production sphere. This is expressed, on the one hand, by the increased absolute and relative number of workers engaged in intellectual labor in society in general, including the production area, and, on the other, the intellectualization of physical labor. The nature of the work of immediate producers changes. The new equipment requires a growing amount of general and specialized knowledge. The

process of saturating physical labor with intellectual functions is manifested to the greatest extent at enterprises and sectors maintaining a higher pace of technical progress. Ever-new professional groups of workers managing complex equipment are entering the Soviet working class. Their labor is either primarily physical, involving a high percentage of mental efforts, or else becomes essentially mental, for the control of complex machine units and the installation, tuning, and repairs of modern equipment require, above all, technical and scientific knowledge which is today a necessary base for practical skills.

That is why, in our view, defining the working class under socialism as the sum total of individuals engaged in physical labor in the national economy could no longer be acknowledged as entirely consistent with the objective condition. The concept of "primarily physical labor," which has gained legitimacy reflects, in our view, more accurately the material and immediate nature of the worker's influence on capital assets. However, this definition as well does not take fully into consideration the changes which have occurred in the nature and content of the work of a growing segment of the working class, in which the functions of controlling automatic equipment, and directing the work of machines with the help of instruments become basic in a number of workers' skills. The process of bringing physical labor closer to intellectual work in their activities has advanced so far that in this case we could speak of their organic merger. The border stratum of the working class which was described in sociological literature, as early as the 1960's, as workers-intellectuals, is revealing a tendency toward a fast growth, particularly in industrial sectors considered most modern by virtue of their technical equipment. Taking into consideration the nature and content of the work done, and taking as a base selective sociological studies, the number of workers-intellectuals was approximately 1.7 million in 1975, i.e., approximately 2.5 percent of the overall strength of the working class in the USSR.

Technical progress calls for the working class to master an ever-greater amount of scientific and technical knowledge whose amount varies from one professional group to another. In 1970 individuals with secondary specialized, unfinished higher, and higher education accounted for 9.8 percent of miners and steel smelters, 16.5 percent of tuners, 8.4 percent of petroleum and gas extraction workers, and 9.7 percent of chemical workers. "The closer we come to communism the more organic will the link between physical and mental labor become," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "Already now a worker frequently controls the type of big and complex sets of equipment which not every engineer could handle in the past."

The accelerated process of elimination of underskilled manual and, particularly, heavy physical labor is of the greatest social significance. In 10 years (1962-1972) the ratio among skilled workers in Soviet industry has changed as follows: the share of lower grade workers declined from 37.7 to 28.1 percent, while that of medium grade workers rose from 48.8 to 50.9 percent, and of higher grade workers, from 13.5 to 21.0 percent.

According to the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress, this most important socioeconomic problem will be resolved, first of all, by upgrading the pace of labor mechanization, which will require the accelerated development of machine building; secondly, by lowering the need for unskilled labor through better organization of the work and the production process. Progressive experience, such as brigade contracting in construction, use of fuller cost accounting at enterprises, mechanized cost accounting brigades and teams in agriculture, and so on, proves that extensive unused possibilities exist in this respect.

Changes in distribution are of major social significance.

The introduction of a guaranteed monthly wage minimum and social insurance in kolkhozes was a decisive step in bringing kolkhoz members closer to sovkhos workers in terms of wage systems. Differences in income levels are being gradually eliminated as well. Compared with the prewar 1940, in 1975 the real income of workers and employees, per working person, was 3.5 times higher, whereas that of kolkhoz members had risen 5.8 times.

As the skills of workers and kolkhoz members rise their earnings come closer to those of specialists. Before the Great Patriotic War the income level of the production-technical intelligentsia was over 100 percent higher than the income of the workers; today it is only 25 percent higher. It should be admitted that in a number of cases the wages of a skilled worker come close to the wages of a technician (or engineer) or even exceed them revealing a negative side: a worker who has earned the diploma of a technician or engineer on the job occasionally refuses to assume positions of engineers and technical workers for financial considerations.

The factual disparities in citizens' prosperity are reduced considerably as a result of the accelerated growth of social consumption funds. Such funds essentially cover outlays for education and public health and, largely, housing and cultural needs. They help families, particularly large ones, in meeting child raising expenditures, and so on. Whereas, compared with 1940, in 1975 real per capita income had almost quintupled, social consumption fund benefits and payments had risen 14.9 times.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan, according to the Basic Directions for the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980, the growth of social consumption funds will continue to outstrip the growth of wages. Whereas average worker and employee wages will rise 16-18 percent, social consumption fund payments and benefits will rise 28-30 percent.

2

The growing rapprochements among classes and social groups under developed socialist conditions is substantially accelerated thanks to the increased role of social mobility, i.e., of shifts from one into another social group. The closer the social groups become to each other in terms of

socioeconomic position and way of life, the easier such transitions become. The more widespread they become the greater the role they play in the elimination of social boundaries becomes. The social shifts of the young generation to which all paths are open in the mature socialist society are the most important.

Universal secondary education facilitates the access of worker and kolkhoz youth to higher schools, helps to equalize possibilities for entering such schools and, therefore, the subsequent joining of the ranks of the intelligentsia by young men and women who grew up under different cultural conditions. A specific sociological study of the plans of secondary school graduates and of last-year VUZ students, based on a standardized program, was made in 1973 in several parts of the country (Moscow City and Oblast, the Urals, Siberia, the Baltic republics, northern Caucasus, and the Ukraine) with a view to clarifying the social significance of the process of acceptance of students by universities. Since similar studies had been conducted in the past in many parts of the country a comparison was possible. It indicated that in the last decade the percentage of workers, kolkhoz members, and their children among university students had increased substantially. Yet, to this day, the percentage of the different social groups among specialists with higher education is different from their share of the population inhabiting the corresponding parts of the country. The existing regulations governing VUZ enrollment, such as separate competitive examinations for production workers and secondary school students, the organization of preparatory courses for worker and rural youth and for demobilized Soviet army personnel, facilities for the enrollment of rural youth for a number of subjects, and so on, play a considerable role in equalizing possibilities for VUZ enrollment.

However, we must take into consideration important factors operating in conflicting directions. They include major disparities in the level of training offered by secondary schools in town and country, as well as the fact that children in intellectual families are primarily directed toward professions requiring highly skilled mental labor.

Along with social mobility let us note another important factor in accelerating the process of surmounting social disparities, also based on the reproduction of the social structure through the change of generations: the rapid increase in the percentage of socially mixed (heterogeneous families. According to the population census, in 1970, 17.4 million of the 58.7 million families in the USSR were heterogeneous, i.e., 29.6 percent. In reality, the figure is higher, for the census considers all individuals engaged in mental labor as "employees," regardless of substantial differences among them, while the existence of social strata within the classes and social groups remains generally unreflected. Therefore, it should be recognized that the heterogeneous type of family is becoming evermore widespread in the USSR.

The data provided by selective specific sociological studies enable us to determine the specific nature of the development of socially mixed families. Families consisting of workers engaged in physical labor, with a low educational level and low skills, on the one hand, and workers engaged in skilled mental labor, and specialists with a high educational level, on the other, are less frequent. According to the 1974 study conducted in a Moscow rayon, 73.7 percent of the families of underskilled workers, and 63 percent of the families of specialists with higher education were homogeneous. Conversely, in the majority of cases families consisting of highly skilled workers, nonspecialist employees, and engineering and technical personnel with secondary education were heterogeneous. Thus, in families in which the wife was an employee 26.3 percent of the men were workers; 22.4 percent were employees; 22.4 percent were engineering and technical workers; 5.3 percent were specialists working in the nonproduction sphere, and so on. The presence within a family of individuals belonging to different social groups is becoming a substantial indicator of the accelerated elimination of social disparities on the scale of the entire society.

3

The advance of the Soviet people toward social homogeneity includes a most important aspect: the rapprochement among republics and nations in terms of social structure. As we know, in prerevolutionary Russia many national outlying areas were in a state of profound historical backwardness. To the peoples of our country who had avoided the capitalist stage entirely the building of socialism represented the type of reorganization of the social structure in which the working class and the intelligentsia appeared as a working class and intelligentsia of the socialist society, whereas the kolkhoz peasantry was formed essentially as a result of the qualitative reorganization of the peasantry as a feudal social class.

The accelerated transformation of social relations in the outlying areas of the country could not be accomplished without the accelerated development of the economy and culture. The building of developed socialism in the USSR signified that a homogeneous social structure had developed and strengthened in all union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and national okrugs within it. This is equally characteristic of all nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups. Homogeneity, however, presumes differences as well. Some of them are caused by natural geographic conditions and the location of production forces; others are the result of the not entirely eliminated influence of historical circumstances. We must also take into consideration the link between socio-class structure and demographic processes. The pace of the natural growth of the population in different parts of the country varies, ranging from very modest in the Baltic republics and most oblasts in the RSFSR to relatively high in the republics of central Asia. Migration flows do not equalize the situation, since migrations outside the area are minor in the case of the native rural population in the republics of Central Asia.

The process of rapprochement among union republics in terms of the social structure of the population could be seen by comparing data of the 1939, 1959, and 1970 censuses.

In 1939 workers in the USSR accounted for 33.5 percent of the total population. However, they accounted for 36 percent in the RSFSR and only 13.2 percent in Tadzhikistan. The so-called variation coefficient is used in statistics for the overall characterization of deviations from the average. The computation of such a coefficient for the percentage of the working class in the population of the different republics makes it possible to assess the extent of disparities among them. Before the war (data for 11 republics) the coefficient was 0.30. In 1959, nationally, workers already accounted for 47.9 percent of the employed population; they accounted for 58.4 percent in Kazakhstan, 56.9 percent in Estonia, 54.3 percent in the RSFSR, and only 19.4 percent in Moldavia. As an average, however, the disparity was reduced: the coefficient dropped to 0.28. In 1970, for the country at large, workers accounted for 57.6 percent of the total population (with the highest percentage in Kazakhstan--66.3 percent, and the lowest in Moldavia, 38.1 percent). However, the variation coefficient had declined to 0.17. In 1970 the working class was the largest population group in all union republics other than Moldavia.

The process of the rapid growth of the Soviet intelligentsia was also accompanied by a decline in disparities among republics. The variation coefficient characterizing, on an average, differences in the share of individuals engaged primarily in mental labor in the population of the different republics declined from 0.17 in 1939 to 0.14 in 1970.

We should take into consideration the fact that the different nationalities are not identically represented in the composition of the various classes and social groups even if conditions in different republics may be the same. The increased similarity in social structure of nationalities living together in individual republics could be illustrated by taking Tadzhikistan, one of the most backward national outlying areas of Russia before the revolution, as an example. In that republic, in addition to native nationalities (Tadzhiks and Uzbeks) the percentage of Russians in the entire population was substantial. In 1970 Tadzhiks accounted for 56.2 percent of the population (53.1 percent in 1959). Uzbeks accounted for 23.0 percent (23.0), Russians, for 11.9 percent (13.3), and other nationalities for 8.9 percent (10.6). In recent times a tempestuous process of industrial development has been taking place in the republic. It has been paralleled by an accelerated increase in the number of native worker cadres. Disparities among workers of different nationalities as well as those based on the level of education and skills are being surmounted, particularly in the young age groups. However, rapprochement based on the general educational level is somewhat faster than on the level of vocational training. According to 1970 census data, in the employed urban population of Tadzhikistan 639 out of 1,000 Tadzhiks had

secondary (complete and incomplete) and higher education; respective figures were 580 for the Uzbeks, and 751 for the Russians. These differences characterize the older age groups mainly, while the level of general educational training of the young people is practically identical. However, the development of a network of vocational-technical schools in Tadzhikistan (as in other republics in Central Asia) is still behind the indicators for other republics in the USSR. Despite a high birth rate, particularly in rural areas, a considerable percentage of the republic's manpower resources is not given vocational training. Yet, the developing industry is suffering from an acute shortage of skilled workers. A considerable percentage of this shortage is covered out of migrations from other parts of the country which also suffer from manpower scarcities rather than surpluses. This calls for the adoption of corresponding measures in the area of vocational-technical training.

4

Long-term forecasting and planning in the social area, including that of changes in the social structure of the society, call for intensified scientific work on such problems, problems of a methodological nature above all.

The third all-union scientific conference held in Moscow, in October 1976, on the study of changes in the societal social structure, showed that quite extensive specific sociological studies are being conducted in many parts of the country. The conference clearly proved the growth of scientific cadres and their successful mastering of Marxist-Leninist methodology in the study of social processes. Yet, two extremes continue to cause a certain amount of harm to studies in this area.

On the one hand, occasionally the significance of new phenomena characteristic of the contemporary stage in the development of socialism, and confirming the great progress achieved in the process of rapprochement among social groups is underestimated. Occasionally there is an unwillingness or inability to note the processes we mentioned, such as the growth of border strata, the movement of working people and their children from one social group into another, the mass nature of marriages among people belonging to different classes and social groups, and so on. Unquestionably, the merger of classes and social groups will be the future end result of their rapprochement. However, certain embryos and elements of such merger appear already under the conditions of the mature socialist society and are a growing aspect of their factual rapprochement even at the present.

On the other hand, in some cases theoretical views based on anticipation are formulated and defended. We come across claims that social differences already now are of a "formal nature," "are without significance," and so on. A thoughtless substitution of wish for reality does not contribute to the study of factual social disparities and to finding ways for their further elimination.

The authors of some publications have essentially "converted" the entire intelligentsia and the employees into a stratum of the working class. It is true that a certain segment of the engineering and technical intelligentsia employed in material output and involved in production work is the closest to workers and kolkhoz members. In itself, affiliation with workers engaged in primarily physical or primarily mental work, as confirmed by the existence of the stratum of workers-intellectuals, does not constitute a class-forming characteristic. However, this should not be hastily interpreted as sufficient grounds for classifying workers engaged in mental work in the production sphere as members of the working class.

The increased share and role of the Soviet intelligentsia, the engineering-technical and scientific-production workers above all, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, is unquestionable. The recognition of this fact has nothing in common with a lowering of the role of the working class--the leading force in the struggle for the socialist and communist reorganization of society, the more so since that same intelligentsia was molded under its guidance and, in terms of its basic social function, is called upon to promote the class interests and objectives of the working class. The working class is successfully continuing to fulfill its historical missions under mature socialist conditions as well, in the course of which, naturally, it is also subject to change. The steady growth of general and technical standards, education, skills, and political awareness of the working class strengthen its position as the leading political and social force of the Soviet people for the entire socialist period, until the problems of creating a classless socially homogeneous society have been resolved in full.

5003
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SOVIET MILITARY SCIENCE AND DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 67-76

[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union I. Bagramyan]

[Text] Implementing the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Soviet people are marching toward the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in circumstances marked by high political and labor activeness, and great accomplishments on all fronts of building communism. As was noted in the party's Central Committee decree issued on the occasion of this significant anniversary, the most important result of the selfless work of the Soviet people was the building of a developed socialist society in our country. The Soviet state earned the respect of the entire world as a powerful bulwark of the forces of democracy and progress; its peace-loving Leninist course is having a beneficial influence on the development of international relations.

All this time the valorous Soviet Armed Forces have stood guard over the revolutionary gains of the October Revolution and the cause of peace and socialism. Created and nurtured by V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party, they are honorably fulfilling their historical purpose. This was most clearly proved by their unparalleled exploit in the Great Patriotic War, the 32d anniversary of whose victory is being solemnly celebrated by the Soviet people, the working people in the fraternal socialist countries, and all progressive mankind.

The power of our army and navy is based on the inexhaustible forces of the Soviet social and governmental system, its economic system, and its Marxist-Leninist ideology. The leadership of the armed forces by the Communist Party is the very foundation of Soviet military construction. At all stages in the building of the army and navy our party has paid great attention to Soviet military science as one of the most important factors for strengthening the defense capability of the Soviet state.

The birth and establishment of Soviet military science are inseparably linked with Lenin--the founder of the Communist Party and Soviet state. Lenin ascribed great importance to military-theoretical problems. This is

confirmed by his thesis that a revolution is worth anything only when it is able to defend itself. Lenin emphasized that the defense of the socialist revolution must rest on a strictly scientific foundation.

V. I. Lenin taught that the revolutionary class, assuming power, must develop its military science. Such attention to the scientific aspect of military construction was based not only on the awareness that socialism was inseparable from science in general, but on the practical requirements governing the construction of the first armed organization of the socialist state in the world, founded on an essentially new class and sociopolitical base. As Lenin noted, "The question of building a Red Army was entirely new and had not been formulated at all even theoretically...we undertook a project which no one in the world had undertaken as yet on such a scope" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, pp 137-138). This problem was successfully resolved under Lenin's direct guidance. The Red Army, an army of a new type, honorably defended the gains of the October Revolution. The Leninist science of winning was one of the most important factors which insured its victory in the civil war.

Lenin's military-theoretical views are an organic part of his many-sided ideological heritage. The great leader of the proletariat elaborated the philosophical, sociopolitical, and economic foundations of the doctrines of war and armed forces in terms of the new historical circumstances, together with all other components of Marxism. He created an efficient system of ideas for the defense of the socialist fatherland. Lenin enriched the Marxist doctrine of the nature and content of wars, of their links with politics, their social nature and different types, and the dependence of wars and military affairs on economic and sociopolitical relations. He provided the founding ideas of the significance of military unity among socialist republics in defending the gains of the revolution, unity between front and rear, and characteristics and principles governing the building of the military organization of the victorious proletariat.

In the field of the military arts Lenin ascribed prime significance to the proper formulation of the main danger and direction of the main strike, the ability to achieve an overwhelming superiority of forces at the decisive moment and the decisive point, and the need for the creation of reserves. Lenin considered decisiveness, surprise, and energetic actions, and the seizing and retaining of the initiative the most important prerequisites for success in war. "In war," he pointed out, "the hegemony belongs to whoever fights more energetically than all, and who uses every possible opportunity for striking at the enemy..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 186).

Acknowledging the decisive role of the offensive, Lenin called for combining various forms of struggle and mastering all the ways and means of struggle which the enemy has or could have. He cautioned against a blank offensive without regrouping and consolidating captured lines and considered defensive action legitimate if so required by the circumstances.

V. I. Lenin paid great attention to military equipment, its impact on military affairs, and the use of new technical facilities. He deserves tremendous credit for the elaboration and practical implementation of the principles of unity of political and military leadership, and the organization of troop management based on one-man command, centralism, iron military discipline, and unity of action from top to bottom.

Proceeding from the fact that, in the final account, victory in a war depends on the condition of the spirit of the masses who shed their blood on the battlefield, he ascribed great importance to party-political work in the armed forces and to the political education of the troops in a socialist-type army.

V. I. Lenin entered history as an outstanding military theoretician and commander, under whose leadership the domestic counterrevolution and foreign military intervention were defeated. M. V. Frunze said that "Comrade Lenin is giving brilliant examples of strategic and tactical art both to us and the future generation of revolutionaries" ("Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Vol II, Moscow, 1957, p 198).

Based on the Leninist doctrine of the defense of the socialist fatherland, at its congresses, Central Committee plenums, and in the course of its daily guidance of military construction, the Communist Party has paid a great deal of attention to Soviet military science. The resolution adopted at the eighth party congress emphasized that the Red Army must be "trained, armed, and organized in accordance with the latest word of military science."

As early as in the civil war and the initial period of peaceful construction, reality raised the type of problems related to the reorganization of the military administration, the creation of an expedient system for the organizational structure of the army and navy, and the training of cadres, which called for their reinterpretation and theoretical elaboration in the course of their practical resolution. The further development of Soviet military science was based on summing up the experience of World War I and the civil war. The nature of the war waged against the White Guards and foreign military interventionists, distinguished by defining the main objectives, using active forms of struggle, and high maneuverability of combat operations, exerted a decisive influence on Soviet military science.

At that time the theoretical works of M. V. Frunze on the foundations of a single Soviet military doctrine and on other problems related to the structuring, training, and equipping of the Red Army played a major role.

Soviet military science faced particularly complex problems in the 1930's, when the threat of a new world war increased sharply and when the reactionary western circles tried to channel the aggression of fascist Germany and militaristic Japan against the Soviet Union. The party and

the government realized this threat clearly. As a result of the implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism a solid base was laid for the further strengthening of the defense capability of the Soviet state. The development of military science at that time was organically linked with major sociopolitical and economic changes which radically changed the appearance of the Soviet Armed Forces. The theoretical foundations for the improvement of the armed forces, and the most important concepts of the Soviet military doctrine of the nature and means of preparation and waging of war were defined under the party's guidance. Unlike the bourgeois concepts, the fascist in particular, relying on a lightning war and victory through the autonomous activities of one or another branch of the armed forces, our military-theoretical thinking was based on the fact that a future war would demand the mobilization of all forces and possibilities of the state.

Soviet military science did not pit mobile against position warfare or one arm or branch of forces against another. It assigned a decisive role to offensive. Yet, it also called for a combination of various ways and means of conduct of military operations. Ascribing great importance to new types of weapons and equipment such as tanks and aircraft, Soviet military doctrine did not rely on them exclusively, for, as the regulations stipulated, success in war is achieved only through the joint efforts of all arms and branches of armed forces.

Formulating the theory for preparations for and conduct of operations, which developed as a separate part of the martial arts--the operational art--was a major step. The theory of the deep operation was a major accomplishment of Soviet military thinking. It was the first time that a solution was given to the problem of breaching echeloned enemy defenses and the development of a tactical into an operative success. This essentially new theory of offensive operations made it possible to abandon the slow and gradual surmounting of enemy defense positions and convert to more decisive and flexible forms of combat and operations activities.

Actually, the theory of the deep operation consisted of the simultaneous crushing of enemy defenses along their entire depth, breaching the tactical defense zone, and a fast advance in depth by engaging in battle the development echelon consisting of tank, mechanized, and cavalry formations, and the landing of airborne forces behind enemy lines. Great attention was paid in our military theory to economic support of the war and the use of the moral and political factor in the interest of victory over the enemy. The results of the scientific studies and scientific experiments conducted at that time were reflected in the new regulations and instructions which became the foundations of operative and combat training, instruction, and education of army and navy personnel.

Major military-theoretical studies were conducted by V. A. Alafuzov, K. I. Velichko, V. D. Grendal', A. I. Yegorov, I. S. Isakov, K. B. Kalinovskiy, D. M. Karbyshev, A. K. Kolenkovskiy, S. N. Krasil'nikov, A. N. Lapchinskiy, S. A. Mezheninov, V. K. Triandafillov, M. N. Tukhachevskiy, I. P. Uborevich, B. M. Shaposhnikov, Ye. A. Shilovskiy, and others. The profound theoretical substantiation of the most important problems of the armed struggle achieved in the prewar period enabled our cadres to master progressive military knowledge needed for their purposeful preparations to repel aggression.

The Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 subjected to a severe trial the most important concepts of Soviet military science. Under those incredibly difficult conditions individual errors and failures could not be avoided. As a whole, however, our prewar forecasts were confirmed. The decisive battles of World War II, which were deployed on the Soviet-German front, proved most convincingly the superiority of Soviet military science over the military science of fascist Germany which was revered and taken as a model by bourgeois military strategists the world over.

The practice of combat operations drastically accelerates the development of military affairs and, unquestionably, the war called for the refining of a number of theoretical concepts and the steady improvement of the martial art.

From the very beginning of the war our party paid great attention to improving methods for waging battles and conducting operations, summing up combat experience, and promptly transmitting it to the units of the active army. Unity between military theory and practice was, as a whole, organically combined and implemented through the activities of the Supreme Command, the General Staff, the Main Political Administration, and the commands, staffs, and political organs of the branches and arms, front and army formations, and the actions of the Soviet Armed Forces as a whole.

Soviet military science was distinguished by its strict objectivity and all-round approach to the study of the laws of war and its inseparable link with practical combat operations. It was precisely the profound interpretation of the experience of the war and its prompt summation and skillful utilization that insured the creative and innovational nature and outstanding accomplishments of Soviet military science and martial art.

Even during the most difficult days of the war the defensive operations of the Soviet forces were distinguished by their flexible structure, extensive maneuverability of reserves, and high activeness, and ended in a counteroffensive. It was noteworthy that in the battles for Moscow and Stalingrad, without a numerical superiority over the enemy but as a result of the skillful concentration of forces and facilities along the main

directions and the sudden conversion of our forces into a counteroffensive, they defeated the main enemy groups whose targets were the main objectives of the war. In the battle for Kursk, in 1943, the Soviet martial art was enriched by experience gained in defeating major enemy groups by deliberately converting to defensive operations and creating conditions for a subsequent counterattack. Soviet military science resolved flexibly and purposefully the problem of strategic offensive as the basic and decisive type of military operation of the Soviet Armed Forces. In the course of the war important concepts of the theory of deep offensive operations and combat were further concretized and implemented in practice. In the concluding period of the war the depth of army offensive operations reached 100 to 180 km on 400 to 500 km-wide fronts. The operative breaching of enemy defenses with a subsequent encirclement and destruction of major enemy formations, and a fast development of the offensive in depth were conducted in a new way. The pace of offensive operations rose sharply, reaching, in a number of cases, 20 to 35 km per day. Particularly characteristic in this respect were the Belorussian, Iasi-Kishinev, Vistula-Oder, Berlin, and Manchurian operations, and others.

New forms of operative structure of the troops were creatively elaborated which could strike the enemy with fire through artillery and aviation offensives, the skillful use of tank units in exerting unbearable pressure on the enemy, and all-round support of operations. New ways and means of troop controls were used. Methods for the use in battle and interaction among the various branches of the armed forces, including the land troops, air force, navy, antiaircraft defense forces, and many other sections of the martial art were improved.

All military-scientific and scientific research work of staffs, military academies, scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and laboratories, and the work of the leading scientists of the country were subordinated to the interests of the war. The elaboration of scientific requirements based on Soviet military theory for the development of weapons and technology, the selfless work of talented scientists, designers, and engineers, and the heroic toil of the entire Soviet people insured the military-technical superiority of our country over fascist Germany. Great contribution to the solution of such problems and the organization of a war economy was made by the following members of the Soviet government: B. L. Vannikov, V. V. Vakhrushev, N. A. Voznesenskiy, P. N. Goremykin, A. I. Yefremov, A. G. Zverev, A. N. Kosygin, V. A. Malyshev, P. I. Parshin, M. G. Pervukhin, I. F. Tevosyan, D. F. Ustinov, A. I. Shakhurin, and others.

Speaking of the victory won in the battles of the Great Patriotic War, L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, noted that "This was a victory of our heroic working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia, a victory of the entire multinational Soviet people. It was a victory of the great Soviet Army, an army created by the revolution,

raised by the party, and inseparably linked with the people. It was a victory of Soviet military science, of the combat skill of all branches of armed forces, and of the art of the Soviet military leaders who stemmed from the people."

After World War II, having forgotten the recent most severe lessons of history, international imperialism took the path of open preparations for a new war and nuclear blackmail against the USSR and the other socialist countries. Under those circumstances our party and Soviet government, continuing their adamant struggle for peace and for the prevention of the danger of war, were also forced not to weaken their efforts to strengthen the defense capability of the country and upgrade the power of the armed forces.

Thanks to the concern of the Communist Party and the selfless toil of the entire Soviet people, the army and navy were equipped with the latest types of combat materiel and armaments, including nuclear missiles. In this connection Soviet military science demanded, along with summing up the experience of the Great Patriotic War, an interpretation of the basic qualitative changes in military construction, a new solution to many problems of military theory and practice, and a review and elaboration of the theoretical foundations for the preparations for and waging of an armed struggle in order to repel a possible aggression on the part of the imperialist countries.

Guided by the conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee on problems of international relations and the study of sources of military threat, and taking into consideration the combat characteristics of the new types of weapons, Soviet military science determined the possible military and strategic nature of a world war and formulated recommendations for repelling a sudden nuclear attack by the aggressor and means for the preparations for and conduct of strategic operations and the combat use of the various branches of the armed forces; on the basis of the summed-up experience gained in the course of exercises and maneuvers, and through theoretical studies, ways were determined for upgrading the combat readiness and improving the organizational structure of the army and navy, and determining the most important directions in the modernization of weaponry.

At the same time a number of problems of the operative art and tactics were resolved, above all related to the preparation for and conduct of contemporary operations and combat actions under conditions involving the use of nuclear weapons.

All these measures and, above all, the growth of the economic and military power of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and their active struggle for peace jointly with all progressive forces, wrecked at that time the aggressive intents of reactionary imperialist forces.

Implementing the peace program adopted at the 24th and developed at the 25th CPSU congresses, the Soviet government is tirelessly waging a struggle for peace, for putting an end to the armament race, and for the prevention of a new war. The party and the government consider the implementation of this task not a tactical step but the main course for the creation of favorable external conditions for the building of communism. Together with the other fraternal socialist countries the USSR launched a number of peace oriented initiatives aimed at the continuation and intensification of detente and its materialization.

However, these peaceful suggestions are meeting with the adamant counter-action of the most aggressive imperialist circles. Under their influence, of late the bourgeois press has launched its latest slanderous campaign concerning the so-called "Soviet military threat" to the West, and the allegedly excessive build-up of USSR military power.

Accusing the Soviet Union of aggressive intentions is nothing but an attempt on the part of the enemies of peace to shift the blame from the sick to the healthy, conceal their aggressive plans, achieve an increase in military expenditures, and intensify the armament race. This was clearly revealed also during the recent Soviet-American talks in Moscow where, essentially, the American side took the path of revising the already-reached agreements. The proposals formulated by the American side are not based on the principle of equality and identical security of the countries but are aimed at gaining unilateral military advantages.

As the Soviet government has stated repeatedly, our country could conduct talks on such vitally important problems only on the basis of equality and identical security and not to the detriment of the legitimate interests of the USSR.

Under conditions governed by the energizing of the reactionary circles of the imperialist countries and the alliance they have formed with the Chinese leadership, and the armament race and increased military power of the NATO bloc, the Soviet Union must display tireless vigilance and take constant measures to strengthen its security. In his interview on French television last October, L. I. Brezhnev said: "We are forced to improve our defense, I repeat, forced, for we are faced with an unrestrained armament race."

The Soviet Armed Forces, covered in glory, are implementing the responsible and honorable task of protecting the peaceful labor of our people. Thanks to the concern of the CPSU, the growing possibilities of the socialist economy, the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and the selfless work of the Soviet people, they have everything necessary for the implementation of their tasks. The Soviet Army and Navy have the most modern combat equipment in the hands of ideologically convinced armed defenders of the socialist homeland who have mastered military affairs to perfection.

Military science is one of the important factors for upgrading further the combat power and readiness of the armed forces. It is guided by the only correct methodology of scientific research--dialectical materialism. It is based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and armed forces, and the scientific policy of the Communist Party. This gives it a progressive and creative nature and insures the profound theoretical elaboration of the most important problems of the structuring and training of the armed forces under contemporary conditions.

Of late Soviet military science has done extensive research in the field of strategy. A great deal has been done to develop the problem of operational art and tactics. Great attention is being paid to guiding the troops and the navy with the help of automated systems and to the organization of all-round operational support. Useful studies are being conducted, closely linked with military-theoretical requirements, aimed at formulating and substantiating possibilities for the development of armaments and military technology. Progressive experience is being actively summed up. New ways and means of training and educating the personnel and of upgrading quality indicators in the training of the armed forces are being studied.

Scientific contacts with the armies of Warsaw Pact members are expanded and strengthened. Such creative cooperation enables us to elaborate coordinated views on the organization of the armed defense of the socialist countries against any possible aggression on the part of the imperialist countries.

Scientific work in the armed forces is being energized with every passing year. The front of fundamental and applied research is broadening. Links between military theory and practice are strengthening and the quality of planning and effectiveness of scientific research are growing. A number of valuable works were published on military-theoretical, military-technical, and military-historical topics. The publication of the seven-volume work "Istoriya Vtoroy Mirovoy Voyny 1939-1945" [History of World War II 1939-1945], and of two volumes of the Soviet military encyclopedia were major events.

Both Soviet military science and the armed forces as a whole are developing under the leadership of the Communist Party. The CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and, personally, Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, and Chairman of the USSR Defense Council, are making a tremendous contribution to the party's elaboration of basic important concepts and in formulating the content of Soviet military doctrine.

The daily solution of most important problems of military theory and practice is achieved under the guidance of the USSR Ministry of Defense. The leading personnel of the central apparatus of the USSR Ministry of

Defense and the branches of the armed forces, military districts, groups of forces, antiaircraft defense districts, fleets, military academies and scientific research institutions, and a big group of our military scientists are actively participating in the work to improve military science.

The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized the need to accelerate the progress of science and technology as one of the central sectors which determines the success of the building of communism to a tremendous extent. The party deems as its main task here the prompt solution of most important practical problems, a drastic enhancement of the effectiveness and quality of scientific research, and the more operative utilization of its results in daily life. All this directly applies to military science as well.

The problem of strengthening the ties between theory and practice and upgrading the quality and effectiveness of scientific research in military affairs has never been more urgent than today--the period of tempestuous scientific and technical progress. Today the successful solution of complex practical problems is impossible without their preliminary profound scientific elaboration.

Speaking of specific problems of scientific work in the armed forces, let us emphasize, above all, the increased role of Marxist-Leninist methodology, the comprehensive consideration of most important problems of the martial arts from uniform positions, and the determination of the basic qualitative changes taking place in military affairs and the laws governing their improvement. That is why the need for intensified research of Lenin's military-theoretical heritage and of the activities of the CPSU in strengthening the defense capability of the country, mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and armed forces, insuring the even more active participation of military science in the ideological work, and the tireless exposure of anticommunist fabrications in the fields of military theory and history increases.

Under contemporary conditions the influence of the country's economic, scientific and technical, and moral-political potential on military affairs has increased. That is why a comprehensive approach must be adopted to the study of such factors in the interest of strengthening further the defense of the homeland and increasing the combat power of the armed forces.

In the theory of the art of war scientific forces are being concentrated on the solution of problems directly linked with strengthening the combat power and combat readiness of the troops and the navy. We must not only elaborate on time substantiated conclusions and recommendations but do everything possible to turn them into factual strength and apply them more rapidly in practical activities.

As in the past, forecast studies of the military-strategic nature of a future war, should the imperialists take the risk of unleashing it, remains one of the priority tasks.

In the area of operational art and tactics our military-theoretical thinking must be engaged in a constant search for more advanced methods for preparations and engagement in combat and operations with the full utilization of the possibilities offered by the new types of weapons and combat materiel. We should take into consideration that tactic is the most dynamic area in military affairs. Each replacement of one generation of weapons by another inevitably brings to life new tactical combat methods. In turn, this has a major impact on the conduct of modern operations and, consequently, on the nature of the use made by the armed forces as a whole.

Improving the organizational structure of large units and formations and of their technical equipment plays a particular role in the building of the armed forces. Emphasizing the importance of this task, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "Our duty to the people, a duty we shall sacredly fulfill, is to continue to maintain on a high level the armed forces of the country so that the Soviet troops may always have the most modern weapons which must be taken into consideration by the imperialists!"

In the management theory the share of research in the field of automated control and of improving methods for the solution of operative-tactical problems with the help of computers is increasing.

The increased complexity of the moral-political and psychological training of the troops, and the interests of rapidly mastering new types of weapons and equipment and prompt practical utilization of scientific achievements call for further improvements in the ways and means of military training and education of the personnel.

Organizing the study of problems of military theory, we proceed from the principle of historical continuity in military affairs. The historical experience of previous wars offers rich food for theoretical thinking and enables us to determine more profoundly the laws and trends governing the development of military affairs. Military-historical research must be oriented more clearly toward the needs of contemporary military theory and practice and insure that the young cadres master the experience of the Great Patriotic War and the lessons of contemporary foreign policy events.

The orientation of military science toward establishing closer ties with the most important practical problems should not be considered as a decline of interest in basic research. As in any science, this is the scientific base which steadily feeds applied theoretical developments.

Our military-theoretical thinking is doing a great deal for the development of the most important concepts of Soviet military doctrine which is based, from the theoretical viewpoint, on the conclusions of the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and armed forces and the achievements of Soviet military science. The fast renovation of armaments and the steady improvement of means for the conduct of battles and operations not only broaden the topics of scientific research (development) but upgrade the pace of such scientific research, formulating stricter requirements concerning its quality, accuracy, and substantiation. The implementation of the responsible problems facing military science is possible only by increasing the centralization and coordination of scientific research. In our days the role of the planning of scientific work, based on the systems approach, becomes more important. This enables us to provide an all-round elaboration of the most important problems of the joint efforts of troops (fleets), military schools, and scientific research institutions. This calls for the active participation in scientific work of a wide circle of generals, admirals, and officers, particularly research conducted in the course of exercises. Under such circumstances the party sets the objective of increasing in all our cadres respect for science and the desire to resolve all practical problems on a truly scientific basis.

In the course of 6 decades Soviet military science has been developing under the beneficial influence of the Leninist ideas and guiding influence of our party. Comprehensively substantiating complex military-theoretical problems, the party acts as a reliable guideline in the activities of our military cadres, arming them with basic conclusions for the solution of the practical problems related to the construction and training of the army and navy. Soviet military science was, and remains, one of the most important factors in strengthening the combat power and readiness of the armed forces whose task is to guard vigilantly the peace and security of our fatherland and the historical gains of the Great October Revolution.

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VETERANS' MEMORY; WRITER'S NOTES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 77-83

[Article by Ivan Paderin]

[Text] Addressing himself to his brother-soldiers, Great Patriotic War veterans and authors of the recently published collection of front-line memoirs "Na Levom Flange" [On the Left Flank], Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev wrote:

"It is a very good thing when the direct participants in such a truly turning point in the life not of our country alone but of all mankind take pen in hand to recreate the picture of the past. A single person may vividly remember something, a specific battle, operation, or selfless action at the front or the rear. However, the collective memory of the veterans retains, one could say, the very course of history in its entirety. That is why I believe that this memory is the tremendous moral, political, and patriotic property of our country and party."

These words become particularly significant, for they direct the attention to the priceless wealth stored in the collective memory of the veterans of the great battles -- revolutionary, combat, and labor -- for a just cause. How to safeguard and transmit this property to the new generations of fighters for communism? The publication of memoirs is one of the principal means for passing on the baton between generations.

Experienced people, veterans, feel the constant need to communicate with their young contemporaries in order to pass on to them their experience, and thus, once again, make their contribution to our common cause. This need is intensified as the time limit allotted to us by nature is drawing to a close while a great deal of what the young generation could use in order to continue these great accomplishments remains untold and may be lost forever. The desire to describe the past and past experiences is reciprocated by the lively attention and increased interest in veterans' memoirs on the part of an ever wider circle of readers.

The number of military memoirs we publish is being increased by new books every passing year. Over 900 books of memoirs and records of participants in the battles against the fascist aggressors have been published, covering World War II alone. Events over 30 years old are being recreated by the authors with such powerful accuracy that it seems as though the fears of those days have not cooled down but reach a boiling point the moment contact has been established with the reader. What an impressive picture of the national exploit unfolds under his eyes as he reads such memoirs!

Under the enemy's fire rocks crumbled and metal melted, but the Soviet people, our soldiers withstood the trial by fire and chased the enemy to the place from which he invaded the sacred boundaries of our land. Man is the main fortress of our state. How many such fortresses stood on the way of the enemy during the war? Thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions! The aggressor was unable to surmount the moral firmness of the Soviet person, his infinite love for the homeland, inexhaustible faith in the leadership of the Communist Party, and loyalty to Lenin's ideals. The enemy met with an inevitable catastrophe while the Soviet people gained a great victory. The honest people on earth thank for this our Leninist party, its Central Committee, and the Soviet communists. It was precisely they, the communists, who marched in the front ranks of the troops and inspired them with their example. Carrying in their hearts the party's fiery call, aware of it and, therefore, aware of their responsibility for the fate of the socialist fatherland, they carried high the title of bolshevik and did everything possible, and frequently the impossible, to justify the party's faith. At all sectors of the front and in the rear, where the weapons of victory were being forged, courage and bravery became the norm of behavior of the Soviet person. This too is the greatest exploit of our party! What could be loftier or more honorable for the authors of military memoirs who turn, again and again, to the unforgettable war years than to render its due to this immortal exploit?!

The history of war was not familiar with the type of power of the people's wrath, will to resist the enemy and firmness of the people such as were displayed by our people in the past war. The population and the soldiers of besieged Leningrad withstood the pressure of enemy fire, cold, and hunger 900 days. No single Hitlerite was able to cross the defense lines of the cradle of the October Revolution.

How many examples of mass heroism were given to the world by the participants of the battle for Moscow or the gigantic battle which developed on the accesses to the Volga, in the area of Stalingrad! Following is an event from the notes of A. S. Chuyanov then first secretary of the Stalingradskaya Oblast and Stalingrad City party committees.

On 23 August 1942, breaching our defenses between Vertyachiy and Peskovatka villages, the 14th Mechanized Corps of the Whrmacht rushed toward the northern edge of the city. Toward the end of the second half of the day enemy tanks were already 4 km away from the Tractor Plant. The

front's military council, attended by Headquarters representatives, had to make a decision: would reserve units be able to come to the defense of the plant, or should the most important sections of the Stalingrad Tractors Plant be blown up without delay? At that point a note was received from Dmitriy Prikhod'ko, secretary of the Traktorozavodskiy Rayon Party Committee: "Three detachments, raised during the night at the casting shops, totalling 600 men, armed, have taken defense positions in the area of Spartanovka village. All are in a fighting mood. The unanimous decision is to fight to the last man...."

What the note said, in essence, was that the workers would defend the plant to the end. Such was the will of the true masters of the enterprise: to fight and live to the last breath....Hitler's strategic armed tip arrow hit an alloy of inordinate strength: armed workers' detachments reinforced the local positions of anti-aircraft artillerymen, and the tank attacks were repulsed. Soon afterwards, S. F. Gorokhov's 124th Brigade reached the area. Seeing the armed workers, woman among them, and learning that Ol'ga Kovaleva, steel smelter at the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Plant, had died in the uneven battle against enemy tanks, the brigade unanimously resolved to fight to death. Under the uninterrupted strikes of enemy aircraft and artillery, for 55 days and nights the plant's defenders repulsed tank and infantry attacks. Nevertheless, at the cost of heavy casualties the Hitlerites were able to invade the plant's grounds but could not use its equipment to repair their own.

V. I. Chuykov ("Srazheniye Veka" [Battle of the Century]), A. I. Rodimtsev ("Gvardeytsy Stoyalii Nasmert'" [The Guards Stood to the Last Man]), I. I. Yakubovskiy ("Zemlya v Ogne" [Land on Fire]), N. I. Biryukov ("Na Ognennykh Rubezhakh" [On the Fire Lines]), and P. I. Batov ("V Pokhdakh i Boyakh" [Campaigns and Battles]), authors of books on the battle for Stalingrad and direct organizers of battles at the city's walls and in its streets, dedicate many passages of their memoirs to the heroism of the city's defenders and note the firmness under fire of the Soviet troops. Here mass heroism simply provided neither a place nor a time for confusion or panic in the face of the enemy. The stones of wrecked plant buildings and residential districts turned into dust and the TNT smoke of bombs and shells made breathing hard. This lasted for over 100 days and nights, yet our soldiers did not lose their self-control. Operating in assault groups, or sometimes alone, they defended every house, every room, basement, staircase, and roof, forcing the Hitlerite aggressors into hand-to-hand combat, causing them irreparable casualties. Thus the inflexible firmness of the Soviet soldiers stopped the enemy. The Stalingrad victory represented a radical turning point in the war.

This turning point was the result of the gigantic efforts of the Soviet people led by the communist party. It brought the peoples of Europe and the entire world faith in the salvation from fascist yoke. Today, as the authors of books on those events recall, the call, "Communists, forward!" has gained particular strength. It was sounded in the hellish storm of fire at the Kursk Arc, in the crossing of the Dnepr, and among the dedicated

avengers of the people in the forests of Bryansk, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. The firmness and stubbornness of the defensive battles grew into the irrepressible thrust of the Soviet forces in the advancing operations. V. I. Lenin's prophetic words were confirmed once again: "We were able to prove that Russia can produce not only isolated heroes who could fight czarism and die without the support of workers and peasants. No, we were right when we said that Russia can produce a mass of such heroes, in the hundreds and the thousands" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, p 4).

The great image of our soldier-liberator, bearing in his heart and mind a profound understanding of international duty and readiness for exploit and nobility, arises from the memoirs of our military commanders as they describe the combat operations of the Soviet Armed Forces in the battles of the Patriotic War.

In his book entitled "Vospominaniya i Razmyshleniya" [Recollections and Reflections] G. K. Zhukov tells the story of a soldier wounded at the Magnushevskiy bridge-head: "Our company was ordered to cross over to the western bank of the Vistula before dawn. There were slightly more than 50 of us. Lieutenant V. T. Burba was company commander. The instant we landed the enemy opened fire and then attacked us. We repulsed the first attack, but a second and a third attack followed. The next day we were continuously attacked by enemy tanks and infantry. The last attack was particularly fierce. No more than 12 of us remained.

"On the eve of the last enemy attack Lieutenant V. T. Burba said: 'Boys, there are few of us left. Reinforcements will come by this evening. Until then we shall fight to the last drop of blood but will not surrender our position.'

"Soon afterwards enemy tanks and up to a company of infantry attacked. Several tanks came very close to us. The commanding officer threw a cluster of hand grenades at a tank, crippled it, and hurled himself under another one a cluster of grenades in hand. The attack was repulsed but our commander died. Only six men remained of the entire company. Soon afterwards the reinforcements arrived. We held our position."

Describing the exploit of his commander the soldier could not hold back his tears. "I too," the military commander acknowledges, "could not listen to him calmly or without the sorrow that such brave people could die."

At that same time and place, following the example of his commanding officer, Vladimir Burba, Private Petr Khlyustin, Komsomol member, also hurled himself under an enemy tank with a bunch of hand grenades and stopped the enemy attack. The title of Hero of the Soviet Union was posthumously awarded to Lieutenant V. T. Burba and Private P. A. Khlyustin.

This took place on fraternal Polish soil in the battles for establishing a bridge-head on the western bank of the Vistula from which the forces of the First Belorussian Front launched their offensive in January 1945. Soon afterwards the flames of war rolled to the territory of the fascist Reich, toward Berlin, the place from which its evil flames had burst out. Storming it our troops gave examples of military mastery and humanitarianism. They had come here not to enslave but to liberate the German people from the tyranny of Hitler's executioners. They hit only targets which opposed armed resistance to our advance. Meanwhile, as the immediate participants in the storming of Berlin confirm in their books, the Soviet soldier fed hungry children from his mess-tin, carried sick women and old people out of blocked basements and bomb shelters, and negotiated with truce envoys from besieged areas. Then, once again, scorning dangers and risking his life, the Soviet soldier, smelling of gun powder, resumed the battle.

Many facts recorded in the battle records of those times reveal the high morality and ideological maturity of the Soviet soldier. Here is one.

....This took place on the approaches to Tiergarten, before the Landwehr Canal. Before the artillery preparation Sergeant Nikolay Masalov, flag bearer of the 220th Guards Infantry Regiment brought the regimental flag to the front end. The guardsmen knew that before them stood the main bastion of the fascist capital. They knew that it was here that Hitler's headquarters and the main communications center were located, through which the leaders of the Third Reich were continuing to lead their troops, forcing them to fight senseless bloody battles.

The attack was to begin in 50 minutes. Calm descended, like before a storm, alarming and tense. Suddenly, the sound of a child crying was heard in the silence disturbed only by droning and the crackling of flames. The voice of the child seemed to come as though from below the earth, dull and appealing.

Giving the flag to his assistant, Nikolay Masalov turned to the commanding officer:

"Permission to rescue the child. I know where it is."

Crawling along the asphalt, huddling in shell-holes, the sergeant advanced toward the arched bridge. He reached the canal barrier. An enemy machine gun opened fire on the right. The child began to cry again. It was calling its mother, as though urging Masalov on. Masalov managed to cross over the canal barrier. The enemy machine guns ceased fire for a moment. Holding their breath the guardsmen were waiting to hear the child's voice but things were silent.... Had the regimental flag bearer risked his life in vain?

"Attention," Masalov signaled. "I am with the child! Cover me. The machine gun on the right, on the balcony of the house with the columns. Shut it up!"....

Gun volleys thundered, covering the exit from the death zone of the Soviet soldier carrying in his arms a three year old little girl whose mother had probably tried to escape from the Tiergarten and had been felled by an SS bullet....

This exploit is described in the book "Konets Tret'yego Reykha" [The End of the Third Reich] by V. I. Chuykov, the commander of an army whose valorous path began in the street combats in Stalingrad and ended in Berlin. An honored citizen of the GDR capital, Reserve Sergeant Nikolay Ivanovich Masalov works today at the Tyazhinskiy Rayon Party Committee, Kemerovskaya Oblast. When he goes to Berlin he also visits Treptow Park where a majestic monument stands atop a tall burial mound: having cut into pieces a fascist swastika with his punishing sword, a heroic soldier gently holds to his powerful chest a rescued little German girl. The figure of the soldier-liberator, cast in bronze is in Berlin and not only Nikolay Masalov but many more war veterans recognize themselves in it....

The exploits of the Soviet Far East forces which defeated the elite troops of militaristic Japan and its shock force, the Kwantung Army, in numbered days have not been so extensively represented in published memoirs. Yet, that which has been described in the works of our military commanders K. A. Meretskov ("Na Sluzhbe Narodu" [Serving the People]), A. P. Beloborodov ("Skvoz' Ogon' i Taygu" [Through the Fire and Tayga]), and I. I. Lyudnikov ("Cherez Bol'shoy Khingan" [Across the Big (Hingan)]) has drawn the attention of the readers with descriptions of the characteristics of military operations in this war theater and the exceptional mobility of units and formations in the fulfillment of combat assignments. Here the daring raids of mobile units and sea and airborne landings played a tremendous role in defeating the enemy.

....In the battle for Fuyuan landing forces of the Amur Flotilla who had landed in the estuary of the Ussuri River found themselves under the heavy fire of an earth-and-timber enemy pillbox which had come to life on top of a hill. Someone had to approach the emplacement and throw hand grenades at it. A group of seamen headed by Petty Officer 1st Class Nikolay Golubkov undertook to resolve this problem. There were four of them. Risking their lives, rushing and crawling, they approached their target. However, the Japanese machine gunners detected the brave daredevils and opened heavy fire at them. One after the other all four were hit. Once again the machine guns could direct their fire at the landing forces. No, they would not! Gathering his last forces, Nikolay Golubkov, mortally wounded, crawled forward a few more meters, stood up and threw his hand grenades, one after the other. The machine guns fell silent. Nikolay Nikolayevich Golubkov was awarded posthumously the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Under the most difficult circumstances, joining a sometimes uneven battle with the enemy, our soldier had a single thought: to withstand and win. There is a document included in the book by A. A. Grechko entitled "Gody Voyny" [The War Years], showing the invincible force of the moral firmness

and patriotism of the Soviet soldiers during the battle for the Caucasus. It is the minutes of a party meeting attended by two party members, a Komsomol member, and a nonparty member who were the garrison of a semi-destroyed encircled reinforced-concrete pillbox. The agenda consisted of a single item: acceptance of Sergeant Fedor Altunin as party member. Before the meeting the pillbox defenders prepared bunches of antitank grenades so that they may fight to the end. The meeting was opened by party organizer Georgiy Mikheyev and the minutes were kept by Pavel Kupriyanov. Sergeant Altunin told his comrades that he felt bad leaving this life as a nonparty member and requested that he be accepted as candidate party member. "We do not have the right to accept you as party member with two votes," answered Mikheyev. "However, the party will forgive us this violation of the bylaws...." Altunin's request was met. He was accepted with the two votes of the party members. Komsomol member Velichko expressed his support. Congratulating the comrade, the party organizer said: "We may die! However, even a dead communist is feared by the enemy. This is the greatness of our party. Let the enemy shudder at these communist minutes which praise our party not with fanaticism but faith in Lenin's cause."

The enemy was unable to crush the resistance of the courageous foursome. The reinforcements which arrived counted 42 Hitlerite corpses around the pillbox. Altunin, Kupriyanov, and Mikheyev and, posthumously, Velichko were awarded the Order of Lenin. After the war P. G. Kupriyanov was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor for outstanding successes in agriculture.

That is how the Soviet troops acted. The communists, as Nikolay Ivushkin, former chief of the political department of the 55th Infantry Division, writes in his book "Mesto Tvoye Vpered" [Your Place is Ahead], considered even their own death in the front ranks as the extension of party work, the extension of the struggle for the life of their comrades and for the happiness of future generations....Such was our Soviet soldier, such he was, is, and will remain in the memory of the people of goodwill throughout the world.

I was quite lucky as a veteran of the Great Patriotic War and, subsequently, a writer. Life rewarded me with the true friendship of comrades tried in the flames of war, and developed in me a liking for memoirs praising the heroism of Soviet soldiers. Each book of such memoirs reawakens with new strength the memory of war veterans. This can be heard in the intimate and frank notes on the heroes who stormed the Reichstag by V. Ye. Subbotin, the wise story of the air battles by A. I. Pokryshkin, the recollections of the heroic defense of Sebastopol by B. A. Borisov and Ye. I. Zhidilov, the energetic description of the Eltigen landing by V. F. Gladkov, the thorough coverage of the work done by the general staff in the war years by A. M. Vasilevskiy and S. M. Shtemenko, and many other books which draw the attention of the readers by the accuracy of depicted events, thoughts on the art of war, and abundance of instructive data enabling us to see

the spiritual world, hopes, and expectations of our soldiers and of the Soviet people of the 1930's and 1940's. Books of this type name thousands and thousands of participants in the Patriotic War. Each one of them is a memorial to the living and the dead veterans of great battles.

One could daringly say that military memoirs have become a noteworthy event in the spiritual life of our society. Unquestionably, this literature requires the great attention of the critics and thorough theoretical interpretation. Unfortunately, few attempts have been made in this direction. Yet, the more time passes since the Great Patriotic War the more responsible becomes the task facing those who are depicting the unparalleled exploit of the Soviet people in those difficult and heroic years, including the writers of memoirs.

We believe something else to be important as well. Deciding to write his memoirs, it is as though the author "confesses" to history and the future generations. That is why we are not entirely pleased with books which avoid the description of events in their entire complexity, and in which the authors describe their activities as smooth and straight, without even the smallest doubts or failures, not to speak of errors. Yet, we well know that reality is different. In such books, like arrows on a map, people are left silent and indifferent, and their exploits are merely named and listed. In reality, any such decision, any step toward an exploit was taken by soldiers, whatever their rank, at the cost of a tremendous stress of moral and physical efforts. Real front life was inconceivable without constant battle creativity. Thousands of brains, from the private to the army commander, sought and found the type of effective ways and means of combat in the course of which, wherever he went, the enemy found puzzling or fatal innovations. Blind daring and thoughtless courage would not have brought about our victory over such a strong and cunning enemy. The Soviet people displayed inexhaustible creative energy in combat and work in order to fulfill in the best possible way the instructions of the captain who guided all their efforts in achieving victory--the Leninist party.

Memoirs of the past war should depict not only the actions of our troops but the wealth and depth of their characters, the maturity of their judgment, and the wisdom of their decisions. This requires the active and practical help which we, writers, could provide.

Memoirs of experienced people and documentary books have always been subjects of very close attention and sources of inspired creativity by the writers of major works of art. The epic canvas of the 1812 Patriotic War depicted by Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, "War and Peace," will live eternally also because it was structured on the solid foundation of historical documents. Reliable facts, letters, and testimony of war veterans opened to the great writer the depth of the complex gamut of human feelings, passions, and thoughts of those times. The gravitation of the reader toward the fact and the document, and his desire for proof

of the historical nature of a literary character has immeasurably increased in our time of unparalleled accomplishments by the Soviet people, when literature has become the spiritual need of all members of society.

The historical fact, the document, have become a substantial part of fiction. The reader can no longer conceive of a book without them. Samples of documentary prose have the same emotional impact as novels and stories. Incidentally, A. Fadeyev, B. Polevoy, and B. Gorbатов brilliantly proved that prose of the highest artistic value could be written meeting all requirements of their genre and, at the same time, strictly observing factual data.

Our daily reality has placed documentary prose in the leading ranks of literature. People who have seen and experienced a great deal and who have done a great deal for the homeland may be found in our country, in every village or city, and every street. Not all of them are able to put this on paper. Therefore, the point is to meet with such people while there is time, while they are still among us. The writers must not ignore their battle and labor biographies which could become foundations of works of art of which A. M. Gor'kiy once dreamed about. In other words, our concern for the development of military memoirs and, in general, of documentary literature, is a concern for reaching new peaks and meeting the demand of the exacting readers of today and the even more exacting readers of tomorrow.

The great exploit of our people, armed by Lenin's all-conquering ideas, the gigantic organizing force of the Communist Party during the severe trials, and the mass heroism of the Soviet people in the past war are reflected in the memoirs of rank and file battle veterans. I was convinced of this by reading the notes of sniper Vasiliiy Zaytsev entitled "Za Volgoy Zemli dlya Nas ne Bylo" [There Was No Soil For Us Beyond The Volga], by marine scout Sebastopol resident Ivan Dmitrishin entitled "Po Zovu Pamyati" [Memory Calls], and Private Fedor Vasil'yev, who covered the entire war from the first to the last shot, entitled "Zaboty Soldatskiye" [Soldiers' Concerns]. Published in a single volume, Izdatel'stvo Molodaya Gvardiya justifiably gave the rank and file soldiers the floor to describe the great truth of what they experienced and saw. The same good action is being undertaken by the editors of memoirs of Voyennoye Izdatel'stvo by preparing a series of books entitled "Front Line Veterans Speak." Another interesting series of books is being planned by the DOSAAF publishing house on soldiers from all branches and the combat experience of heroes of the Soviet Union and of young patriots, heroes of war and labor. However, few such books have been published so far. This gap must and still can be filled. Furthermore, today's draftees are entering army ranks. To them the experience of people their age, soldiers who took part in the past war, is as needed as the air they breathe. How clever, intelligent, skillful, and daring, how outstanding were these soldiers! There is something they could teach us.

"...I am raising two sons who will soon be called to the ranks of the Soviet Army. How much I wish them to resemble the defenders of our homeland such as Shorintsev and other heroes so well described by Nikolay Kalutskiy in his book "Zavetnyye Zori" [Cherished Dawns!]. Anotherly thanks to the author and may he have a long life." This was written by a worker at the Donetsk Mine No 10-B, and mother of two sons, Yekaterina Postol, commenting on the book by Hero of the Soviet Union N. V. Kalutskiy. Her words need no comment.

Planning the now-famous series of "Lives of Outstanding People," A. M. Gor'kiy expressed a basic consideration which, it seems to me, is directly related to the subject of the present remarks. He wrote that "We must publish a series of biographies of bolsheviks, beginning with V. Il'ich, and ending with the typical rank and file party members." Such a Gorkian approach to typical rank and file party members considered as outstanding people should be adopted by anyone working on the publication of military memoirs.

To us who covered the difficult path to victory in the past war, to the writers involved in the military memoirs genre, the following words of the letter by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev we mentioned are an inspiring appeal to continue our work on the chronicle of the great accomplishments of our party and our entire people in those unforgettable years:

"Turning to the history of the Great Patriotic War will teach ever-new generations of Soviet people to be worthy of their fathers, and follow firmly the path of communist construction defended by our people at that time at a truly priceless cost."

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FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 84-96

[Minutes of the RSDWP (b) June 1917 conference of military organizations, prepared for publication by P. A. Golub and A. M. Sovokin, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism]

[Text] The Great October Socialist Revolution represents a triumph of Leninism and of the policy, strategy, and tactics of the Bolshevik Party. The victory of the Great October Revolution was the result of the ideological and organizational work of the Bolsheviks among various toiling strata, including the millions of workers and peasants mobilized in the army.

The minutes and speeches by the delegates to the All-Russian Conference of Front Line and Rear Military Organizations of the RSDWP (b), held in June 1917, published below, are an exceptionally interesting and important historical document which considerably broadens our idea of the comprehensive activities of the Bolshevik Party in the period of preparations for a socialist revolution and of its struggle for gaining over the soldier and sailor masses on the side of the proletariat.

Proceeding on the basis of historical experience which clearly proved that the ruling classes would not abandon voluntarily their privileges, V. I. Lenin taught that whatever form the revolution may take--peaceful or violent--disarming the exploiters was a mandatory condition for its success. That is precisely why he considered revolutionary propaganda in the army one of the primary tasks of the party of the working class. As early as 1902, in his book "What Is To Be Done?" Vladimir Il'ich suggested that "more serious attention be paid to propaganda and agitation among soldiers and officers and the creation of 'military organizations' within our party" the moment this becomes possible ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 6, page 129). This area of party work assumed particularly topical significance during the first Russian revolution and in World War I. Our party did everything possible to disseminate the Leninist views and to convince the soldiers that a radical, social change alone could make withdrawal from the imperialist war possible.

The military program for the proletarian revolution elaborated by Lenin called for gaining over from the bourgeoisie the democratic strata of the old army and their inclusion in the armed forces of the revolution. Summing up the implementation of this program, Lenin subsequently wrote: "...We are proud of the fact that we did our duty by demoralizing the forces of our class enemy and winning over from it the armed masses of workers and peasants for the struggle against the exploiters" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 40, pages 8-9).

Following the overthrow of the autocracy, the party's military organizations were reborn as the heirs and continuators of the great traditions of party military-combat work in the first Russian revolution. The activities of the military organization set-up in March 1917 at the Petersburg RSDWP (b) Committee which, following Lenin's arrival in Russia, began to assume all-Russian significance, were of great importance. The daily newspaper SOLDATSKAYA PRAVDA contributed to this considerably.

The war took millions of peasants out of the countryside, armed them, and concentrated them in the big cities where a most acute class struggle was taking place. Using such favorable circumstances, the party's military organizations rallied the poorest peasant elements and farm hands, and strengthened the alliance between workers and peasants in uniform.

The struggle for Soviet power was inseparably linked with the struggle for the army, for building the armed forces of the revolution. It was only the support of the revolutionary army of the soviets that made possible the peaceful development of the revolution during the twin power period. It was only the conversion of the army to the side of the proletariat that insured the tremendous superiority of the armed forces of the revolution over the counterrevolution in the course of the armed uprising.

The All-Russian Conference of Front and Rear Military Organizations of the RSDWP (b), the preparations for which took place under the direct guidance of the party's Central Committee, played a major role in the historical project of winning over the army on the side of the revolution. The holding of the conference coincided with the June political crisis; its delegates actively participated in the preparations for and the holding of the 18 June demonstrations in Petrograd.

The conference opened on 16 (29) June at the Pravda Soldier's Club, in Kshesinskaya's House. The following items were on the agenda: 1. local reports; 2. adoption of a viewpoint toward the resolutions of the All-Russian Conference of the RSDWP (b); 3. the present: organization of the system and of soviets of worker and soldier deputies; 4. war, peace, offensive; 5. national movement and national regiments; 6. army democratization; 7. objectives, tasks, and form of military organization; 8. the agrarian problems; 9. an all-Russian newspaper for soldiers and peasants; 10. general arming of the people; 11. elections.

The conference resolutions have been repeatedly published in various editions. The purpose of the present publication is to present other of its materials--

reports and speeches by delegates revealing the content and ways and means of party work among the troops and the influence of the Bolsheviks in the army.

Lenin's participation and his speeches on the current situation and the agrarian problem were of the greatest significance in directing the work and formulating the conference decisions. Unfortunately, their text has been lost. There is only a short newspaper report which has been included in his complete collected works (Vol 32, pages 363-364), and M. S. Kedrov's memoirs (see "Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsiya. Sbornik Vospominaniy Uchastnikov Revolyutsii v Petrograde i Moskve" [The Great October Socialist Revolution. Collection of Memoirs By Participants in the Revolution in Petrograd and Moscow], Moscow, 1957, pages 77-79). Together with the conference decisions, these materials enable us to judge of the key concepts included in Lenin's speeches.

Lenin ascribed particular importance to the creation of a revolutionary army and to preparing the conditions for a victorious revolution. He proved that the conciliationist attitude of petit bourgeois parties became even more apparent to the broad masses in May-June 1917, along with the fact that the leaders of such parties were breaking with socialism and democracy. Noting the danger of the extreme left-wing feelings of some delegates who called for immediate assumption of power, without conditions being right yet, he called for vigilance and organization. Lenin pointed out that the Bolsheviks must adamantly gather strength, tirelessly struggle for influence within the soviets, and not yield to provocations, for a single wrong step on such a matter or any artificial forcing of events could lose everything. In the resolution based on Lenin's report, the delegates to the conference demanded of the party members "to struggle firmly against anarchic feelings and attempts to launch partial disorganizing actions which, if premature, could only play into the hands of the bourgeoisie" and "to prepare most energetically the forces of the proletariat and the revolutionary army for a new stage in the revolution" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1970, Vol 1, page 467).

Guided by the decisions of this conference and of the Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference and Sixth RSDWP (b) Congress, the party did a tremendous deal of work among the troops. Summing up its results, Lenin noted that as early as October-November 1917 the army was "half Bolshevik. Without this we could not have won." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 40, pages 9-10).

The minutes presented below were published in 1917 in the "Bulletins of the All-Russian Conference of Front Line and Rear Military Organizations of the RSDWP" in a small number of copies. Today they have become a bibliographic rarity. The conference minutes will be included in their entirety in a collection of documents entitled "Bor'ba Partii Bol'shevikov za Armiyu v Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii" [The Struggle of the Bolshevik Party for the Army in the Socialist Revolution], to be published by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The present publication was prepared by P. A. Golub and A. M. Sovokin, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Minutes of the 16 June Morning Session

Comrade Nevskiy, member of the Organization Bureau, proclaimed the conference session open.

A combined orchestra of sailors and of the Moscow Regimental Guard played the International. On behalf of the presidium of the Petrograd Military Organization Comrade Nevskiy welcomed the delegates. He was followed by Comrade Volodarskiy who presented greetings on behalf of the Petersburg Committee. Comrade Volodarskiy pointed out that our revolution would perish unless an all-European revolution breaks out.¹ However, one could confidently say that there will be a European revolution, for the objective conditions for this are fully apparent. Subjective conditions exist as well. The masses of the petit bourgeoisie are now in a desperate position and will find themselves in such a position after the war. The day after the war the army will ask the bourgeoisie, which will be clearly unable to deal with demobilization and economic breakdown, the following question: "What was the purpose of the war?"

The army will play a major role in the proletarian revolution.

"If a German scientist," Comrade Volodarskiy said, "once said that the establishment of a small worker association is of greater importance to mankind than any battle whatever,² we could now say that your conference may be of greater importance than the battles at Verdun, the Battle of the Meuse,³ and so on." The speaker further expressed the hope that the conference will be active and able to accomplish a great deal. "Your work," the speaker concluded, "will not end here. You will go back to your places and tell them there that the hour of the socialist revolution is near..."

Item 1 on the agenda was reports from local areas. The floor was given to Comrade Krylenko, delegate from the southwestern front. A recess until 2:00 pm was declared following Comrade Krylenko's speech.

Comrade Krylenko's speech:

The speaker stated that the army has not as yet given its answer to all the questions raised by reality. One thing is unquestionable: by the logic of events such answers must come close to bolshevism. There is an awareness that the power must go to the soviets of the worker and soldier deputies. However, this realization has not been completed yet. We must work for the extensive development of the party organizations at the front so that the work must assume a systematic and organized nature. There is a severe shortage of party publications and of agitation forces. People who have nothing in common with bolshevism are frequently acting under its banner. The speaker described the way he has had to correct the work of such individuals personally. In any case, according to the speaker, bolshevism

is not only not experiencing defeats on the front but is achieving great successes. Thus, for example, the Army Congress produced eight delegates, three of whom are Bolsheviks. In any case, to the extent of possibilities, most intensive work is being done.

Following the speech the chairman called for questions.

The first question dealt with the reasons for the refusal of the soldiers to advance. The speaker said that the first reason for such a refusal is that the soldiers believed the war to be defensive and think that one should not launch an offensive in such a war. The other reason for such a refusal is that the allies have not recognized our war objectives.

Answering the second question dealing with fraternizing,⁴ Comrade Krylenko described the various forms it has assumed. The speaker himself has participated in such fraternization which, initially, was spontaneous. Meetings were organized between the trench lines. Initially our artillery tried to shoot at those fraternizing. After the soldiers threatened the artillery with their bayonets, however, the firing stopped.

Asked whether a defense party existed at the front and what was its influence, the speaker answered that the influence of that party is quite insignificant and rather negative. Its position is worsened by the fact that it does not have its army newspaper. However, the more it shows its cards (in the document: pockets--the editors), and the more they dot their i's, the faster their popularity declines.

Minutes of the 16 June Evening Session

The session opened at 3:00 pm. Four secretaries were elected. The presentation of reports from the front continued. Comrade Filatov, representing one of the regiments in the southwestern front, spoke and described the mood prevailing among the troops, a mood with which he is familiar from the committees and the recently held Seventh Army Congress.⁵ He pointed out that most of the decrees issued by committees and congresses do not reflect in the least the views of the soldier masses. Everything possible is being done at the front to falsify the views of the masses and conceal the true and sharply negative attitude toward an offensive. The Bolsheviks are being persecuted by people describing themselves as Esers and Mensheviks. The speaker described such socialists as Martov socialists.⁶

At the Army Congress which convened for the election of delegates to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Worker and Soldier Deputies⁷ this persecution assumed such inadmissible forms that the Bolsheviks refused to participate in the election of delegates, despite the fact that it was attended by representatives of many regiments which had issued clearly Bolshevik instructions. The speaker further pointed out the abundance of all sorts of delegations which cite all authorities, including the Petrograd Soviet, to prove to the soldiers that the salvation of the revolution requires an offensive. The literary workers are not organized. Their regiment has joined

the bolshevik current from the beginning of the revolution and is holding this position firmly and conscientiously.

Comrade Leges, representing the western front, pointed out the spontaneous nature of the Easter fraternizing, and the exchange of views and impressions which took place. The German command banned fraternization and four German divisions were replaced for refusing to launch gas attacks against us. On one occasion our artillery fired at those fraternizing while our infantry opened fire on the artillerymen. The soldiers are against the offensive despite all the tricks of the command; the command frequently uses the following method: it points out that neighboring regiments are preparing an offensive and that should we refuse to advance the neighboring regiment would force us to do so. Party cells are being organized everywhere. A 150-people cell has been organized in the regiment represented by the speaker. Deliveries of the newspapers PRAVDA and SOLDATSKAYA PRAVDA by mail are irregular and some of the newspapers are lost along the way. This requires sending people to Minsk to buy them. The front is abundantly supplied with bourgeois newspapers. There is a great scarcity of old party workers.

Comrade Osipov added to this speech by pointing out that the masses find it difficult to understand how the war is to end. That is why, occasionally, appeals for an offensive are successful. Currently there is tremendous persecution of the Bolsheviks. Comrade Osipov further pointed out that the committees have to spend so much time on the material situation of the soldiers that no time is left for the discussion of political matters.

Comrade Serov submitted a report from Dvinsk front:⁸ his regiment has no party organization. Only bourgeois and defense newspapers such as YEDINSTVO and RABOCHAYA GAZETA are being received. Should an accidental copy of SOLDATSKAYA PRAVDA become available it is read by everyone with pleasure. However, the bourgeois newspapers are entirely distrusted. The Petrograd Soviet of Worker and Soldier Deputies is trusted. However, the idea circulates that reelections must be held for this soviet for the reason that at the time of the revolution which, as we know, may be sudden, unsuitable people may find themselves members of the Petrograd Soviet. On the 14th of the month a regimental meeting was held and the entire regiment expressed its lack of confidence to the chairman of the regimental committee, for he was not following the line desired by the soldiers. The regimental committee was reelected. The soldiers mistrust the provisional government.

Comrade Serov's report was followed by the special announcement that the next day a trip was to be made to Kronshtadt.⁹ The trip was postponed to the following Monday since the members of the conference had to participate in agitation work on organizing the 18 June demonstration.¹⁰

The session closed at 5:00 pm.

From the Protocol of the 17 June Morning Session

Reports from the front continued. Comrade Yurevich, representing the Latvian infantry, spoke on behalf of the Riga front. The Latvian infantry regiments established their organization before the revolution. However, inordinately difficult conditions hindered its development. Things changed after the revolution. In one of the regiments a circle decided to set up a social democratic organization. A first constituent assembly was organized for senior party members and candidate members. As many as 80 people gathered. Some basic problems were resolved and an organization committee was elected. The organization committee organized consecutive meetings in the regiments of the first brigade. Social democratic factions were set up to which only comrades who had worked in the clandestine organizations were elected. The same occurred in the second brigade. Now the organization has 1537 members, 150 of whom are old party workers. Each company and crew has a circle. A circle with less than five members joins the neighboring company; a company committee is elected should there be over 20 members. Measures for the unification of all military organizations of the Latvian area were adopted at a conference held in June. The organization obtained funds from voluntary contributions. Of late, however, membership dues of no less than 20 kopecks per month have been charged. The organization controls the Soviet of Latvian Infantry Regiments¹² and is devoting all possible efforts to establish a party majority in the executive committee of the 12th Army. A "German section"¹³ has been set up by the organization to engage in agitation and propaganda among the German soldiers. Some regiments have established close links with Liebknecht's supporters,¹⁴ and contacts with them are maintained primarily at night.

Comrade Vasil'yev, OKOPNAYA PRAVDA editor,¹⁵ spoke on behalf of the same front. The delegates cheered OKOPNAYA PRAVDA. A group was elected and instructed to address itself to the executive committee of the soviet of worker and soldier deputies with the demand that Comrade Khaustov, one of the OKOPNAYA PRAVDA editors, be released...¹⁶

After passing a resolution of protest on the subject of Comrade Khaustov's detention, the conference adjourned to 7:00 pm on the 18th.

Minutes of the 18 June Evening Session

The delegates to the conference heard first a report by Lieutenant Khaustov, just released from detention.

After that, Comrade Vasil'yev, representing the northern front continued his report.

The publication of OKOPNAYA PRAVDA began together with the appearance of the military organization of Latvian infantrymen. Party collectives were set up in eight regiments. The soldiers are being frightened by a second war against Japan, France, and England. In order to provoke an offensive various "shock" groups and "death battalions" are being set up. Such an offensive is possible only on the Dvinsk front where the soldiers are less aware.

Comrade Shemelov, the delegate from Venden, said that their organization has 426 members. The organization was set up on May Day, after a meeting. However, capable people are few. The speaker had been asked to deliver a lecture in Rodenpoyse. Eighty-four people joined after the lecture. All newspapers are being received: PRAVDA, SOLDATSKAYA PRAVDA, and OKOPNAYA PRAVDA. Plans are being made even for the publication of their own newspaper.

Arensburg delegate Comrade Shamayev stated that their organization is gradually expanding. Another 100 people joined it last week. The provisional government is not trusted. As to the war, everyone believes that peace could be achieved only through universal revolution. PRAVDA and SOLDATSKAYA PRAVDA are received irregularly. The left-wing newspaper NOVAYA ZHIZN'¹⁷ cannot be purchased in the city. Party members are always nominated in elections for company committees.

Comrade Bormatunov, representative of the Third Army Corps, spoke on behalf of the Western Front. In the executive committee the majority is Bolshevik, and the army committee as well is leaning to the left. Kerenskiy's declaration¹⁸ was rejected not only by the executive committee but at the Minsk Front Congress.¹⁹ Fraternizing is organized and German pamphlets are being written and distributed. (He pointed out) that even if a single one of their soldiers can speak Russian he is immediately removed. Not even Esers and Mensheviks trust the provisional government. Kerenskiy did not go there. The soldiers recognize only the power of the soviet of worker and soldier deputies. Receiving letters from the countryside on the plowing of the land, they can only express their admiration. They believe that the land could be taken over immediately but that ownership could be granted only by the constituent assembly...

The last speaker was Comrade Slyusarenko from Minsk. An organization was set up from the very beginning. However, after the very first meetings a purely Bolshevik group developed separately. Most of the Bolsheviks are only privates, while volunteers and officers are few. In the opinion of the majority of the masses, an offensive is not a matter of strategy but of politics. There is no confidence whatever in the provisional government. Kerenskiy is a minister and nothing else. There is Bolshevik (influence) in the soviet. Most of the members of the front committee are supporters of the Defense Party.

The speech was followed by a motion to amend the agenda. It was resolved that reports from the local areas will be submitted in writing and printed in the Bulletins.²⁰

The following day's meeting calls for reports to be submitted by Comrades Podvoyskiy, Cherepanov, and Mevskiy on the objectives, tasks, and structure of the All-Russian Military Organization of the RSDWP (b). The session was closed at 11:00 pm.

Minutes of the 19 June Morning Session

The agenda called for a discussion of the objectives, tasks, and forms of the military organization.

Comrade Podvoyskiy was the reporter. He pointed out that as early as before 1905 Comrade Lenin had said that the Russian revolution can be successful only through the joint action of workers and the poorest peasantry.²¹ The agrarian program was based on that principle. The 1905 revolution failed because the workers were separated from the peasants. We must consider the peasants and agricultural workers as the second motive force of the 1917 revolution.

Now the peasant soldiers are concentrated in large masses; their rapprochement with the workers has been a natural consequence of the war.

In the first days of the revolution it was difficult to determine the nature of the soldiers' masses and the question remained open for months on end. As early as about 20 March, in his letters from abroad Comrade Lenin particularly directed the attention to agitation among soldiers and peasants.²² He pointed out that the influence of the proletariat on them is a prerequisite for the development of the revolution.

We must create the type of organizational apparatus through which our influence could penetrate among the soldiers in order to create a material bulwark for the revolution. Hegemony in the revolution belongs to the proletariat and the soldiers are the mortars of the revolution. One of the main objectives of the military organization is the destruction of the regular army and the arming of the entire people. This could be achieved only through the democratization of the army, and only when the army begins truly to follow our slogans. Our objective is to charge as many people as possible so that they, going back to the countryside, would be the ferment, the organizing principle, through which we could gain influence in the countryside.

Comrade Nevskiy described the course of development of the Petersburg Military Organization. It was created soon after the revolution; the need for it was realized by all. After three meetings a provisional committee consisting of 53 units was set up. However, even now the Petersburg organization cannot boast of good organization. Party collectives exist in nearly all regiments. There are regiments in which we enjoy great influence. However, there is no established organization. From the very beginning the problems were so big that it was difficult to resolve them. It was hoped that the Petersburg Committee would supply propagandists. However, soldiers had to be assigned for agitation work at the plants.

The military organization faced the question of publishing a newspaper. Funds were collected for the first issue, after which funds began to arrive mostly from the plants. The newspaper made it possible to establish links with the front and the rear. Now contacts with the front and the rear are broad and strong. Tremendous moral and ideological influence exists but organizational forces are few.

The Soldiers' Club, with its 3,000 members, is equally unable to develop due to the lack of suitable premises. Life itself gave the idea of convening the conference; never before had the countryside approached the city so closely as now. In no single other revolution had there been such huge peasant masses concentrated in the army. There have never been better conditions for developing in the army a powerful bulwark for the revolution. At the present time it is a question of turning the bourgeois revolution into something different, new, unparalleled. The military organization has a specific nature; soldiers have different living conditions. However, such a life must become a structural part of a party-wide organization.

The question of setting up a red guard, and of arming the workers could be resolved only with the close as possible participation of the soldiers. The conference will set up an all-Russian Central Committee bureau. In the view of the speaker the representative of the bureau must be a member of the Central Committee with full voting rights.

After that Comrade Nevskiy read the draft bylaws of the military organization drafted by the Petersburg and Moscow organizations.

Comrade Cherepanov pointed out that in the rear the military organization could work hand in hand with the general proletarian organizations, while at the front it would have to work alone, for which reason the closest possible ties with the front were necessary.

Comrade Arosev indicated two major facts of the characteristic nature of the military organization: 1. A soldiers' action is distinct from a workers' action and is of a particular and more decisive nature; 2. The soldiers' masses consist primarily of peasants which lack the type of organizational habits of the workers. The very level of consciousness of the soldiers is lower than that of the workers. The speaker called for focusing the attention on political agitation, leaving aside cultural and educational work. Agitators' schools must be set up. A party bureau must be set up as part of the organization to explain vital problems to the soldiers.

Due to the fact that the session was repeatedly interrupted by urgent communications related to the Durnovo dacha events,²³ a commission for urgent matters was set up consisting of Osipov, Dmitriyev, and Vasil'yev, and the session was recessed to 3:00 pm.

From the Protocol of the 19 June Evening Session

Following the recess Comrade Podvoyskiy reported on the organization of a peasant-soldier newspaper.

The speaker stated that the first objective of the military organization is the publication of a peasant-soldier newspaper. The question of the creation of such a newspaper to cover the life of the peasants and soldiers is facing us in its full size. We are also faced with the question of should we publish two newspapers or a single one. Unquestionably, if each phenomenon

in peasant life is reflected in a soldiers' newspaper, such a newspaper would be successful and the need for two newspapers would no longer exist. If we cover in this newspaper extensively and specifically our ideas of socialism, it would meet the joint support of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat. Such a soldiers' newspaper should be not only a peasant newspaper but for the peasants in the full meaning of the term.

The speaker further indicated that the main reason which forces the organizers to favor the publication of such a joint newspaper for soldiers and peasants is the paper shortage. The question is also where should such a newspaper be published, in Petrograd or in Moscow. Referring to Petrograd as the center of political life, the speaker pointed out the need to publish a newspaper here. On the other hand, the need for the publication of such a newspaper in Petrograd was also emphasized by the gravitation of the front-line forces toward Petrograd through their delegations.

Comrade Demidov, from Moscow, insisted that it would be most expedient to publish the newspaper in Moscow as the heart of Russia, surrounded on all sides by the poor who also need simple spiritual life.

A comrade from the front claimed that the front is indeed gravitating toward Petrograd and that in his area this question has been resolved in favor of Petrograd.

Comrade Vasil'yev, from OKOPNAYA PRAVDA, indicated the suitability of publishing the newspaper in Petrograd as the center of the revolution, on the one hand, and the predominance (here) of literary forces, on the other.

It was decided by vote to publish a peasant-soldier newspaper in Petrograd and entrust all preparatory work and the publication itself to the All-Russian Bureau of the Military Organization.²⁴

The session was closed at 9:30 pm.

Protocol of the 20 June Morning Session²⁵

Comrade Krylenko began by saying that the question of the democratization of the army was discussed precisely by the military section of the congress of soviets of worker and soldier deputies of which he was a member. Unfortunately, it should be noted now that the work done by this commission is still not resulting in the complete democratization of the army.

History shows that truly democratic armies are rebellious armies...

A permanent army built on the principle of appointments by the authorities and the demand for unconditional discipline is radically contradictory to the principles of democracy and socialism. That is why the social democrats have always fought against it, asking that it be replaced by an all-national militia. However, a national militia as well is not a sufficiently democratic military organization. This has been brilliantly confirmed by

the Swiss military militia. It has no internal ideological unity whatever and it could be turned by the ruling classes, whenever convenient, against "domestic" enemies.

This is due to the fact that it is not built on the principles which represent an inviolable characteristic of any real democracy. These principles are the following: electivity instead of appointments from above; revolutionary initiative from below instead of obedience, and a collegial principle instead of orders.²⁶

However, the following question remains: how to structure an army on such a basis? In order to resolve this problem the following must be taken into consideration. There are times when such principles could and should be implemented (the period of revolutionary breakdown). However, there are times when one could only raise the question of the elimination of the former nondemocratic principles, which must be manifested through the destruction of the material power of the army in general. We are currently experiencing the initial period--the period of building an army on a new and democratic basis. We must do this if we wish to develop the revolution further, for ever since the tsarist system was overthrown the bourgeois government set as its primary task to subordinate the army to itself and make it its weapon... This is the meaning of Guchkov's policy. On the other hand, however, the government realized that a democratization of the army was necessary as it was demanded by the army itself. Thus, it gave the army certain reforms. Such reforms were to play the role of a safety valve to release the revolutionary energy accumulated in the army. They had no other objective. The army cannot be satisfied with such reforms. It should not stand for a situation in which it is a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

At the present time all activities of the revolutionary army must be directed toward breaking the frames imposed on it now and replacing them by others.

We must give the army the type of ideological unity it still lacks, for a time will come when a democratic army could become a rebel army. The question of defending the revolution will then become the question on the agenda. It is for this that we must prepare the army.

On the outside the democratization of the army may be manifested as follows. Each regiment should have a regimental committee elected by the companies through direct elections; each company must have a company committee. The council of company committees and the regimental committee must represent, together, the legislative institution of the regiment, its representative authority. At the same time, this would be the executive authority as well. For example, it should have the right to detain individuals in the regiment should their activities be harmful to the interests of democracy. Each should have a guard company at its disposal. Company and regimental committees must hold elections for divisional committees.

The next main cell should be the Army Congress which, in turn, will elect an army committee. The army committee must have extensive functions. It

must be in charge of supplies and foodstuffs; it must certify army commanders and other commanding personnel. Such a procedure would make it possible to shift the center of gravity in the work of the revolutionary army to the primary levels. At the same time, it would mean the extensive implementation of the elective principle.

Therefore, the work on the democratization of the army should be conducted in two directions--for the purpose of ideologically uniting the army and for making the army structure itself democratic.

What should such a democratization be based on? Rule by the people. This would not be the type of rule as is understood now, when the revolution gives full power to a single individual (Kerenskiy). We must counter the idea of an order from above by seizing the power from below. This could be achieved best of all through the creation of company, regimental, and army committees.

At the same time, today we must not ignore another idea which should be a basis for the democratization of the army: the struggle of the army for peace and against imperialism. The army thirsts for peace.

Brusilov²⁷ and company have assured it that peace could be achieved with a quick offensive. However, they misled it. The idea of revolutionary socialism must be used to counter such a false and fraudulent policy of the servants of imperialism.

Therefore, the internal cohesion of the army and the unification of the army on the basis of the ideas of revolutionary socialism are the path to be followed by the democratic army. All kinds of committees which should be granted the broadest possible rights must be the external forms of army democratization.

Only in such a case would the army develop into an inspired entity which would not be a dead mechanism in the hands of the bourgeoisie and could not be used today against the Germans and tomorrow against the workers.

From the Protocol of the 20 June Evening Session

...The question of war, peace, and offensive was on the agenda. Reporters on this question included Comrades Krylenko and Rozmirovich. Comrade Krylenko pointed out the correctness and the grounds of the bolshevik line on such matters. The present war is an imperialist war carrying something new, something unparalleled. Imperialism is a word which means a great deal and the ground for all the reasons for fighting the war. Present-day wars are decided not by dynasties but by ruling classes. It was no accident that Wilhelm described himself as "the first traveling salesman of the state". The imperialist war is a war waged by the representatives of big industry for the purpose of subordinating to its economic and political influence underdeveloped countries to which it would sell industrial products and from which it would obtain raw materials. However, this is not all. A struggle for colonies has been waged before as well. Of late such underdeveloped

countries imported capital and developed industry, for they had the most inexpensive manpower and here capital had the possibility to yield the biggest returns. Each developed industrial country tries to go beyond its national boundaries and broaden its territory, become an empire. Only the rich classes and the representatives of big industry are interested in an imperialist war. The war is being waged in the interest of the joint groups of Austro-German, Anglo-French, and American groups of capitalists. The Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, and most of Russia are the underdeveloped countries. Our attitude toward this war is purely negative and could be no different. The aspiration to export capital abroad is contrary to the interests of the working class. International socialism has had no attitude toward the war other than a purely negative one. As early as the Stuttgart Congress a resolution was passed with an amendment suggested by Comrades Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg according to which, should war break out, we should use it to hasten the crisis of capitalism...No forces exist which could make the imperialists abandon their aspirations and objectives. The only solution is to deprive them of power. Britain has practically achieved its objectives. To convince the imperialists to abandon their aggressive aspirations would be groundless fantasy, utopia. The Mensheviks are either deliberately ignoring this or misleading the people. The slogan of a peace "without annexations and reparations" is, under such circumstances, a utopian phrase. The claim that by advancing we could achieve such a peace is an even more deliberate lie. Milyukov has said the following: You could abuse our allies as much as you like. However, as long as you fight we need nothing else.

Not Guchkov but Kerenskiy helped promote this line; the army moved ahead. We are thus helping to meet the wishes of the allies. A peace without annexations and reparations should be understood only the way we understand it, with granting all oppressed nations the right to self-determination. No alliance with the imperialists could provide such a peace. Even before the war it was said that the explosion of a social revolution must take place during such a war...

FOOTNOTES

1. This statement differs from Lenin's view on the possibility for a victory of the socialist revolution initially in a few countries or even in a single separate country (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 30, page 133).

2. In all likelihood it is a question of the statement by the German scientist J. Jacobi: "The founding of even the smallest worker association will be considered more valuable by the future historian of culture than the Sadova battle" (K. Eysner, "V. Libknecht. Yego Zhizn' i Deyatel'nost'" [W. Liebknecht. Life and Activities], Odessa, 1905, page 8).

3. Verdun is a city in the northeastern part of France, on the Meuse River. In 1916 the Verdun area became the site of one of the bloodiest battles of World War I. In ten months of combat up to one million people died on both sides.

4. V. I. Lenin ascribed major importance to the fraternizing among the soldiers of the belligerent countries as a way to peace which "develops, strengthens, and consolidates the fraternal trust among workers from different countries" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 31, page 459).

5. The Seventh Army Congress opened in Buchache on 10 May 1917. Fully dominated by the conciliationist bloc (there were only two bolsheviks), the congress condemned fraternizing, passed a resolution favoring the offensive, and elected delegates to the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets (five Esers and three mensheviks).

Following their departure to Petrograd the atmosphere of the congress began to change gradually. Thus, on the agrarian problem the congress passed a resolution demanding the immediate confiscation of the land from the land-owners without awaiting the constituent assembly, the equalization of officer with soldier salaries, and so on.

6. It is a question of mensheviks and Esers.

7. This applies to the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Worker and Soldier Deputies held on 3-24 June (16 June - 7 July) 1917 in Petrograd. The bolsheviks totaled 105 out of 1090 delegates. Assessing the significance of the congress, Lenin wrote that it proved "with superb emphasis" the "great abandonment by the menshevik and populist leaders of the revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch", Vol 32, page 310).

8. Both Dvina and the Riga Front were used occasionally to describe individual sectors of the Northern Front in Dvinsk (Fifth Army) and Riga (12th Army) areas.

After the conference, on 24 June 1917, the delegates visited Kronshtadt Island with a view to studying the revolutionary actions of its workers and sailors. The All-Russian Conference of Military Organizations of the RSDWP (b) addressed greetings to revolutionary Kronshtadt stating that, following its examples, the workers, soldiers, and peasants of the entire Russia will firmly fight for full power to the soviets.

10. The conference delegates played a major role in the preparations for and execution of the 18 June Petrograd demonstration. The demonstration, in which as many as 500,000 workers and soldiers of Petrograd participated, proved with unquestionable clarity that the vanguard of the toiling masses in Russia, the industrial proletariat of the capitol and its forces supported, in their overwhelming majority, the bolshevik slogans. Lenin rated highly the importance of the demonstration in his article "The 18th of June" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 32, pages 360-362).

11. The conference of the social democrats of Latvian infantry regiments was held in Riga on 4-6 June 1917.

12. The joint council of deputies of Latvian infantry regiments was set up at the congress of Latvian infantrymen held on 27-29 March 1917. Its

executive committee had a 50 per cent Bolshevik membership. The bolsheviks were able to lead the majority of the executive committee; on 17 May 1917, following the report by the representative of the Central Committee of the Council of Deputies of Latvian committees Yu. Danishevskiy, the congress adopted the Central Committee resolution which marked a radical turn on the part of the Latvian infantrymen in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution.

13. The German section was set up by the social democratic committee of the Latvian infantrymen on 10 May 1917. Its purpose was to engage in revolutionary agitation among the German soldiers and to maintain organizational contacts with them.

14. Karl Liebknecht (1871 - 1919) was an outstanding leader of the German and international workers' movement and one of the leaders of the left-wing of the German social democratic movement and founder of the Communist Party of Germany. He was savagely killed by the executioner Noske in 1919.

15. OKOPNAYA PRAVDA was the organ of the military organization of the RSDWP (b) of the 12th Army. It was published from 30 April to 21 July 1917 when it was closed down by the provisional government. Starting with 23 July it was replaced by OKOPNY NABAT. After the October Revolution it resumed its former name. The newspaper held a consistently bolshevik position and played an important role in the victory of the socialist revolution.

16. Lieutenant F. P. Khaustov, of the 436th Novoladozhskiy Regiment was an Eser-Maximalist and, subsequently, a bolshevik, following the February revolution. He was detained by the provisional government for publishing an article opposing the preparations for a front offensive carried by OKOPNAYA PRAVDA. Released during the 18 June 1917 demonstration.

17. NOVAYA ZHIZN' was a left-wing menshevik newspaper, published from 18 April 1917 to July 1918. As described by Lenin, its publishers were characterized by "intellectual skepticism which concealed and expressed lack of principles" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, page 104).

18. It is a question of the "Regulation On the Rights of Military Servicemen," signed by War Minister Kerenskiy on 11 May 1917. This Regulation, proclaimed by the conciliationists as a declaration of the rights of military servicemen, was renamed by the soldiers as a declaration of rightlessness, as reflected in the conference resolutions.

19. Meaning the First Congress of Military and Worker Deputies of the army and rear-line forces of the Western Front, held in April 1917.

20. The "Bulletins of the All-Russian Conference of Front Line and Rear Military Organizations of the RSDWP" published reports on the work of the Helsingfors, Moscow, and Saratov organizations of the RSDWP (b).

21. The idea of an alliance between the proletariat and the poorest peasantry has been reflected in many of Lenin's works. In this case, apparently, the speaker has in mind the pamphlet "To the Rural Poor", published in May 1903.
22. Referring to "Letters From Afar" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, pages 9-59).
23. On 7 June 1917 the provisional government ordered the removal of the anarchists from the dacha of former tsarist minister Durnovo. In reality, this order was aimed against the Red Guard detachments and trade union organizations occupying it. The indignant workers of Petrograd objected and a number of plants went on strike. The provisional government was forced to yield.
24. Implementing this decision, the military organization of the RSDWP (b) Central Committee engaged in extensive preparatory work and, on 12 October 1917, published the first issue of the daily peasant newspaper DEREVENSKAYA BEDNOTA which played a major role in the revolutionary education of the soldiers' masses and the dissemination of bolshevik ideas in the countryside. At the same time, as of 4 October 1917, the Moscow military organization of the RSDWP (b), the bolshevik faction of the Moscow Soviet of Soldier Deputies, and the peasant bolshevik faction of the Oblast Bureau of Soviets of Worker, Soldier, and Peasant Deputies began publishing DEREVENSKAYA PRAVDA.
25. Lenin spoke on the current situation at the morning session of the conference on 20 June 1917.
26. It is a question of a regular army of the bourgeois state. Following the victory of the October Revolution Lenin elaborated the principles governing the structure of the armed forces of a new type safeguarding the interests of the Soviet people. These principles, representing the specific application of democratic centralism under army conditions, were determined by the nature of the new social system and were fully consistent with the nature of proletarian democracy and the objectives of the defense of socialism. The building of a regular army of the Soviet state was undertaken in 1918 on the basis of these principles.
27. A. A. Brusilov was a Russian general. From May to July 1917 he was supreme commander in chief and took all possible measures to insure the continuation of the imperialist war. After October he took the side of the revolution and worked within the central apparatus of the Red Army.

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LETTER FROM SPAIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 p 97

[Letter to KOMMUNIST by Jose, university student in Spain]

[Text] The Communist Party of Spain became legal this past April, after nearly 40 years of ban and deep clandestinity. The greetings sent by the CPSU Central Committee to the Communist Party of Spain Central Committee emphasizes that the friendship and solidarity between Soviet and Spanish communists, sealed in the joint struggle against fascism, is a most important possession which must be carefully protected and increased. The letter which a young communist from Barcelona sent recently to the editors, written in Russian, and ending with a poem, proves the feelings of the members of the Communist Party of Spain, including representatives of the new generation of Spanish communists. Following is the text of the letter.

Dear KOMMUNIST, dear Comrades and friends! Many thanks for everything.

Forever with the Soviet Union! Long live the lofty communist ideals!
Warm greetings to all of you!

I congratulate you with all my heart, my (our) dears, and the entire great Soviet people on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution; Party of Lenin! With you the triumph of the most humane ideas is guaranteed.

I am with you
Not at times....
I am with you forever!
I love you and will never stop loving you!

Yours Jose. Catalan, 18 years old. Student, communist. Spain

Barcelona, 19 February 1977.

ORBITS OF CREATIVE COOPERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7 , May 77 pp 98-108

[Article by Academician B. Petrov on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the "Interkosmos" program]

[Text] Addressing the meeting of heads of academies of sciences of socialist countries, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that when it is a question of cooperation among fraternal countries it is a question not of a simple addition but of multiplication of forces: "This fully applies to scientific relations. Here the broadest and closest possible cooperation is particularly important, enabling us to make rational use of the tremendous possibilities offered by science and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in the interest of the building of socialism and communism."

The comity of socialist countries is an international alliance of a new type. Socioeconomic unity, and common objectives in the struggle for peace, socialism, democracy, and national independence are its reliable foundation. The principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity, respect for the equality and sovereignty of each country, noninterference in domestic affairs, and comradely mutual aid strengthen relations among fraternal peoples and contribute to their all-round cooperation.

Joint work in research and the utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes, based on the Interkosmos program, adopted in April 1967, is a vivid example of such cooperation.

During the 60th anniversary year of the Great October Socialist Revolution, our people note with satisfaction that their creative activities have insured them the role of pioneer in outer space and created prerequisites for the appearance of an essentially new realm of international division of labor. These achievements embody the expectations of the best sons of our homeland and, above all, of the founder of astronautics K. E. Tsiolkovskiy, who wrote: "During my entire life I dreamed to promote the progress of mankind through my works, even though a little bit. Prior to the revolution my dream could not come true. Only the October Revolution brought recognition..."

Today successes in the study and conquest of outer space indeed lead mankind forward, along with other factors, contributing to the all-round study of the planet and of space around it, and to the development of a new, a scientific attitude toward the "cradle of life", and to the awareness by all nations of their similar origin despite the power of social antagonisms which alienate and divide them. In this sense it is precisely the communist way of life and the Marxism-Leninist ideals that are consistent with the space era of mankind.

Space research is one of the main lines followed by the scientific and technical revolution. Its realm is broadening tempestuously. New trends appear and traditional ones deepen. The tasks and problems to be resolved by scientists and specialists become more complex. New areas of knowledge and practical work appear.

It is entirely understandable that an ever greater amount of the material, financial, and manpower resources of society are becoming involved in this historically important project. At the same time, not only the possibilities for the development of astronautics itself but its growing "inverse returns"--the use of its achievements in the solution of a great variety of strictly earthly problems related to the objective requirements of social, economic, and cultural progress are drawing evermore actively the interest of many countries. The solution of most problems related to space research calls for a comprehensive approach, and for the joint efforts of scientists from different countries. Yet, the industrial and scientific and technical possibilities of many of them do not enable them to engage in such research alone. The high cost of space rockets and scientific equipment made to work in outer space, the economic expediency of the utilization of the already available technical and production base, and acquired practical experience naturally lead to the need for cooperation in the area of space work.

Cooperation among socialist countries in the study and utilization of outer space dates back to 1957. Immediately following the launching of the first artificial earth satellites, Soviet and foreign specialists undertook joint optical (visual, photographic, and photometric) observations. Their great scientific and practical significance became clear at that time. Artificial space objects made possible new studies of the density of the upper atmosphere of the earth, the earth's gravitational field, and geomagnetic phenomena. The service for predicting the movement of such objects in orbits around the earth was set up.

Naturally, the need arose for bilateral and, subsequently, multilateral agreements which made possible the further elaboration and implementation of programs for coordinated actions based on a developed network of surface stations equipped with automatic cameras and laser telemetric systems. These operations became an organic part of the unified Interkosmos program.

In accordance with the agreement reached as a result of the exchange of letters among the heads of governments of socialist countries, a conference was held in Moscow, in November 1965, by representatives of Bulgaria,

Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia on cooperation in the study and conquest of outer space for peaceful purposes. Specific research targets were formulated in the areas of space physics, space meteorology, physics and technology of long-range radio communications and television, and space medicine and biology. Possibilities were assessed for the joint building and launching of satellites and for the manufacturing of instruments and equipment for such purposes by specialists from the interested countries.

A conference of experts of the socialist countries on problems of cooperation in space was held in Moscow, in April 1967. It involved the participation of scientists and heads of respective departments. As a result, protocols (agreements) were drawn up on individual topics, experiments, and projects, and a program for joint launching of satellites and rockets was earmarked. The Soviet Union provided rocket space technology and the necessary facilities for control and data processing systems. The socialist countries agreed to develop special scientific equipment for joint experiments with satellites and research rockets.

In order to develop the economic, trade, cultural, and other relations among socialist countries, it was deemed expedient at the conference to set up an international system of communications satellites. Its task was to insure the transmission of television programs, and telephone and other types of information.

That is how a multilateral program for space cooperation among the socialist countries was formulated and adopted in April 1967. That date is considered the starting point in the implementation of the Interkosmos program which was officially so named somewhat later, in the course of the 1970 meeting held in Wroclaw by the heads of the national coordination authorities of the countries participating in such cooperation.

Each of the nine cooperating countries set up a national coordination authority in charge of the implementation of the coordinated program as a whole, and of the bilateral and multilateral agreements within it covering individual projects and topics. In our country the Council on International Cooperation in the Field of the Study and Utilization of Outer Space of the USSR Academy of Sciences (the Interkosmos Council) is such an authority. It coordinates the work done in accordance with the program for cooperation of different ministries, departments, scientific institutions, and industrial organizations in the Soviet Union.

Every year conferences are held by the heads of the national coordination authorities. They adopt basic recommendations and decisions on the refinement and development of work plans, and on organizational and other practical matters.

Permanent work groups have been set up consisting of scientists and specialists. They organize and control the current implementation of the projects included in the program and elaborate new recommendations. Such

work groups have been set up in the following four basic cooperation directions: space physics, space communications, space meteorology, and space biology and medicine. Two years ago yet another group was set up on the joint remote control sounding of the earth with the help of outer space instruments.

The work groups must regularly consider the implementation of the projects. They must study proposals for new projects, for the development of new ways and means of cooperation, the development and manufacturing of scientific instruments and systems at enterprises of countries participating in the Interkosmos program, and so on.

In July 1976 the representatives of the governments of the nine socialist countries participating in the Interkosmos program signed an intergovernmental agreement in Moscow on joint research and use of outer space for peaceful purposes. The document emphasized the desire of the fraternal countries to consolidate the acquired experience and contribute in all possible ways to the further development of activities in this area.

The countries participating in the Interkosmos program do not have a joint monetary fund. The Soviet Union grants free of charge to its partners facilities for outer space rocket technology. Each country finances the development and creation of instruments and the experiments in which it is interested in accordance with its financial possibilities, the availability of the proper scientific and technical cadres, and so on. This is one of the basic distinctions separating cooperation based on the Interkosmos program from, for example, the cooperation among the ten Western European countries which are members of the European Space Agency.

The organizational forms and financial basis for cooperation within the Interkosmos program take into consideration the interests of all the participants in the program, enabling them to develop traditionally existing scientific schools and train highly skilled scientific and technical cadres which could resolve separate space research problems.

To the Soviet Union Interkosmos is, above all, a program for all-round aid to the fraternal countries in a new area to them, and for their active involvement in the studies of our planet as a space object, of the solar system, and of the universe.

The implementation of the Interkosmos program was a good example of effective socialist integration of scientific research. What are the results of even the purely external indicators of its implementation? Between the end of 1969 and 1976, 16 satellites of the Interkosmos series, four high altitude research geophysical Vertikal' rockets, and tens of meteorological rockets were launched. Furthermore, instruments created by scientists and specialists from the socialist countries were installed in a number of space objects launched by the USSR in accordance with its national program.

On the basis of their purpose the Interkosmos satellites may be classified into three series: solar, ionospheric, and magnetospheric. The satellites of the last series also carried equipment for the study of radiation belts, high energy space particles, electrodynamic processes in interplanetary space, and others.

The solar series satellites were equipped with instruments for the study of the shortwave X-ray and ultraviolet solar radiations and their influence on the earth's upper atmosphere.

The problem of the study of the sun and of solar-earth contacts is of great scientific and practical significance: solar activities influence most directly various processes occurring in the space around the earth and in the biosphere.

For centuries scientists observed the sun in its optical range with the help of ground telescopes. This made it possible to acquire tremendous factual data and clarify a great deal of the behavior of our daily luminary. However, shortwave X-ray and ultraviolet radiation and radiation in the radio range are practically totally absorbed by the earth's atmosphere. Yet, they carry important information on solar processes. Their study is simply impossible without the help of ground instruments.

Such radiations are particularly interesting during solar flares when tremendous energy is released and the intensiveness of X-ray and ultraviolet radiation rises sharply, plasma is released, and the speed of "solar wind" particles accelerates. In such cases substantial changes are noted in the earth's upper atmosphere. Radiation intensiveness in the space around the earth is increased sharply. Long-range radio communications are disturbed and other phenomena take place many of which are adverse to processes taking place on the ground.

X-ray radiation in the solar corona was studied with the help of Interkosmos satellites of the solar series, and the Vertikal'-1 and the Vertikal'-2 rockets both under the conditions of a "calm" sun as well as periods of its increased activities, and the appearance of a large number of spots and flares on its discus. The scientists were particularly interested in the role of the channeled flows of accelerated electrons in the mechanism of solar disturbances.

Thanks to a special radio telemetry system developed by USSR and GDR specialists, Soviet, German, and Czechoslovak specialists have been able to obtain unhindered operative information on the physical characteristics of solar radiation with the help of the Interkosmos series satellites, and rapidly to assess the results of scientific observations. A special photometer developed by Czechoslovak scientists and engineers made it possible to observe the recording of solar X-ray radiation.

The discovered polarization of the X-ray radiation of flares led to the conclusion that at the initial stage of the flare (several minutes) powerful

flows of accelerated electrons arise and follow a radial direction from the upper to the lower strata of the solar corona. This is a basic fact in solar science.

Important information was obtained on the close connection among various types of solar radiations--X-ray (hard and soft), visible light, and radio waves. These data are exceptionally important to forecasting "disturbances" in solar activity, fraught with danger to astronauts and with undesirable consequences on earth.

Especially for the purposes of continuing observations over the behavior of the "solar wind" (i.e., the plasma flows from the sun), between 1972 and 1976 the Soviet Union launched the Prognoz automatic stations. They also made it possible to trace the zones of radiation belts, the boundaries of the magnetosphere, the transitional area, and the front of the shock wave of the "solar wind".

The second research direction is the study of the earth's ionosphere, i.e., the vast area of space around the earth which has a considerable influence on the lower atmospheric strata, the biosphere, the physical processes and phenomena, and human activities.

The ionosphere consists of charged particles--free electrons and ions with a small amount of energy. Its lower edge is at an approximate altitude of 50 km while its upper one is 20,000-30,000 km above the earth. As a kind of electrical conductor, the ionosphere substantially influences the dissemination of radio waves in several bands (it partially absorbs long waves and reflects short waves as a mirror).

The study of the laws governing the changes in the condition of the ionosphere and the ability to predict such changes are most important scientific problems whose solution calls for systematic complex measurements of electron concentrations and temperatures in the ionospheric plasma with the help of satellites, rockets, and ground instruments. Currently, as the result of sound measurements of ionospheric barometers with the help of scientific instruments installed aboard satellites, and studies conducted by a network of ionospheric stations in Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia, interesting data have been gained on changes in the parameters of the ionosphere in the high latitudes depending on the time of day and external physical factors and the time of year. An extensive idea has been gained of the processes occurring in the ionosphere and prerequisites for building a dynamic model of it have been developed.

The third direction is the study of the magnetosphere, the radiation belts, and space rays.

Earth magnetism was discovered a long time ago. As early as the beginning of the 17th century it had become clear to scientists that our planet acts like a magnet. However, before the launching of satellites and space

apparatus all considerations to this effect reduced to models of a simple magnetic dipole, familiar from high school physics. Space research revealed an entirely unexpected picture of the area around the earth and shed a light on the nature of previously unknown processes occurring here.

The launching of the first space apparatus (in 1957-1958) enabled us to discover the radiation belts of the earth representing zones of the stable holding of charged particles--protons and electrons with a broad band of energy--stably retained in a geomagnetic field. In terms of their shape these zones look like big rings circling the planet, several earth degrees thick.

Another important event was the discovery of the "solar wind" we mentioned. Its supersound flow, interacting with the geomagnetic field, deforms the field as a result of which an area is formed in which the movement of charged particles can be reliably controlled. It is precisely this area of outer space that is known as the magnetosphere. Complex processes take place in it. It is unquestionable that they influence a number of geophysical phenomena and, in turn, they are under the dynamic influence of the solar activity.

The magnetospheric satellites of the Interkosmos series made it possible to obtain new data on radiation conditions at altitudes ranging from 200 to 1,300 km, and on the dynamic processes in the magnetosphere and the polar ionosphere of the earth. An experiment conducted for the purpose of determining the correlation between flows of charged particles and the appearance of very low frequency radio signals yielded interesting data. In 1971 important information was obtained on the nature of the "sipping" of particles out of the radiation belts into the ionosphere. A study was also made of the electromagnetic link between the earth's magnetosphere and ionosphere.

In 20 years of intensive study of space around the earth science has been able to clarify, in its general lines, the morphology of that area. The task now is to determine the existing cause and relationship ties and obtain more profound and detailed information on magnetospheric phenomena. This should lead to the formulation of corresponding physical theories.

The study of particles charged with tremendous energy, moving in outer space at a speed close to the speed of light holds an important place among the major problems studied by the scientists from the socialist countries. Specialists from Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia who had already worked on the accelerators of the Joint Institute of Nuclear Research in Dubna, and at high mountain space radiation stations, expressed the desire to participate in such work. Now space has become a kind of laboratory for their joint efforts.

The study of high energy space particles beyond the atmosphere will enable us to clarify the physical processes occurring deep within the universe and gain information on the structure of the matter of distant galaxies. To this

effect the Interkosmos-6 satellite was launched in the spring of 1972. Its payload (weighing 1,070 kilograms) included a photoemulsion block, an ionizing calorimeter, and a number of electronic blocks. With the help of a guidance system the eye of the recording instrument was directed toward open outer space--facing the flow of prime space particles traveling at tremendous velocities. The big photoemulsion block was returned to earth after exposure in space in the course of a four-day flight, and subjected to a thorough study. It had registered prime energy particles charged with several thousand billion electron volts. As we know, particles with such energy cannot as yet be produced by even the most powerful accelerator. The photoemulsion which had registered them was then divided among the members of the experiment and processed according to a method suggested by Soviet and Polish scientists. The results of the experiment proved the existence of unique opportunities for the study of nuclear reactions in a broad band of energy under long exposure of big photoemulsion blocks in outer space.

In the course of weather and climate studies the main directions followed in the joint work by the specialists of the socialist countries were satellite meteorology and rocket soundings of the upper earth atmosphere. A broad cycle of theoretical and experimental studies was conducted on the structures of different cloud formations. Methods for the interpretation of photographs of clouds taken from outer space were developed. Methods were improved for the study of the interaction between the atmosphere and the hydrosphere of the earth and of heat exchange processes, as well as of the radiation balance between the earth-atmosphere system. Numerous launchings of meteorological rockets made a considerable contribution to the study of seasonal and intraseasonal changes of parameters in the mesosphere and the lower troposphere.

Space instruments enable us to understand better atmospheric processes and contribute to improvements in weather forecasting accuracy. Let us note that in terms of installed scientific equipment, variety of measurements, and amount of recorded data, a modern meteorological satellite is, essentially, a flying observatory. In a single loop it can "look over" some ten percent of the earth's surface; in 24 hours it could provide information on the weather throughout the earth. Throughout the world there are over 10,000 meteorological stations. In a single orbit around the planet a satellite acquires 100 times more data compared with the data obtained with all these stations. It also provides information on the weather circumstances on the 70 percent of the surface of the earth which are the "flight spots" of the forecasters (oceans, seas, deserts, polar areas, and so on), which is very important. The effectiveness with which meteorological satellites are used in serving the various economic sectors is growing.

Obtaining information essentially from Soviet Meteorological satellites, and using a coordinated method, the scientists from the cooperating countries are using in their studies the necessary data of immediate practical interest.

Specialists from the socialist countries are successfully cooperating in the field of space biology and medicine. The main directions of this cooperation

are space physiology, radiation safety of space flights, pharmaco-chemical protection, and treatment of radiation damage in space flights.

Studies are being made of the influence on the body of unusual factors involved in space flights. Practical recommendations are refined on securing life support and maintaining the high level of able-bodiedness of the cosmonauts both in flight as well as in converting to usual working conditions following their return to earth. The specialists from the socialist countries are studying the influence of restricted motor activity on man and the ways and means for upgrading the resistance of the body to the overload of a lengthy flight under conditions of weightlessness. Physiological studies cover problems of vestibular resistance, and studies of biological rhythms as they apply to the tasks of cosmonautics. Extensive radiobiological experiments are being conducted on animals with a view to finding, among others, preparations which would enable us to increase the resistance of the body to the influence of space radiation. Two specialized biosatellites--Kosmos-690 and Kosmos-782--were launched in 1974-1975 for purposes of complex biological experimentation.

The study of the geographic environment, the assessment of natural resources, and the use of satellites to control the condition of the biosphere on a global scale are of great importance to joint space research. The long-range sounding of the earth from outer space for such purposes provides information of invaluable economic significance.

In September 1976 the Soyuz-22 spaceship flight, with a crew consisting of cosmonauts V. F. Bykovskiy, and V. V. Aksenov, took place in September 1976, based on the Interkosmos program. The main tasks of the flight were to study and develop ways and means for the study of the earth from outer space with the help of multispectral photographic equipment (the Raduga Experiment). Multizonal MKF-6 photographic equipment, developed by USSR and GDR specialists, and manufactured at the Karl Zeis Jena people's enterprise, was installed aboard the ship. The relatively high orbit and substantial amount of film made it possible to survey a considerable area of the earth's surface. The principal merit of the multizonal photographs obtained was their high resolving ability and the possibility for their machine processing and interpretation. It became possible to reduce to a minimum the size of a frame and the weight and dimensions of the photographic equipment without information losses.

Tests of the new equipment in the course of the eight-day flight in outer space proved its high operational qualities. The cosmonauts made and delivered to earth over 2,000 high quality photographs of the territory of the USSR and the GDR in six zonal spectrums. Each photograph covered a sector of 165 by 115 km of earth surface with a resolution of about 20 meters.

The Raduga experiment was complex: together with space surveys surface observations were conducted from ground areas in Azerbaydzhan, near Krasnoyarsk, in the Far East, and in the Fergana Valley. For some areas of our country

the photographs taken from Soyuz-22 were synchronized with surveys from airplanes.

The study of the earth's natural resources from outer space is a relatively young yet very promising applied direction. In this area the joint efforts of scientists and specialists from the socialist countries are quite promising and may yield great economic results benefiting all CEMA-member countries.

The successes of cosmonautics, the use of radio communications in the study of outer space, and the tempestuous development of electronics made possible the development of a qualitatively new, global type of radio communications with the help of artificial earth satellites. In 1965 our country launched the first Molniya communications satellites; in October 1967, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the first receiving stations of the Orbita network began operations. At the present time this network has 74 receiving stations, thanks to which millions of people of the Extreme North, Siberia, Far East, and Central Asia acquired the possibility to watch regular television transmissions from Moscow and other cities in the Soviet Union and other countries. A task force of specialists, including representatives of the nine socialist countries, coordinated a long-term program for scientific research and technical development of means for outer space communications.

Today the Intersputnik International Outer Space Communications System meets the needs of the cooperating countries for telephone and telegraph communications, and the exchange of radio and television programs.

In connection with the program for the further development of the communications system with the use of artificial earth satellites, on 28 April 1977 the Soviet Union launched into a high elliptical orbit the Molniya-3 communications satellite carrying retranslation equipment aboard and insuring the work of systems within the centimeter wave band. The Molniya-3 communications satellite will operate a system of long-range telephone and telegraph radio communications in the Soviet Union, transmit programs emanating from the USSR Central Television to points of the Orbita Network and participate in international cooperation.

A qualitatively new stage of satellite and rocket research, based on the Interkosmos program, was initiated in 1976. The first automated universal orbital station (AUOS) was launched. These technical facilities carry three to four times more scientific apparatus compared with previous satellites and the active time of the satellite is tripled. The Uniform Telemetric System (YeTMS) was successfully tested with the first AUOS (Interkosmos-15). Its purpose was the direct receipt of information from Interkosmos series satellites on the territories of countries participating in the program.

In July and September of 1976 talks were held in Moscow by delegates of the socialist countries participating in the Interkosmos program at which the suggestion of the Soviet Union that citizens of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR,

Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia participate in manned flights aboard Soviet spaceships and stations was accepted with satisfaction. Corresponding decisions were made in the course of the talks. The first group of cosmonaut candidates--citizens of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the GDR--are already in training at the Cosmonaut Training Center Imeni Yu. A. Gagarin.

The importance which the Soviet Union ascribes to the development of mutually profitable cooperation with other countries in the study and utilization of outer space is emphasized by the fact that agreements among governments and special intergovernmental accords are the base for scientific and technical relations in this field. Foreign specialists and public leaders have repeatedly expressed their high assessment of this historically important project.

As we know, in addition to multilateral cooperation with the socialist countries within the Interkosmos program, the USSR is engaged in joint work in the field of research and utilization of outer space with the capitalist countries as well. Among them France was the first with which the Soviet Union made an agreement in 1966 for cooperation in the study and utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes and on equal and mutually profitable conditions. The relations of trust and accord, which have long existed between our country and France, contributed to the making of such an agreement.

The realm of Soviet-French space cooperation is extensive: work is being done in problems of space physics, space meteorology, space communications, and space biology and medicine. Such long-term, fruitful joint activities are conducted in a variety of ways: French equipment is installed on Soviet satellites, lunar vehicles, and interplanetary automatic stations; two French MAS technological satellites were launched with the help of Soviet rocket engines; French scientists have participated in the study of samples of lunar dirt brought to earth by Soviet Luna stations; a series of meteorological rockets, drifting aerostats, and so on, were launched. Joint projects were carried out for the study of the sun, the solar wind, the earth's magnetosphere, and the upper atmosphere in the polar latitudes, the nature of polar aurora, and magnetic ties between magnetically related points along the same force line located in both hemispheres.

Particularly noteworthy among the number of Soviet-French experiments about which a great deal could be told is the one named Arax. On two occasions a Soviet electron accelerator and a large number of Soviet and French scientific equipment were launched from the island of Kerguelen, in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean, aboard the French Eridan rocket. At an altitude of between 120 and 200 km an injector released powerful pockets of electrons which triggered the processes which could be interpreted as artificial polar aurora. This experiment made it possible to test many hypotheses concerning the structure of the magnetosphere and the behavior of particles within it, the mechanisms generating polar aurora, and other geophysical phenomena. In the future such experiments will enable us to raise the question of controlling processes in outer space.

The launching with a Soviet rocket of the French Snow-3 satellite for studies in the field of gamma astronomy, is planned.

Two years ago--in April 1975--a Soviet rocket was launched from USSR territory carrying the first Indian space satellite. Our scientists and engineers helped their Indian colleagues in developing and making it. Some of its systems were made in the Soviet Union. The satellite was named Ariabata in honor of the noted Indian fifth century astronomer and mathematician. It marked an important step in the development of the national science and technology of a developing country.

Currently Indian specialists are working on a second Indian earth satellite. It is scheduled for launching in 1978 with the help of a Soviet rocket, from Soviet territory. It will carry equipment for the study of natural resources on the planet.

Soviet-Swedish cooperation is developing successfully as well. The Interkosmos-16 satellite carried aboard an ultraviolet spectrometer-polarimeter, developed by scientists from the Crimean Astrophysical Observatory (USSR) and the Lund Observatory (Sweden) and manufactured by the Swedish Space Corporation. The instrument will be used in the study of the transitional zone between the solar corona and chromosphere.

In accordance with the Sambo project, two series of launches of high altitude drifting aerostats were carried out from Swedish territory to study the processes related to polar aurora. Studies were made of the X-ray electron Bremsstrahlung, changes in the electric field, and upper atmosphere luminescence. Soviet and Swedish scientific equipment was mounted on aerostats.

The first international experiment with the participation of manned USSR and United States ships was of great importance. Its implementation contributed to the process of detente which has been taking place in the world in recent years and which covers various aspects of social life. In May 1972 an intergovernmental accord was concluded in Moscow between the USSR and the United States on cooperation in the study and utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes. In particular, it included an agreement on the development of joint means for the coupling of Soviet and American manned space ships and stations with a view to increasing the safety of manned flights in space and insuring the possibility for further joint scientific experimentation. The brilliantly conducted joint experimental flight of the Soyuz and Apollo spaceships, in July 1975, was important not only for the sake of resolving problems of security of manned flights in outer space and insuring the possibility for joint work in orbit by astronauts from different countries, but for the further development of extensive international cooperation in space research in the interests of peace and the good of all mankind.

Agreements concluded between the USSR Academy of Sciences and NASA, in the United States, on joint work and studies in the fields of space biology and medicine, meteorology, environmental studies, and studies of the space

around the earth, the moon, and the planets, are being successfully conducted.

The USSR Academy of Sciences and NASA are discussing the further development of Soviet-American cooperation in the field of international manned space flights.

Scientific and technical revolution is an arena for the development of essentially important events which include the appearance of new forms of intergovernmental relations. Cooperation in the development of cosmonautics and the conquest of space is a very characteristic example. The USSR, which opened the path to outer space for mankind by launching the first artificial earth satellite, considers such activities as one of the elements of a broad program for building the material and technical base of communism. Such activities are inseparable from the implementation of the Leninist principles of foreign policy systematically implemented by the CPSU.

The increased role of science and technology in society is closely linked with the conversion of scientific and technical cooperation into a factor for the development of international relations, detente, and strengthening of friendly relations among nations. The decade of implementation of the Interkosmos program is a major step in this direction. Space research centers appeared and strengthened in the socialist countries. A number of skilled specialists appeared. Industrial enterprises are becoming involved in such projects evermore extensively.

The high cost of development of space rocket technology and of space research calls for an exceptionally cautious and thoughtful approach in the choice and implementation of one or another project and its sequence. Problems of drastically upgrading the effectiveness and quality of space research in general, that conducted within the framework of international cooperation in particular, are topical. Their scientific directions must be always aimed at obtaining new results leading to discoveries and to the solution of basic problems of knowledge and practice. Unquestionably, the applied directions of space research will yield evermore tangible economic results for the various economic sectors and will contribute to their accelerated progress.

The heads of the national coordination authorities and the scientists and engineers of the countries participating in the Interkosmos program are increasing the effectiveness of their efforts in the common study and utilization of outer space. The desire to raise joint projects to a higher scientific and technical and organizational level is consistent with the objective requirements of the current stage of development of the world socialist system.

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SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

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[Article by D. Proektor, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] In our time, when, unlike the situation in the past, the threat of a new world war could, unless blocked lead to the destruction of civilization, problems of international security have come to the fore with unparalleled urgency. The future fate of mankind depends on their resolution, to a tremendous extent.

Under such circumstances, the primary role which existing socialism plays in strengthening the peace and insuring universal security, as a system of relations among countries with different social affiliations on a global and regional scale, guaranteeing the peace, mutually beneficial cooperation, national independence, and total sovereignty, takes on truly historical significance. The steadily increasing role of existing socialism and its prestige and influence directly serve the purpose of excluding annihilating wars from the life of the nations. This highly humane objective is dictated by the very nature of socialism, and by its theory and practice.

It is self-evident that today as in the past, the problem of war and peace is the focal point of the various problems of international security. The Great October Revolution laid the foundations for its resolution on an entirely new basis. It was the Soviet system precisely, and nothing else, which showed all nations on earth the only proper solution to the bloody chaos of the war into which they were plunged by the exploiting system. It is entirely natural, as was noted in the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," that Lenin's decree on peace, which proclaimed a clear and effective program for struggle for a just, democratic, and universal peace, was the first governmental act of the newly established system.

Even prior to the victory of the October Revolution--the main event of the 20th century, which radically changed the course of the development of all mankind, and opened up for it the era of transition from capitalism to socialism--V.I. Lenin stressed one of the key features of the approaching

revolution--its antiwar nature. "Initially the revolution suppressed war." Vladimir Il'ich wrote in June 1917, and later, in September, he directed attention to the most important stipulation, to the effect that "a workers' revolution against war is developing everywhere without restraint," and that not just statements about peace, but only a break with the capitalists and a demand for peace, could advance it (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 32, p 231; Vol 34, p 233).

A revolution against war! This Leninist formula contains the most profound meaning, the very essence of a scientific understanding of the problem of war and peace. Seeing in the socialist revolution a tremendous antiwar force, Lenin linked the problem of eliminating the danger of war with the task of radical and truly democratic reorganization of society, and he formulated the idea of an active struggle for peace. This is his greatest historical merit.

The idea of a "worker revolution against war," i.e., a struggle waged on a broad democratic and revolutionary basis for peace and against the imperialist policy of war and violence, marked an essentially new approach to problems of international security. "When the revolution began in Russia, so did the revolutionary struggle for peace waged from below," Lenin pointed out, emphasizing that the path to a revolutionary way gained by peace creates the greatest likelihood of being able to avoid the death of vast human masses and to achieve peace "without shedding further seas of blood" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 32, pp 274-275; Vol 34, p 226).

As early as that time, in the years of fierce fighting, the Leninist party supported peaceful rather than military means of solving international problems. Socialism tries to resolve the problems formulated by history not through violence, but above all, by means of constructive measures. The withdrawal of socialist Russia from World War I greatly hastened the end of the bloodshed and made a great reduction in human losses possible. This was the first manifestation of the tremendous peace-asserting potential of socialism, which subsequently increased steadfastly all along the length of the path covered from October to the present time. The antiwar nature of the revolution and of the new social system it created, preferring peaceful to military means for the solution of international-political problems, imbues the entire history of the establishment and development of factual socialism. "...One cannot create a better order through war and bloodshed alone," Lenin taught ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 484).

The effectiveness of this course was made apparent on an even broader scale during World War II, when the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to saving European and world civilization from fascism. Even prior to the attack launched by Hitlerite Germany on the Soviet Union, when war was already blazing in Europe, our country detained substantial Wehrmacht forces, and subsequently the forces of Japanese militarism, thus helping Britain, France, and other countries, and the national-liberation movement. "All

of us are insufficiently aware that the great power of Russia, even when uninvolved in the war, was like a ball of iron chained to Hitler's feet. It prevented him from dealing with us," A. Woodborn, a British member of parliament, acknowledged at that time (THE LABOUR MONTHLY, October 1941, p 434).

Finding itself involved in the war, the Soviet Union destroyed the bulk of the armed forces of the Hitlerites and their allies. Thus once again, it hastened the end of the war, removed a tremendous military burden from the shoulders of the peoples of Western Europe and the United States, and, for the second time in its history, made it possible, to use Lenin's words, "to avoid the shedding of further seas of blood." The cause of the "revolution against war" launched by the October Revolution played its role once again. The peaceful function of the socialist revolution and its mission of protecting the peoples from annihilating wars was properly appreciated at that time by our then-allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. "Only a blind man could now deny that the triumph of the Red Army is the triumph of socialism, of Soviet planning, and of the Soviet system," wrote THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, one of the leading American journals, in 1945.

With the establishment of the world socialist system and the growth of the two other great progressive forces of our time--the international working class and the national-liberation movement--even more favorable conditions developed for the creation of a reliable security system. The present system of international relations is being restructured on the basis of radical changes in the ratio of forces, with the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. Socialism has become a powerful bulwark of peace, a potent obstacle in the path of imperialist military adventures. The aggressive potential of imperialism has been curtailed more drastically than ever before.

At a New Historical Stage

Particularly tangible changes in the direction of the consolidation of peace have taken place in Europe. This was aided by the convening of the historical European Conference on Security and Cooperation, with the participation of the United States and Canada, on the initiative of the socialist countries. The conference itself was a symbol of a new approach to the most important problems in intergovernmental relations. The final act is the "model" for the new structure, which could be implemented with the intensification of the detente process.

The theoretical principles prevailing in the field of international security which are acceptable to countries with different social systems have long since been established. They were born of the joint struggle waged by the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition against the common enemy, the results of World War II, and the resolve of the nations not to allow another military catastrophe.

In this connection, it is pertinent to recall that as early as August 1941, in their Atlantic Charter, to the basic stipulations of which the Soviet

Union agreed, the United States and Britain raised the question of the need for a system of universal security based on the rejection of the use of force. The Moscow 1943 Universal Security Declaration (USSR, United States, Britain, and China) proclaimed "the maintenance of international peace and security with the least possible diversion of human and economic resources to armaments." The adoption of "effective collective measures for the elimination of any threat to the peace" was regarded as the main task at the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Finally, when the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco a year later, it went without saying that all the member nations of that organization pledged support of international peace and security by peaceful means only, to abstain from the threat or use of force, and to develop friendly relations among nations. Such was the expression of the proclaimed readiness for peace.

Subsequent events, however, proved how great the disparity could be between words and actions, and also the importance not only of a common idea, but of a consistent policy by the countries. Beginning with the second half of the 1940's, the United States and its partners turned away from the positions agreed upon. When the world was in the throes of a storm of renovation, at the end of and after the war, and when the world socialist system was being established and mass general democratic movements were increasing, the capitalist leaders were faced with the following alternative: either to accept the world as it had developed as a result of the historically determined changes, basing the course of international security on new agreements within the principles of the United Nations, or, rejecting the irreversible nature of the changes, to try to return to the system for guaranteeing security which had predominated for centuries, with the unlimited rule of capitalism, relying mainly on force.

The Western leaders chose the second way. This was the result not of some error or lack of understanding, although plenty of both existed, but of the influence of narrow class interests. Fears for the future of capitalism led to the practical rejection by the capitalist countries of the humane pledges and declarations they had signed. The dialectics of the policy of security and social processes related to the changes in the ratio of class forces was manifested to its fullest extent. Subsequently, in 1966, R. McNamara, the then U.S. Secretary of Defense, admitted, "We have an almost ineradicable tendency to speak of national security as an exclusively military problem, and to think of a military problem as exclusively one of military technology.... We are still assuming that this purely military factor, above all, will guarantee security.... The nation can reach a point at which greater security cannot be purchased by simply purchasing more equipment. We have reached this point."

Clearly, the capitalist society would like to guarantee international security only up to a certain limit, so long as social processes do not call for "unacceptable" energizing of democratic forces within and without. This was confirmed by the 1970's as well. The movement of the masses to the left which is occurring in the capitalist countries is accompanied by the

unparalleled inflation of military budgets, an increase in NATO power, and the launching of "psychological warfare" against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Such a continuing "bucking up" of militarism constitutes a counterbalance on the scales of peace and international security. So far as we can see, there is no justification for thinking that the most reactionary circles might not, at some point, consider the level of detente so excessive, and its social consequences so dangerous, that its failure would be worth the price of a threatened conflict. Rich historical experience teaches us that under the conditions of profound political and social crisis, someone with a hand stretched forward and a half-mad gleam in his eye may rush onto the proscenium of bourgeois politics to call for a "crusade against communism" once again. History has convincingly shown what the outcome of such actions is, including the fate of all kinds of maniacs.

What is the meaning of the socialist policy of international security? The socialist countries work from the need for a radical restructuring of the relations which developed during the Cold War. The purpose is to achieve, in the course of detente, a gradual reduction in the relative importance of military force in the hierarchy of means of insuring security, and to give priority to the principles of peaceful coexistence among the countries belonging to the two systems. This is a gradually developing dynamic process which passes through a number of stages. Inevitably, it develops into a confrontation among different trends. Its success is determined by the limitation and overcoming of the influence of all forces hindering detente, heating up international tensions and forcing an armaments race. The socialist countries take into account the fact that this process is not an isolated phenomenon, but one occurring under the conditions of the struggle between the two social systems under circumstances of crisis, upheaval, social conflict, and the profound demarcation of the forces of progress from those of reaction.

Based on the ideas of peaceful coexistence, the concept of international security, supported by the socialist countries, stems from the need for the full implementation of the principles governing relations among countries, beginning with the United Nations Charter and ending with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Taking into consideration the natural process of the globalization of such relations in an indivisible world, it emphasizes the universal nature of international security, since the violation of any one of its links threatens the rest. At the same time, it ascribes particular significance to the regional aspects of the problem, for the whole is made up of all its parts. Therefore, the all-round strengthening of European security, and the measures for insuring Asian security are fully encompassed in this concept. On the other hand, the latter dialectically combines with all of this an acknowledgment of the interconnection between international security and the social, economic, and political processes occurring in the world, and their reciprocal influence and interdependence.

International security covers problems which could be characterized as applicable to mankind, to the entire world. The problem of war and peace

affects all classes and social strata, and all nations and countries without exception. Preventing a war, insuring universal security, and ever more effective, mutually profitable cooperation are the directions for joint activities through which the countries can and must materialize detente, giving it an ever more specific content.

It is a question not of abstract wishes but of all-round consideration of realities. On the one hand, such realities indicate that in the final quarter of the 20th century, the prerequisites have ripened for the use of new methods of insuring international security. On the other hand, they allow the development of military power only to the necessary limits dictated by given historical circumstances. As to the Soviet Union, it acts correspondingly in order to guarantee its security and that of its allies, in a situation in which imperialism is devoting predominant attention to military power, as in the past.

Let us now discuss some aspects of the policy on international security pursued by the capitalist countries. It reflects the contradictory and complex processes occurring in the capitalist world.

Here crisis phenomena directly influence the course of the Western countries in the realms of war, peace, and international security. Here the very course of detente was an uneven, "undular" nature, to one degree or another. Reacting sharply to social changes, the right-wing forces try to restrict detente to "admissible" limits, exerting pressure on the bourgeois governments. However, the latter cannot endlessly ignore the feelings of society, for which reason, as a rule, they grant concessions to the extreme reaction only to a certain limit established by the objective requirements of peaceful existence, in an epoch in which detente has become the only sensible alternative. The moment a dangerous limit is reached, objective necessity sooner or later forces them to go back to detente.

Such occasional and unexpected shifts, turns, and surges create an instability in the policy of detente, which is not always pursued consistently in some Western capitals. The same is true of their course in international security as a whole. Such hesitations and zigzags are quite dangerous. We must remember that both world wars broke out in a similar atmosphere. This circumstance forces the socialist countries to display particular flexibility and firmness.

The members of the Warsaw Pact must take something else into consideration: the political doctrine existing in the West, according to which international security can only be guaranteed by a balance of military power. Without basically sharing this concept, they cannot ignore it. For this reason, their efforts to maintain approximate military parity with the countries belonging to a different system are equal to the threat that its violation could be used by imperialist reaction to the detriment of socialism.

Forced to respond to the arms race imposed by the West in order to protect the most vital interests of their own security, in their own way, the socialist countries nonetheless do not change their basic concept of the meaning of international security. Always and everywhere, they have tried to implement it whenever the slightest possibility of achieving this has existed. They work from the objective requirements pointing to a steady growth in the importance of the political factor in the solution of international problems, for the 20th century is gradually revealing the limited potential of "classical" militarism, and the growth of the economic, social, political, ideological, moral and other "nonmilitary" functions and factors, by means of which the problems formulated by history are being resolved. It is on this basis that socialism is formulating its concept of international security, and, within this framework, its own attitude toward military power as a factor.

In the capitalist countries, the approach to this complex problem is far more complicated and contradictory. In a bourgeois society, democratic changes in the international arena or in any given country trigger an increase in political conservatism on "outside" matters, as a rule, which in turn is transformed into the energizing of militarism. This can be observed today as well. "The words of the ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus to the effect that war is the father of all things are as pertinent today as they were six centuries before the birth of Christ," claims the well-known Western theoretician (Mikshe), in an effort to prove the premise that the world has not changed in the least.

Yes, the forces controlling the military policy of the capitalist countries are trying to gain ever greater influence over problems of security. They represent a social phenomenon, a sort of "system" within the capitalist world and the individual countries. This system includes national and international monopolies which combine the interests of the industrial, military, and ruling elites in the realm of armaments manufacturing; the military administration, a part of the governmental apparatus, and scientific circles involved in military programs; the bosses of the capitalist armaments market, and other supporters of the cold war. The course of military policy and "armament control" is shaped under the influence of this "system." It determines the scale of growth in their military potential, for the capitalist countries and alliances, which speculate on an imaginary "external threat," for the sake of the dynamism of the "system" itself. This results in the growth of the contradiction between political and military detente, the latter someone becoming less dependent on the easing of political relationships and the development of cooperation, which it hinders. Said "system" helps to regulate the parameters of detente in the interests of conservative circles, and intensifies the approach to the policy of international and national security mainly from military positions.

Yet, in an effort to resolve pressing problems by old means, relying mainly on military power, the imperialist reaction clearly underestimates the changes which this power itself has undergone. The problem is that power based on nuclear weapons has begun to take on ever greater political functions of

itself, whereas the potential for its direct application has, relatively, been reduced. Where conflicts were formerly resolved by means of war, recourse to talks is inevitable today.

The supporters of the "rigid course" consider the functions of military power in terms of absolute and purely military indicators, as in the past, believing that possessing such power automatically leads to the solution of key political, social, and international problems, and to domination. This is the first error. There is a second one, as well. The very nature of the global and regional ratios of forces, which have since ancient times been the alpha and omega governing the approach of the bourgeois society to the determination of the extent of security and political forecasting, has become more complex. The nature of this ratio is measured today, vastly more than ever before, not only in terms of purely military, but also social and political, criteria. The world has become different. The successes of socialism, the strengthening of dozens of new, independently developing countries, and the pressure of the worker and general democratic movements in the capitalist countries themselves have placed the problem of the ratio of forces on a different level. The scope of politics in the solution of the problems of war and peace has become so broad that excessive reliance by the Western ruling circles on exclusively quantitative or qualitative arms superiority, without taking other factors properly into account, is simply anachronistic.

The steady stockpiling of means of mass destruction did not trigger a proportional increase in political prestige or the possibility of a dictate. The armaments race launched by NATO between the 1950's and the 1970's did not strengthen the position of its members, but merely intensified the general crisis in capitalism. In other words, entering the postwar era with the old criteria, some Western political and military circles reached the "negation of the negation." The sociohistorical process itself calls for a revision of old concepts.

However far the conservative circles would like to advance their offensive against detente, and as forcefully as they have tried to wreck it and intensify confrontation based on class, political, party, personal prestige or other factors, the lack of an alternative to detente has taken on the significance of an objective law of the contemporary epoch. The new deployment of forces in the world and the antiwar struggle which is spreading ubiquitously are forcing the leaders of the bourgeois society who think responsibly to adopt an ever more realistic approach to the problem of war and peace. This entails a gradual conversion from simple to more differentiated and varied views concerning the purpose of and methods for strengthening international security.

Naturally, this process takes place slowly, encountering many difficulties. However, comparing our assessments of different eras in imperialist history, we see encouraging trends among the many contradictions. "A sharp sword is the best guarantee of peace," proclaimed the German kaiser at the turn of the 20th century. He could view the future only as a Teutonic warrior

"looking menacingly into the distance." Now, toward the end of the century, other voices are heard. "National security is something more than a matter of military power," said the U.S. secretary of defense in 1977. The fact that not just abstract pacifists, but specific leaders in the military department of the first imperialist state have begun to think in this way means a great deal.

Almost three-quarters of a century were required to bring about this change in approach. Under the conditions of detente, a broader range of concepts and views on methods of insuring international security than existed in the past is developing in the capitalist world. What are the main ones among them? Naturally, these include the "Atlantic policy," in its most rigid variant as well as its softer one, i.e., combined with detente; reliance on various military-political alliances and bilateral accords; regional security systems and "subregional security structures," such as the developing Western European power center; security within the national borders; and, finally, neutralism. Detente triggered a certain broadening of the range of approaches to problems of international security, and exposed the tendency of the conservative and militaristic forces to narrow the approach steadily and to keep it within a more limited framework.

As the communists are always emphasizing, the nature and overall goals of imperialism have not changed. However, it has ever fewer alternatives in matters of war and peace. In 1974, H. Kissinger said, "However tragic the consequences of violence may have been in the past, the problem of war and peace has taken on unprecedented gravity today. For the first time in history, two countries are capable of destroying all of mankind. In a nuclear epoch, as President Eisenhower pointed out two decades ago, there is no longer an alternative to peace.... The urgent task of our time is to reconcile the reality of rivalry with the need for coexistence.... Detente is a search for more constructive relations with the Soviet Union, reflecting the factual reality I pointed out. It is a continuing process rather than a final condition which may or may not be reached at any given point."

In the past, war and peace alternated continuously. It was believed that any lessening of tension was temporary and that, in any case, a new war would break out sooner or later. In the past, whenever temporary detente ended, and matters were tending toward another war, everyone knew that whatever happened, the world would continue to exist. Today the risk has become excessive, and the failure of detente may mean a step toward universal destruction. Toward the end of the 18th century, Kant wrote, "In order for mankind to abandon war once and for all, it must suffer for quite some time from its every increasingly hated consequences." Two hundred years have passed since then, filled with military catastrophes. Today more than ever before there are reasons for believing that the limits of this patience have approached much closer than in Kant's time.

Basically, the concept of force is unacceptable to socialism. The Soviet Union has never initiated a policy "from a position of strength." It armed

itself only because of necessity, in response to numerous threats. The fact that socialism consequently developed powerful means of defense does not justify the charge by anyone who may confuse reasons with consequences that it is "aggressive." The Soviet position is consistent. Invariably emphasizing this, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, "The rejection of the use or threat of the use of force in the solution of controversial problems must become a law of international life."

Therefore, if we can speak of a more humane international security system, consistent with the requirements of the epoch and recognized by all nations, which was proclaimed immediately following World War II, it has been socialism precisely which has through all these years pursued the policy most consistent with the concepts formulated by the nations which defeated fascism.

From Political to Military Detente

Military detente is one of the decisive factors in international security today. It is conceived as a process of gradual restructuring of military-political relations among countries in the transition from confrontation to the reduction of tension and the lessening of the danger of an outbreak of conflict or war, and to the limitation of the role of military power in international relations. Its main content is the reduction of all the dimensions of the main instrument for waging war--the armed forces.

Acting as one of the principal initiators and supporters of military detente, the Soviet state continues to follow this path under the new conditions, through the implementation of the peace-promoting mission it assumed with the October Revolution. At the end of the 20th century this mission is taking on particular significance. It cannot be demeaned by the calumny or slander to which all kinds of enemies of socialism are having recourse, along with the leaders who tend to accuse the Soviet Union, as an alleged threat to the peace, of responsibility for all their troubles and concerns.

It would be impossible to refute all the insinuations formulated in this connection here. However, speaking of what is hindering the establishment of true international security today, we must point out the main ones among them. One of the methods used by those who would cast aspersions on the goals pursued by Soviet policy is to assert that the Soviet Union may at any given moment "excessively increase" some military means, create some horror which did not exist before, or prepare a sensational new threat, for which reason, it is claimed, urgent preparations must be made. The forces influencing the military policy of the bourgeois governments supply their "specific" propaganda materials through a certain circle of people. Such propaganda raises a hullabaloo which, in the guise of "independent public opinion," is carried to the parliaments, in order once again to influence the outcome of votes on matters of military policy.

The "Committee for the Present Danger," recently established in the United States, which includes noted politicians, military officers, and journalists,

has asserted, "Our country has entered a period of danger which will become ever greater. Unless decisive steps are taken to inspire our country to show greater vigilance and to change its political course, our economic and military potential will become insufficient to insure a safe peace.... The main threats to our country and to peace throughout the world...are created by the aspiration of the Soviet Union to dominate, based on unprecedented military expansion. The Soviet Union has not changed its bold objective of world domination with control in a single center in Moscow."

This topic is being developed with unparalleled energy in the West on a wide range of levels. General Haig, commander in chief of the NATO forces in Europe, "warned" the British House of Lords of the possibility of a "Soviet attack," which "is becoming ever more attractive to the Russians."

In an interview granted to the weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, he referred to the possible "undermining of Western security." Unless we energize our defense efforts, he emphasized, "the restraint potential on which we have relied for 27 years, and which has preserved the peace...will become ever less reliable and may in the end break down." Haig is flooding the press with his interviews, constantly warning, frightening, and "opening the eyes" of the people to the nature of the "Soviet menace" with messianic zeal.

The irresponsible and vulgar nature of this propaganda is striking. What is this "new period of danger" which the United States has "entered," since its leaders have long recognized that it is precisely the current era which has been distinguished by a reduction in tension? What "even more decisive steps" can be in the question when NATO is developing tremendous armament programs? Is it possible now, when so much has been done toward detente, to drag from the closet the old fabrications about someone's aspirations toward "world domination," when all serious-minded people have long since realized that the days of "worldwide empires" have vanished into the past? What kind of "breakdown of the restraint potential" can be in question when, quite recently, H. Brown, U.S. secretary of defense, said that the United States is not lagging behind the Soviet Union in military power, and that the level of strategic forces is "generally comparable." "I believe that it is quite likely that we have even surged ahead," Brown said in January. Haig himself, apparently, has not sensed the irony of the situation, or the ambiguity of his speeches when he admits in the same interview, "To speak the truth, the Western armed forces have been improved considerably in the past 5 years, particularly on the level of modernization."

Another method involves shifting obsolete military-political categories into entirely new situations, when they have already lost their former significance. For example, it is constantly claimed in the West that Soviet military power "exceeds defense requirements." Here a time confusion is allowed. In the past, on the basis of the nature and potential of existing weaponry, one could quite accurately establish the limits of such requirements. Today, the great powers equipped with modern armaments have power which is inevitably both defensive and offensive in nature.

Arms have always been a potential threat. Such is their nature. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the missile forces create a particular and unprecedented danger, applying equally to all, and one for which the old criteria are not by any means always acceptable. The question is whether those who promote the thesis of the "disparity between defense requirements" and the power of the Soviet Union so intensively seriously believe that the tremendous nuclear arsenal of the United States, with a huge number of missiles, tens of thousands of warheads, some of them deployed at the very frontiers of the socialist countries, or the preparations to manufacture Trident submarines, each one of which could destroy hundreds of "targets" by nuclear strikes, can be considered necessary strictly for defensive purposes only, while the Soviet military facilities are the direct opposite.

It is possible to speak and offer proof as much as one likes concerning whether or not one force or another exceeds "defense requirements," and to be horrified at the capacity of modern weaponry. But something else is essential--the policy which "governs" the military potential. Under conditions in which the nations have powerful means available to them, only this policy enables us to determine whether or not this is defense potential and whether or not there is a threat of aggression.

The peaceful goals of the USSR foreign policy are universally known, and it is this precisely, and nothing else, which determines the direction of its military efforts. It is imperialism precisely which conceals within it the threat of war. "The time has come to realize," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 16th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, "that a policy which is based on the threat of using nuclear weapons and the readiness to use them is becoming ever more dangerous to mankind."

Simulated mistrust and stereotyped thinking left over from the Cold War, to the effect that anything coming from countries with a different system necessarily contains something other than what it clearly and simply says, are the sickness and disease of Western policy, from which international security suffers. We are faced with a profound underestimation of the nature and role of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as a factor for peace. The military policy shaped by some Western countries is based to a decisive and exclusive extent on a prejudiced assessment of the course being pursued by the socialist countries. Occasionally it is made to seem that it is not the policy of the Warsaw Pact members which "controls" their armed forces, but rather that such a peace policy is entirely lacking. Once again purely military parameters are considered to be the only real ones. Since all of this is assessed as though it were separate from and outside of politics, the "final variant" is always taken as basic in military-political estimates, i.e., the alleged possibility of unexpectedly putting the entire power of the socialist countries into action. From this point on, the chain is further stretched, and everything is turned upside down. The center of Western military policy turns out to be merely an infinite expansion of power in order to "insure the parity of forces."

As a result, the overall political course and military policy of some capitalist countries seem somehow to be rotating on parallel tracks without making any contact, although everyone realizes clearly that this cannot continue and that the obligations assumed must be met. Diplomats speak of peace while those affiliated with the armaments race promote its objectives, pointing a finger toward the eastern borders and ignoring the socialist policy of peace. Such a deliberately irrational separation of the military factor and the political course of the Warsaw Pact countries represents to some extent a transfer to others of one's own overassessment of military power. Such stereotypes are the grounds for the armaments race.

In this connection, we must mention the particular propaganda pressure exerted on a number of Western European countries by certain NATO circles with a view to forcing them to increase their "economic and military contribution."

Here we must mention two quite noteworthy "reports." The first was authored by U.S. senators Nunn and Bartlett, who toward the end of last year undertook a "two-week study of the situation within NATO." They wrote: "Should the present trend toward weakness in NATO continue, it may soon motivate the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies to launch a major invasion of Western Europe using conventional forces, an invasion which could change the world ratio of forces in a matter of hours, prior to the use of any nuclear weapon." The senators called for the broad and urgent expansion of the bloc's conventional forces by the European members, who "should be prepared to contribute far more than they are today."

The other report, formulated at the beginning of last year, triggered extensive discussions and arguments in the West, which became intermingled with the passions in the U.S. and FRG electoral campaigns. General (Kloz), the author of the report, demonstrated that given favorable circumstances, the Soviet Union could easily and freely reach the Rhine with its forces in 48 hours by means of a "sudden attack."

Both reports confirmed the political strategy of the most conservative imperialist forces, designed above all for internal consumption within the capitalist system. The purpose of speculation about the "Soviet military threat" to Western Europe is to discredit detente and everything connected with it, to weaken the position of left-wing forces and communist parties in the Western European countries, to pit them against the Soviet Union, and to create a distorted idea of the foreign political program of the CPSU in the eyes of the international public. Another objective is pursued here as well--to lead Western Europe into an increased outlay for a new round in the armaments--in particular, conventional--race.

Such reports cannot be considered seriously from a military viewpoint, and one cannot fail to be amazed by their lack of competence. However, it is difficult to believe that a NATO general would be unfamiliar with the NATO warning system, for example, with the aircraft ready to take off at any moment, with the existence of combat-ready missiles, and the many other

facilities at the disposal of the modern military alliances. This is why the two reports can only be regarded as a propaganda campaign designed to work up public opinion and to give sustenance to those doing everything possible to oppose detente.

In the end, the view expressed by (Kloz) was refuted at a high NATO level. Everything seemed to be in order. However, it took a year to achieve this. It is impossible to estimate how many simple people in the West were confused, or in how many minds the seeds of hostility were planted.

The concepts of international security circulating in the West still involve many obsolete facts which are incompatible with common sense. However, one cannot fail to see that with the influence of the demands of the time, they are undergoing a certain evolution, and are moving closer to the corresponding concepts of the socialist countries on a number of points. Comparisons in the connection, backed by the experience of recent years and a whole series of treaties, agreements, and accords, enable us to see the coincidence of views on the main point--the unacceptability of a nuclear war, and the need for peaceful coexistence as the only alternative. Naturally, however, the mere recognition of the fact that war is no longer suitable as a means of resolving disputes among nations, and in particular between two social systems, is not enough. A constructive approach must be adopted in order to move things ahead, rather than an approach designed to achieve anything but the implementation of the agreements reached.

The behavior of official Washington in this respect is noteworthy. The suggestions it set forth during the recent talks in Moscow were in no way consistent with the goal and tasks of completing preparations for a new agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons. Basically they were nothing but a revision of the familiar Vladivostok agreements and others deriving from them. This reveals why matters came to a standstill and whose fault it was.

Any new idea, whatever its origin, must have as its basis the principles of equality and identical security for the parties. Neither the "all-embracing" nor the "narrow" agreement alternatives submitted by the Americans for consideration could be the subject of serious discussion, for they concealed within them the efforts of the new Washington administration to exclude anything which had been achieved in the course of previous talks. In order to achieve the stability to which certain American politicians refer, it is necessary properly to compare all components of the military structures of the two partners. A consideration of mutual interests, excluding any "major innovations," and the abandonment of the search for any kind of advantage at the expense of the other are extremely important. This is what is necessary if an entirely serious attitude on this matter is to be adopted.

The limitation of strategic armaments is a major problem affecting not only the USSR and the United States, but all countries and nations. It is to be hoped that in the final analysis, the American leadership will adopt a realistic position. "A sensible agreement is possible," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev

has said. "However, it is necessary that not only we, but the other side too, realize to the fullest extent the responsibility for restraining the armaments race and for seeking mutually acceptable solutions, not in words but in deeds."

For 60 years the Soviet Union has been the main bulwark of peace. At different stages, the implementation of this mission has taken different forms. The greatest merit of the October Revolution, among others, has remained the fact that the victorious revolution, the "worker revolution against war," made it possible for the first time in history to break with the old concept of the omnipotence of violence. Only just liberation struggles are historically justified. Ever since the October Revolution, the scope of imperialist coercion has been subjected to a steady narrowing process; the gap between the militant aspirations and the real potential of the supporters of the old world has broadened. This is becoming even more obvious today, when the interests of the people are playing an ever more decisive role in resolving the destinies of mankind. The significance of this role was emphasized in the final document of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Europe, at which the CPSU delegation expressed the view that one of the most important tasks for communists and each of the fraternal parties and all of them together is to insure the active support of initiatives and actions designed to strengthen peace, security and cooperation on the part of the people's masses.

Today, although in different forms, the "revolution against war" is continuing, and as Lenin predicted, it is growing in fact, creating ever better conditions for safeguarding the world, in the final analysis, against anything resembling war, which twice in the first half of the 20th century plunged mankind into a sea of blood and destruction.

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[Review by V. Pashuto, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, A. Samsonov, and Professor V. Selunskaya, doctor of historical sciences, of the periodical ISTORIYA SSSR]

[Text] The first issue of the journal ISTORIYA SSSR, the organ of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History, was published in March 1957, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Guided by the tasks set for the science of history by the CPSU, the editors earmarked the main directions for the journal's work, namely: further development of the history of the Soviet society and of the building of socialism and communism in our country; study of the history of the peoples of the USSR and of the general laws and specifics of their socialist development; study of the history of social and revolutionary movements and of the decisive role of the people's masses in history.

Subsequently, the journal's tasks became even more responsible. They were determined by decisions made at party congresses and CPSU Central Committee documents, in particular the 14 August 1967 CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and for Upgrading Their Role in the Building of Communism." The March 1973 conference of heads of scientific institutions and noted historians was of major importance in establishing the tasks and formulating measures for the surmounting of major shortcomings in the science of history. The historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress earmarked the new levels to be achieved by the Soviet social sciences.

Surveying the path covered over two decades by ISTORIYA SSSR, let us note that it exerts a substantial influence on the elaboration of topical problems in domestic history and contributes to the solution of the problems formulated by the party. It is disseminating the considerable achievements of Soviet historiography, supporting the valuable initiatives developed in the scientific research institutes and the departments of the leading universities in the country, and is publishing profound and meaningful materials on problems in domestic history.

ISTORIYA SSSR became the tribune of the creative forces in Soviet historiography. Along with historians from Moscow and Leningrad, authors from union and autonomous republics, krays and oblasts are contributors. Annual readership conferences contribute to the strengthening of the ties with the scientific public. In recent years alone, such conferences have been held in Kazan', Donetsk, Tallin, Baku, Yerevan, Yoshkar-Ole, Ivanovo, Bryansk, and other cities.

Problems in the methodology of historical research, historiography, and knowledge of sources have become important topics covered by the journal and largely determining its content. Its work was particularly energized in connection with the celebration of the centennial anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. The journal systematically published materials on the Leninist theoretical and historiographic heritage. A special section entitled "Historical Leniniana" was created, covering Lenin's role in the establishment and development of Soviet historical science.

The articles describing the content of the subject and methods in USSR history and the specific methods used in historical research were noteworthy. These include, above all, the methods used to study historical phenomena in Lenin's works (No 2, 1973), the problem of the historical fact, its structure, forms, and content (No 6, 1976), and criticism of bourgeois structuralism (No 5, 1976).

Materials depicting the achievements of the contemporary Soviet historical science and formulating ripe problems were of great significance. Such, for example, were the articles on topical problems in the study of USSR history (No 5, 1973; No 3, 1974), the results and tasks in the study of the history of the most ancient states on the territory of our country (No 2, 1974), and the ancient and early medieval history of the peoples of the Transcaucasus (No 1, 1974).

The journal initiated work on the use of quantitative methods in the study of domestic history, methods of mathematical analysis of mass historical sources and criticism of bourgeois methodology and historiography on given problems.

At the same time, we must emphasize that the elaboration of theoretical problems and research methodology in the field of domestic historiography should continue to be the subject of ceaseless attention by the journal. It must strive to upgrade the ideological and theoretical level and effectiveness of science further, as demanded by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The journal opposes bourgeois and revisionist concepts in historiography on the basis of principled party positions. It has critically analyzed the views of bourgeois authors on the history of the three Russian revolutions, the Soviet working class, and the history of the peoples of the USSR and Soviet foreign policy. Also of interest are the materials on foreign "Sovietology" centers, as well as the articles exposing the class nature and scientific baselessness of anticommunism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is the classical topic of Soviet historiography. The 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet system was welcomed by the journal with major accomplishments in the further study of this most important topic. It is resolving a complex problem in the history of the October Revolution -- the prerequisites for a socialist revolution in Russia. Much of the material dealt with the study of the base structure and characteristics of Russian imperialism. However, the journal is confronted with much more in the area of the all-round elaboration of the historical concept of the socioeconomic system of pre-October Russia, and in the surmounting of occasional methodological errors in the interpretation of this problem.

The elaboration of the history of the class struggle and the revolutionary movement under imperialist conditions motivated the journal's editorial "On the Study of the Russian Strike Movement" (No 4, 1960), as well as articles on the changes in the numerical strength and structure of the Russian proletariat (No 2, 1969; No 1, 1976).

The journal is contributing to the more intensive study of the history of the Great October Revolution. A separate article summed up the main results of and formulated the new tasks in the study of the first victorious proletarian revolution (No 6, 1975). The number of articles on central historical problems of mature socialism is increasing steadily. Most of the materials deal with the history of the establishment of the material and technical base for communism, the improvement of socialist social relations, the dynamics of the social structure of the Soviet society, and the interconnection between scientific and technical and social progress. The journal directs the readership toward the adoption of a deeper specific-historical approach to the study of the period, and toward the expansion of the historiographic base for such research.

However, the journal should devote more attention to the historiographic study of the literature published on the history of the Soviet society in the period of developed socialism, and encourage work on new topics more energetically. The study of the political system of society and its ideology and culture in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress is becoming ever more urgent.

The latest domestic historiography is actively concerned with the organization and development of the new historical community -- the Soviet people. This has been reflected in the journal, in which the materials show the tremendous significance of the friendship among the peoples of the USSR and of the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the influence of this event on the historical destiny of the nations and nationalities in our country. Along with materials on the history of individual union and autonomous republics, the journal is publishing an ever greater number of articles covering the development of entire areas. The process of rapprochement among socialist nations in the fields of economics and the social and cultural areas have been described (Nos 3, 4, and 5, 1972; No 4, 1974; and No 3, 1976).

The journal promotes a clear line of internationalism in Soviet historical science, adopting an adamant position against any kind of deviation from the class approach to the assessment of phenomena, events, and personalities, and efforts to overemphasize narrow national aspects.

In the contemporary epoch, the process of historical development in Soviet society cannot be considered except within the world socialist system. Of late, there have been noticeable shifts in the elaboration of the topics pertaining to the development of relations between the USSR and the other socialist countries by the journal. Whereas in the past, it was primarily the bilateral economic and cultural relations between socialist countries which were covered, this powerful process is now being encompassed as a whole, showing the role of the USSR in the socioeconomic development of the members of the socialist comity and in strengthening their cooperation and reciprocal aid in the building of socialism and communism. Systematic historiographic reviews of works on the history of the USSR written by scientists from the fraternal countries are being published. The journal should publish more materials on the steadily strengthening and fruitful cooperation among scientists in the USSR and other members of the comity.

The elaboration of topical problems in the history of developed socialism was particularly energized in the period of preparations for the 25th congress. The journal introduced a new section: "Toward the 25th CPSU Congress." It included well-substantiated materials on the history of the socioeconomic and industrial development of the country under the Eighth and Ninth Five-Year Plans. A special review entitled "Historians in the Soviet Republics Approaching the 25th CPSU Congress" was published.

On the basis of the concepts and conclusions contained in the congress documents, the journal published the article "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Tasks in the Study of Domestic History" (No 2, 1976).

After the congress, articles on the increasing sociopolitical activity of the Soviet working class and the kolkhoz peasantry in the building of communism were published.

One of the main sections of the journal deals with problems in the foreign policy of the Soviet state and its history. The journal has demonstrated the decisive significance the Lenin's theoretical legacy and his activities as the first chairman of the Sovnarkom in the elaboration of diplomatic principles, objectives, and methods (Nos 1 and 2, 1970) and the foreign economic policy of the Soviet state (No 2, 1974).

An interesting article analyzes the results and prospects in the study of the history of USSR foreign policy (No 4, 1976). It points out the fact that such study is based on Lenin's works and on the documents of party congresses and conferences and CPSU Central Committee plenums. The creative development of the legacy of Lenin applicable to contemporary international problems can be found in the collection of speeches and articles by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general

secretary, entitled "On the Foreign Policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State." The many volumes of documents and previously published works on the history of USSR foreign policy are of major significance.

The journal acquaints its readers with the most important foreign political actions of the CPSU and the Soviet state. It systematically covers the struggle for the implementation of the peace program adopted by the 24th and developed at the 25th CPSU Congress, as well as problems in cooperation between the USSR and the developing countries and the reorganization of international relations according to the principles of a just and democratic peace. The publications also cover specific historical problems in USSR foreign policy and international relations. However, here the journal has still to find its own specific style.

The journal considers problems in military history from many sides; the range of topics pertaining to such problems is quite broad. A number of articles have dealt with the history of the struggle against foreign intervention and domestic counterrevolution during the civil war. They depict Lenin's outstanding role in organizing the defense of the gains of the Great October Revolution and leadership of the armed struggle, as well as the national character of the resistance to foreign interventionists and the domestic counterrevolutionaries.

The journal describes the legitimate nature of the victory of the Soviet people over fascism and the advantages of our social and governmental system, clearly manifested under the difficult circumstances of World War II. It depicts the high level of combat power and the moral-political spirit of the Soviet armed forces, the invaluable friendship among the peoples of the USSR, and the mass heroism of the soldiers and their selflessness in the struggle for the victory and independence of the homeland and the implementation of their liberation mission in Europe and Asia. It exposed bourgeois falsifiers of the history of World War II who deny the decisive role of the USSR in the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and who try to demean the military art and combat and moral qualities of the Soviet armed forces and the heroism of the Soviet people. The journal took extensive note of the 30th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War (Nos 4 and 6, 1974; Nos 1, 2, and 3, 1975).

It has published the memoirs of many famous Soviet military commanders.

However, it cannot be concluded that the journal has resolved all problems in covering the military past of the Soviet state with equal success. Historical publications on the Patriotic War are constantly increasing and their specialization is deepening. One of the manifestations of this process is the publication of serial editions ("Heroes of the Soviet Homeland," "Soviet Military Leaders and Chiefs," "World War II in Studies, Memoirs, and Documents," and so on). The study of the content and specific nature of publications on the history of the war is not of historiographic interest alone. Further development of research in this area contributes to the intensification of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the works published

and to the objective interpretation of achievements. This is the common task of the historians, which awaits solution by ISTORIYA SSSR as well.

The fact that the journal has published substantial materials on war monuments (Nos 3 and 4, 1972) is appreciated. However, such articles have not covered the whole of the patriotic work which is being done in our country by war veteran councils, local historians, schools, and the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments.

The journal systematically covers the history of the peoples of the USSR in presocialist epochs. This section of the journal also provides studies of such major problems as the history of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the peasantry, regional history, and others.

The journal carried a number of articles offering a skilled critical assessment of erroneous concepts found in individual works published at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's dealing with problems in the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, the role of the peasantry in the revolutionary movement, and the characteristics of Russian imperialism.

Interesting materials have been published on the history of the three revolutions in Russia and the leading role of the proletariat. The positive consideration of the problems is successfully combined with the criticism of anti-Marxist views. This makes it possible more thoroughly to analyze and refute the falsifications of bourgeois authors, above all those dealing with the basic problem of the revolution -- the problem of power and the struggle for it waged by the proletariat as a hegemonic power headed by the Marxist party.

Some work has been done on covering the history of social movements, beginning with the peasant movements (interest in them increased in particular with the anniversary of the peasant war headed by Ye. I. Pugachev) and the uprising of the Decembrists. The 150th anniversary of this event was also properly noted by the journal.

ISTORIYA SSSR raises complex discussion problems on the history of the governmental development of the country from the most ancient and early class systems to the centralized state, absolutism and autocracy, with its bureaucracy, governmental institutions and official ideology. For a long time such problems were neglected not only by the historical sciences, but by the legal sciences as well. Yet a clear idea of the nature of the czarist system would enable us better to understand the power and maturity of the class struggle and the organization of the revolutionary and democratic forces which defeated czarism.

Important topics are being developed on the basis of Leninist methodology, such as, for example, the agrarian revolution in Russia. This process is being extensively studied, beginning with the origins of feudalism. Its importance is enhanced if we take into account the fact that bourgeois

historiography has often attempted the launching of attacks on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of socioeconomic systems. The development of this topical subject must, without question, be continued.

We must include in the list of major problems in this area awaiting further study the origins of different systems in Russia and the history of Russian foreign policy and culture. Incidentally, our ideological opponents are benefiting from precisely this inadequacy in the attention devoted to these topics. The problem of defining historical areas clearly, and their correlation with natural-geographic and ethnic zones, also requires thorough discussion. A preliminary exchange of views on this subject in the journal would be very useful.

The further strengthening and expansion of scientific contacts between the journal and historians in union and autonomous republics, a fuller reflection of scientific life in the local areas, and the publication of materials on the ways and means of increasing coordination in the work of scientists on problems in USSR history could be important.

In conclusion, let us voice two wishes of a general nature. As we have already noted, ISTORIYA SSSR has organized a number of discussions on some basic problems in domestic historiography. Unfortunately, not all of these have been sufficiently fruitful, and not all were completed. It is to be hoped that the journal will continue to sponsor discussions of controversial problems in domestic historiography, following proper preparation.

In our view, the question of the creative work of historians in particular should be formulated. It cannot be said that the journal is neglecting this problem entirely. However, more attention should be devoted to the summarizing of the scientific activities and experience of major scientists and the work of young scientists. Surveys of literature and book reviews should deal with the place of a given work not only in the history of science, but also in the creative work of a given author. In this connection we could learn something from the writers, whose links with historians have not been reflected in the journal. Yet the artistic historiography of the country is truly tremendous, and participation in its scientific analysis is our direct obligation. The creative cooperation between writers and historians has a great future.

The journal ISTORIYA SSSR has acquired considerable experience in the elaboration of problems in domestic historiography. The first duty of its editors now is to focus their efforts on the solution of the problems formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress and to interpret domestic history throughout all its epochs more vividly, relying on a collective of scientific associates from the Institute of History of the USSR and Soviet scientists in the field of domestic history, and utilizing everything of value in this experience acquired.

ON THE BARRICADES OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 77 pp 125-128

[Review by B. Ivanov of the books "Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya i Ideologicheskaya Bor'ba (60-70-ye Gody)" [International Relations and Ideological Struggle (1960's-1970's)] by V. Larin. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1976, 248 pages; "Antisovetizm na Sluzhbe Imperializma. O Nekotorykh Raznovidnostyakh Sovremnogo Antisovetizma" [Anti-Sovietism in the Service of Imperialism. On Some Varieties of Contemporary Anti-Sovietism], Mysl', Moscow, 1976, 263 pages; "Kritika Ideologii Neofashizma" [Critique of Neofascist Ideology] (head of the authors' collective Ye. D. Modrzhinskaya), Mysl', Moscow, 1976, 464 pages; "Problemy Sovremennoy Ideologicheskoy Bor'by" [Problems in the Contemporary Ideological Struggle] by M. B. Mitin. Critique of sociological and sociopolitical concepts. Nauka, Moscow, 1976, 319 pages]

[Text] The content of several works recently put out by our central publishing houses has to do with topical problems in the criticism of reactionary imperialist ideology. Despite the wide variety in the works (which study the most "fashionable" political and sociological concepts of the bourgeoisie and refute the various forms of contemporary anticommunism, anti-Sovietism and opportunism), the theme of all these publications is the study of new phenomena in the development of the struggle of ideas in the international arena, and their consideration within the general context of the class struggle, closely linked with vital political tasks. The books being reviewed are based on the principled concepts formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress on the content of such problems and the requirements formulated by the party for the organization of ideological work under contemporary conditions.

The book by V. Larin deals with the laws and trends in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in recent years, in the period of detente.

The author bases his work on the problem of the results of and trends in the economic development of the two systems, with emphasis on the steady strengthening of the positions of socialism in the economic competition with capitalism. It is true, in our view, that the author could be charged

with ignoring the characteristics of the internal progress achieved by the socialist countries within that period. But it is a question of the transition to the building of developed socialism in a large group of fraternal countries. This is not only of prime importance to each of these nations and to the socialist comity as a whole, but also has a tremendous impact on the increased international prestige of existing socialism.

Discussing the realm of political relations between the two systems today, the author notes that the essence has remained unchanged, but the objective potential for a socialist influence on international events has increased considerably. Today there are practically no major foreign political problems which can be resolved without the participation of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, or without a consideration of their positions.

The reassessment of the military factor in the solution of complex international problems, and a more realistic approach to the possibility and consequences of a military clash between the capitalist and socialist states is playing a basic role in the political struggle currently in progress in the West. Finally, we must take into consideration the fact that the scientific and technical revolution is exerting a noticeable influence on the nature of international relations and on the ideological struggle in this area.

The description of the evolution of international relations and of the transition from the cold war to detente is an interesting aspect of this study. It would be complicated to express in terms of specific figures the harm done to mankind by the cold war. One thing, however, is beyond question: its hindering influence in the field of international relations affected the development of political, trade-economic, scientific and technical, and cultural relations among the countries belonging to different social systems.

One of the chapters in the book deals with the role of the bourgeois states in the ideological struggle being waged in the international arena. This has to do with the links between the mass information media and big capital, the centralization of the state administration of the apparatus of ideological struggle, and the mechanism for the implementation of propaganda programs.

The author devotes considerable attention to criticism of the basic directions in the ideological struggle being waged by the bourgeois countries. In particular, the monograph describes the evolution of the views of bourgeois ideologues concerning the place and role of the socialist countries in the contemporary world (see pp 155-196).

Discussing trends in the development of the ideological struggle, the author emphasizes that doctrines urging the use of nothing but various kinds of "forceful means" against the socialist countries are being replaced by

other doctrines relying on indirect methods of weakening socialism and undermining its positions in the world arena. It is a matter of "building bridges," "convergence," "selective coexistence," "selective trade," and so on. The bourgeois ideologues are devoting a great deal of effort to suppressing the class nature of international relations.

Therefore, according to the author, the true essence of contemporary relations between the countries belonging to different social systems is concealed beneath a thick layer of distorting views, concepts, and ideas. The attitude of the reactionary ideologues toward the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was characteristic in this connection. A large percentage of the mass communications media in the capitalist countries are now attempting to misrepresent the positions of the socialist countries on central problems in international policy. They are trying to emasculate and distort the essence of the Helsinki Agreements, and to promote mistrust in and hostility toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Anti-Sovietism is the nucleus of the policy and ideology of the forces of international relations and contemporary anticommunism. The desire of the most reactionary elements in monopoly capitalism to restrain the irreversible process of the breakdown of the old system by any available means is still manifested in a neofascist ideology and fascist methods of suppressing the liberation movement. The collective monographs "Antisovetizm na Sluzhbe Imperializma," prepared by Soviet, Czechoslovak, and Bulgarian social scientists, and "Kritika Ideologii Neofashizma," written by scientists from the Soviet Union and the GDR and Marxists from a number of capitalist countries are noteworthy in this connection.

Anti-Sovietism, the first book notes, is one of the main directions pursued in the reactionary policy and ideology of imperialism and its accomplices, and by various opportunistic and nationalistic trends. It is a means of ideological and political struggle against the first socialist state, the Leninist party and the Soviet people, as well as against the economic and social foundations of victorious socialism and its ideological and political principles, morality, and culture. Anti-Sovietism expresses the class political line pursued by international imperialism, which is directed against the basic interests of all the progressive, democratic, peace-loving, and anti-imperialist forces.

One of the main functions of anti-Sovietism is the falsification and discrediting of the Soviet experience in building a socialist society and the foreign and domestic policies of the CPSU. Its second function is, through ideological and political subversion, to undermine the relations between the CPSU and the other detachments in the contemporary world revolutionary process, to separate the Soviet Union from the liberation movements, and to corrupt and weaken the entire anti-imperialist front.

During the cold war, anti-Sovietism was raised to the level of governmental policy by a number of capitalist countries. Historical experience has shown that such a policy is entirely without foundation and offers little

promise. However, its bankruptcy does not in any way mean that the ruling circles in the capitalist countries have abandoned anti-Sovietism in their solution of domestic and foreign policy problems. As the documents of the CPSU and the international communist movement emphasize, social forces are operating in the world arena as before, using every possible means to counter the positive process of detente and the development of international cooperation. This involves, above all, the most reactionary imperialist circles represented by military-industrial complexes and an influential lobby of cold war supporters. They favor a continuation of the armaments race and the use of military power as the material base for a return to the policy "from a position of strength," blackmail and adventurism in the international arena, refusal to normalize relations with socialist countries, and continuation and expansion of ideological subversion and "psychological warfare." Many areas in the political, economic, and ideological life of the capitalist countries remain under their influence.

Of late, the bourgeois and petit bourgeois varieties of anti-Sovietism have placed the problems of democracy in the center of their ideological struggle against existing socialism. This is no accident, the authors note. The monopolistic bourgeoisie is profoundly interested in representing itself as a spokesman for the interests of all of society and as the defender of democratic principles. For this class, it is a life and death matter, a question of preserving its declining ideological and political influence with the masses. Meanwhile, bourgeois-democratic freedoms in the epoch of imperialism are becoming imaginary, to an ever greater extent, losing their realistic and practical content.

Lacking convincing arguments in favor of the bourgeois freedoms, which are often trampled under foot by the capitalist countries themselves, the defenders of the private ownership system are opposing the principles of socialist democracy. The most characteristic example in this connection is the propaganda campaign in defense of the so-called dissidents in the Soviet Union -- several generously paid renegades noisily publicized by the imperialist centers of subversion and clamoring for a public rostrum from which to express their anti-Soviet and antisocialist views.

The present-day renegades and their protectors in the West are trying to legalize their subversive activities. However, this is an obviously hopeless cause. The fact that the Soviet state is not providing such "figures" with a rostrum is in no way proof of the limited nature of socialist democracy. On the contrary, it is for the sake of its higher principles that our society must block essentially antidemocratic and antipopular actions, as well as all attempts on the part of imperialist circles to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union and to resort to anti-Soviet ideological and political subversion.

One of the characteristics of the current situation in the ideological struggle is the energizing of right-wing and left-wing revisionism. In his time, V. I. Lenin noted that opportunists are "better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete

Collected Works], Vol 41, p 232). Today as well, opportunism and revisionism are the accomplices and defenders of imperialism. It is not astounding that the biggest anticommunists and the reactionary bourgeois publications and propaganda centers are loudly praising the "works" of the revisionists, depicting them personally as "heroes." Unlike the revisionists at the beginning of the 20th century, who fought the theories of scientific communism, the modern revisionists are opposing victorious socialism and the socialist state as a weapon in the power possessed by the working class and all working people, and the leading role of the Communist Party. This is why contemporary revisionism is ever more frequently degenerating into anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The struggle against anti-Sovietism, the authors stress, is not only a political and moral duty, but also an objective need confronting any communist party or progressive organization today. It is the prerequisite for a Marxist approach to scientific socialism and its implementation. The struggle against anti-Sovietism is a necessary structural part of the struggle for Leninism and for its creative mastery, defense, specific development, and practical revolutionary application (see p 251).

The second of the collective monographs is a study of contemporary fascist ideology, of its links with that in the period of World War II, and a study of the specific features of and a criticism of the basic concepts of neofascism. This work describes the adaptation of fascism to the conditions of the contemporary stage in the overall crisis in capitalism, and to the new deployment of forces within the capitalist world and in the international arena.

Describing the evolution of fascist ideology, the authors note that as in the past, it differs from anticommunism and racism. However, its proponents often try to represent their anticommunism as a defense of democracy, camouflaging racism and chauvinism with the noble ideas of loyalty to national traditions (see p 35).

Several chapters in the book discuss the characteristics of neofascist ideology in a number of countries -- the FRG, Italy, the United States, South Africa, Chile, and Greece. The emphasis here is on the study of the social base and theoretical sources of neofascism, and the methods of disseminating its ideology among the masses. Thus in describing the foreign political concepts of West German neo-Nazism, the authors note that their cornerstone is the demand that the GDR be annexed and included in the FRG.

The chapter on the characteristics of fascist policies and ideology in Chile is of unquestionable interest. The neofascist junta, the authors stress, is a monstrous phenomenon created by the alliance of imperialism, domestic reaction, and militarism (see p 413). A fascist dictatorship -- one of the modernized forms of fascism -- has been established in Chile. This is a fascist dictatorship in an economically dependent country with insufficient capitalist development, a dictatorship linked with monopoly capitalism in the United States and protected by and dependent on it.

As in all preceding stages in the struggle against fascism, the communist and worker parties are in the vanguard of the antifascist movement today as well. "Democracy and social progress, the preservation of the peace and international relations based on mutual trust and friendly cooperation," the final document of the Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Europe held in Berlin states, "demand the uprooting of fascism, the prevention of its resurrection, open or concealed, struggle against the organization and activities of fascist and neofascist terrorist groups and organizations, and the opposition of racist propaganda and actions designed to divide the working class and other progressive forces."

The book by M. B. Mitin begins with a study of the Leninist principles of struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology and a depiction of their intransigent significance under contemporary conditions. All of Lenin's activities, the author emphasizes, provided models of irreconcilability toward hostile ideologies. To Lenin, the meaning of criticizing bourgeois and petit bourgeois views involved, above all, improving the spiritual weapons of the communists in the course of such criticism and formulating their uniform program and theoretical stipulations.

The intensifying crisis in imperialist ideology and bourgeois sociology in no way means a reduction in their efforts, but rather the contrary. In the West, recent decades have been marked by an intensive search for "new" sociological concepts and the aspiration of the bourgeois scientists to modernize their ideological arsenal and adapt it to the spirit of the times. This is linked with the characteristic boom in futurological theories, for example, the elaboration of various aspects of the problem of reciprocal relations between the two socioeconomic systems, and the nature and trends in the development of detente and the comparative assessment of the socialist and bourgeois ways of life.

Problems in the world revolutionary process, including the choice of means of development for the young independent countries, the role of nationalism and internationalism in the contemporary world, bourgeois and socialist democracy, and many others, have taken on tremendous theoretical and practical importance. The author also considers various aspects of the ideological problems in the scientific and technical revolution, and describes the basic trends in the contemporary ideological struggle. However, the fact that this material is presented on multiple levels sometimes results in a certain sketchiness.

The national problem remains one of the most acute sectors in the struggle between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and bourgeois and revisionist ideology. It is discussed in a separate chapter of this book, in which the author has successfully demonstrated the scientific and practical political effectiveness of the ideological legacy of Lenin in the approach to the contemporary problems in proletarian internationalism and the struggle against bourgeois nationalism, showing the class and anti-scientific nature of the latest bourgeois sociological concepts, which claim to "replace" internationalism with nationalism.

The works under consideration in this review are but a small part of the recent publications dealing with the ideological form of the class struggle. The merit of these works lies in the topical nature of the problems taken up, their sharply polemic nature, and the convincing and clear presentation of the material. Foreign Marxist researchers often participate in work of this kind, along with Soviet scientists. This enables us to wage the struggle against our ideological opponents on an ever broader scale, and increases the international significance and effectiveness of our publications. Ever more frequently works criticizing bourgeois, right-wing opportunistic, and extreme left-wing views are not limited to a general formulation of problems, but consider one topical problem or another, or some concept used by the bourgeois propagandists, in detail and on an extensively justified basis. This is entirely applicable to the books discussed here.

At the same time, however, a study of the latest publications on matters pertaining to ideological struggle reveals a certain one-sided aspect. This shortcoming is manifested in the fact that as a rule, the polemic aspect of such books appears to be self-serving. For example, the authors frequently accuse their opponents, reveal the lack of basis for their arguments, and stop there. The critical aspect of such works clearly prevails over the positive, research aspect and formulation and elaboration of factual problems in the theory and practice of the class struggle and the building of socialism and communism. Overcoming this kind of one-sidedness is no simple matter. However, we believe that it is along these lines precisely that we can expect the publication of important new works on problems in world development and international relations, the revolutionary process, and the confrontation of forces on the problem of war and peace, which now occupies the center in ideological battles. These studies would become major events in the social sciences.

Bourgeois ideology has no future. However, its bankruptcy is not a spontaneous process. The 25th CPSU Congress indicated the need for the prompt and decisive rebuttal of the ideological sallies of imperialist propaganda against socialism and Marxism-Leninism. "The exposure of the capitalists," Lenin emphasized, "is the first step toward the restraint of the capitalists" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 32, p 204). To defend and develop the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary doctrine, the party teaches, is to defend one of the decisive prerequisites for the victory of the cause of communism.

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