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## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 8, May 1977

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year). Where certain articles, reprinted from other Russian-language sources, are not translated, indication of this fact is made in the table of contents.

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INFORMATION ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST In Russian No 8, May 77 pp 3-5

[Text] A CPSU Central Committee Plenum was held on 24 May 1977.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Constitutional Commission submitted to the plenum the report "On the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

In his report Comrade L. I. Brezhnev discussed, above all, the reason which made the drafting of a new USSR Constitution necessary. In the 4 decades following the adoption of the current constitution, he said, profound changes took place in our country and our entire society. A developed, mature socialist society was built in the Soviet Union. Major and essential changes have affected all aspects of social life as a result of the successes of the building of socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party. The country's economy has changed unrecognizably. It is totally dominated by socialist forms of ownership. The single powerful national economic organism is developing on the basis of the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. The social homogeneity of Soviet society is growing. The unbreakable alliance among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia has become even stronger. Disparities among basic social groups are being gradually eliminated. All nations and nationalities in our country are being drawn evermore closely to each other by the very course of their life. A new historical community--the Soviet people--has developed. With the building of mature socialism and the adoption of the ideological and political positions of the working class by all population strata our state which was created as the dictatorship of the proletariat has grown into the state of the whole people. The international position of the Soviet Union and the entire sociopolitical shape of the world have changed greatly. An end has been put to the capitalist encirclement of the USSR. Socialism has become a world system and a powerful socialist comity has been established. The positions of world capitalism have weakened substantially. Tens of young states, former colonies, oppose imperialism. A real possibility has appeared for preventing a new world war, even though this requires further major and persistent efforts.

On the basis of its accomplishments, and under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people are now resolving the historical problems of the building of communism.

All these changes have been reflected in the draft of the new USSR Constitution in accordance with the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress.

Formulating the draft, the principles governing Soviet state construction, formulated by V. I. Lenin himself, the stipulations of the previous constitutions of the Soviet state, and the numerous new legislative acts passed in recent years, regulating various fields of social relations in the USSR, were fully taken into consideration. The experience in the constitutional development of the fraternal socialist states was also considered. Such are the reliable foundations on which the draft of the new Constitution was founded.

The further development and intensification of socialist democracy is characteristic, above all, as the main direction, of the content of this draft which reflects the new stage in the development of our state, the most important achievements of the Soviet people, and the tasks of building communism facing them.

It is precisely in this direction that the principles governing the organization and activities of soviets at all levels as the political foundations of the socialist state were further developed in the draft Constitution. The same direction was followed in the extensive elaboration in the draft of the stipulations on the rights of Soviet citizens, including their socioeconomic rights and civil rights and freedoms, along with the duties of the citizens to the state and to the people.

The same direction is followed by the important stipulations contained in the draft Constitution on the further strengthening of socialist law and order.

A special chapter in the draft constitution entitled "Social Development and Culture" stipulates that the state is concerned with the development of education, science, and art, and with improving the working and living conditions of the citizens.

The solution provided in the draft constitution to problems of national-state structure insures the truly democratic combination of the common interests of our multinational union with the interests of each of its constituent republics and the all-round blossoming and steadfast rapprochement among all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet state.

The inclusion in the draft constitution of the basic principles governing the management of our national economy is related to the powerful growth of our socialist economy. Separate chapters in the draft of the new constitution deal with the peaceful Leninist foreign policy of the USSR and the defense of the socialist fatherland.



The adoption of the new constitution, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, will be of tremendous importance both to the internal life of the country as well as to strengthening the positions of the forces of socialism, peace, and progress in the international arena.

The implementation of the stipulations of the new constitution would raise to a qualitatively new level our entire governmental and economic activity and the entire work of the power and administrative organs. It would enable millions of Soviet people to become even more actively involved in economic management and control over the work of the state apparatus.

Our new constitution, Comrade Brezhnev emphasized, will clearly show to the entire world the way the socialist state is developing, promoting socialist democracy evermore firmly and profoundly; it will clearly depict the nature, the essence of this socialist democracy.

Our new constitution will enrich the common treasury of the experience of world socialism. It will be an inspiring example in the liberation struggle waged by the working people abroad.

Comrade Brezhnev then discussed the tasks of the party and soviet organs and public organizations in the country in connection with the forthcoming nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution. He called for insuring the maximally broadest, freest, and truly efficient discussion of the draft constitution.

The nationwide discussion of the basic problems of the development of our state and society in the noteworthy year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, Comrade Brezhnev said, and the active participation of the broadest possible toiling masses in this will be a powerful incentive for energizing the entire social life of the country and will awaken in the people new creative forces and give the socialist competition a new scope.

In conclusion, Comrade Brezhnev said: The adoption of the new USSR Constitution will become an important landmark in the political history of our country. It will become yet another historical contribution made by our Leninist party, socialist state, and entire Soviet people to the great cause of the building of communism and to the international cause of the struggle waged by the working people the world over for freedom, human progress, and lasting peace on earth.

The following participated in the debate on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report: Comrades B. V. Kachura, first secretary, Donetskaya Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine; L. B. Yermin, first secretary, Penzenskaya Oblast Party Committee; Ye. N. Auyel'bekov, first secretary, Kokchetavskaya Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Kazakhstan; V. P. Orlov, first secretary, Kuybyshevskaya Oblast Party Committee; M. M. Musakhanov, first secretary, Tashkentskaya Oblast Party Committee,

Communist Party of Uzbekistan; V. V. Grishin, first secretary, Moscow CPSU Gorkom; G. V. Romanov, first secretary, Leningrad CPSU Obkom; and V. V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum approved in the main the USSR draft Constitution submitted by the Constitutional Commission, and recommended to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to submit it to a nationwide discussion.

The Central Committee Plenum passed on this subject a decree carried today\* by the press.

The Central Committee Plenum heard an announcement by Comrade M. A. Suslov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, "On the State Anthem of the USSR." The plenum approved the lyrics and the music of the State Anthem of the USSR and submitted the matter for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum considered organizational problems as well:

The plenum relieved Comrade N. V. Podgornyy from his duties as member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The plenum elected Comrade K. V. Rusakov CPSU Central Committee secretary.

The plenum relieved Comrade K. F. Katushev from his duties as CPSU Central Committee secretary in connection with his transfer to work in CEMA.

This completed the work of the Central Committee Plenum.

5003  
CSO: 1802

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\*25 May 1977--the editors

ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 p 6

[CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree passed on 24 May 1977]

[Text] After hearing and discussing the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Constitutional Commission "On the Draft of the New Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," the CPSU Central Committee Plenum decreed:

1. To approve in the main the draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as presented by the Constitutional Commission.
2. To submit the question of the draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and to recommend to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to submit it for nationwide discussion.

5003

CSO: 1802

ON THE STATE ANTHEM OF THE SOVIET UNION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 p 6

[CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree passed on 24 May 1977]

[Text] To approve the lyrics and music of the State Anthem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to submit it for ratification by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

5003

CSO: 1802

**DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, PRESENTED BY THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION AND APPROVED BY THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET  
TO BE SUBMITTED FOR NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION**

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 7-33 LD

**[Text] Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

The Great October Socialist Revolution, accomplished by the workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by V.I. Lenin, overthrew the power of the capitalists and landowners, broke the fetters of oppression and created the Soviet state--a state of a new type--the basic instrument of the defense of revolutionary achievements and the building of socialism and communism.

The Soviet power has carried out profound social and economic transformations, put an end once and for all to exploitation of man by man, class antagonisms and national enmity, established public ownership of the means of production, and genuine democracy for the working peoples masses. A socialist society was created for the first time in the history of mankind.

A striking manifestation of socialism's strength was the unfading exploits of the Soviet people and their armed forces, who won a historic victory in the Great Patriotic War. That victory strengthened the international position of the USSR and opened up new favorable possibilities for the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace throughout the world.

In continuing their creative activity the Soviet people have secured the country's rapid and all-round development and the improvement of the socialist system. The alliance of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia and the friendship among the nations and nationalities [narodnosti] of the USSR have been consolidated. Social and political unity has been achieved in Soviet society, in which the working class is the leading force. Having fulfilled the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet state has become an all-people's state [obshchenarodnoye gosudarstvo]. The leading role of the Communist Party, vanguard of the whole people, has grown.

A developed socialist society has been built in the USSR. At this stage, when socialism is developing on its own foundation, the new system is revealing its creative strength and the advantages of the socialist way of life more and more fully, and the working people are using the fruits of the great revolutionary achievements to an increasing extent.

This is a society in which mighty productive forces and advanced science and culture have been created, a society in which the well-being of the people is rising steadily and increasingly favorable conditions are taking shape for the all-round development of the individual.

This is a society of mature socialist social relations, in which a new historical community of people, the Soviet people, has emerged through the drawing together of all social strata and on the basis of the juridical and actual equality of all nations and nationalities.

This is a society in which the organization, ideological commitment and consciousness of the working people, who are patriots and internationalists, have attained a high level.

This is a society in which the law of life is the concern of all for the welfare of each and the concern of each for the welfare of all.

This is a society of true democracy, the political system of which assures the effective administration of all social affairs, the increasingly active participation of the working people in state affairs and the combination of genuine rights and freedoms of man with a sense of civic duty.

Developed socialist society is a logical [zakonomernyy] stage on the road to communism.

The supreme purpose of the Soviet state is to build a classless communist society. The principal tasks of the state are: to build the material and technical basis of communism, to perfect socialist social relations and transform them into communist relations, to mold the citizen of communist society, to raise the living standard and cultural level of the working people, to insure the country's security, to help strengthen peace and to develop international cooperation.

The Soviet people,

Guided by the ideas of scientific communism and remaining true to their revolutionary traditions;

Resting on the great social, economic and political achievements of socialism;

Striving to further develop socialist democracy;

Taking into account the international position of the USSR as an integral part of the world socialist system and aware of their international responsibility;

Preserving the continuity of the ideas and principles of the 1918 Constitution of the RSFSR, the 1924 Constitution of the USSR and the 1936 Constitution of the USSR;

Proclaim the aims and principles, define the foundations of the organization of the socialist all-people's state [obshchenarodnoye gosudarstvo] and confirm them in this constitution.

## I. Principles Underlying the Social, Political and Economic Structure

### Chapter 1. The Political System

Article 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist all-people's state [obshchenarodnoye gosudarstvo], expressing the will and interests of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of all the nations and nationalities in the country.

Article 2. All power in the USSR shall be vested in the people.

The people shall exercise state power through the soviets of people's deputies, which constitute the political foundation of the USSR.

All other organs of state shall be under the control of and accountable to the soviets.

Article 3. The Soviet state shall be organized and shall function in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism: election [vybornost] of all organs of state power from top to bottom, their accountability to the people and mandatory fulfillment of the decisions of higher organs by lower organs. Democratic centralism shall combine single leadership with local initiative and creative activity, with the responsibility of each state organ and official for the work at hand.

Article 4. The Soviet state and all its organs, shall function on the basis of socialist legality, and assure the protection of law and order, the interests of society and the rights of citizens. State institutions, public organizations and officials shall observe the constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws.

Article 5. The most important matters of state shall be submitted for nationwide [vsenarodnoye] and also put to a nationwide [vsenarodnoye] vote (referendum).

Article 6. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state and public organizations. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Communist Party shall determine the general perspective of society's development, and the guideline of the internal and external policy of the USSR, give guidance to the great creative endeavor of the Soviet people and place their struggle for the triumph of communism on a planned, scientific basis.

Article 7. In accordance with their statutory tasks [zadachi] the trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, the cooperatives and other mass public organizations shall participate in the administration of state and public affairs, in the solution of political, economic, social and cultural questions.

Article 8. The principal orientation of the development of Soviet society's political system shall be the further unfolding of socialist democracy: increasingly broader participation of the working people in the administration of the affairs of society and the state, continuous improvement of the state apparatus, enhancement of the activity of public organizations, intensification of control by the people, strengthening of the legal foundations of state and social life, extension of publicity and constant account of public opinion.

## Chapter 2. The Economic System

Article 9. Socialist ownership of the means of production shall be the foundation of the economic system of the USSR. Socialist ownership shall comprise: state property (belonging to the whole people [vsenarodnaya]), property of collective farms and other cooperative organizations (collective farm-cooperative property), and property of trade unions and other public organizations.

The state shall protect socialist property and create the conditions for its enlargement.

Nobody shall have the right to use socialist property for personal gain.

Article 10. State property, i. e., property belonging to the whole Soviet people, shall be the principal form of socialist ownership.

The land, its minerals, waters and forests shall be the exclusive property of the state. The state shall be in possession of the basic means of production: industrial, building and agricultural enterprises, means of transport and communications, and also the banks, trade, social and consumer services and the bulk of urban housing.

Article 11. The property of the collective farms and other cooperative organizations, and of their associations, shall be the means of production and other property serving the implementation of their statutory purposes. The land held by collective farms shall be allocated to them for their use free of charge for an unlimited time.

The state shall facilitate the development of collective farm-cooperative ownership and its approximation to state ownership.

The property of the trade unions and other public organizations shall be the properties they require to perform their statutory functions.

Article 12. In their personal possession citizens of the USSR may have earned incomes and savings, a house, a subsidiary husbandry, and articles of everyday use and personal consumption and convenience. The right of citizens to personal property and also the right of citizens to inherit personal property shall be protected by the law.

Citizens may have the use of plots of land allocated by the state or collective farms under the procedure defined by the law for a subsidiary husbandry (including the maintenance of livestock and poultry), gardening and vegetable growing, and also for the building of individual houses.

Property in the personal ownership or use of citizens shall not be a means of deriving nonearned incomes or damaging society.

Article 13. The free labor of Soviet people shall be the basis of the growth of social wealth and the welfare of the people, of every Soviet citizen.

The state shall control the measure of labor and consumption in accordance with the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It shall determine the size of the income tax and establish the level of wages exempted from taxes.

Socially useful work and its results shall determine a citizen's status in society. By combining material and moral incentives the state shall help turn labor into the prime need in life of every Soviet citizen.

Article 14. The supreme purpose of social production under socialism shall be the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's growing material and spiritual requirements.



Relying on the creative activity of the working people, the socialist emulation movement and the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the state shall insure the growth of labor productivity, the enhancement of efficiency in production and of the quality of work, and the dynamic and proportionate development of the national economy.

Article 15. The economy of the USSR shall be an integral national economic complex embracing all the elements of social production, distribution and exchange on the territory of the USSR.

The economy shall be managed on the basis of state plans for national economic, social and cultural development with due account for the branch and territorial principles, and combining centralized leadership with the economic independence and initiative of enterprises, associations and other organizations. Here active use shall be made of financial autonomy [khozraschet], profit and prime costs [sebestoimost].

Article 16. Collectives of working people and public organizations shall participate in the management of enterprises and associations, in deciding matters concerning the organization of labor and everyday life, and the use of funds allocated for the development of production and also for social and cultural requirements and material incentives.

Article 17. Individual labor activity in handicrafts, agriculture and consumer services for the population, and likewise other forms of labor activity based exclusively on the individual labor of citizens and members of their families shall be permitted in the USSR in accordance with the law.

Article 18. In the interests of the present and future generations the necessary steps shall be taken in the USSR to protect, and make scientifically substantiated rational use of the land and its minerals, flora and fauna, to preserve the purity of the air and water, insure the reproduction of natural wealth and improve man's natural environment.

### Chapter 3. Social Development and Culture

Article 19. The Soviet state shall promote the enhancement of society's social homogeneity, erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labor by brain and by hand, and further developing and drawing together all the nations and nationalities of the USSR.

Article 20. In accordance with the communist ideal: "The free development of each is the condition of the free development of all," the Soviet state shall pursue the aim of expanding the actual possibilities for citizens to develop and apply their creative strength, abilities and talents, for the all-round development of the individual.

Article 21. The state shall show concern for improving working conditions, and for reducing and ultimately abolishing arduous manual labor completely through integrated mechanization and automation of production.

Article 22. In the USSR the program of turning agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor, enlarging the network of public education, cultural, medical, consumer services, trade and municipal economy [kommunalnoye khozyaystvo] institutions in rural localities, and transforming villages and hamlets into well-appointed settlements [selo i derevni v blagostroyennyye poselki] shall be consistently implemented.

Article 23. The state shall steadfastly pursue the policy of raising the level of remuneration for labor and the real incomes of the working people in keeping with the growth of labor productivity.

Social consumption funds shall be created for the purpose of more fully satisfying the requirements of the members of society. With the broad participation of public organizations and work collectives the state shall insure the growth and just distribution of these funds.

Article 24. In the USSR a state system of health protection, social security, consumer service, public catering and municipal economy [kommunalnoye khozyaystvo] shall function and develop.

The state shall encourage the work of cooperative and other public organizations in providing services for the population.

Article 25. There exists in the USSR a uniform system of education which serves the communist upbringing and spiritual [dukhovnyy] and physical development of young people, their training for work and social activity. In the USSR education shall be free.

Article 26. In accordance with society's requirements, the state shall insure the planned development of science and the training of scientific cadres, and organize the application of the results of scientific research in the national economy and other spheres of life.

Article 27. The state shall show concern for protecting and multiplying society's spiritual values, and for the broad utilization to raise the cultural level of Soviet people.

In the USSR the development of professional and folk [narodnoye] art shall be given every encouragement.

#### Chapter 4. Foreign Policy

Article 28. The Soviet state shall consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peace and stand for the consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international cooperation.

The foreign policy of the USSR shall be aimed at insuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, at strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In the USSR war propaganda shall be prohibited by law.

Article 29. The relations of the USSR with other states shall be based on the observance of the principle of mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force, and of the principles of sovereign equality, inviolability of borders, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, cooperation between states, scrupulous fulfillment of commitments emanating from universally recognized principles and norms of international law and the international treaties concluded by the USSR.

Article 30. As a component part of the world socialist system, of the socialist community, the Soviet Union shall promote and strengthen friendship, cooperation and comradely mutual assistance with the socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and shall actively participate in economic integration and in the international socialist division of labor.

#### Chapter 5. Defense of the Socialist Fatherland

Article 31. Defense of the socialist fatherland is a most important function of the state, and the cause of the whole people.

In the USSR armed forces have been formed and universal military conscription instituted for the purpose of defending the gains of socialism, the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state.

The duty of the Armed Forces of the USSR to the people is to reliably defend the socialist fatherland, to maintain constant combat readiness, guaranteeing instant rebuff to any aggressor.

Article 32. The state shall insure the security and defense capability of the country, and equip the Armed Forces of the USSR with everything necessary.

The duties of state organs, public organizations, officials and citizens in insuring the security and strengthening the defense capability of the country shall be defined by law.

## II. The State and the Individual

#### Chapter 6. Citizenship of the USSR. Equality of Citizens

Article 33. Soviet citizenship shall be uniform for the whole USSR. Every citizen of a union republic shall be a citizen of the USSR.

The grounds and procedure of acquiring or losing Soviet citizenship shall be established by the law of the USSR.

Citizens of the USSR living abroad shall have the protection and guardianship of the Soviet state.

Article 34. Citizens of the USSR shall be equal before the law, irrespective of origin, social and property status, nationality or race, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, type or character of occupation, domicile or other particulars.

Equality of rights of citizens of the USSR shall be insured in all fields of economic, political, social and cultural life.

Article 35. In the USSR women shall have equal rights with men.

Exercise of these rights shall be insured by according to women equal opportunities for education and professional training, for employment, remuneration and promotion, for social, political and cultural activity, and likewise by special measures for the protection of the labor and health of women; by legal protection, material and moral support of mother and child, including paid leaves and other benefits to mothers and expectant mothers, and state aid to unmarried mothers.

Article 36. Soviet citizens of different nationalities [natsionalnosti] and races shall have equal rights.

The exercise of these rights shall be insured by the policy of all-round development and drawing together of all nations and nationalities of the USSR, education of citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and the opportunity for using the mother tongue and the languages of the other peoples of the USSR.

Any and all direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on grounds of race or nationality, and likewise any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, shall be punishable by law.

Article 37. In the USSR foreign citizens and stateless persons shall be guaranteed the rights and freedoms provided for by law, including the right of instituting proceedings in law courts and other state organs in protection of personal property, family and other rights accorded to them by law.

In the territory of the USSR foreign citizens and stateless persons shall be obliged to respect the constitution of the USSR and to observe Soviet laws.

Article 38. The USSR shall afford the right of asylum to foreigners [inostrantsy] persecuted for upholding the interests of the working people and the cause of peace, or for participating in a revolutionary or national liberation movement, or for progressive social, political, scientific or some other creative activity.

#### Chapter 7. The Basic Rights, Freedoms and Duties of Citizens of the USSR

Article 39. Citizens of the USSR shall possess in their entirety the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws. The socialist system shall insure extension of rights and freedoms and uninterrupted improvement of the conditions of life of citizens as the programs of social, economic and cultural development are fulfilled.

Exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms must not harm the interests of society and the state, and the rights of other citizens.

Article 40. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to work, that is, to guaranteed employment and remuneration for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality, including the right to choice of profession, type of occupation and employment in accordance with their vocation, abilities, vocational training, education and with due account for the needs of society.

This right shall be insured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces of society, free vocational training, improvement of labor skills, and training in new specialized job lines [spetsialnosti].

Article 41. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to rest and leisure.

This right shall be insured by the 41-hour work week for industrial, office and professional workers and a reduced working day for a number of occupations and production jobs [profesii i proizvodstva] and reduced working hours at night; [paragraph continues]

provision of annual paid leaves, weekly days of rest, and likewise by extension of the network of cultural, educational and health-building institutions, and development of sports, physical education and tourism on a mass scale; provision on the residential principle of favorable opportunities for rest and of other conditions for the rational use of free time.

Duration of working time and of rest and leisure for collective farmers shall be regulated by the rules of collective farms.

Article 42. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to health protection.

This right shall be insured by free qualified medical care rendered by state health institutions; by the development and improvement of safety techniques and health regulations in production, extension of the network of institutions for the medical treatment and health improvement of citizens; by broad preventive measures, and measures of environmental improvement; special care for the health of the rising generation, prohibition of child labor; furtherance of scientific research directed at preventing and reducing the incidence of diseases, and at insuring a long active life for citizens.

Article 43. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to support in old age, in the event of sickness and likewise in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of breadwinner.

This right shall be guaranteed by social insurance of industrial, office and professional workers and collective farmers; old-age and disability pensions, pensions for loss of breadwinner, and allowances for temporary disability; employment of partly disabled citizens; care for single elderly and disabled citizens.

Article 44. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to housing.

This right shall be insured by the development and protection of state and public housing, stock assistance to cooperative and individual house building, fair distribution under public control of housing, allotted as the housing program is implemented, and likewise by low rent.

Article 45. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to education.

This right shall be insured by free education at all levels, universal compulsory secondary education of the youth, extensive development of vocational technical, secondary specialized and higher education on the basis of the link of education with life and production; by development of education by correspondence and evening education; provision by the state of scholarship grants and other benefits to pupils and students; free issue of school textbooks; the opportunity for instruction in schools in the mother tongue; by development of the system of professional orientation and provision of conditions for the self-education of working people.

Article 46. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to use the achievements of culture.

This right shall be insured by public access to the values of national and world culture preserved in state and public repositories, by development and balanced distribution of cultural and educational institutions on the territory of the country and by expanding cultural exchanges with foreign countries.

Article 47. Citizens of the USSR shall, in accordance with the aims of communist construction, be guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creative work. This freedom shall be insured by extensive scientific research, promotion of inventions and innovations and development of the arts. The state shall secure the due material conditions for this, and render support to voluntary societies and creative unions.

The rights of authors, inventors and innovators shall be protected by law.

Article 48. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to take part in the administration of state and public affairs.

Citizens of the USSR shall elect and may be elected to the soviets of people's deputies, shall take part in discussing and drafting legislative bills and decisions at all-union and local levels, in the work of state organs, cooperative and other public organizations, in controlling their activity, in administering production and the affairs of work collectives, in meetings held on the residential principle.

Article 49. Every citizen of the USSR shall have the right to submit to state organs and public organizations proposals for improving their activity, to criticize shortcomings in their work. Officials shall be obliged within terms established by law to examine proposals and requests of citizens, to reply to them and take due action.

Persecution for criticism shall be prohibited.

Article 50. In conformity with the interests of the working people and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system, citizens of the USSR shall be guaranteed freedom of speech, press, assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations. Exercise of these political freedoms shall be insured by putting at the disposal of the working people and their organizations of public buildings, streets and squares, by broad dissemination of information, and the opportunity for using the press, television and radio.

Article 51. In conformity with the aims of building communism citizens of the USSR shall have the right to join public organizations facilitating development of their political activity and initiative, and satisfying their diverse interests.

Public organizations shall be guaranteed conditions for the successful performance of their statutory functions.

Article 52. Freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess any religion and perform religious rites or not profess any religion, and to conduct atheistic propaganda, shall be recognized for all citizens of the USSR. Incitement of hostility and hatred on religious grounds shall be prohibited.

The church in the USSR shall be separated from the state, and the school from the church.

Article 53. The family shall be under the protection of the state.

Marriage shall be entered into with the free consent of the intending spouses; spouses shall be completely equal in their matrimonial relations.

The state shall aid the family by creating and developing an extensive network of child-care institutions, organizing and improving the consumer services and public catering, and by provision of allowances and benefits to families with many children, and by paying an allowance for the birth of a child.

Article 54. Citizens of the USSR shall be guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person shall be subjected to arrest other than by decision of a court of law, or with the sanction of a prosecutor.

Article 55. Citizens of the USSR shall be guaranteed inviolability of the home. No person shall without lawful grounds enter a home against the will of the persons residing in it.

Article 56. The privacy of citizens, of secrecy of correspondence, telephone conversations and telegraphic messages shall be protected by law.

Article 57. Respect for the individual, protection of the rights and freedoms of Soviet man [chelovek] shall be the duty of all state organs, public organizations and officials.

Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to legal protection against attempts on their life and health, property and personal freedom, honor and dignity.

Article 58. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to lodge complaints against actions of officials in state organs and public organizations. These complaints shall be examined in the manner and within terms defined by law.

Actions of officials performed in violation of the law, over and above the powers vested in them, impinging on the rights of citizens, may be referred to a court of law in the manner defined by law.

Citizens of the USSR shall have the right of compensation for damage inflicted by unlawful actions of state institutions and public organizations, and likewise by officials in the performance of their duties, in the manner and within limits defined by law.

Article 59. Exercise of rights and freedoms shall be inseparable from the performance by citizens of their duties.

Citizens of the USSR shall be obliged to observe the constitution of the USSR, Soviet laws, to respect the rules of socialist society, to bear with dignity the high calling of citizen of the USSR.

Article 60. It shall be the duty of, and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen of the USSR to work conscientiously in his chosen socially useful occupation, and strictly to observe labor and production discipline.

Article 61. The citizen of the USSR shall be obliged to safeguard and fortify socialist property. It shall be the duty of the citizen of the USSR to combat theft and waste of state and public property.

Persons impinging on socialist property shall be punishable by law.

Article 62. The citizen of the USSR shall be obliged to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, to contribute to the strengthening of its might and prestige.

Defense of the socialist fatherland shall be a sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR.

Treason against the motherland [izmena rodiny] shall be the gravest crime against the people.

Article 63. Military service in the armed forces of the USSR shall be the honorable duty of Soviet citizens.

Article 64. It shall be the duty of every citizen of the USSR to respect the national dignity of other citizens, to fortify the friendship of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet multinational state.

Article 65. The citizen of the USSR shall be obliged to respect the rights and lawful interest of other persons, to be intolerant of antisocial behavior, to contribute in every way to the maintenance of public order.

Article 66. Citizens of the USSR shall be obliged to devote themselves to the upbringing of their children, to prepare them for socially useful labor, to raise worthy members of the socialist society.

Article 67. Citizens of the USSR shall be obliged to protect nature, to safeguard its riches.

Concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values shall be the duty of citizens of the USSR.

Article 68. It shall be the internationalist duty of citizens of the USSR to further the development of friendship and cooperation with peoples of other countries, the maintenance and consolidation of world peace.

### III. The State and National Structure of the USSR

#### Chapter 8. The USSR--A Federal State

Article 69. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an integral federal multinational state formed as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary union of equal Soviet socialist republics.

The USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people and brings all the nations and nationalities together for the joint building of communism.

Article 70. In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics there shall be united:

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic,  
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.



Article 71. Every union republic shall retain the right freely to secede from the USSR.

Article 72. The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its higher organs of state power and administration, shall extend to:

1--Admission of new republics to the USSR; approval of the formation of new autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts within union republics;

2--Determination of the state boundaries of the USSR and approval of changes of boundaries between union republics;

3--Definition of general principles of the organization and functioning of republican and local organs of state power and administration;

4--The insuring of uniformity of legislative regulation throughout the territory of the USSR and definition of the principles of legislation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the union republics;

5--Pursuance of an integral social and economic policy, and administration of the country's economy; determination of the main directions of scientific and technical progress; drafting and approval of plans of rational economic, social and cultural development in the USSR, and approval of reports on their fulfillment;

6--Drafting and endorsement of the consolidated state budget of the USSR, and approval of the report on its execution; direction of the uniform monetary and credit system; enactment of taxes and revenues that go to form the union, republican and local budgets; determination of the price and wage policy;

7--Administration of branches of the national economy, associations and enterprises under all-union jurisdiction; general guidance of industries, associations and enterprises under union-republican jurisdiction;

8--Issues of war and peace, defense of sovereignty, protection of the state frontiers and territory of the USSR, organization of defense, direction of the armed forces;

9--The insuring of state security;

10--Representation of the USSR in international relations; relations of the USSR with foreign states and international organizations; establishment of a uniform procedure for and coordination of the relations of the union republics with foreign states and international organizations; foreign trade on the basis of state monopoly;

11--Control over the observance of the constitution of the USSR, and insuring of conformity of the constitutions of the union republics with the constitution of the USSR;

12--Settlement of other matters of all-union importance.

Article 73. The laws of the USSR shall have the same force on the territory of all the union republics. In the event of a discrepancy between a law of a union republic and an all-union law, the law of the USSR shall prevail.

Article 74. The territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be integral and comprise the territories of the union republics.

The sovereignty of the USSR shall prevail throughout its territory.

#### Chapter 9. Union Soviet Socialist Republic

Article 75. A union republic is a Soviet socialist state that has united with other Soviet republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Outside the spheres defined in Article 72 of the constitution of the USSR, a union republic shall exercise state authority independently in its territory.

A union republic shall have its own constitution drawn up in conformity with the constitution of the USSR with due account for the specific features of the republic.

Article 76. A union republic shall participate in the decision of matters within the jurisdiction of the USSR in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Government of the USSR and other organs of the USSR.

A union republic shall facilitate the implementation of the powers of the USSR in its territory and carry out the decisions of the organs of state power and administration of the USSR.

Article 77. The territory of a union republic shall not be altered without its consent. The boundaries between union republics may be changed by mutual agreement between the republics concerned and shall be subject to approval by the USSR.

Article 78. A union republic shall determine its kray, oblast, okrug and rayon division and decide other matters relating to its administrative-territorial structure.

Article 79. A union republic shall have the right to enter into relations with foreign states, conclude treaties with them, exchange diplomatic and consular representatives and participate in the work of international organizations.

Article 80. The sovereign rights of the union republics shall be safeguarded by the USSR.

#### Chapter 10. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

Article 81. An autonomous republic shall be part of a union republic.

Beyond the limits of rights of the USSR and the union republic, an autonomous republic shall independently deal with matters that come within its jurisdiction.

An autonomous republic shall have its own constitution drawn up in accordance with the constitutions of the USSR and the union republic with due account for the specific features of the autonomous republic.

Article 82. An autonomous republic shall participate in the decision of matters within the jurisdiction of the USSR and the union republic through the higher organs of state power and administration of the USSR and the union republic, respectively.

An autonomous republic shall facilitate the exercise of the authority of the USSR and the union republic in its territory and carry out the decisions of the organs of state power and administration of the USSR and the union republic, respectively.

Article 83. The territory of an autonomous republic shall not be altered without its consent.

Article 84. The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic shall include the following autonomous Soviet socialist republics: Bashkirskaya, Buryatskaya, Dagestanskaya, Kabardino-Balkarskaya, Kalmytskaya, Karelskaya, Komi, Mariyskaya, Mordovskaya, Severo-Osetinskaya, Tatarskaya, Tuvinskaya, Udmurtskaya, Checheno-Ingushskaya, Chuvashskaya, and Yakutskaya.

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Karakalpakskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Abkhazskaya and Adzharskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Nakhichevanskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

#### Chapter 11. Autonomous Oblast and Autonomous Okrug

Article 85. An autonomous oblast shall be part of a union republic. The law on an autonomous oblast shall be passed by the supreme soviet of the union republic upon presentation by the soviet of people's deputies of the autonomous oblast.

Article 86. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic shall include the following autonomous oblasts: Adygeyskaya, Gorno-Altayskaya, Yevreyskaya, Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya, Khakasskaya.

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast.

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast.

The Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Gorno-Badakhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast.

Article 87. An autonomous okrug shall be part of a kray or oblast. The statutes of autonomous okrugs shall be approved by the supreme soviet of the union republic.

#### IV. Soviets of People's Deputies and the Procedure of Their Election

##### Chapter 12. System and Principles of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies

Article 88. The soviets of people's deputies--the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the supreme soviets of the union republics, the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics, the kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies, the soviets of people's deputies of autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs, and the town, rayon, townrayon, settlement and rural soviets of people's deputies--shall comprise an integral system of organs of state power.

Article 89. Term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the supreme soviets of the union republics and the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics shall be 5 years.

The term of office of the kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies, of the soviets of people's deputies of autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs, and of town, rayon, town rayon, settlement and rural soviets of people's deputies shall be 2 and 1/2 years.

The date of elections to soviets of people's deputies shall be set not later than 2 months before the expiration of the term of office of the soviets concerned.

Article 90. The most important matters within the jurisdiction of the respective soviets of people's deputies shall be considered and settled at their sessions.

Soviets of people's deputies shall form executive, administrative and other organs accountable to them, and elect standing commissions.

Article 91. Soviets of people's deputies shall form organs of people's control combining state control with public control by the working people at enterprises, collective farms, institutions and organizations.

The organs of people's control shall exercise control over the fulfillment of state plans and assignments, combat violations of state discipline, manifestations of parochialism, narrow departmental attitudes, mismanagement, wastefulness, red tape and bureaucracy, and help to improve the work of the state apparatus.

The procedure for the organization and activity of the organs of people's control and their functions shall be defined by law.

Article 92. Directly or through the organs set up by them the soviets of people's deputies shall administer all spheres of state, economic, social and cultural development, pass decisions, and insure and control the execution of these decisions.

Article 93. Soviets of people's deputies shall function on the basis of collective, free and businesslike discussion and solution of questions, publicity, and regular accountability of the executive and administrative organs, and of other organs set up by the soviets to the soviets and the population, with the broad enlistment of citizens in their work.

#### Chapter 13. Electoral System

Article 94. Elections of deputies to all soviets of people's deputies shall be held on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Article 95. Elections of deputies shall be universal; all citizens of the USSR who have reached the age of 18 shall have the right to elect and be elected, with the exception of persons who have been legally certified insane.

Article 96. Elections of deputies shall be equal; each voter shall have one vote; all voters shall participate in elections on equal terms.

Article 97. Elections of deputies shall be direct; deputies to all soviets of people's deputies shall be elected by citizens by direct vote.

Article 98. Voting at elections of deputies shall be secret; control over the expression of will of voters shall be precluded.

Article 99. The right to nominate candidates for election as deputies shall be exercised by organizations of the CPSU, the trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, the cooperatives and other public organizations, and by work collectives.

Citizens of the USSR and public organizations shall be guaranteed free and all-round discussion of the political, professional and personal qualities of the candidates standing for election as deputies, and also the right of campaigning at meetings, in the press and by television and radio.

Article 100. Deputies to soviets of people's deputies shall be elected by electoral districts; the conduct of elections to soviets shall be insured by electoral commissions consisting of representatives of public organizations and work collectives.

The procedure for elections to soviets of people's deputies shall be defined by law.

#### Chapter 14. People's Deputy

Article 101. Deputies shall be authorized representatives of the people in the soviets of people's deputies.

By participating in the work of the soviets, deputies shall resolve matters related to state, economic, social and cultural development, organize the execution of the decisions of the soviets, and exercise control over the work of state organs, enterprises, institutions and organizations.

In their work deputies shall be guided by the interests of the whole state, take the requirements of the population of their electoral district into account and secure the implementation of the mandates of the constituents.

Article 102. Deputies shall exercise their powers without discontinuing work in their trade or profession.

During the period of sessions of the soviet and also for the exercise of the powers of deputies in other cases provided for by the law, deputies shall be released from their duties in their trade or profession with the preservation of their average earnings at the place of permanent work.

Article 103. A deputy shall have the right to address an inquiry to the appropriate state organs and officials, who shall be obliged to reply to the inquiry at a session of the soviet.

Deputies shall have the right to address an inquiry to any state or public organ, enterprise, institution or organization on questions within their terms of reference as deputies and take part in considering the questions raised by them. The heads of the respective state or public organs, enterprises, institutions or organizations shall be obliged to receive deputies without delay and consider their recommendations within the period established by law.

Article 104. Deputies shall be assured conditions for the unhindered and effective exercise of their rights and duties.

The immunity of deputies, as well as other guarantees of their functions as deputies, shall be defined in the law on the status of deputies and other legislation of the USSR and of the union and autonomous republics.

Article 105. Deputies shall report to their constituents on their work and on the work of the soviet.

Deputies who have not justified the trust of constituents may be recalled at any time by decision of the majority of constituents in accordance with the procedure established by law.

## V. Higher Organs of State Power and Administration of the USSR

### Chapter 15. Supreme Soviet of the USSR

Article 106. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be the highest organ of state power in the USSR.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be empowered to deal with all matters placed within the jurisdiction of the USSR by the present constitution.

The adoption of the constitution of the USSR and amendments to it, the admission of new republics to the USSR, approval of the formation of new autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts, endorsement of state plans of national economic, social and cultural development of the USSR and of the state budget of the USSR and of the reports of their execution, and the formation of organs of the USSR accountable to it shall be the exclusive competence of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Laws of the USSR shall be enacted solely by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 107. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall consist of two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall have equal rights.

Article 108. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall have an equal number of deputies.

The Soviet of the Union shall be elected by electoral districts with equal populations.

The Soviet of Nationalities shall be elected on the basis of the following quotas: 32 deputies from each union republic, 11 deputies from each autonomous republic, 5 deputies from each autonomous oblast and 1 deputy from each autonomous okrug.

Upon representation by the credentials commissions elected by them the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall pass a decision recognizing the credentials of deputies, and in cases where the election law has been violated, find the election of individual deputies invalid.

Article 109. Each chamber of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall elect its chairman and four deputy chairmen.

The chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall preside over sittings of the respective chambers and have charge of their proceedings.

Joint plenary sittings of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be presided over alternately by the chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

Article 110. Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be convened twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions shall be convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at its discretion or on the recommendation of not less than one-third of the deputies of one of the chambers, and likewise at the bidding of one of the union republics.

A session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall consist of separate and joint plenary sittings of the chambers, and also of sittings of the standing commissions of the chambers or commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR held during the session. A session is opened and closed at plenary sittings of the chambers.

The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall open and close their sessions simultaneously.

Article 111. The right to initiate legislation in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be exercised by the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the union republics represented by their higher organs of state power, the commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the standing commissions of its chambers, deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Court of the USSR, and the prosecutor general of the USSR.

The right to initiate legislation shall be enjoyed also by mass public organizations represented by their all-union organs.

Article 112. After a draft law has been debated at sittings of the chambers it may be referred for examination to one or several commissions. The chambers shall also have the right to debate and vote for a draft law without referring it to a commission.

Laws of the USSR, decisions and other acts of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be adopted at separate or joint sittings of the chambers.

A law of the USSR shall be deemed enacted if passed by both chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by a simple majority vote of the deputies in each.

By decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted on their initiative or on the recommendation of a union republic, draft laws of the USSR may be submitted for nationwide [vsenarodnoye] discussion and likewise put to a nationwide [vsenarodnoye] vote (referendum).

Article 113. In the event of disagreement between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the question at issue shall be referred for settlement to a conciliation commission formed by the chambers on a parity basis, following which the question shall be considered for a second time by the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities at a joint sitting.

Article 114. Laws of the USSR, decisions and other acts of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be published in the languages of the union republics over the signatures of the chairman and secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 115. A deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall have the right to address an inquiry to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to ministers and heads of other organs formed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Council of Ministers of the USSR or the official to whom the inquiry is addressed shall be obliged to give a verbal or written reply at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR not later than within 3 days.

Article 116. A deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR may not be prosecuted, arrested or administratively penalized by a court order without the authorization of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or, between its sessions, without the authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 117. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR at a joint sitting of the two chambers shall elect the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the continuously functioning organ of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR accountable to it in all its activities.

Article 118. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be elected from among deputies and shall consist of a chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, a first deputy chairman, 15 deputy chairmen, i.e., one from each union republic, a secretary of the Presidium and 21 members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 119. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall:

- 1--Convene sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;
- 2--Coordinate the work of the standing commissions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;
- 3--Exercise control over the observance of the constitution of the USSR and insure conformity of the constitutions of the union republics with the constitution of the USSR;
- 4--Interpret the laws of the USSR;
- 5--Ratify and denounce [denonsirovat] international treaties of the USSR;
- 6--Revoke decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the councils of ministers of the union republics where they do not conform to the law;
- 7--Institute military titles, diplomatic ranks and other special titles; confer the highest military titles, diplomatic ranks and other special titles;
- 8--Institute orders and medals of the USSR and titles of honor of the USSR; award orders and medals of the USSR; confer titles of honor of the USSR.
- 9--Admit to citizenship of the USSR, rule on questions of renunciation and deprivation of the citizenship of the USSR, and on questions of granting asylum;
- 10--Issue all-union acts on amnesty and exercise the right of pardon;



11--Appoint and recall plenipotentiary representatives of the USSR in foreign states and at international organizations;

12--Receive the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to it;

13--Form the Council of Defense of the USSR and approve its composition; appoint and replace the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the USSR;

14--Proclaim martial law in separate localities or throughout the country in the interests of the defense of the USSR;

15--Order general or partial mobilization;

16--Between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, proclaim a state of war in the event of an armed attack on the USSR, or when necessary to fulfill international treaty obligations providing for mutual defense against aggression.

Article 120. Between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and subject to its endorsement at the next session, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall:

1--Introduce, where necessary, amendments in the operating legislation of the USSR;

2--Approve changes in the boundaries between union republics;

3--On the proposal of the Council of Ministers of the USSR form and abolish ministries of the USSR and state committees of the USSR;

4--On representation by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR release and appoint individual members of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Article 121. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall issue decrees and adopt decisions.

Article 122. On the expiration of the term of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall retain its powers until the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR has formed a new Presidium.

The newly elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR not later than 2 months after the elections.

Article 123. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall elect from among the deputies standing commissions to consider and prepare in advance questions within the terms of reference of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and also to help implement laws of the USSR and other decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its Presidium, and exercise control over the work of state organs and organizations.

The chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR may set up joint commissions on a parity basis.

Article 124. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall exercise control over the work of all the state organs accountable to it.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall form a committee of people's control of the USSR to head the system of organs of people's control.

Article 125. When it deems necessary, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall set up inquiry, auditing and other commissions on any question. All state organs, institutions and officials shall fulfill the requirements of these commissions and submit the necessary materials and documents to them.

Article 126. The procedure for the work of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its organs shall be defined by the regulations of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the laws of the USSR enacted on the basis of the constitution of the USSR.

#### Chapter 16. The Council of Ministers of the USSR

Article 127. The Council of Ministers of the USSR--the Government of the USSR--shall be the highest executive and administrative organ of state power in the USSR.

Article 128. The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be formed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities and consist of: the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, first deputy chairmen and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, ministers of the USSR, chairmen of state committees of the USSR.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall include the chairmen of the councils of ministers of union republics by virtue of their office.

By submission of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR may include in the Government of the USSR leaders of other organs and organizations of the USSR.

Article 129. The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to which it shall be accountable.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall regularly report on its work to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 130. The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be empowered to deal with all matters of state administration that come within the jurisdiction of the USSR insofar as they do not, by force of the constitution, come within the competence of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Within the limits of its authority the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall:

1--Insure guidance of the national economic, social and cultural development and implementation of a uniform policy in science and technology; draw up and carry out measures in furtherance of the well-being and culture of the people, to fortify the uniform monetary and credit system, to secure a uniform price policy, to insure the organization of state insurance and a uniform system of accounting and statistics; organize the administration of industrial, building, and agricultural enterprises and associations, transport and communications enterprises, banks, and likewise of other organizations and institutions that come within all-union jurisdiction;

2--Draw up and submit to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR current and long-term state plans of national economic, social and cultural development in the USSR, and the state budget of the USSR; carry out measures to execute the state plan and budget; submit progress reports on the plan and budget fulfillment to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;

3--Carry out measures to safeguard the interests of the state, to insure protection of socialist property and maintenance of public order, and to insure and protect the rights of citizens;

4--Take measures to insure the security of the state;

5--Exercise general guidance of the development of the armed forces of the USSR, determine the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for active military service;

6--Exercise general guidance in the sphere of relations with foreign states, foreign trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of the USSR with foreign countries; take measures to insure fulfillment of international treaties of the USSR, endorse and denounce intergovernmental international treaties.

Article 131. The Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, consisting of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the first deputy chairmen and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, shall function as a permanent organ of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for the purpose of resolving questions related to the administration of the national economy and to other questions of state administration.

When necessary, the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall form committees, central administrations and other departments of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for economic, social and cultural development, and the development of defense [oboronnoye stroitelstvo].

Article 132. On the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR and the decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall issue decisions and orders and verify their execution. The decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be binding for execution in the whole territory of the USSR.

Article 133. In matters referred to the competence of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall have the right to suspend decisions and orders issued by the councils of ministers of union republics; rescind acts of the ministries of the USSR, state committees of the USSR, and likewise of other organs within its jurisdiction.

Article 134. The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall coordinate and direct the work of all-union and union-republican ministries of the USSR, state committees of the USSR, and other organs within its jurisdiction.

All-union ministries and state committees of the USSR shall exercise guidance of branches of administration entrusted to them in the whole territory of the USSR directly or through organs formed by them.

Union-republican ministries of the USSR and state committees of the USSR shall, as a rule, direct branches of administration entrusted to them through the respective ministries and state committees of union republics, and shall directly guide enterprises and associations enumerated in the list endorsed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Ministries of the USSR and state committees of the USSR shall be responsible for the condition and development of the branches of administration entrusted to them, issue acts within their terms of reference on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR, decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and organize and verify their execution.

Article 135. The competence of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and its Presidium, the manner of their activity, the relationship between the Council of Ministers of the USSR and state committees of the USSR, and likewise the list of all-union and union-republican ministries of the USSR and state committees of the USSR shall be defined in the law on the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

## VI. Basic Principles of the Structure of Organs of State Power and Administration in Union Republics

### Chapter 17. Higher Organs of State Power and Administration of Union Republics

Article 136. The highest organ of state power of a union republic shall be the supreme soviet of the union republic.

The supreme soviet of a union republic shall be empowered to deal with all matters referred to the competence of the union republic in the constitution of the USSR and the constitution of the union republic.

Adoption of the constitution of a union republic, its amendment, endorsement of state plans of national economic, social, and cultural development, and likewise of the state budget of the union republic, and formation of organs accountable to it, shall be within the exclusive competence of the supreme soviet of the union republic.

Laws of the union republic shall be enacted solely by the supreme soviet of the union republic.

Article 137. The supreme soviet of a union republic shall elect a presidium of the supreme soviet of the union republic--a continuously functioning organ of the supreme soviet of the union republic accountable to it for all its activity. The composition and powers of the presidium of the supreme soviet of a union republic shall be defined in the constitution of the union republic.

Article 138. The supreme soviet of a union republic shall form a council of ministers of the union republic--the government of the union republic--which shall be the highest executive and administrative organ of state power in the union republic.

The council of ministers of a union republic shall be responsible and accountable to the supreme soviet of the union republic, or, between sessions of the supreme soviet, to the presidium of the supreme soviet of the union republic, to which it is accountable.

Article 139. The council of ministers of a union republic shall issue decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR and of the union republic, decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and organize and verify their execution.

Article 140. The council of ministers of a union republic shall have the right to halt execution of decisions and orders of the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, to rescind the decisions and orders of the executive committees of kray, oblast and town (towns under republican jurisdiction) soviets of people's deputies, soviets of people's deputies of autonomous oblasts, and, in union republics not divided into oblasts, of executive committees of rayon and respective town soviets of people's deputies.

Article 141. The council of ministers of a union republic shall coordinate and direct the work of union-republican and republican ministries and state committees of the union republic.

Union-republican ministries and state committees of a union republic shall direct branches of administration entrusted to them, and shall be subordinate to both the council of ministers of the union republic and to the respective union-republican ministry of the USSR or state committee of the USSR.

Republican ministries and state committees shall direct the branches of administration entrusted to them, and be subordinate to the council of ministers of the union republic.

#### Chapter 18. Higher Organs of State Power and Administration of Autonomous Republics

Article 142. The highest organ of state power in an autonomous republic shall be the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic.

Adoption of the constitution of the autonomous republic, its amendment, endorsement of state plans for national economic, social and cultural development, and likewise of the state budget of the autonomous republic, and formation of organs accountable to it, shall be within the exclusive competence of the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic.

Laws of the autonomous republic shall be enacted solely by the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic.

Article 143. The supreme soviet of an autonomous republic shall elect the presidium of the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic and shall form the council of ministers of the autonomous republic--the government of the autonomous republic.

#### Chapter 19. Local Organs of State Power and Administration

Article 144. Respective soviets of people's deputies shall be organs of state power in krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, towns, rayons, town rayons, settlements and rural populated areas [naseleennyye punkty].

Article 145. Local soviets of people's deputies shall deal with all matters of local relevance proceeding from the interests of the whole state and the interests of citizens residing in the territory of the soviet, implement decisions of higher state organs and likewise take part in the discussion of matters of republican and all-union relevance and submit proposals on them.

Soviets of people's deputies shall within their territory direct state, economic, social and cultural development; approve plans of economic, social and cultural development and the local budget; exercise guidance over the activities of state organs, enterprises, institutions and organizations subordinated to them;

insure observance of laws, maintenance of state and public order, and the rights of citizens; help fortify the defense capacity of the country.

Article 146. Within their terms of reference local soviets of people's deputies shall exercise control over observance of the law by enterprises, institutions and organizations of higher subordination located in their territory, coordinate and control their activity as regards land use, protection of nature, building, production of consumer goods, social-cultural, consumer and other services rendered to the population.

Article 147. Local soviets of people's deputies adopt decisions within their terms of reference under the laws of the USSR and of union and autonomous republics. Decisions of local soviets shall be binding on all enterprises, institutions and organizations, and likewise on officials and citizens, in its territory.

Article 148. Executive committees elected by local soviets of people's deputies from among their deputies shall be the executive and administrative organs of local soviets.

Executive committees shall report on their activity to the soviets that elected them not less than once a year.

Article 149. Executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies shall be directly accountable to both the soviet that elected them and to the higher executive and administrative organ.

## VII. Justice, Arbitration and Prosecutor's Supervision

### Chapter 20. Courts of Law and Arbitration

Article 150. In the USSR justice shall be administered exclusively by courts of law.

In the USSR there shall be the Supreme Court of the USSR, supreme courts of union republics, supreme courts of autonomous republics, kray, oblast and town courts, courts of autonomous oblasts, courts of autonomous okrugs, rayon (town) people's courts, and military tribunals in the armed forces.

Article 151. All courts in the USSR shall be formed on the principle of election of judges and people's assessors.

People's judges of rayon (town) people's courts shall be elected by the citizens of the rayon (town) on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of 5 years. People's assessors of rayon (town) people's courts shall be elected at meetings of working people at places of work or residence by public vote for a term of 2 and 1/2 years.

Higher courts shall be elected by the respective soviets of people's deputies for a term of 5 years.

Judges of military tribunals shall be elected by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for a term of 5 years, and people's assessors by general meetings of servicemen for a term of 2 and 1/2 years.

Judges and people's assessors shall be responsible and accountable to their electors or the organs that elected them.

Article 152. The Supreme Court of the USSR shall be the highest judicial organ of the USSR and shall exercise supervision of the administration of justice by courts of the USSR, and likewise courts of union republics within terms of reference defined by law.

The Supreme Court of the USSR shall be elected by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for a term of 5 years and consist of the chairman, deputy chairmen, members and people's assessors. The Supreme Court of the USSR shall include chairmen of supreme courts of union republics by virtue of their office.

The organization of and conduct of business by the Supreme Court of the USSR shall be defined in the law on the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Article 153. Examination of civil and criminal cases in all courts shall be collegial and in courts of the first instance with the participation of people's assessors. In the administration of justice people's assessors shall have all the rights of a judge.

Article 154. Judges and people's assessors shall be independent and subject only to the law.

Article 155. Justice in the USSR shall be administered on the principle of the equality of citizens before the law and court.

Article 156. Legal proceedings in all courts shall be public. The hearing of cases in camera shall be allowed solely in cases defined by law with the observance of all rules of judicial procedure.

Article 157. The defendant shall be guaranteed the right of defense.

Article 158. Judicial proceedings shall be conducted in the language of the union or autonomous republic, autonomous oblast or autonomous okrug, or in the language spoken by the majority of the population in the given locality. Persons participating in the case not conversant with the language in which the judicial proceedings are conducted shall have the right to fully acquaint themselves with the materials of the case, to participate in court proceedings through an interpreter and to address the court of law in their own language.

Article 159. No person shall be considered guilty of committing a crime and subjected to criminal punishment other than by a verdict of the court and in conformity with criminal law.

Article 160. There shall be collegiums of lawyers for the purpose of rendering legal counsel to citizens and organizations. In cases provided for by law legal counsel to citizens shall be free of charge.

Article 161. Representatives of public organizations and work collectives shall be allowed to take part in judicial proceedings on civil and criminal cases.

Article 162. Settlement of economic disputes between organizations, institutions and enterprises shall be carried out by state organs of arbitration. The organization of and conduct of business by state organs of arbitration shall be defined by law.

Guidance and supervision of the activity of all organs of arbitration shall be exercised by the State Court of Arbitration of the USSR. The chief arbiter of the State Court of Arbitration of the USSR shall be appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for a term of 5 years.

## Chapter 21. The Prosecutor's Office

Article 163. Supreme supervisory power over the precise and uniform execution of laws by all ministries, state committees and departments, enterprises, institutions and organizations, executive and administrative organs of local soviets of people's deputies, collective farms, cooperative and other public organizations, officials and citizens, shall be exercised by the prosecutor general of the USSR and prosecutors subordinate to him.

Article 164. The prosecutor general of the USSR shall be appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and shall be responsible and accountable to it, or between sessions of the Supreme Soviet to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to which he is accountable.

Article 165. Prosecutors of union republics, autonomous republics, krays, oblasts and autonomous oblasts shall be appointed by the prosecutor general of the USSR. Prosecutors of autonomous okrug and rayon and town prosecutors shall be appointed by prosecutors of union republics and their appointment endorsed by the prosecutor general of the USSR.

Article 166. The term of office of the prosecutor general of the USSR and all subordinate prosecutors shall be 5 years.

Article 167. Organs of the prosecutor's office shall exercise their powers independently from any and all local organs, and shall be subordinate solely to the prosecutor general of the USSR.

The organization of and conduct of business by the organs of the prosecutor's office of the USSR shall be defined in the law on the prosecutor's supervision in the USSR.

## VIII. The Arms, Flag, Anthem and Capital of the USSR

Article 168. The state arms of the USSR shall be a hammer and sickle against the background of the globe depicted in the rays of the sun and framed by sheaves of wheat, with the inscription, "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!" in the languages of the union republics. There shall be a five-pointed star at the top of the arms.

Article 169. The state flag of the USSR shall be a rectangular red cloth with the depiction in the upper corner, beside the staff, of a golden hammer and sickle and above it of a gold-framed red five-pointed star. The ratio of width to length of the flag shall be 1:2.

Article 170. The state anthem of the USSR shall be approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 171. The City of Moscow shall be the capital of the USSR.

## IX. The Manner of Action and Amendment of the Constitution of the USSR

Article 172. The Constitution of the USSR shall have supreme legal force. All laws and other acts of state organs shall be issued on the basis of, and in conformity with, the constitution of the USSR.

The constitution of the USSR shall be effective from the time of its adoption.

Article 173. Amendment of the constitution of the USSR shall be by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of deputies of each of its chambers.



ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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[Report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CC CPSU and chairman of the Constitutional Commission, to the 24 May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Esteemed comrades!

We are to discuss the draft of the new constitution of the USSR. The Politburo has studied this document attentively and approved it in principle. Because you are all familiar with the draft, let me dwell merely on some key questions of principle.

1.

The first question is /why has a new constitution become necessary./

It is because, comrades, in the past 4 decades our country and our whole society have profoundly changed.

When the constitution of 1936 was adopted the creation of the basis of socialism was just being completed. The collective farm system was still young and not strong. The technical level of the national economy was still a long way from that of the advanced industrialized countries. The legacy of pre-revolutionary times was still felt in various fields.

Now the Soviet Union has built an advanced and mature socialist society. /Major and fundamental changes have taken place in all the aspects of social life./

The country's economy has changed out of recognition. It is fully dominated by socialist property. A single and powerful national economic organism has taken shape and is functioning successfully. It is developing by combining scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system.

The social face of society has become different too.

Our working class today comprises two-thirds of the country's population. These are tens of millions of educated, technically advanced and politically mature people. Their labor increasingly approximates in character that of engineers and technical workers. The social involvement of the workers and their participation in running the state have increased.

The peasantry too has changed. The contemporary collective farmer was born and grew up in the collective farm and his psychology has been shaped by socialism. He manages modern technology and his educational level and his way of life are often little different from the urban.

The intelligentsia has become a truly people's, socialist intelligentsia. As the cultural level of the people grows and science comes to play an unprecedented role in communist construction, the weight of intelligentsia in the life of our society increases.

The equality of nations has become not only legal but actual. All our republics, including those which used to lag behind in economic and cultural fields, have now reached a high level of development. Simultaneously the economy of every republic has become part and parcel of the single national economic complex.

The common denominator of all these changes is the growing social homogeneity of the Soviet society. The unbreakable union of the working class, the collective farmers and the people's intelligentsia has become still stronger. Distinctions between the main social groups are gradually being obliterated. The course of their life brings still closer together all the nations, large and small, of our country. A new historical community of people has emerged, the Soviet people.

With the building of mature socialism and transition of all the strata of society to the ideological and political positions of the working class, our state, which came into being as the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of the whole people.

All these processes in the life of the country have been directed and are directed by the Communist Party, the guiding, organizing and mobilizing force of our society since the October Revolution to our day. The tasks it is tackling now are more complex and multifarious. Its role has become more responsible and the scope of its directing influence on the entire internal life of the country and its foreign policy has grown.

Finally, the international position of the Soviet Union and the socio-political face of the world have changed dramatically. An end has been put to the capitalist encirclement of the USSR. Socialism has become a world system. A powerful socialist community has taken shape. The position of world capitalism has been seriously weakened. In place of the

former colonies tens of young states have sprung up which oppose imperialism. The international authority and influence of our country have grown immeasurably.

As the result, the alinement of forces in the world has become completely different. There is now a real possibility to prevent a new world war. The threat of such a war breaking out has already been substantially weakened although much work and hard struggle still lie ahead in that respect.

Relying on what has been achieved, the Soviet people led by the party is now tackling new tasks: creating the material and technical base of communism, gradual transformation of socialist social relations into communist relations, and education of the people in the spirit of communist consciousness.

These in brief are the main changes in our society and the life of the country since 1936. These are the main reasons and prerequisites for creating a new constitution of the USSR.

2.

/Comrades, the draft of the new constitution is the result of extensive and prolonged work. Its basis is formed by clear and concrete directions of the party./ The Accountability Report of the CC to the 25th CPSU Congress said: "The draft of the new constitution should reflect the great victories of socialism, and seal not only the general principles of the socialist system expressing the class essence of our state but also the main features of developed socialist society and its political organization." The need was also noted to reflect the principles of economic management, the role of the state in the spiritual life of society and further development of socialist democracy.

These fundamental instructions of the party have been reflected in the draft.

Working on the draft /we have firmly adhered to the principle of continuity./ It preserves and develops the characteristic features of the socialist constitution indicated by Lenin.

V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party proceeded on the basis that the constitution is not only a legal act but a key political document. The party regarded the constitution as an assertion of the gains of the revolution and at the same time proclamation of the main tasks and goals of socialist construction.

Such was our first constitution of the RSFSR of 1918, which fixed the gains of the October Revolution and defined the class nature of the Soviet state as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Such was the USSR Constitution of 1924, which laid down the principles of the formation of a union socialist state.

The constitution of 1936 legislatively confirmed the victory of the socialist social relations in the USSR and brought the whole system of the bodies of power and administration and electoral procedure into line with this. The constitutional framework for the development of society worked out then has withstood the test of time.

The new draft retains many fundamental provisions of the present constitution because they continue to correspond to the essence of our system and the character of our development.

Thus the draft of the new constitution, on the one hand, sums up the entire constitutional experience of the Soviet history and, on the other, enriches that experience with new content meeting the requirements of the present epoch.

/The draft is also based on the renewal and improvement of Soviet legislation already carried out/ and crowns as it were all that has been done in that respect.

Indeed, very much has been done in recent years. The fundamental legislations and republic codes in most of the key departments of law have come into force. We now have statutes on industrial enterprise and production association and the new rules of the collective farm. New laws have been adopted on health, people's education, pensions, and environmental protection. The rights and duties of the local soviets have been clearly defined. The status of deputies has been settled. All these legislative acts are taken account of in the draft, providing bricks as it were, of which many articles of the new constitution are built.

Another essential matter is this. In the preparation of the draft /the experience of the constitutional development of the fraternal socialist countries has been used./ In the 1970's, Bulgaria, the GDR, Cuba and some other socialist countries adopted new constitutions. They contain a number of provisions of interest to us and they have not been left out of attention.

In short, comrades, the new constitution is being erected on a sound practical and theoretical foundation. In this, the Politburo believes, is the guarantee of its stability and its active influence on further progress of Soviet society.

3.

And now for the /main features of the content of the draft of the new constitution./

One should note in the first place that it gives a /comprehensive description of the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party/ and clearly reflects the real place of our party in the Soviet society and state. As distinct from the constitution of 1936, this is dealt with more broadly and in a special article.

The draft of the new constitution also points out that /a developed socialist society has been created in the USSR and that the supreme goal of the Soviet state is building communism./ It stresses that /ours is the state of all the people/ and expresses the will and interest of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia and all the nations and nationalities of the country. Accordingly it is proposed to call our soviets /the Soviets of the People's Deputies./

The draft retains the fundamental thesis to the effect that the socialist ownership of the means of production forms the basis of the economic system of the USSR. At the same time it is proposed to make some formulations more precise in the new constitution, as life itself has prompted. Along with the state and collective farm-cooperative forms of property, it also names the property of the trade unions and other public organizations.

It can be said on the whole that /the main direction of the new things contained in the draft is toward expanding and deepening socialist democracy./

The democratic principles of election and functioning of the soviets are further developed. Their role in solving the key questions to our society is to increase.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, says Article 106, is competent to decide on all the questions within the jurisdiction of the USSR. The local soviets decide not only all the local questions but control and coordinate, within the limits of their rights, the activity of all the organizations on their territory. Emphasis is laid on systematic control by the soviets of the executive and decision-making bodies and the activity of organizations and officials.

The term of the Supreme Soviet is increased to 5 years and that of local soviets to 2.5 years. The elections of the courts will also be held within these time limits.

The draft outlines the main ways for strengthening the links of the soviets and their deputies with the masses. They must regularly inform the population about their activity, report back to their constituents and carefully examine each proposal of the working peoples.

You know, comrades, that 5 years ago we adopted an important law on the status of the deputy of the soviet. To still further enhance the role of

the deputies, their main powers under this law have been included in the text of the draft constitution.

There is a new element in the election system. While under our present constitution people over 23 could be elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and over 21 to the Supreme Soviet of the union republics, this age is now lowered to 18 for all the Soviet citizens. This is a real manifestation of our society's concern for the youth and confidence in it.

The draft constitution broadly reflects the important role played in the life of the country by the trade unions, the Komsomol, the cooperative and other mass public organizations. They have the right to take part in solving political, economic, social, cultural questions and the right of legislative initiative. Thereby it is stressed that the state of all the people takes account of the interests of all the social strata and groups of the population.

The draft constitution also includes a provision on the role of working people's collectives. That meets the principled line of our party and the significance it attaches to fostering democratic principles in production management.

The building of developed socialism permits us to substantially improve the statute of the main law /on the rights of Soviet citizens./ The famous words of the "Communist Manifesto"--"free development of each is the condition for free development of everyone"--have become in practice the fundamental principle of our state and that is sealed in the draft.

A special section proclaims the general principle of equality of Soviet citizens. Besides, the gains of socialism are fixed with full clarity in such important spheres as women's equal rights with men, and equality of citizens irrespective of nationality and race.

It is known that the present constitution provides for /a broad complex of social and economic rights/ of fundamental importance for the people. However, we are well aware of how their content has deepened and how much richer and weightier have become the material guarantees behind them. All this is reflected in the draft of the new constitution. While formerly it granted the general right to work, that is now complemented by the right to choose profession, occupation and job in accordance with the vocation, abilities, professional training and education of the citizens and--what is no less important--with due account of the social needs.

Further, while the constitution of 1936 speaks of the right of material security in case of illness or disablement, the question now is treated more broadly: The Soviet people are guaranteed the right to protection of their health. While formerly the constitution spoke of the general right to education, it now speaks of compulsory universal secondary education and the broad development of vocational technical and higher education.

The draft also speaks about one right of the Soviet citizens which is not in the present constitution. I am referring to the right to housing, which will be provided more and more fully as the housing program is implemented and also through state assistance to cooperative and individual housing construction. Our new constitution is one of the first in the world to proclaim that vital human right.

/The political rights and freedoms of the USSR citizens/ have been formulated more fully in the draft.

The right of every Soviet citizen to take part in running state and public affairs is proclaimed and concrete forms of such participation are indicated.

The freedom of expression, the press, assembly and meetings, street marches and demonstrations, recorded in the current constitution, have been fully reaffirmed. A substantial addition to the constitutional guarantees of the rights of the individual will be the right of citizens to introduce proposals to government and public bodies, criticize shortcomings in their work, file legal complaints over actions of officials and also the right to legal defense from encroachments on their life and health, property and individual freedom, honor and dignity.

Of course, comrades, the draft constitution proceeds from the assumption that the rights and freedoms of citizens cannot and must not be used against our social system and to damage the interests of the Soviet people. That is why the draft says directly, for example, that the exercise of the rights and freedoms by citizens should not damage the interests of society and state and the rights of other citizens, and that the political freedoms are granted in accordance with the interests of the people and with the aim of strengthening the socialist system.

It is necessary for every Soviet citizen to understand clearly that the main guarantee of his rights in the final analysis is the might and prosperity of our homeland. Every citizen should feel his responsibility for that before society and should conscientiously discharge his duty by the state and the people.

That is why the draft constitution emphasizes the duty of the citizens to work honestly and conscientiously and to defend the homeland. For the first time the character of a constitutional demand is given to the duty to guard the interests of the Soviet state, contribute to its might and authority, do everything to protect public order, to combat stealing and waste of state and public property, to guard nature and protect its riches, and to preserve cultural values. The draft makes it a duty of a citizen to be concerned about raising children and to bring them up to become worthy members of the socialist society.

A special chapter of the draft, /"Social Development and Culture,"/ says that the state concerns itself about the development of education, science and art, improvement of the working conditions of the citizens, raising the level of incomes, the growth and equitable distribution of public consumption funds. It also says that the state contributes to reaching such important frontiers in our advance toward communism as obliterating the essential differences between town and countryside, between brain and physical labor and making society more homogeneous socially.

The draft constitution also clearly reflects /further strengthening of socialist legality and law and order./

We know, comrades, that some years after the adoption of the current constitution were darkened by illegal repressions, violations of the principles of socialist democracy, Leninist norms of party and state life. This was done in contravention of the constitutional provisions. The party has resolutely condemned this practice and it should never repeat.

It is well known what great work has been carried out by our Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government to improve Soviet laws and create solid guarantees against any violations of the rights of citizens, abuse of power and bureaucratic excesses. Generalizing these guarantees, the draft stresses that abidance by the constitution and the laws is obligatory for all the state bodies and officials, public organizations and citizens.

Comrades, /the Soviet Union is a multinational state./ Experience has shown that the main features of the federal structure of the USSR have fully justified themselves. There is therefore no need to introduce any fundamental changes in the forms of the Soviet Socialist Federation.

The draft, like the constitution of 1936, says that the sovereign rights of the union republics are protected by the Union of SSR. The safeguards of these rights are also retained. Moreover, new ones are being added such as the right of the republics to take part in the decision-making by the union bodies on questions within the competence of the Union of SSR. The union republics, as represented by their supreme government bodies, have the right of legislative initiative at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

On the other hand, the progressive rapprochement of the nations and nationalities of the USSR prompts the need to strengthen the union elements of the state. This is reflected in the very definition of the USSR as a single union multinational state (Article 69). The strengthening of all-union principles is reflected also in some other provisions of the draft.

On the whole the treatment in the draft of the national and state structure insures genuinely democratic combination of the general interests of the multinational union and the interests of each of the constituent



republics and insures all-round flourishing and steady drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of our country.

The draft reflects /a new stage in the development of our national economy./ It points out that the economy of the USSR has become a single national economic complex covering all the elements of public production, distribution and exchange on the country's territory.

It also seals the important principle of socialist economics, that is, combination of planned centralized management with economic independence and initiative of enterprises and associations.

The draft constitution formulates more accurately the powers of the central and local government bodies, ministries and agencies. As distinct from the present constitution the draft does not list the union and union-republican ministries and agencies, because, as experience has shown, their composition changes from time to time. It has been thought fit to place the list in the special law on the Council of Ministers of the USSR whose adoption is stipulated by Article 135 of the draft constitution.

Comrades! The radical changes in the international position of the Soviet Union and the enormous growth of its influence in world politics and the close interconnection of the internal and external practice of our development makes it necessary to include in the draft constitution /a special chapter on the foreign policy of the USSR./ This is the first time such a chapter is being introduced in the constitution.

It says that the Soviet state consistently pursues the Leninist policy of peace, comes out for consolidating the security of nations and broad international cooperation. The Soviet foreign policy aims to insure favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, to strengthen the positions of world socialism, support the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, prevent aggressive wars and consistently implement the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The constitution will for the first time state explicitly that the Soviet Union is part of the world system of socialism, and the socialist community. It develops and strengthens friendship, cooperation and comradely mutual assistance with the socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism.

Also introduced for the first time is a special /chapter on the defense of the socialist homeland./ Besides, the prerogatives of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will include formation of the Defense Council and determining its composition.

Such, in brief, are the main features of the content of the draft of the new constitution of the USSR.

4.

Permit me now to dwell on the tasks we shall face in implementing the new constitution and the significance of its adoption for the development of our country, strengthening the position of the forces of socialism, peace and progress in the world.

First /on the significance of the new constitution for the country's domestic life:/

The realization of its provisions should elevate to a qualitatively new level all our state and economic activity and the work of the bodies of power and administration.

One speaks first of all about still more effective exercise of the broad powers of the elected bodies, the soviets. The vast possibilities at the disposal of the 2-million-strong army of deputies--representatives of all the strata of society, all occupations and all nationalities--should be fully tapped. This powerful collective brain of the Soviet power is tackling and will tackle ever more complex and diverse tasks. It can and must exercise the most effective control of the work of the executive bodies at all levels.

Much needs to be done in the field of legislation. Proceeding from the constitution we are to develop union laws on elections, the Supreme Soviet regulations, the law on the Council of Ministers, and to define the powers of the territorial, regional and district soviets, ministries and agencies. It will be necessary, without losing time, to draw up and approve the new constitution of the union and autonomous republics.

The new constitution of the USSR will provide the core of the code of the laws of the Soviet state whose compilation has begun in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

At the same time our new constitution should lead to a substantial improvement in the work of all the organs charged with insuring strict observance of Soviet laws. I am speaking of the procurator's office, the court, arbitration and other administrative bodies and the people's control. The party expects all these bodies to display still greater initiative, adherence to principle, and intolerance in opposing any violations of Soviet law and order.

It is very important that the draft provides for the possibility of constant improvement of the whole system of socialist economic management, the whole work of the planning and other economic and cultural management bodies. Their main functions are defined in the constitution. It is necessary that they should be fulfilled in full and more scrupulously so as to increase the responsibility of every body and every official.

The soviets at all levels, the government and the ministries and agencies, the executive of the local soviets should constantly check their work against the constitutional requirements. And the party bodies should be more exacting with regard to the communists who are heads of state and economic bodies concerning the way they discharge their constitutional duties.

The implementation of the new constitution will enable millions upon millions of Soviet people to participate still more actively in the management of the economy and control of the work of the state apparatus.

Centralism in management of the economy is necessary and logical. But equally necessary is careful account of all the diversity of conditions of our economic development. And that is impossible without still higher initiative of the production collectives, without active and, I should say, concerned participation of the workers themselves in management. Democracy under socialism has been and is an important lever of development of the economy and all the fields of economic and cultural life of society.

Thus our constitution has tremendous creative potential, and it must be used creatively. "The Soviet constitution," said V. I. Lenin, "serves and will constantly serve the working people and is a powerful weapon in the fight for socialism." ("Collected Works," Volume 36, page 535). Today Vladimir Il'ich would have added, and an instrument in building communism.

There is no doubt, comrades, that the adoption of the new constitution of the USSR, a constitution of developed socialism, a constitution of building communism, will be not only a historic event for this country but /a landmark of tremendous international significance./ Its implementation will have a profound long-term impact far beyond the boundaries of our homeland.

Our new constitution will demonstrate to the whole world how the socialist state develops, asserting socialist democracy more solidly and deeply, will demonstrate what socialist democracy is like and wherein lies its essence. Our constitution will show the diversity of forms and the tremendous scope of the constantly growing and real participation of the broad popular masses in managing the affairs of state and society, something not known in the bourgeois countries where the real rulers are the small class of capitalists.

Reading our new constitution, people will see with greater clarity how broad and varied are the rights and freedoms of citizens in socialist society. In it the world will see a state which makes its goal constant growth of the welfare and culture of the whole people, all the classes and groups without exception, and actively works toward that goal.

Finally, our new constitution will convincingly show that the first state of victorious socialism has forever inscribed on its banner the word "peace" as the highest principle of its foreign policy, meeting the interests of its own people and those of all the other people of the planet.

The new constitution of the Soviet Union will undoubtedly enrich the common treasure-house of the experience of world socialism.

The achievements of victorious socialism, which it reflects in a concentrated form, will be an inspiring example for the peoples of those countries which recently embarked on the road of socialist development.

It will give confidence to the working masses in the capitalist countries in their struggle for their rights and for the liberation from capitalist exploitation.

To the perverted and vulgarized interpretation of democracy and human rights by the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda we oppose the most complete and real complex of rights and duties of the citizens of socialist society. We put on the scales of history the truly epoch-making gains of the working people achieved thanks to the power of the working class led by the Communist Party.

5.

Comrades! The Politburo of the CC believes that the draft of the new constitution approved by the plenum should be submitted for nationwide discussion as the 25th Congress of the CPSU has said. This means that /we are to carry out work of great scope and significance./

A document will be put up for discussion by the Soviet people reflecting the main gains of the revolution and the path we have traversed in building a new society. So the preparation for celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution and the discussion of the draft of the new constitution are organically interlinked and mutually complementary measures.

We face the task /of insuring the broadest, most free and businesslike discussion of the draft constitution,/ involving in this matter the mass of the working people, members of all the strata of society and of using the established forms of public activity for these purposes.

It is also necessary to create a clear-cut mechanism for taking note of the remarks and suggestions which will come from the working people through all channels.

One should bear in mind that during the mass discussion of the draft constitution the working people will look at the practical activity of all

the levels of party, Soviet and economic apparatus. Topical questions of concern to the people and outstanding problems and shortcomings in the work will be the subject of discussion. And we should be prepared for that. We should react promptly and concretely to criticism and suggestions and take measures to improve the state of affairs where necessary.

We are launching discussion of the new constitution at a time when the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, are mounting an intensive effort to fulfill the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The nationwide discussion will help /to make the country's social life still more active./ It should release in the people new creative forces, give new scope to socialist competition and enhance the responsibility of each for the tasks entrusted to him.

It is incumbent upon the party organizations and party bodies to contribute to the broad scope of the discussion of the constitution to give it correct and clear political direction. If they succeed in doing that adequately the political and economic results of this year--the year of the new constitution of the USSR and the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution--would undoubtedly be improved.

The discussion of the draft constitution is the vital concern of the soviets. In organizing this work they need to reach virtually every adult in the country. At present preparation is going on for elections for the local soviets in all the republics. It is important to make skillful use of that. Perhaps it would be useful to discuss the draft constitution at sessions of the newly elected local soviets.

We expect active participation in the discussion of our new constitution from our mass public organizations, in the first place from the trade unions and the Komsomol, the creative unions and organizations and scientific institutions.

The mass media are called upon to perform a special role. Skillful and vivid coverage of the discussion, respect for the voice of the working people--these will be required from our press, radio and television.

In short, comrades, the discussion of the new draft constitution should be a matter of the highest priority for all our organizations and all our cadres.

To conclude my speech, I would like, comrades, to emphasize again that the adoption of the new constitution of the USSR will mark a major milestone in the political history of our country. It will be another historic contribution of our Leninist party and the whole Soviet people to the great cause of building communism and at the same time to the international cause of the struggle of the working people of the whole world for freedom, the progress of mankind, the lasting peace on earth.

[L. I. Brezhnev's report was repeatedly interrupted by the applause of the plenum participants.]

L. I. BREZHNEV'S 29 MAY TELEVISION ADDRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 45-48 LD

[Text] Respected Soviet and French television viewers!

It was not so long ago that I spoke on television in a program for France. At that time, last October, a Soviet Union Week was being held on French television. And now a French Week is coming to an end on Soviet television. In this way it seems that France and the Soviet Union have come out as the initiators of a new form of regular exchanges between countries with different social systems. It would be a good thing if such an initiative were to become a tradition.

In general, there is justification to talk about the wealth of the traditions accumulated and about Soviet-French cooperation. I have in mind the practically annual summit meetings, the constant consultations with the purpose of deepening our mutual relations, and the exchanges of opinion on topical international questions. The doubling from one 5-year period to another of our trade exchange and the exchange of cultural riches already has a long history.

We are in favor of the constant growth of the intensive links between the peoples of our countries, and we want to see these links become more varied and fruitful. We will get to know each other even more and better, and this will increase our mutual confidence.

Everyone understands how important it is in our time to strengthen the trust between countries. It is exceptionally important when the matter concerns such a delicate sphere of mutual relations as the insuring of the security of each people and of all peoples. The basic task here is to prevent another turn in the spiral of the arms race.

Maybe some will say that a great deal has already been said on this theme. However, truly speaking, this is not just small change [raskhozhaya moneta] which is worn out through constant use, and a spiral is not just a repetition of what has already taken place in the past. It is not enough that the planet is already oversaturated with means of mass destruction. There

is a real danger, which is increasing yearly, that new types and new systems of weapons will be developed which will be many times more destructive. You may say: How much more; what more can there be? And that is just it: The time has come to stop.

I am convinced that not a single statesman, or public figure, or thinking person can avoid his share of responsibility in the struggle against the military threat, for this means responsibility for mankind's future itself.

I shall not conceal the fact that our concern over the continuing arms race, including the strategic arms race, has grown in connection with the positions adopted in these matters by the new U.S. administration. These positions are clearly aimed at obtaining one-sided advantages for the United States. Such a line, of course, in no way promotes the preparation and conclusions of a new, long-term agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on limiting strategic arms, the drawing up of which has already been dragged out beyond all measure.

True, as a result of the recent meeting in Geneva between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, there was a certain drawing together in positions on a number of issues, out of those which had not previously been agreed upon, compared with the March talks in Moscow. It must be said directly, however, that due to the unconstructive line of the United States no serious progress has yet been made. Clearly, great efforts are still required here. The main thing is for the U.S. administration to adopt a truly realistic position and proceed from the principle of equality and equal security.

As far as the Soviet Union's stand is concerned, I have already spoken about this recently and I will repeat it again: We shall not spare our efforts to achieve not only a limitation on the arms race, quantitatively and qualitatively, but also to achieve disarmament on mutually acceptable and just conditions. If it is impossible to remove at once all of the obstacles connected with this problem which have accumulated in the post-war years, we are also prepared for partial measures. They are only--as they are modestly called--partial, but the implementation of each of them would, to some degree, remove the military danger and ease the burden of the arms race which lies on the working masses.

What is in question? I shall begin with the problem of not allowing the further spread of nuclear weapons. Their crawling spread from country to country does not strengthen the security of any of them, and can in no way promote the preservation of the relative balance which has come about at the present time. On the other hand, this will increase the risk that a nuclear conflict will arise, even if accidentally. And in such a case, no nuclear umbrellas will give protection from the storm of death. That is why further efforts are needed for an effective and universal solution of this problem.

Further, we propose that an agreement be concluded banning the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Again, there would be nothing but gains from this.

Together with our allies in the Warsaw Pact we have called for the countries participating in the Helsinki conference to agree to refuse to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. Talks on this and the resolution of this issue would be important not just in themselves: I am sure that this would open up new opportunities for reducing conventional armaments in Europe, especially in places where they are highly concentrated.

I shall not list everything we have proposed over the past years to reduce the threat of war. Our proposals on this score are well known. We have put them forward because a policy of increasing military might is more and more in sharp and crying contradiction to the interests of international security. And the importance of our initiatives is clear: security via curbing the arms race and via disarmament.

Of course, the positive results I am talking about require the joint efforts of many states and peoples, and a broad field of activity is available for each of them. There is no doubt that a power such as France could make a considerable contribution to this matter. We have paid attention to the words of President Giscard d'Estaing, in his French television interview on 12 October 1976, that France supports general, complete, and effective disarmament. This is an important statement.

I have already had occasion to speak repeatedly about the favorable influence exerted by detente on the whole international climate. I see no reason for changing that judgment in any way. Yet it would be correct to point out that in places detente has sown a degree of complacency.

I will say again and again: The cause of peace and detente must be the cause of everyone. What has been achieved toward consolidating peace is not a limit, but a starting point for new activity. We are ready for it, and hope that France will move in the same direction.

All states which took part in the general European conference have another opportunity to demonstrate their good will in deeds in connection with the forthcoming Belgrade meetings. We would like it to become--as it was planned--a continuation and development of the spirit of Helsinki and another link in the development of the detente process. Can this be achieved? It can, if we prepare for it and conduct it as an opportunity for cooperation and not for discord. Whoever tries to deflect it in another direction will assume a great responsibility.

The consolidation of peace is one of the most important guarantees of the greatest human right, the right to live. But we understand life not simply as existence, but as an existence worthy of man. Needless to say, various



social strata and various political forces adhere to different social ideals. Our people seriously and irreversibly determined their path 60 years ago: the path of socialism and communism.

The results achieved on that path can be judged by many indices, taking into account figures, facts, and comparisons. To talk about all this, much would have to be said. Allow me, therefore, to take one yardstick: man's position in society. Taking it, we can say that today every Soviet person is sure that he will never be out of work; that he will receive the necessary education; that his gifts and talents will be put to use; that he will not be left to his fate if he should fall ill; that his old age will be secure; and that he need have no worries about the future of his children. I think that is quite a lot; but that is not all that we have achieved, let alone all that we strive for.

Fulfillment of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, and the development of the national economy of the land of the soviets--the main directions laid down by the 25th party congress--will create still more favorable socioeconomic conditions for the life of the working people of our country. The new constitution of the Soviet Union, which will be adopted after nationwide discussion [vsenarodnoye obsuzhdeniye], will give a political and legal basis for the further improvement of democracy in an advanced socialist society. It is expected that the basic law of the Soviet state will give force of law to Lenin's principles of the USSR's foreign policy, our consistently peaceful course. The relevant provisions in the constitution will be in accord with the new and favorable trends which have been developing in international relations.

And in conclusion, to talk about Soviet-French relations. On the whole, we think their condition is good. But we aspire to more, and we think that there are both reserves to be drawn on and the prerequisites for the achievement of that more. The attitude of French President Giscard d'Estaing also works in this same direction: We saw his appearance on our television screens at the start of this week.

We know that the line toward the further development of good relations between our countries enjoys widespread support among the people of France, toward whom the Soviet people have feelings of sincere friendship. We attach special significance to the growing contacts between our peoples, since in this we see an important guarantee of the stability and depth of those great moves which have taken place over the past decade in Soviet-French relations.

In 3 weeks I expect to meet President Giscard d'Estaing and other French statesmen and politicians in Paris. I hope that this meeting will give us an opportunity to take a new step forward in developing French-Soviet cooperation, peace and international detente.

I wish you good health, respected television viewers.

CSO: 1802

## WAY OF LIFE BORN OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 49-64

[Article by V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; article based on the All-Union Practical Science Conference on "The Socialist Way of Life and Problems of Ideological Work," held in Kiev on 18-20 May 1977]

[Text] Today there is no more important task facing our party and the entire Soviet people than the implementation of the great constructive program formulated by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The systematic pursuit of the political course elaborated by the congress insures the uninterrupted strengthening of the economic potential of the Soviet state, the upgrading of the people's prosperity and the steady growth of the international prestige of our homeland. It is having an ever-growing impact on the course of world events and on the strengthening of universal peace.

The greatness of the revolutionary accomplishments of the Soviet people arise in the eyes of the entire world today particularly clearly and broadly, when our country and all progressive mankind are preparing to celebrate solemnly the glorious 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Following the path of the October Revolution, the Soviet people built a developed socialist society and accomplished most profound changes in all fields of social relations. Summing up the results of the heroic path covered in 60 years, the Soviet people profoundly realize that all their outstanding accomplishments were achieved thanks to the tried leadership of the Communist Party and its steadfast implementation of the Leninist general line. The Soviet people are justifiably proud of our great Communist Party. They have infinite faith in it and unanimously approve and actively support its Leninist domestic and foreign policy and purposeful activities of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary.

The documents of the 25th CPSU Congress indicate that the tenth Five-Year Plan is a new, important stage in building the material and technical foundations for communism, in the improvement of social relations and molding the new man, and in the development of the socialist way of life. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that all our actions and thoughts are directed toward its improvement.

## I

The problems of the way of life have always excited mankind and been subjects of thoughts and debates. However, today they have become particularly sharp and topical. This is no accident, for in our exceptionally dynamic time it is here that all or nearly all basic and frequently vital and urgent problems of social development meet. Naturally, they are posed and resolved under socialist and capitalist conditions in an essentially different manner by the representatives of Marxist and bourgeois science.

The only correct theoretical foundations and methodological principles of the approach to resolving the problem of the way of life were elaborated by K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin. Our party's activities are a model of the creative practical application of Marxism-Leninism, specifically in terms of the shaping and development of the Soviet way of life.

We could also note with satisfaction that the Soviet social scientists and the scientists from the fraternal socialist countries have published a number of interesting works in which the laws governing the establishment and development of the socialist way of life have been extensively covered.

Let us emphasize that the way of life reveals the most essential and typical forms of human activities determined by the ruling social production method. This stems most clearly from the familiar concept expressed by Marx and Engels in their work "German Ideology." "...The production method," they wrote, "should be considered not only from the viewpoint that it is a reproduction of the physical existence of individuals. To an even greater extent it is a specific method of activity of certain individuals, a specific type of their efforts and their specific way of life" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, page 19).

The "way of life" category substantially concretizes the overall socioeconomic characteristic of one or another social system. Stemming from a specific socioeconomic system, the way of life enables us to penetrate deeply within the system and imagine it as a live entity with all its economic, ideological, and cultural characteristics and domestic, family, and other social relations.

The way of life is a class concept. Its content is determined by the forms of ownership, the political organization of society, and outlook, and the moral values. Substantiating the dialectical-materialistic understanding of history, the founders of scientific communism emphasized that man and his way of life change only in the course of changes in material conditions and in the entire system of social relations. The communists see as the real

base for the shaping of a new, truly humane way of life the implementation of radical socioeconomic changes whose prerequisite and main condition is the victory of the socialist revolution. The historical experience of the USSR fully confirmed the correctness of this most important scientific conclusion.

Implementing Lenin's behests, the Communist Party and the Soviet people created the solid economic, sociopolitical, and ideological foundations of the Soviet, the socialist way of life. As the result of the revolutionary-transforming activities of the party and the people, most profound changes have taken place in the entire system of the country's production forces. In a single decade after the celebration of the semicentennial anniversary of the October Revolution the economic potential of our country created in the previous 50 years practically doubled.

Today the Soviet Union is one of the most highly developed countries in the world. It is a state with a powerful, modern economy, progressive science and technology, and high level social morality, education, and culture of the entire people. A truly fraternal, monolithic alliance among all nations and nationalities in our country was hammered out in the course of the joint labor and struggle for socialism and communism; the great and powerful Soviet people--people of workers, patriots, and internationalists--was formed and tempered. When we speak today of our way of life we see it as the result of the gigantic efforts of all nations and nationalities in the country who created the golden stock of the material and spiritual culture of the Soviet people.

The Ukrainian working people are justifiably proud of the fact that, loyal to their international duty, following the Russian working class, they rose to the struggle for the victory of the just cause of the October Revolution. They always sacredly followed and are following Lenin's behest that "a free Ukraine is possible only with the unity of action of Great Russian and Ukrainian Proletarians, and that without such unity there could not even be a question of it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 24, page 128).

Thanks to the victory of the October Revolution, the wise leadership of Lenin's party, and the unbreakable unity and fraternal friendship among all nations and nationalities forming our powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, surmounting the most difficult trials of the Civil and Patriotic wars, the Ukrainian people rose to the peaks of socioeconomic and spiritual blossoming.

The economy of Soviet Ukraine, as of each fraternal union republic, is developing within the country's single national economic complex. This greatly multiplies our forces and accelerates the pace of our development. Each nation within the single Soviet international family is proud of its contribution to the common cause of the building of communism. The noble principle of "All For One and One For All" has become the most important norm of our way of life.

The new social system gave life to the tremendous spiritual forces of the people. In the Ukraine, as throughout the country, the transition to universal secondary education of the youth has been completed in its essential lines. The increased training of graduate specialists alone has increased the intellectual potential of the republic 8.5 times compared with 1940. Today the Ukraine has about 175,000 scientific associates.

The Soviet system, the party's Leninist national policy, and the socialist way of life insured the unparalleled blossoming of the culture of the Ukrainian people. Socialist in content and national in form, Ukrainian culture is developing within the single channel of Soviet culture, multiplying and enriching its progressive national traditions. At the same time, it generously draws the best parts of the spiritual wealth of the other peoples, clearly acquiring common internationalist features. Our republic's cultural workers and creative intelligentsia stand firmly on party and national positions, the positions of the profound truth of life and internationalism. The great "feeling of a single family" has always been, and will remain, sacred to them.

The working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia in the republic are proud of their achievements in all fields of economic and spiritual life. This pride is increased by the awareness of the fact that similar outstanding successes have been achieved by all fraternal republics. Now, on the 60th anniversary of the Soviet system, we could say with full justification that our way of life is an example of new relations among people, nations, and nationalities, based on lofty and noble principles. It is an example of enduring international significance.

In its essence the Soviet way of life is a profoundly international phenomenon. Its establishment is yet another confirmation of the triumph of Leninist national policy. Our party has always proceeded from the fact that the basic interest of the working people of different nationalities demand their unification, and that the national problem is subordinated to the tasks of the class struggle of the proletariat and to the interests of building socialism and communism. That is why it has always firmly opposed all attempts to plant the poisonous seeds of hostility and mistrust among peoples and manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and great power chauvinism.

It is precisely internationalism which has become part of the flesh and blood of the Soviet people, along with their unity and fraternity that are the prerequisites for the successful solution of the problems formulated by the Communist Party and the solid foundation for the deep understanding by the members of each republic of their common interests. "One could say," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted at the ceremonies in honor of the 50th anniversary of Soviet Ukraine, "that there is no undertaking of our Ukrainian brothers in whose success Russians, Belorussians, Georgians, Uzbeks, Latvians, Kazakhs, Moldavians, and other Soviet peoples are not sincerely interested. The Ukrainians as well consider the concerns of the peoples of other republics as close to them as their own."

In our multinational socialist country everything that is best and progressive created by each nation is the common property of all fraternal peoples. At the same time the Soviet way of life enables them to borrow everything truly valuable from world culture and to accumulate in them everything humane and permanent achieved by human civilization.

Following the establishment of the world comity of socialist countries the new way of life became the gain not only of the Soviet people. It would be no exaggeration to say that now this is an international phenomenon. "The socialist social system," Comrade Todor Zhivkov has pointed out, "created and, in the course of time, will improve ever further the new socialist way of life, basically different from the way of life in bourgeois society."

The process of establishment of a socialist way of life is gaining an ever-broader socioeconomic, political, and ideological foundation. Each party and nation within the socialist comity is making its contribution to the treasury of the international revolutionary experience in building the new society and reorganizing the way of life on a socialist, collectivistic, and internationalist basis.

Common interests, objectives, and aspirations are imbuing evermore profoundly a great variety of strata in the lives of the working people of the socialist countries. Our common involvement in the great cause of building communism is emphatically and visibly manifested in the new attitude toward labor. Noteworthy in this sense is the initiative of the workers at the Krasnyy Chepel' Plant, in Hungary, which launched a socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The initiative was energetically taken up by the working people of other socialist countries. Assessing this initiative, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "thinking about it, comrades, as a whole we are dealing here with a qualitatively new phenomenon--the international movement of millions and millions of builders of the new world, inspired by a single objective. This is an initiative of tremendous significance and with a great future."

Today such effective manifestations of internationalism are determining to an ever-growing extent the content and nature of relations among the peoples of the world's socialist system. The communists see in them the prototype of relations which will dominate in the future world community of three nations.

## II

The way of life established in our country is a basically new and higher type of social activity of the people unparalleled in the history of world civilization. In the course of the historical competition between the two opposite socioeconomic systems its unquestionable advantages over the capitalist way of life are revealed evermore clearly and vividly.

Under capitalism, as we know, a certain segment of society, a minority, lives by exploiting the other segment. For the majority of the people labor

becomes, to a tremendous extent, a heavy burden. Even in the most developed Western countries the wealth and luxury of a handful of the rich only emphasize the poverty of the toiling masses. Socialism is a society of free labor whose banner carries the following inscription: "Everything For the Sake of Man, For the Good of Man."

Our socialist system and Marxist-Leninist ideology, our Soviet way of life, and, in a word, our entire reality give the Soviet people firm confidence in the future, inspiring them to new accomplishments for the glory of the homeland.

Whereas under capitalism, pursuit of profits at all cost is a law which alienates the people from one another and triggers a "war of all against all," socialism asserts the collectivistic nature of the activities of the members of society.

Whereas under capitalism the people must live in an atmosphere of ideological and political crisis, growing moral degradation, unbridled nationalism, chauvinism, and racism--the unavoidable satellites of the bourgeois way of life--inherent in the socialist way of life are moral health, truly humane relations and reciprocal respect among people as well as the unity of all nations and nationalities.

The entire history of the bourgeois society is an uninterrupted link of international conflicts and destructive wars, and the death of millions and millions of people. From its very first steps, with Lenin's Decree on Peace to the Peace Program elaborated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the socialist society proclaims new and equal relations among nations and a lasting and just peace on earth.

The once-praised "free world" is now characterized as an incurably "sick" society ruled by social alienation, class oppression, and merciless exploitation of man by man.

The problem of the alienation of the individual has become, of late, one of the leading topics of non-Marxist criticism of capitalism. In this connection it would be pertinent to recall that Marx linked alienation with class-antagonistic relations and that this category, in particular, was his humanistic ground justifying the need for the elimination of the capitalist system.

However, the contemporary bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians restored the true meaning of Marx's humanism and his alienation concept. They see as the main reason for the alienation not the exploiting nature of capitalism but the imaginary incompatibility between human nature and the nature of present day civilization and the tempestuous development of science and technology. Alienation is proclaimed to be not only insurmountable and eternal but equally inherent in capitalist and socialist countries.

Attempts to whitewash capitalism and ascribe its faults to socialism are, naturally, useless. Taking the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity as an example, the peoples of the world see that the elimination of class-antagonistic relations eliminates all types of oppression and alienation of man. Growing as a creative and spiritually rich individual, man is the main axis, the center of the entire socialist social system.

The ideological and political unity of our society and the indivisibility of the interests of individuals and the society, and of all classes and social groups, characterizing our socialist way of life, find their vivid and all-round manifestation in socialist democracy--a democracy of a new, higher type. The source of its greatest advantages is that for the first time in history the power and the administration of all social affairs are in the hands of the working people themselves. Originating deep within the life of the people, and in viewing its economic, political, and spiritual areas, socialist democracy creates conditions for the all-round development of the working people and for the establishment of the most progressive forms of a human community.

Unquestionably, the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, whose draft was considered and approved at the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, will become an event of outstanding political significance.

In his report to the plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev provided a profound scientific substantiation of the need for a new constitution. He comprehensively described the tremendous changes which had taken place in Soviet society and throughout the world since 1936 when the current Soviet Constitution was adopted. These changes have been reflected in the draft of the new constitution which sums up the entire constitutional experience of Soviet history and has enriched it with a new content consistent with contemporary requirements. It reflects the creation of a developed socialist society, and notes that this is a state of the whole people whose supreme objective is the building of communism. The draft provides an expanded characterization of the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party. "...The main direction of the new aspects contained in the draft," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, "is the expansion and intensification of socialist democracy."

Our democracy is a class democracy. It expresses and defends the interests of the working class and of all working people in the socialist society. Naturally, the Soviet state is taking and will continue to take decisive measures to block all activities causing harm to the public interests and to the cause of the building of communism. With full justification the draft of the new USSR Constitution notes that the rights and freedoms of the citizens cannot and must not be used against the socialist social system and to the detriment of the interests of the Soviet people.

The soviets--the most widespread and most representative power organs--embody the true democracy of our system. The soviets are democratic in terms of their class nature, social base, and content, and ways and means of activity. Through the soviets, Lenin pointed out, the working people become



involved "in permanent and mandatory and decisive participation in the democratic administration of the state" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 37, page 500). The democratic principles governing the forming and activities of the soviets are developed further in the draft of the new constitution. It earmarks the ways for strengthening the ties between the soviets and their deputies with the masses.

The systematic expansion of socialist democracy is a prerequisite and a real base for the development of forms of communist self-administration. Active and conscientious work in the soviets and in party, trade union, Komsomol, cooperative, and other public organizations, in production and outside production are the most effective and mass school for developing in the people civic maturity and indicators of their economic and political competence and direct involvement in all social affairs.

In the Soviet society the rights and freedoms of the citizens have not only been proclaimed but, most importantly, factually supported by material, legal, and organizational guarantees. They have been organically interwoven within the socioeconomic socialist system. It is precisely in our country that they are being implemented to the fullest extent and most consistently. The stipulations of the specific socioeconomic rights affecting the very foundations of human life (the rights to work, rest, health protection, free education, and others) have been intensified, developed, and expanded in the new draft constitution. The political rights and freedoms of the citizens have been formulated far more completely than in the past.

Under contemporary conditions the interaction between citizens' obligations and rights and between freedom and responsibility and democracy and discipline is increased and made more organic and comprehensive. This precisely is the vivid manifestation of the constructive strength of our democracy. "It is necessary," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum, "for every Soviet person to realize clearly that the main guarantee of his rights is found, in the final account, in the power and blossoming of the homeland. To this effect every citizen must feel his responsibility to society and conscientiously fulfill his duty to the state and the people."

### III

The socialist society is a dynamic society directed toward the future. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress, production intensification, increased level of production socialization, and continuing internationalization of social life, all objective processes inherent in mature socialism, formulate in a new way the problems related to the development of the socialist way of life.

Guided by the stipulations and conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress and by its decisions, it is possible to single out the most important and topical tasks of the further systematic improvement of our Soviet way of life.

In the socioeconomic area: insuring a considerable growth of labor productivity and increasing the creative nature of labor; steadily upgrading the level of the people's prosperity and insuring the ever fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people.

In the sociopolitical area: further rapprochement among all classes and social groups, establishing the social homogeneity of society; developing socialist democracy and expanding and energizing the participation of the working people in the administration of production, science, and culture.

In the field of national relations: further strengthening of the unity and friendship among all nations and nationalities in our country and of the new historical community--the Soviet people--and intensifying the processes of internationalization of the socialist society.

In the spiritual area: the establishment of a scientific outlook in all members of society, raising the general educational and cultural and technical standards, and promoting communist ideological and moral qualities in every person.

In daily life: steadily improving the entire system of social methods for the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people, and improving the organization of their recreation, rest, and health protection.

Naturally, the implementation of this entire set of tasks will require a considerably higher level of administration of socioeconomic and ideological processes, and the creative utilization of both economic levers as well as of the entire arsenal of ways and means of organizational and ideological-educational work.

The ever-intensifying scientific and technical revolution represents a qualitative leap in the development of production forces. However, it would be erroneous to assess its results merely in terms of material indicators. The scientific and technical revolution leads to profound changes in the way of life itself.

The organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism calls for an adequate improvement of social relations and intensification of socialization of labor. It presumes a change in the worker himself. The dialectics of such interconnections is many-sided. The main thing, however, is that converting into a direct production force science also becomes a necessary foundation and most important instrument for the optimal solution of social problems. It is precisely in this, above all, that we see the binding link connecting scientific and technical progress with the socialist way of life. On the other hand, the socialist way of life and the social, cultural, and ideological advantages of socialism manifested within it are powerful factors for the acceleration of the scientific and technical revolution and the utilization of its achievements in the national economy.

Literally all of our daily work, life, and culture are reflected in the Soviet way of life. However, its most vivid and determining features, its essence, are revealed on the level of the main cell of our society--the labor collective.

Let us take as an example the Orders of Lenin and October Revolution Machine-Building Plant imeni Lenin in Novokramatorsk. This enterprise employs over 31,000 people. They include members of 35 nationalities in our country. About 13,000 workers have secondary or secondary technical education and over 3,500 have higher education. Nearly 1,500 workers are attending institutes, technical schools, and courses while working full time. The plant's collective has raised four heroes of socialist labor, six state prize laureates, and thousands of order bearers.

Last March, together with the party gorkom, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences conducted a sociological study at the plant. The resulting data provide a broad multiple-level picture of the norms and value orientations of way of life established in this labor collective. Some 98 percent of the plant's working people are involved in the socialist competition; two-thirds of them earned the title of shock worker and have become members of communist labor brigades.

The reasons for labor and sociopolitical activeness are characteristic; 95 percent of the workers pointed out that the reasons for the fact that they work as fast as possible, engage in rationalizations, and support labor initiatives is their feeling of responsibility to the collective, the dignity of the working man, and the respect of their comrades. According to 97 percent of those polled, the most important reason for their participation in social work is that it enables them to resolve production problems more successfully and to surmount shortcomings; they consider their individual participation in social affairs a real manifestation of the leading role of the working class. It is noteworthy that among the reasons which inspire them to upgrade their education and skills, moral reasons are in a leading position: the possibility to develop one's creative abilities more completely, to broaden one's outlook, and to increase one's social prestige.

The concept of a healthy, creative sociopsychological climate and an atmosphere of respectful attitude toward the people has assumed visible features in the collective. As is the case with any Soviet labor collective, characteristic here is social confidence and optimism and extensive participation in social life. A total of 225 people are deputies of local soviets. In the past five-year plan 473 workers were promoted to leading positions at the plant.

Summing up the results, the only possible conclusion is that at that enterprise, as in thousands of other enterprises in our country, the rights have been secured and factual conditions have been created for the all-round development and spiritual growth of every person.

The discussion of reports by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee on the work of primary party organizations, and the summation of the best experience of their activities indicated that the functions of the labor collectives in the development of the socialist way of life are steadily expanding and becoming evermore meaningful.

Natural to the process of improving the way of life of the Soviet people is the accelerated acquisition of progressive features which, assuming a stable nature, become dominant and evermore actively restrain elements noninherent in socialist forms of activity.

At least two essential aspects stem from this fact: having its own steadily expanding and strengthening social base, the socialist way of life is developing and improving evermore dynamically; within the socialist way of life, such as we see it today, a process is developing of consolidation and multiplication of communist features, influencing to an ever-greater extent the nature and content of human activities.

As indicated by the practical experience the development of the socialist way of life requires the very close attention of all party, soviet, and economic organs, and of our entire society. The main thing is for the tasks related to economic and cultural construction and political and ideological work to be considered and implemented precisely from the viewpoint of their active influence on the shaping of the way of life.

#### IV

Socialism radically changed the nature of labor, proclaiming it, for the first time, and implementing in practice the principle of its universality. It made labor a free activity and the main realm of the social self-assertion of the individual.

The necessary prerequisites for making labor in our society evermore fruitful, highly productive, and the organic need of every person are being created in the course of building the material and technical foundations of our society. The establishment of a communist attitude toward labor is the decisive prerequisite for the further development of the Soviet way of life and the education of the new man.

As we know, the strengthening of the creative principle in labor is directly linked with scientific and technical progress, the accelerated pace of comprehensive production mechanization and automation, and the elimination of underskilled manual and heavy physical labor.

Today the acceleration of technical progress depends to an ever-greater extent on the development of the initiative and activeness of the working people. The entire country is familiar with the leading collectives of the Avto ZIL Production Association, the Elektrosila Plant in Leningrad, Uralmash, the Kremenchug Automotive Vehicles Plant, the Zaporozh'ye

Transformers Plant, the Azot Severodonetsk Production Association, and others which are examples of the creative solution of problems related to upgrading production effectiveness.

In our days the shaping of a communist attitude toward labor is inconceivable without a struggle for upgrading its effectiveness at each workplace and for upgrading the quality of the work at all economic levels. The quality of the work is a rather voluminous concept. It has both an economic as well as a profound social, political, and moral content. It is directly linked with the honor and pride of the workers, labor and material economy, the satisfaction of the great variety of needs of our people, and the prestige of the Soviet trademark.

That is why the 25th CPSU Congress set the task of upgrading quality and effectiveness in the center of all economic-organizational and ideological-educational activities. Inherent in our way of life are its own socialist forms of struggle for effectiveness and quality. One of the most outstanding features of our reality is the fast dissemination, on a national scale, of progressive initiatives and innovation movements. For example, the initiative of the Muscovites which called for "A Workers Guarantee For the Quality Five-Year Plan!", the appeal of the Leningrad people "From High Quality of Work By Everyone to High Labor Effectiveness of the Collective," the Sverdlov initiative of having individual savings accounts, the Ivanovo experience in organizing the competition on the basis of counterplans, and others were extensively taken up in the Ukraine as well.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Experience of the Work of the Party Organizations and Collectives of Leading Industrial Enterprises in L'vovskaya Oblast in the Elaboration and Application of a Comprehensive System for Production Quality Control" notes that it puts together and develops the achievements of leading enterprises of Moscow, Leningrad, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Yaroslavl', and others. In turn, the L'vov experience has been applied extensively. In our republic nearly 2,600 enterprises are developing and using the comprehensive quality control system.

In the course of the further production socialization and the saturation of the production process with highly productive equipment, the outcome of the common cause will depend, to an ever-greater extent, on the creative and conscientious attitude toward labor on the part of each individual worker. One of the basic problems in improving the socialist way of life is to coordinate to a maximal extent the interests and aspirations of the individual with those of society in various types of work. It is important, involving a person in public labor, to insure the steady upsurge of social production forces, the elimination of socio-class disparities, and promote the individual self-expression. This problem is being resolved through the entire system of education and training, including the labor education of the youth.

Why conceal it--it also happens that some young people develop a certain imaginary simplistic idea of the result of the scientific and technical

revolution and the nature of modern labor. Allow me, in this connection, to recall Marx's familiar statement that the creation of "subjective and objective conditions needed for labor to become attractive and represent the self-realization of the individual...does not mean in the least that such labor will be, above all, entertaining, nothing but an entertainment...indeed, free labor...is also a devilishly serious matter, a most intensive stress" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.", Vol 46, Part II, page 110).

As practical experience indicates the labor training of senior secondary school students is being successfully accomplished in enterprise training shops. For example, in 15 years over 17,000 secondary school students have been trained in the training shop of the Khar'kov Tractors Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze. One quarter of them remained to work at the base enterprise. Interscholar training-production combines, labor and recreation camps, and student production brigades have also proved their usefulness. Our task is for each production collective to stipulate in its social development plans specific measures for training the future labor replacements.

Mass socialist competition has become an inseparable feature, an attribute of our way of life. For the past 50 years the slogan of fulfilling the five-year plan ahead of schedule has united and rallied millions of Soviet people, leading them to selfless toil.

Characteristically, under the conditions of mature socialism a new, higher form of socialist competition developed--the mass movement for a communist attitude toward labor. In the Ukraine alone 11.5 million people are participating in this movement.

The most important role of the labor competition in improving the socialist way of life is the fact that, developing the activeness of the workers, it develops in their awareness a feeling of involvement in production management and raises their feeling of responsibility for the results not only of their own work but of the work of their comrades, of the entire collective. This leads to changes in the very scale of their thinking, covering the interests not only of the individual enterprise but of society as a whole.

The second and the anniversary year of the five-year plan is particularly rich in creative initiative from below, from the workplace. Its manifestations are daily and varied. For example, in our republic 2.3 million workers are successfully fulfilling their individual comprehensive plans for upgrading production effectiveness and quality. On the eve of our great revolutionary holiday the Ukrainian working people, like all Soviet people, are working with particular enthusiasm and great creative upsurge.

Celebrating anniversaries with new accomplishments in economic and cultural construction is one of the most outstanding nationwide traditions born of the Soviet way of life. We must comprehensively support and multiply this great tradition.

One of the decisive advantages of the socialist way of life is that it is developing systematically. It is a deliberately controlled process. All most important components of the way of life are expressed in the national economic plans and directive party and state documents in their dynamics and their quantitative and qualitative characteristics.

The party organizations are utilizing evermore energetically an important means for controlling the processes of improving the socialist way of life such as comprehensive plans for economic and social development. In the Ukraine such plans have been adopted currently by the overwhelming majority of production collectives. Socioeconomic planning on the rayon and city scale is also assuming an ever-growing significance.

The socialist way of life is characterized by the steadily growing social activeness of the working people which reveals most vividly the social position of the Soviet person--the full master of his country, fully responsible for its present and its future. A vivid guideline for all of us is the concern displayed by the Muscovites for transforming the capital of our homeland, Moscow, into a model communist city. The working people of Kiev are good masters and patriots of their city. The collectives of the enterprises Arsenal imeni V. I. Lenin, Leninskaya Kuznitsa, Tochelektropribor imeni Komsomola Ukrainy, and Kommunist, the Scientific Production Association imeni S. P. Korolev, the Darnitskiy Silk Combine, the Aviation Plant imeni 50-Letiya Oktyabr'skoy Revolyutsii, and others are invariably pioneers of everything that is new and progressive in production. They pay a great deal of attention to the social development of their collectives.

In the many-sided efforts to develop further the socialist way of life we must take into consideration the substantial disparities in working and living conditions and in the prosperity and cultural standard of the different classes and social groups of working people.

Strengthening the material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, comprehensive mechanization, chemization of agricultural output, land reclamation, and extensive utilization of the achievements of science and progressive experience are of prime importance to resolving the problems of bringing the living conditions and standards of the working people of town and country closer to each other.

In this connection we could cite the experience of Volnovakhskiy Rayon, Donetskaya Oblast. In the past 10 years 31 new schools, 47 kindergartens and nurseries, 62 houses of culture and clubs, 3 hospitals, 57 feldsher-midwife centers, and many other social projects were opened in the rayon villages; 38 administrative-cultural centers were built. Every year over 500 houses are built by kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers based on standardized plans.

The implementation of the plans for the social development of kolkhozes and sovkhoses contributes to a lowering of the economically unsubstantiated migration of the rural population to other economic sectors. One-third of secondary school graduates in the rayon remain at work in kolkhozes and sovkhoses. It is important to note yet another progressive trend: the absolute increase in the number and percentage of cadres practicing modern leading professions.

The fact that socialism has radically changed the way of life of the peasantry is vividly confirmed by the story of Dymka Village, Chernovitskaya Oblast. This was the domicile of the outstanding Ukrainian writer Ol'ga Kobylyanskaya. Her novel "Zemlya" [Earth] based on factual events, is widely known. Anyone who has read this book cannot fail to be stricken by the tragic destiny of Mikhail Zhizhian who was killed by his own brother Savva for a bit of land.

Receiving from the Soviet system a state document granting him the use of the land, Ivan, Savva's son said: "Here it is, this land for which one man looked at his neighbor as a wolf, and brother raised a hand against brother. The hard times in which the land was the evil stepmother of the peasant are gone. Today it has become the mother of all of us."

Raised by the kolkhoz system, Zhizhian's grandchildren managed the land as its real owners. Last year they harvested an average of 50 quintals of wheat, about 100 quintals of corn, and 500 quintals of sugar beets per hectare. The kolkhoz's income reached almost 3.5 million rubles. The cultural appearance of the village has become unrecognizable as well. A school, a house of culture, a library containing 7,000 volumes, a kindergarten, and trade and consumer services enterprises have been built. The village has 20 teachers and about 80 graduates of its school have also graduated from higher and secondary specialized schools. Two of them have become candidates of sciences.

The measures stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agroindustrial Integration" are of exceptional importance to further improvements in the rural way of life. It would be difficult to overestimate the political and social significance of these measures. Unquestionably, their implementation will strengthen even further the unbreakable alliance between the working class and the peasantry and will become a new convincing proof of the advantages of the socialist way of life.

One of the most outstanding features of socialism is the ever-growing concern of society for the individual. The social consumption funds are, above all, the material expression of this concern. Protection of motherhood and childhood, preschool and school education, labor training, higher and secondary specialized education, treatment, rest, old age and disability pensions are all assumed by society.



The development of the social consumption funds not only creates conditions for the equal distribution among the people of the most important, vital goods but strengthens in our society the collectivistic and communal principles. Briefly stated, the social consumption funds are a noteworthy phenomenon of our way of life which already now practically establishes the shoots of the communist future.

No single country in the world allocates such substantial funds for the education of the growing generation as does the Soviet Union. The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress are imbued with profound concern for children and mothers. Last year alone preschool institutions for 95,000 children were built in the Ukraine. We have set ourselves the task of resolving in its basic line the problem of full availability of children's preschool establishments this very five-year plan. A good initiative was displayed by the party and Soviet authorities in Kiev where a comprehensive program was formulated for improving further the education, health, and services to the children. This will be a specific five-year plan for children and its implementation is a matter of honor for the people of Kiev.

Insuring optimal ecological conditions, and the planned and effective implementation of measures for environmental protection and for the rational utilization of natural resources is a characteristic feature of our way of life totally directed toward man, his good, and his health. Taking into consideration the specific nature of the republic, the high level of development of heavy industry sectors in particular, we consider this a primary task and are spending almost 430 million rubles per year for its implementation.

## VI

The socialist state is strong with the conscientiousness of the masses. To us this is axiomatic. Implementing Lenin's behests, the party is doing everything possible for every Soviet person to combine within himself a deep ideological conviction with high moral qualities and the readiness, will, and ability to build communism.

Guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the party organizations analyze profoundly and critically their achievements. They carefully select the best experience and take measures for the entire communist education to be built on a scientific basis.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, the party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the republic ideological establishments and departments, and many primary organizations have elaborated long-term plans for ideological work. Following the congress the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee discussed the work of the Odesskaya Oblast Party Committee on insuring a comprehensive approach to the organization of the communist education of the working people, the condition of oral political agitation in the party organizations of Rovenskaya Oblast, the Marxist-Leninist

education of party members by the party organization of Nikolayevskaya Oblast, the moral education of the working people by the Donetskaya Oblast Party Organization, the work of RATAU [Ukrainian News Agency], improvements in radio broadcasting, strengthening the material base of television in the republic, and others.

We have assigned ourselves the task of studying all components and aspects of the comprehensive approach with a view to elaborating an effective mechanism for its practical application and, on this basis, for upgrading considerably the effectiveness of ideological work.

It is characteristic that the organizational function of the ideological work of party committees is manifested most actively precisely in improvements of the Soviet way of life. In Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast, for example, in the past two years problems of the development and propaganda of the Soviet way of life were discussed by the bureaus of 20 party gorkoms and raykoms and at a plenum of the Dnepropetrovsk City Party Committee. The oblast party committee sponsored a practical science conference on the Soviet way of life. Here everything done for the development and dissemination of the Soviet way of life is of a comprehensive nature. The urban enterprises developed and are disseminating the movement of brigades for collective moral and material responsibility for observing labor discipline and public order. The influence of the labor collectives on urban life--amenities, maintenance of public order, increased control over the activities of service enterprises, and improved educational and mass agitation work at places of residence--has increased.

In propaganda work it is important to take into consideration that the progressive and humane nature of the socialist system do not mean in the least an idyllic tranquility or the absence of any contradiction or negative phenomenon in real life. As was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress not all problems have been resolved. Better than all of our critics we are familiar with our shortcomings. We see the difficulties and are surmounting them successfully.

The firm establishment of socialist principles in the activities, awareness, and behavior of each individual is a dialectical process reflecting the complexity of the struggle between the new and the old, and still requiring great efforts for the final elimination of views and actions alien to us, and recurrences of private ownership mentality among a certain segment, even though small, of the population.

The task of forming and promoting sensible and healthy needs which make human life more interesting and meaningful, and which actively contribute to the revelation of human capabilities and talents is quite topical in the development of the Soviet way of life.

In this work we proceed from the fact that essential changes continue to take place in the structure of the needs of the socialist individuals.

Instead of the "barbarism of needs" and "barbarism of behavior" promoted by the bourgeoisie, socialism promotes new principles and forms of consumption. Involving a person in activities within the broadest possible range, socialism favors the birth of such superior needs as the need for creative labor, active participation in the administration of social affairs, steady broadening of outlook, improved education and culture, and others.

Achievements in this respect have been unquestionable. Yet, we have no reasons whatever for complacency. Let us recall in this connection the stipulation formulated at the 25th congress to the effect that the increased material possibilities of our society must be always accompanied by a higher ideological-moral and cultural standard reached by our people.

Let us also mention an aspect of this problem such as developing sensible needs in children. Some parents do not teach their children to coordinate their demands with the possibilities of the family budget or of society, or to respect the needs of others.

Abnormal behavior features such as egotism, careerism, or scorn for the interests of those around us are frequently based on exaggerated needs uncorrelated with citizens' duties and obligations. The existence of such phenomena, even though not very common, shows that not all links in our educational front are sufficiently effective.

In a socialist society there must be no disparity between human needs and obligations. In his time Comrade Janos Kadar, analyzing the processes governing the development of socialism in Hungary, said: "We cannot sympathize with those who formulate requirements as professionals yet fulfill their obligations only as amateurs. We cannot allow such an approach even in sports not to mention in the field of basic problems of social development."

This was well and accurately put.

The republic's party committees base their ideological activities on the fact that today the theoretical and practical problems of the way of life are in the center of the ideological confrontation between the two world systems. This is symptomatic, for the historical advance of socialism along all lines, on the one hand, and the deepening general crisis of capitalism, on the other, have forced our ideological opponents hastily to reorient themselves, feverishly seeking new means for the protection of the obsolete exploiting system.

That is precisely why discrediting the socialist way of life is becoming today a strategic anticommunist formulation. It is characteristic that such efforts bring together most disparate enemies of peace and socialism-- professional anticommunists, respectable capitalist "reformers," supporters of cynical-hypocritical equalizing barracks communism, and other anti-Soviets.

In recent years the pseudoscientific doctrine of "quality of life" has been extensively promoted in the West. Its true class meaning is the desire to

defend the socioeconomic foundations of the bourgeois way of life even by criticizing some of its sides and difficulties of ecological, technological, psychological, or demographic nature. The authors of the "quality of life" concept falsify criteria for apologetic purposes and misrepresent facts in comparing the achievements of the two opposite systems. It is entirely clear that the bourgeois concept of the "quality of life" unlike the Marxist-Leninist concept of the way of life is used to draw the working class and all working people away from the revolutionary struggle and to belittle the historical gains of existing socialism.

We proceed from the fact that developing an irreconcilable attitude toward all manifestations of bourgeois ideology and mentality, political carelessness and complacency, and their principled assessment and active struggle against them are the most important obligations of party organizations and all party members and the duty of every Soviet person.

We protect and strengthen like the apple of our eye our single united country, the friendship between the Ukrainian people with the Russian and all fraternal peoples in the country, and the monolithic solidarity of the working people of Soviet Ukraine rallied around the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee.

However strongly the ideologues of the old world would like to prevent the victorious advances of socialism our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology is in a state of historical offensive. Leninism is a fighting outlook which is dealing crushing blows at reactionary bourgeois ideology and morality and is exposing the exploiting nature, lies, and hypocrisy of the capitalist society.

The irrefutable historical conclusion that socialism alone could be the alternative to capitalism in future social development is the inner conviction of the Soviet people. This conclusion is becoming ever stronger in the minds of millions of our foreign friends.

The level and comprehensiveness of the propaganda of the Soviet way of life depend, above all, on the ability of party committees and ideological establishments to organize the work and to conduct it actively, on a broad scope. As practical experience indicates, the success in resolving this problem is based on the effective use of the comprehensive approach to communist education. That is why, setting ourselves the task of upgrading further the conscientiousness and social activeness of the Soviet people, we try to do our economic-organizational and ideological-political work closely united, working for all economic, political, legal, and cultural-educational measures to be directed toward a single objective and serve a single great cause--the cause of the building of communism.

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OUR WINGS; ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 65-70

[Article by Konst. Fedin]

[Text] All steps of the distance covered and all the events whose significance equals the discovery of a new continent are particularly clear to us, the sons and citizens of the Soviet Union of my generation living in the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

...Tsarism was overthrown. The Russian proletariat abolished the power of capitalists and landowners to renovate the land through revolution. The day following the victory of the October Revolution Vladimir Il'ich Lenin proclaimed his Decree on Peace which laid the foundations of the Soviet policy of peace and friendship among nations.

The people won in the fierce civil war imposed upon them by the counter-revolutionaries and foreign interventionists. Court officials went into hiding to avoid just retribution; policemen scattered around secluded corners; merchants tried to conceal the remnants of their wealth; the petit bourgeois followed the events. Some of them consciously while others driven by fear took the side of the Reds. Some cheered the success of the revolution while it made others tremble. Above all this the victors--the armed workers and peasants of Soviet Russia with their vanguard--the Bolsheviks--marched confidently, powerfully, and evermore thunderously.

This article contains thoughts cherished by the author and memorable observations about which he has written and spoken at different periods of his life.

We think with emotion and gratitude of the great people, of the heroes who feared neither the hostile actions of the White Guards, the hired killers, nor slanders and secret conspiracies--everything which the reaction used in its desperate opposition to the revolution. True devotion to the cause of the liberation of mankind and communism, and love for the homeland, fearing nothing, not even death, have earned these heroes unfading glory.

A great name illuminates our epoch, triggering in our fatherland and, infinitely beyond it, enthusiastic recognition--the name of Lenin, precious to mankind. The Communist Party, the greatest of any political party that ever existed, leading hundreds and hundreds of millions of people, inscribed this name on its banner. One is amazed by the perspicacity with which Lenin could see the distant future. His genius expresses the best expectations of the century. This genius was not only a dream. It was action and the practical embodiment of the will of the people.

The dedicated defense of their gains by the Soviet workers and their resolve to strengthen the new system and build a just life for all working people revealed the main aspect of the revolution--its constructive force.

A life which showed a path to developing a worthy and harmonious person in a worthy, harmonious society replaced the world of oppression destroyed by the revolution. The mind had already drawn its conclusion: yes, the revolution means creation.

Mores, language, social system--everything was shaken up by the revolution and it was as though we burst through the earth's crust in our irrepressible march toward a new life.

The Soviet people deployed the United Front of the builders of socialism. The word "five-year plan" spread throughout the earth as a symbol of the new world. In its homeland this symbol was the reality of victorious labor.

It was precisely then, when an unparalleled universal economic crisis affected all bourgeois states, representing hardship for the workers, a paralysis of entire industrial sectors, a trade decline, and failure of banks and currencies, that we fulfilled the five-year plan for the industrialization of the country, which suddenly showed the entire world the constructive power of the Soviet Union.

Creating a socialist society and state, our country awakened profound national forces and talents. That which was previously considered a "miracle" became reality. Universal literacy in the Soviet republics which set up a union laid the foundations for the steady growth of a revolutionary intelligentsia in town and country. A new intellect, a new mind developed.

Our familiar concept of "Soviet person" is also a symbol of the century and its living content. Soviet politics and Soviet morality, Soviet science and literature, Soviet education and art are all the reality of our daily life.

There is no area of life in our country in which the new power of Soviet patriotic awareness does not rule, starting with industry and agriculture, where developed technology facilitates human labor day after day, and ending with the office of the scientist or the physician, the plot of the truck gardener, or the tower of the petroleum worker. Soviet patriotism is a great feeling which moves the entire life of our homeland. It is its glory, its honor, and its pride.

Soviet patriotism is a quality of our new person. This quality appears in a great variety of ways in different circumstances and various human actions-- in labor, defense, public and private behavior, and in the attitude toward nations, the family, and the child. In the socialist society everything has been reinterpreted and given a new content, different from the bourgeois one not in terms of appearance but in the very depth of the mind, beginning with the view on human nature.

Soviet patriotism was displayed with particular emphasis in the Great Patriotic War by determining the nature of the people who went into battle at Moscow when Hitler believed that the Soviet capital was already in his pocket; at Stalingrad, when the enemy believed that he had opened the door to India; at Kursk and Orel, when the enemy intended to repeat his Ordynsk raid on Central Russia, instead of which he began his withdrawal to the west. The feeling of Soviet patriotism determined beyond paralleled heroism of the people of Leningrad who, blockaded in the winter of 1941-1942, Hungary, without heat, experiencing colds unparalleled even in Russia, continued to work under the uninterrupted enemy artillery fire. Leningrad gave the example of how the Russian fights for the land of his fathers and the way the Soviet man defends the homeland of his revolutionary ideas and his recent history. In the war against the fascists the stern and disciplined citizen of Leningrad displayed his fiery, energetic, fantastic character.

Undergoing the fire of trial, Leningrad showed its readiness to make any sacrifice for the sake of the fatherland.

...It is hard to believe that 32 years have already passed since the unforgettable spring of the victory thundered and rang in full swing.

We had reached its threshold that winter, on the snow and ice, with the launching of the January offensive for the Vistula and when the Red Army, reaching Kielce and Radom started its triumphant march to the west.

Yes, the snow was still on the ground but we already knew that the victorious army had penetrated deeply into the enemy camp and that the sword of retribution was already hanging on him: Berlin was shuddering as it awaited the last stroke. Russian songs were heard on European soil.

Spring was coming. The fields were flooded with water and rivers were running over their banks. April, the high water month, unfroze the land as though releasing with the warmth of its breath the entire power of the Soviet forces. The tempestuous spring month became a month of historical offensive for the Red Army which brought Europe freedom from the Hitlerite system.

In the noisy month of April the Oder remained far behind our troops. They reached the Elbe and the storm reached its peak: the soldiers of the Soviet state rushed into Berlin!

...That day I was listening to the gun salutes in the Kremlin, at the feet of Ivan the Terrible, and it was as though the deafening volleys lifted me above Moscow. Its lights, after endless evenings and nights of forced blindness, were already taking off their bandages and the city, seeing, enlivened, younger, answered the salute with triumphant happy peals.

That is how April--the high water month--proceeded. In its last day, I recall, stealing time, again and again I looked at the map of Berlin which for an entire week had been hanging on my wall. Like all literate people--adults and children--during those amazing days I followed the progress of the Soviet divisions along the streets of the German capital, step after step, literally from one streetcar stop to another. Our troops had already reached the Anhalt Station. They were clearing the Tiergarten from the fascists. Advancing in the subway which the fascists had turned into the final bastion of throat-cutters and suicides, across mountains of rocks and houses in ruins scattered by the artillery, from all ends the Red Army men were moving toward the center of the city.

For a few seconds it seemed unrealistically strange that I was in a Moscow room whose windows had been broken three times by terrorist German bombs, following on the map of Berlin the way the last points of resistance of the Nazi bulwark, once threatening the world, were being destroyed and broken down into nothingness. What was being destroyed was not only the place inspiredly named "The Beast's Lair." What was breaking down was the entire "axis" which this beast had waved in Europe and Asia as a club or a stud. It was precisely in the final days and hours of April that Northern Italy was being cleared from the enemy and that Mussolini who was running like a thief was captured and executed by the people.

During those days preceding the month of May the Hitlerites were still fighting. They used tricks and provocations. They surrendered in the west to be able to defend themselves more strongly in the east. They hoped and aspired to be able to divide the allies at the last second. They tried to avoid the end. However, the end did not intend to avoid them.

On 2 May the news was received that Red Army units had seized entirely the German capital.

Among the cities ever taken by our troops Berlin assumed a particularly special position not only in terms of history and the importance of the success achieved by the Red Army but the scope of the battle for a city with millions of inhabitants turned into a fortress.

That is how May began. It was destined by history to be the month of fascist surrenders. The spring wind of victory was blowing away the enemy fronts like dry sand. The surrender of the huge Berlin garrison was followed by surrenders in Denmark, the Netherlands, and the Northwestern part of Germany... Day after day news that hundreds of thousands of German soldiers were surrendering was received. Six days later, on 8 May, the Hitlerite supreme



command dropped down on its knees and signed the act of unconditional surrender of all German armed forces.

Who among those alive then does not remember the next morning, when our people reached the peak and, casting off their shoulders the burden of four years of unparalleled war, took to the streets of all the cities and villages of our amazing country? This was the triumph of a hero who has seen for the first time the full extent of his immeasurable and life-creating power, praising with the innocence of a child the happiness of his victory. Moscow's salute with thousands of guns was merely the echo of this single national song of joy, the way the fires of the Moscow rockets covering the evening sky were merely the reflection of the glow of man.

We remember the spring of victory with pride and gratitude. We know our strength. We know the selfless heroism of our soldiers and selfless labor of our workers determined by their deep feeling of Soviet patriotism.

We are creating not only a world in general and in the broadest possible sense but, above all, a new man, with the help of the material and spiritual world we have created and are creating.

The facts of our present reality are so powerful that the role of the builder, the creator of the new world, is increasing and growing comprehensively day after day in the deserts of Central Asia, and in the permafrost zone. The Soviet person is the focal point of everything being accomplished under our very eyes. Nature itself is amazed at this new energy which has come into the world to transform and ennoble it.

It was this person that was the first to begin the conquest of outer space. On the morning of 12 April 1961 I, like the entire world, was informed that Soviet citizen Yuriy Alekseyevich Gagarin had penetrated space aboard a ship created by the daring thought of the Soviet scientists and the skillful hands of Soviet workers!

Like all my compatriots I experienced then amazement, enthusiasm, and pride. I was literally "seized by the spirit!"

Ever since that memorable April morning we have taken ever-new steps in the further conquest of outer space thanks to our successes in the development of science and technology, successes which, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, are assuming a decisive significance to the uninterrupted progress of the country on the path to communism.

Long ago we took a giant step which was merely a prospect in the first years of socialism: we have already forgotten the time when illiteracy was eliminated. The generations of working people which have come since have been able to develop people engaged in a new science, a new art, and in the fabulous miracles of technology. Compared with the past the size of the working class has grown incomparably and has reached the level of the

intelligentsia thanks to universal education. Friendship between the fields and self-propelling machinery is becoming ever stronger and the stern voices of this machinery have become a common village occurrence.

The present is remarkable by the fact that all Soviet people, guided by the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, headed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, are enthusiastically struggling for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Workers, kolkhoz members, and members of the intelligentsia are using new production reserves, increasing savings, and raising output with every passing day.

The intensive and selfless work of the Soviet people vividly confirms their deep loyalty to the communist ideals. The working people in our country are characterized by their monolithic unity around the Communist Party, inviolable ideological and sociopolitical unity within Soviet society, and unbreakable fraternal friendship among the multinational family of peoples of the USSR.

The Communist Party is systematically pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, bequeathed to us by the founder of the Soviet state, the great Lenin. It is supporting the just struggle of the peoples for freedom and national independence and social change. The Communist Party and Soviet government are doing everything possible to guarantee the peaceful toil of the Soviet people, strengthen the economic and political positions of world socialism, and develop all-round international cooperation, marching, consistently, directly, and honestly, in the vanguard of the fighters for peace throughout the world.

The peace movement is one of the most glorious pages in the history of our time. Many successes have been achieved in the struggle for peace which has made many heroes.

We have all the reasons to state that peace will conquer war.

We could tell the following to the enemies of peace: think more frequently of the facts of history. Remember the lessons you were given by the fate of the Romanovs, Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, the fates of Hitler and Mussolini.

We know that it is possible to prevent a new war because there is a strong and powerful socialist camp which has rallied the liberated nations and all people of good will.

We, the writers of the socialist countries, are the flag-bearers of progressive culture. In our work we embody the hope and ideals of revolutionary humanism. We are proudly and most responsibly aware of our role and place in the ideological struggle.

We believe that today, tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow the masters of Western culture will make a correct choice for the sake of progress in the

world. Yet, it is better to do so today than the day after tomorrow, for time punishes delays.

After the October Revolution the literary workers were faced with the choice of who to follow and where to go? In the old bourgeois Russian literature many writers left their people and went into exile, running from their time into the past. They have remained in the past forever. However, there were also other writers who freely made a different choice and thus protected their art, an art for the people.

Yes, for the people. Again and again I repeat that to me the only meaning of literature is that of an activity serving society, the people.

The Soviet writer is happy to feel himself a coworker in the implementation of the great tasks resolved by the Communist Party, the party created by the great Lenin.

The essence of writing is to study profoundly and creatively and to describe vividly the processes of our time, giving the work a moral force which can help the Soviet people march confidently to the future, to communism, firmly rejecting any obstacle, anything obsolete.

I read with a feeling of gratitude the words of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Reports to the 25th Party Congress to the effect that the creative intelligentsia "is making an ever greater contribution to the partywide, to the nationwide cause of building a communist society," and that in the new works of socialist realism "evermore frequently and, above all, evermore profoundly, we find a response to the main and essential aspects of the country's life, of that which has become part of the individual destiny of the Soviet people," and that "a talented work of literature or art is national property."

Soviet literature is vitally involved in contemporary reality, in the circulation of its blood, in the rhythm of its heartbeat.

How to explain the unquestionable circumstance that, from the very first days of its existence, Soviet literature has influenced the spiritual development throughout the world? It is explained by the force of the ideas inspiring the Soviet society, the force of Lenin's ideas.

The true work of socialist realism is covered by dreams--dreams of a new mankind, of a communist society.

Communism, whose real signs the artist sees in our Soviet reality, the reality of developed socialism, makes our wings.

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## SOCIOECONOMIC PREREQUISITES FOR THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 71-83

[Article by Professor V. Bovykin]

[Text] Becoming part of the past, the great historical events which open new epochs of social development do not cease to influence the present. Sixty years have already passed since the October Socialist Revolution. However, the ideas and gains of the revolution and their enrichment and multiplication represent the main content of our time. "Today's accomplishments of the Soviet people are the direct continuation of the cause of the October Revolution," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress.

In order to reveal more completely and utilize the entire wealth of the theory and practice of the first victorious proletarian revolution in the world it is important to know its sources--its origins, and its prerequisites. It would be difficult to name a more topical problem in historical science than this one. In an effort to prevent the application of the experience of the Great October Revolution in the contemporary liberation movement bourgeois ideologues and revisionists of all hues are distorting the reasons for our revolution and its place in the world's historical process. Their efforts are aimed mainly at denying its legitimacy and universal-historical significance. In their analyses the bourgeois theoreticians either try to reduce everything to the effect of merely subjective factors or try to prove that the only objective prerequisite for the October Revolution was Russia's backwardness. The exposure of the bourgeois falsifiers of history and the further study and interpretation from Marxist-Leninist positions of the objective prerequisites for the October Revolution are necessary prerequisites for the utilization of its experience in the interest of the successful continuation of the radical social reorganization of the world.

The Soviet historians have done extensive work in the study of the economic and social processes which marked the preparations for the October Revolution. Their studies are based on the solid foundations of the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution which brought to light the basic laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism. According to this theory the process of ripening of the historical prerequisites for a socialist revolution in Russia is a manifestation of an objective requirement of the world's social development. The international nature of this revolution and the process of its ripening were determined by the worldwide scale of capitalist development. Its entry into the imperialist stage and conversion into an all-embracing global system meant that capitalist contradictions had become global and woven into a single knot. The capitalist system, spreading throughout the world, directly faced the ripening socialist revolution.

However, as V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out, it did not follow in the least from this that the socialist revolution had to spread simultaneously throughout the world. The implementation of the global need to replace capitalism with a superior social system turned out to be possible only through socialist revolutions, initially in separate countries, for the uneven social development, particularly aggravated in the imperialist epoch, also determined the uneven ripening of the objective and subjective prerequisites for a socialist revolution in the different parts of the world's capitalist system. The readiness of this system as a whole to make a socialist revolution also did not mean that such a revolution could break out anywhere. The world's capitalist system included not only developed capitalist states but the targets of their exploitation--the vast colonial and semicolonial periphery. As a result, at that time no socialist revolution could break out on most parts of the globe, as Lenin pointed out, "for the simple reason that the majority of countries and populations on earth have not even reached a capitalist stage of development or are only at its beginning" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, pp 110-111). It was precisely in this connection that Lenin formulated the question of the "objective conditions for a social revolution from the viewpoint of the economic maturity of the different countries" (Ibid., p 112).

Lenin distinguished between two aspects of the process of ripening of objective conditions for a social revolution by the proletariat. His views were brilliantly confirmed on the basis of the study of extensive factual data in the works of V. V. Zagladin, Yu. A. Krasin, P. N. Fedoseyev, and other researchers. The development of capitalism, manifested in the tempestuous growth of production forces and the tremendous socialization of output, leads to the fact that the framework of capitalist production relations, based on private ownership of capital goods, becomes too narrow from the viewpoint of further social progress. This main conflict within the capitalist society is manifested in growing economic contradictions, social

antagonisms, and sharp political clashes. In the imperialist epoch they become aggravated to the extreme. This was manifested by World War I which marked the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism. As a result, in some units of the capitalist system the aggravation of economic, social, and political contradictions led to the appearance of a revolutionary situation, i.e., to the development of the necessary conditions for a struggle for the transfer of political power to the proletariat.

At the same time, the domination of monopolies and of financial capitalism, raising the socialization of production to the highest level possible under a capitalist system, not only intensified capitalist contradictions but created material foundations for the socialist reorganization of the national economy. The first world war, provoked by imperialism, contributed to the discrediting of the power of the bourgeoisie and the ripening of a proletarian uprising. At the same time, it accelerated the conversion of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism which represents the fullest material preparations for socialism (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 193).

The appearance of conditions for transferring the political power to the proletariat and the establishment of the material foundations for replacing capitalist with socialist production relations--the two components of the process of ripening of objective prerequisites for socialism on a universal-historical scale--are organically and inseparably interlinked. In the individual countries, however, as a result of uneven capitalist development, this process may emphasize either the first or the second of its aspects to a greater extent. Lenin repeatedly noted that the leading capitalist states were entirely ripe for socialism, for "the mechanism of social economic rule here is already prepared" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 50). However, as Lenin emphasized, it is precisely in the leading capitalist countries that conditions for a revolutionary explosion and for overthrowing the bourgeois rule are less favorable. Here the bourgeoisie is stronger, more experienced, and better organized. Oppressing and exploiting the backward peoples, it has the possibility to bribe the upper crust of its proletariat with crumbs from its superprofits (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 149; Vol 30, p 107; Vol 39, pp 98-99; Vol 41, p 193). In countries "not belonging to the number of exploiters" "it is easier to begin the movement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 279). However, these countries are lagging "in the level of preparedness for the material-production 'introduction' of socialism" ["Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 216). By the turn of the 20th century Russia was the weak link in world capitalism in which a combination had developed of exceptionally favorable conditions for the seizure of political power by the proletariat as well as the necessary prerequisites for developing by the proletariat a socialist and a socioeconomic organization.

As Lenin pointed out, the possibility for the assumption of political power by the proletariat and for the implementation of socialist changes is secured "only at a certain level of capitalist development" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 14). It is natural, therefore, that when they consider the objective prerequisites for the Great October Socialist Revolution the researchers focus their main attention on the level of capitalist development in Russia.

The complexity of this question is caused by the disproportions existing in the economic and social development of the country. By the turn of the 20th century, outstripping the leading capitalist countries in the pace of industrial growth, the country became one of the five biggest industrial states in the world. In terms of absolute volumes of industrial output Russia came very close to France, while surpassing it in a number of specific indicators such as pig iron and steel smelting, machine building, production of cotton fabrics, and petroleum extraction and processing. Another important feature of Russian industry was its high technical-organizational level manifested, in particular, in a production concentration on big and very big enterprises and the establishment of industrial centers considered gigantic in terms of the existing scale, unusual even for the leading capitalist countries. The highly developed forms of capitalist organization were established in Russia not only in industry but in banking, trade, and communications. On this basis, by the end of the 19th century, monopoly associations had already developed here extensively and industry began to merge with banks. At the same time, however, low forms of capitalism predominated in the agrarian structure, burdened by numerous vestiges of serfdom. Disproportions in economic and social development were manifested also in the drastically uneven nature of capitalist evolution in the different parts of the country and in the crying disparity between the political superstructure of the society and its changed economic base.

All this makes a simple characterization of capitalism in Russia impossible and extremely complicates a comparison between its development and the development of other capitalist countries. Furthermore, unlike the situation in the Western European countries, whose colonial possessions were separated by the seas, in the Russian empire the mother country consisting, as Lenin noted, of the "Central European Russia" was merged within a single territorial complex with dependent territories with heterogeneous economic and cultural levels.

The objective difficulties existing in comparing the course and results of the capitalist evolution of Russia and that of other countries and of determining the characteristics of its historical development have not only resulted in erroneous conclusions drawn in historical publications but have been used to deliberately falsify the processes of the ripening of

the socioeconomic prerequisites for a socialist revolution in the country. In particular, the clear contradiction between the high rates of Russian industrial growth and the retention within its social structure and national economy of considerable vestiges of serfdom has been frequently explained by the allegedly artificial transfer to Russian soil of the production accomplishments of more developed countries. The tempting simplicity of this interpretation also led to the birth of the populist myth of the fact that tsarist government and foreign capitalism planted a capitalist industry in Russia regardless of its social organization, as well as the theories widespread in the West of the "westernizing" or "modernizing" of Russia, and the opinion encountered in Soviet historical publications to the effect that the system of big capitalist production appeared here in a way essentially different from that in the West, bypassing the stage of free competition as a result of the promotion of industry by the landowners' state to which the "policy of industrialization" was, allegedly, the main trend of economic policy in general. All these claims are far different from the real state of affairs.

As Lenin pointed out, Russia's industrial development was accelerated "through the example and aid" of the more developed capitalist states (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 3, pp 488-490). However, it was not the result exclusively of external influence. At the end of the 19th century Lenin had already proved that the decisive factor of Russian industrial development was the capitalist evolution of its agrarian system which was the basis of the process of the organization of a domestic market for large-scale industry. This evolution did not take place in the least as a result of the tsarist economic policy which, on the contrary, tried to restrain the spontaneous breakdown of feudal relations and hold back the establishment of capitalism in order to combine this process with the retention of landed estate ownership and the political rule of landowners within the state. The bourgeois reorganization of landed estates, representing the only way for the landowners to retain their economic and political positions, could be achieved only with the capitalist development of the entire national economic organism. Yet, it was the preservation of landed estate farming, i.e., the feudal monopoly of a huge and best part of the land, granting the landowners special privileges at the expense of the country's national economy as a whole, that hindered such a development more than anything else. That is why, restraining the growth of capitalism in order to prevent it from acquiring a scale which would threaten land ownership with a forced breakdown, tsarism was also forced to adopt special measures to insure the capitalist evolution of individual national economic sectors to the extent to which this was necessary for the gradual conversion of landed estates to bourgeois tracts.

Under such conditions the capitalist evolution of the agrarian system was slow. Nevertheless, it went on. The latest studies by Soviet historians have provided new proof of the groundlessness of claims of the rule of precapitalist relations in the agrarian structure of prerevolutionary



Russia. As N. M. Druzhinin has proved, at the beginning of the 1880's the system of feudal relations in Russia was totally wrecked. Capitalist relations assumed dominating positions in the Russian countryside, even though they acted in very strange transitional forms, interwoven with vestiges of serfdom. The complex and conflicting process of bourgeois transformation of the Russian agrarian system requires further study. It is entirely obvious, however, that even its slow pace, considering the scale of the country, called for a rather considerable expansion of industrial output.

At the same time, encountering in the farming center of the country the counteraction of the vestiges of serfdom, Russian capitalism rushed into areas free from feudal relations. As Lenin pointed out, the dissemination of capitalism "in width"--in economically underdeveloped territories in the southern and southeastern European part of the country, and in Siberia, was an important factor in the capitalist development of Russia. Assisting the capitalist evolution of the outlying areas, to a certain extent it delayed the solution of economic and social contradictions in the center. This created possibilities for the fast growth of large-scale industry while retaining considerable serfdom vestiges in the country's economy and social structure. Furthermore, the special role which the development of capitalism "in width" played in the capitalist evolution of Russia predetermined the tremendous scope of railroad construction which became the motive force for industrial progress and, particularly, the production of capital goods.

Another factor which determined the coexistence between progressive forms of industry with backward agrarian relations and a semifeudal political superstructure was the influx of foreign capital in the country's national economy. The question of the role of foreign capital has triggered a number of arguments among Soviet historians and economists. A turning point in its study was the surmounting of the once widespread idea of Russia as being a semicolon. Studies have indicated that despite the considerable participation of foreign capital in railroad building and in the organization of a coal and metallurgical industry in the south, and in some other sectors, nevertheless foreign capital did not play a determining role in the national economy but only adapted itself to a process already underway. At the same time, it became clear that the participation of foreign capital in the Russian economy did not as yet mean by far that it took over the economy or even some of its individual sectors. Finally, it was found that it would be erroneous to explain the influx of foreign capital into Russia with insufficient domestic capital accumulations. It turned out that domestic accumulations were considerable but that most of them were drawn out of production use in the national economy through a state credit system and used to support tsarist autocracy and landed estate ownership. Foreign capital compensated only partially for such an outflow of domestic accumulations from the economy.

Financing the construction of railroads and industrial enterprises in whose existence the autocratic-landlord system was interested, the foreign capitalists enabled tsarism to use domestically accumulated resources for

nonproduction expenditures whose purpose was to strengthen the economic and political positions of the ruling class, the struggle against the revolutionary movement, and the waging of wars. Thus foreign capital contributed to the fast growth of some Russian economic sectors while retaining the main obstacle on the path to Russia's capitalist development--the political power of the landlords and landlord agriculture. This foreign capital "aid" resulted in the steady sending abroad (as interest and dividends) of a steadily growing share of the country's national income.

At the beginning of the 20th century the indirect support which foreign capital was giving to the autocratic-landlord Russian system was no longer sufficient. In 1905-1907 international financial capitalism openly gave aid to tsarism by lending it money with which to suppress the revolution. In the entire period from 1900 to 1917 nonproduction foreign capital investments in Russia exceeded production investments by over 300 percent. Direct financial support of the autocracy became the main function of foreign capital. This brought about a paradoxical situation: While the role of foreign capital in the country's national economy in the 1900's and, particularly, in World War I, declined considerably, the dependence of the autocracy on its foreign creditors rose sharply.

In September 1917, proving the possibility for a victory of a socialist revolution in Russia in his work "Tasks of the Revolution," Lenin exposed the falseness of assertions of the need for "financial support by the allies." "In Russia," he wrote, "there is grain, coal, petroleum, and iron. The only thing necessary for the proper distribution of such products is getting rid of landlords and capitalists who plunder the people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 233).

The structure of Russia's industry confirms, yet once again, its natural development and organic ties with the country's entire national economy. At the beginning of the 20th century the biggest plant and factory industrial sectors in Russia, as in the Western European countries, were foods and textiles, whose growth was a direct result of the capitalist evolution in agriculture. They accounted for over one-half of the entire value of industrial output. Large-scale food industry and, particularly, the production of flour, refined sugar, oil, alcoholic beverages, and tobacco, confirmed the rather high level reached by trade farming in Russia. The existence of a developed textile industry in which the production of cotton fabrics, based essentially on imported raw materials, and whose main consumer was the rural population, spoke of a rather developed process of social division of labor. The third position was held by metallurgy and metal processing which accounted for about 20 percent of the value of industrial output. The tempestuous growth was related, above all, to railroad and industrial construction. As a whole, the sectors in Russian industry producing capital goods at the beginning of the 20th century accounted for 40 percent of the entire industrial output, i.e., for a higher percentage than in Germany and France (in which the ratio between groups "A" and "B" was approximately 1:2).

At the beginning of the 20th century Russia's agriculture remained the quantitatively predominant economic sector. Its share here was considerably higher than in the leading industrial countries. Having caught up with them in terms of absolute amounts of industrial output, in terms of per capita industrial output, Russia was close to a backward European country such as Spain. Nevertheless, even within the empire, crop growing, animal husbandry, forestry, and fishing together accounted for slightly over one-half of the national income on the eve of World War I. About one-third of the national income was accounted for by industry and construction, while the balance was provided by transportation, communications, and trade.

The development of capitalism and the growth of large-scale industry changed the class and professional structure of the Russian population. Studying the 1897 population census data, Lenin concluded that "Russia is a capitalist country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 3, p 502). Even though its agricultural population still far exceeded--by over four times--the population in trade and industry, in terms of absolute figures the latter had reached an impressive size. By the end of the 19th century over 9 million people were employed in industry, trade, and transportation, i.e., more than in France (about 9 million), and slightly less than in England (about 10 million). Of these approximately 6 million people were hired workers. The factory-plant, mining, and railroad workers, numbering about 2.5 million, were the backbone of the rapidly growing Russian proletariat. By 1913 the overall number of hired workers in industry, trade, and transportation had reached almost 12 million, while the number of factory-plant, mining, and railroad workers had reached 4 million. Hired labor in industry, trade, and transportation was focused in the most important economic areas of the country and, above all, in the areas of Petersburg and Moscow.

Since the lower forms of capitalism, combined with vestiges of serfdom, predominated in the Russian countryside, and since the process of peasant stratification was far from completed, most of the farming population consisted of transitional types of semiproletariat and petit bourgeoisie. Here again, however, at the end of the 19th century, hired workers numbered about 3 million while on the eve of World War I their number reached 4.5 million.

As a whole, even though the process of the formation of classes in Russia's capitalist society was continuing, by the end of the 19th century it had already led to the fact that proletariat and semiproletariat, existing "mainly or half-way by selling their manpower" began to account for over one-half of the country's population" (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 3, pp 503 and 505).

The birth of a proletarian army in Russia, concentrated in the economic and political centers whose seizure made possible the assumption of governmental power, and the rapprochement between the interests of the

proletariat and the nonproletarian toiling masses, which gave the proletariat the possibility to win over the majority of the country's population, were all confirmations of the adequate level of capitalist development representing, as defined by Lenin, "the basic condition" for a socialist revolution (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, pp 14-15).

Repeatedly pointing out the similarity of basic features in the capitalist evolution of Western Europe and Russia, "despite the tremendous characteristics of the latter, economic as well as noneconomic," Lenin believed that these characteristics were determined not by the fact that in its historical path Russia had deviated from the general laws of capitalism but merely by the relatively unfinished bourgeois changes in it (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 3, p 7; Vol 4, p 220; Vol 5, p 187; Vol 20, pp 306-307, and others).

Russian capitalism entered the epoch of imperialism. However, all the social changes which were the content of a bourgeois-democratic revolution had not been carried out in the country. Progressive forms of industrial and financial capitalism coexisted in the country with a semifeudal monarchy and landed estate farming. Defining Russia's position among the six great capitalist powers, Lenin pointed out that in Russia "the latest capitalist imperialism" is interwoven "with a particularly thick network of pre-capitalist relations" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 378). It was as though the different stages of capitalist development--its upsurge, maturity, and decline--were compressed in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century into a single unbreakable entity. The problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution had not been resolved while the tasks of a socialist revolution had already ripened, demanding evermore adamantly their solution. As a result, two social wars broke out simultaneously in the country. "The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is on the agenda throughout Europe. This struggle had long moved into Russia," noted Lenin in September 1905. However, he went on to say, "In contemporary Russia the content of the revolution consists not of two struggling forces but of two different and heterogeneous social wars: One is waged within the contemporary autocratic-serf owning system, while the other is waged within the future bourgeois-democratic system already developing under our own eyes. One is a nationwide struggle for freedom (for the freedom of a bourgeois society) and for democracy, i.e., for the autocracy of the people, while the other is the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for a socialist social structure" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 11, pp 282-283). One month later, explaining his thesis of the two social wars waged in Russia, Lenin wrote: "...We see in Russia two different struggles waged by two different social forces. The proletariat is fighting the bourgeoisie wherever capitalist production relations exist...The peasantry, as the stratum of the small landowners, of the petit bourgeois, is fighting all vestiges of serfdom, the officialdom, and the landlords" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 12, p 45).

The interweaving between the two social wars predetermined the close interconnection among the objective prerequisites of the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist revolutions, thanks to which the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution became possible. The question of the interaction between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism in the history of the Great October Revolution is extremely important in order to understand the general laws of the socialist revolution and its motive forces. That is why confusion in the interpretation of this matter is particularly intolerable. Some historians try to explain the objective need for a socialist revolution in Russia by the fact that under the conditions developed here the bourgeois-democratic revolution was unable to implement its tasks. They consider the need to resolve precisely such bourgeois-democratic tasks the main prerequisite for the victory of the October Revolution. However, Lenin repeatedly emphasized that the most profound economic and political crisis which developed in the country was triggered by capitalism. That is why it was impossible to reject capitalism "without abandoning bourgeois relations" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 37). This was the reason for the seemingly striking helplessness of the provisional government. A solution to the crisis created by capitalism, Lenin pointed out in his work "The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It," was possible only by taking the path to socialism (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, pp 190-194). The fact that the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution remained unimplemented only accompanied and contributed to the ripening of the revolutionary outbreak and to the broadening of its scale.

As a result of the February revolution the struggle for socialism became the immediate task of the Russian proletariat. However, the struggle waged by the Russian proletariat for socialism had begun long before February. In order to determine the historical prerequisites of the October Revolution we must go far beyond the range of the 8-month period which separated in Russia the socialist from the bourgeois revolution. An example in this respect is the basic work by I. I. Mintz "Istoriya Velikogo Oktyabrya" [History of the Great October].

The workers movement triggered by the development of capitalism as early as the end of the 19th century became the main factor of the liberation struggle in tsarist Russia, for, opposing the bourgeoisie, the Russian proletariat was forced, in the interest of developing the struggle for socialism, to achieve above all the overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment of a democratic republic. The hegemony of the proletariat in the liberation movement at its bourgeois-democratic stage and the unity of the interests of the proletariat and the peasantry in removing all vestiges of serfdom determined, as Lenin pointed out, "the special nature" of the bourgeois revolution in Russia, and its particular role in the revolutionary process (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 17, p 44). Made by the proletariat and the peasantry--classes interested in completing the bourgeois-democratic changes--such a revolution was to be the threshold

for a socialist revolution. The leadership of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution made possible the creation of the most favorable conditions for a direct transition from the solution of bourgeois-democratic problems to the struggle for socialism, enabling the proletariat to gain experience in the revolutionary leadership of the toiling masses, and to begin the rallying of forces ready to rise, together with the proletariat, for a socialist revolution, and to develop the necessary forms for a proletarian revolutionary organization (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 307).

The establishment of the most favorable conditions for the assumption of political power by the proletariat in Russia was helped also by combining the proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie with the national movement inherent in the stage of the bourgeois revolution. Unlike the leading capitalist countries in the West, Russia was a multinational state in which oppressed peoples predominated. However, only a small segment of such peoples inhabited territories which could be classified as colonies of a capitalist type. As defined by Lenin, most of the population lived in "directly dependent political" territories whose level of social development was approximately the same as that of the mother country (the Kingdom of Poland, and the Baltic), or else areas which had become part of Russia during the time it became a centralized state and which had long become an organic part of the single all-Russian market. They experienced severe national oppression but were not subjected to the type of economic exploitation on the part of the ruling nation characteristic of capitalist-type colonies. Furthermore, Russia itself was economically dependent on the "financial capital of 'rich' bourgeois countries" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 25, p 261). That is why, pitting Russia against a handful of "very rich imperialist countries, parasitically profiting from the plunder of colonies and weak nations," Lenin considered it as one of the countries themselves "subjected to imperialist plunder" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 371). Consequently, the factors which contained the revolutionary outbreak in the richest colonial powers "which engaged in imperialist plunder of many colonies and foreign countries, thus turning a rather substantial (relatively) percentage of their own populations into participants in the sharing of imperialist gains" (Ibid.), did not operate in Russia. Furthermore, the existence of many oppressed peoples, whose factual national liberation, considering the existing deployment of class forces, could be achieved only through the struggle of the proletariat, created prerequisites for the support of this struggle by the broad toiling masses of the national outlying areas of the country.

The close interconnection between the objective prerequisites and, consequently, the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions in Russia gives no grounds for identifying one with the other. Lenin noted this as early as 1905 working on the question of the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. "Naturally, in specific historical circumstances the elements of the past and the

future become interwoven and the paths may become confused...", he wrote. "However, this does not prevent us in the least from separating logically and historically main development periods. We separate between the bourgeois and the socialist revolution and unquestionably insist on the need for making a strict distinction between them. Yet, could we deny that individual elements in the history of one or the other become intertwined? Has the epoch of democratic revolutions in Europe not experienced a number of socialist movements and socialist attempts? Is the future socialist revolution in Europe not faced with the need to add a great deal in terms of democracy?" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 11, p 74). In the conditions of Russia in 1917 the question of the "finishing aspects" of democratic work not carried out by the February revolution faced the October Revolution even more emphatically. However, such a completion was merely a side product of the socialist coup d'etat. Opening the possibility for a conversion from a bourgeois-democratic revolution to resolving the problems of the socialist revolution, the interaction between the objective prerequisites of the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist revolution made possible the most favorable deployment of class forces in the power struggle of the proletariat.

The question of the interaction between the objective prerequisites and tasks of the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolution in Russia, unquestionably needs further specific historical studies. The clarification of the role of this interaction at the different stages of the liberation movement and its influence on shaping the motive forces of the socialist revolution in Russia will enrich our concepts of the objective processes of preparations for the Great October Revolution.

Studying the objective prerequisites by virtue of which "in a country such as Russia it was far easier to initiate a socialist revolution than in a progressive country," Lenin also pointed out that "no single country had been so tortured and torn by the war as Russia" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 388; Vol 35, p 301). Thanks to the studies made by Soviet historians the picture of the destruction of the country's national economy, caused by World War I, has been clarified with almost exhaustive completeness. A less thorough study has been made of the social processes which were taking place in the country at that time. Their further study must be more detailed and the role of the war in the ripening of the socialist revolution in Russia must be brought to light comprehensively.

3

Discussing the material prerequisites for socialism, Lenin singled out, above all, the role of the big banks, for they were "centers of contemporary economic life, and the main nerve centers of the entire capitalist economic system." Their seizure would enable the proletariat to take over an established machinery of national economic accounting and control ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, pp 161-162). "Socialism could not be achieved without the big banks," Lenin wrote (Ibid., p 307). Naturally, in this case he also

contemplated the existence of a highly monopolized large-scale industry combined with the banks. Lenin also assumed that the economic organization of socialism would need a more or less well developed network of railroads and postal and telegraph communications, as well as a network of public education establishments (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, pp 130-131). However, he pointed out, the proletariat must not wait for the full ripening of such prerequisites. If favorable conditions for the seizure of power by the proletariat have appeared in the country, the proletariat must use them even in the case that "an entire series of primary prerequisites" do not exist for transition to socialism, for the remaining prerequisites could be borrowed from the practical experience of more developed countries (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, pp 131-306; Vol 43, p 216). That is why, Lenin pointed out "The transition from capitalism to socialism is conceivable in various forms, depending on whether or not we have in the country dominating large-scale capitalist relations or a dominating petty economy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, pp 78-79). In the first case a "direct transition" is possible. In the second, seizing the political power, along with the implementation of socialist changes concerning the banks, large-scale industry, and railroads, the proletariat should be concerned with the "intermediary links" which could prepare the other areas of the national economy ruled by petty production for a transition to socialism (see Ibid., pp 228-229).

In Lenin's view a necessary minimum of material prerequisites for socialism had developed in Russia. He indicated as confirmation the high level of capitalist socialization of production in a number of industrial sectors, the extensive development of monopolies, and the growth of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. In his article "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?," written in October 1917, rejecting arguments that conditions for a transition of the political power to the proletariat had not ripened yet in Russia, Lenin pointed out, in particular, the fact that here as well capitalism had created "an apparatus particularly closely linked with banks and syndicates" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 307), whose seizure would enable the politically victorious proletariat to assume the management of the country's national economy.

At the same time Lenin always pointed out the specific nature of the process of ripening of the socioeconomic prerequisites for a socialist revolution in Russia. Speaking of the level of maturity of material conditions leading to the socialist socialization of leading sectors in the Russian economy--large-scale industry and trade, credits, transportation, and communications--at the same time Lenin repeatedly emphasized that Russia as a whole is a primarily peasant, petit bourgeois country. In the spring and summer of 1917, thinking of the tasks of the socialist revolution, raised by "life itself, practically combining in Russia syndicates in industry and petty peasant economy in the countryside," he pointed out the objective difficulties of building socialism in a petit bourgeois country, as a result of which socialism could not win here "directly and immediately" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 32, p 293; Vol 31, pp 91-92, and others).



Studying the question of the material prerequisites for the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet historians try to clarify the way, under the conditions of capitalist Russia, in which the process of establishment of the production management apparatus took place, whose results, despite their entire relative limitation, could be used for the subsequent socialist reorganization of the country's national economy. The study of the history of the development of monopolies and financial capitalism, and of state-monopoly capitalism in Russia has greatly contributed to the solution of this problem.

By the will of history, at the beginning of the 20th century Russia, which embodied the main trends of social development of the world at that time with its disproportions, became the focal point of economic, social, and political contradictions inherent in the world's capitalist system. These were, above all, contradictions of highly developed capitalism which had entered the stage of its decay, as well as contradictions which arose in the course of its interaction with the lower forms of capitalism and with precapitalist relations characteristic of the outlying areas of the world's capitalist system. Their interweaving within a single knot, and Russia's conversion into the weak link of world capitalism created an objective foundation for the transfer into Russia of the center of the international workers movement and for the ripening of the first socialist revolution in the history of mankind. However, the possibilities created by objective circumstances could be used only thanks to political forces capable of achieving such a revolution. Directing the attention to the role of the subjective factor in the ripening and making of the revolution, Lenin noted that the old government "would never 'fall' even in an epoch of crises, unless it is 'injured'" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 219). The existence of such a factor is an absolute prerequisite for the conversion of a revolutionary situation into a revolution. In order for a revolution to emerge from a revolutionary situation, Lenin explained, we need "the ability of the revolutionary class to engage in revolutionary mass action, sufficiently powerful to destroy (or overcome) the old government" (Ibid.). This ability is provided by the political party of the proletariat--the spokesman for its interests and the organizer of the revolutionary struggle.

Heading the Russian proletariat, the Leninist party raised highly the banner of the social revolution and the gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat, abandoned by the opportunistic parties of the Second International. It declared war on capitalism, proclaiming its program as the main task of the Russian proletariat the socialist reorganization of society. The party equipped the Russian proletariat with progressive revolutionary theory, strategy, and tactic which insured it the support of the broad toiling masses and, above all, of the toiling peasantry. In the course of fierce ideological battles it protected the working class from the corrupting influence of opportunism and rallied the proletarian ranks. The exploit of the Leninist party which, undergoing with the Russian proletariat the crucible of three revolutions, led the people's masses to victory, was the decisive prerequisite for the victory of the Great October Revolution.

## INTERNATIONAL LAW FROM OCTOBER TO THE PRESENT

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[Text] The more time passes since the greatest date of the 20th century-- 25 October (7 November) 1917--the clearer becomes its enduring significance to the development of all mankind. There is no realm of human activities not influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution. This fully applies to the process of reorganization of the entire system of international relations and of their legal foundations.

Today it is already possible to state firmly that contemporary international law is qualitatively different from the one which operated prior to the birth of the first socialist state on earth. Naturally, the October Revolution could not immediately "replace" the old international law with a new one, since a characteristic of international law is that it is based on agreements among countries. However, bearing in mind that the international-legal ideas of the October Revolution expressed the interests not only of the working people of our country but of all progressive forces on earth, and that the revolution brought about a radical change in the general circumstances on earth it will become clear why the reorganization of the old international law had to begin, and did begin at a time when the Soviet state was alone in opposing imperialism. Later on, following the defeat of the shock forces of imperialist reaction in the course of World War II, with the decisive participation of the Soviet state, the appearance of a world socialist system, the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system, and the radical change in the ratio of forces in the world arena, this transformation assumed an even greater scope.

1

Lenin's Decree on Peace, with its clear and effective program of struggle for a just, democratic, and universal peace plays a most important role among the biggest foreign political acts of the Soviet state embodying the great ideas of the October Revolution.

For the first time this document proclaimed the principles of a just and democratic peace which would exclude annexations and reparations. It pointed out that the concept of annexation is determined "in accordance with the legal concept of democracy in general and with the toiling classes in particular," i.e., according to the democratic convictions of the masses concerning the legitimacy or illegitimacy of one or another action by the state and the justice or injustice of principles and norms of international law. The decree provided the initial stipulations for assessing from progressive democratic positions a number of most important principles of then-effective international law in the struggle for establishing within it the stipulations of equality and cooperation among all nations.

The old international law considered war one of the legitimate means for the solution of disputes. As aptly characterized by Kant, there had always been a law "to war," "in war," and "after war." Breaking with this traditional concept, the decree proclaimed an aggressive war to be the greatest crime against mankind. The very concept of "crime against mankind" was a juridical novelty, subsequently codified in international-legal acts.

The decree broke with yet another concept which legitimized and sanctioned the exploitation and national oppression of some nations by others in the form of colonies, "spheres of influence," protectorates, vassalage, and so on. It condemned any violent annexation by a big and strong country or keeping within its boundaries a small or weak nationality, considering it a seizure, i.e., an illegal action. By this token the decree called for recognizing the right of nations to self-determination.

According to the decree the remoteness of the annexation could not be used as its justification, even though in the old international law such remoteness had always been considered sufficient grounds for the oppression of a foreign nation; nor could annexation be justified by the fact that the oppressed nation was undeveloped or backward, or the fact that such a nation lived in a part of the world which imperialism had always considered a sphere of its "legitimate" colonial exploitation. These concepts struck at the international-legal doctrine and practice of the imperialist countries which rejected the right of "noncivilized" peoples to autonomous governmental existence. Annexation could not be justified also by a method for the acquisition of foreign territory such as the conquest of an entire country or the seizure of part of its territory, for aggressive war itself, as the greatest international crime, cannot give any legitimate grounds whatever for ruling a foreign territory or for its annexation.

Establishing the principle of self-determination among nations, the decree firmly opposed the imperialist interpretation of the previously ruling principle of "normative force of the fact." Henceforth it was suggested that the boundaries of a state be determined not on the basis of a situation which had developed as a result of the rule by an imperialist country but on the basis of the free manifestation of the will of the oppressed nation.

Asserting the right of each nation to independent statehood, the decree indicated a way for democratic cooperation among all nations on the basis of their voluntary agreement and equality. It opposed the imperialist policy of seizures and wars with a policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

The Decree on Peace made a profound change in international-legal views. Even though juridically it had the force merely of a state law the universal effectiveness of its revolutionary ideas made them consistent with the democratic legal awareness of the nations and the ripe needs for the development of international relations. That is precisely why, despite the refusal of the then-existing imperialist governments to accept the suggested conditions for peace, the ideas of the decree had a tremendous influence on the development of a number of most important institutions of contemporary international law.

Let us note, for example, that after the October Revolution the concept of reparations disappeared entirely from international-legal terminology. This put an end to the traditional concept of the "right" of the victor to plunder the people of the defeated country.

The direct influence of the principle of rejection of secret diplomacy, proclaimed in Lenin's decree, was reflected in the demand "to maintain international relations entirely publicly," which was included in the League of Nations charter. Subsequently, this principle was codified in Article 102 of the United Nations charter which calls for the registration and publication of international treaties.

As to the two basic principles of the decree--self-determination of nations and the criminality of aggressive war--their application to international law covered an entire segment of history. It called for long years of struggle by the Soviet state and, subsequently, the other socialist countries and the progressive forces the world over. These principles, becoming the universally recognized norms of international law, brought about a qualitative change in the normative significance of a number of traditional principles and, above all, the principle of state sovereignty.

Since each nation has the right to self-determination and to the creation of its own statehood, this means that the sovereignty of a nation-state cannot be considered grounds for the establishment and justification of the rule of one nation over another. This conclusion is fully backed by United Nations practices. The United Nations have repeatedly agreed to consider matters related to conditions in colonies despite the objections of colonial powers which, as before, tried to claim that such problems are, allegedly, within their domestic competence.

The fact that, according to contemporary international law, aggressive war is excluded from the legal means for the solution of intergovernmental disputes, and is acknowledged as the most severe international crime, means that the "right to war," i.e., the right of a state to resolve disputes through armed force is no longer an attribute of sovereignty. The ban on the use of force or threat of force in international relations, included in the United Nations charter, is the immediate result of the legal codification of the principle of the criminality of aggressive war.

The "right of the winner," as well as the "right" of the state to conquest disappeared together with the disappearance of the "right to wage war." This makes entirely groundless Israel's attempts to substantiate its claims on Arab territories. The aggressor is not simply a party to an armed conflict but a violator of the law who must be held responsible for his crimes regardless of the results of the armed conflict.

2

The division of the world into two socioeconomic and political systems did not result in the breakdown of international law; nor did the appearance of a number of developing countries. The "forecasts" which became widespread in the West on this account, particularly at the height of the Cold War were, and remain, groundless.

Such "forecasts," regardless of the extent to which this was realized by their authors, were formulated in the hope of hindering historical progress by retaining the institutions of "classical" international law or the creation of a special law for a "select commonwealth" of members of the "free," i.e., capitalist world. Yet, we know that in its broadest interpretation international law must be universal in terms of its social function, equally applicable to all parties to international contacts.

In the course of the development of "classical" international law, the factual and, partially, juridical limitation of the range of its subjects initially to European, followed by "Christian" and, finally, "civilized" states was based essentially on the exploiting nature of capitalism. With the termination of the era of the total domination of capitalism as a result of the victory of the October Revolution and the appearance of the world socialist system and the breakdown of colonial empires all these restrictions were eliminated. Naturally, the old international law as well, ever since international economic and political relations acquired a global nature, operated throughout the globe. However, its actions were of a different nature: some countries--sovereign and "civilized"--enjoyed all its rights; others, being semidependent, had their relations with sovereign countries governed by international law only partially; others again were subjects of the international law of the mother countries, i.e., were treated as objects of exploitation.

The codification of the ideas of the October Revolution on the equality of all states and peoples in international law meant the extension of its universal principles and norms to all the peoples which had gained statehood or were fighting for their liberation, regardless of their geographic location, economic and political importance, or level of development.

Let us particularly emphasize the fact that the Soviet state never rejected international law as an instrument regulating relations among all countries, i.e., as common international law. It refused to acknowledge only the reactionary principles and institutions of the pre-October Revolution period which sanctioned a system of national oppression, colonial plunder, and imperialist robbery.

In order to assess accurately the attitude of the Soviet state toward the international law which existed at the time of its appearance, we must take into consideration that the principles of that law, developed in the epoch of bourgeois revolutions and national liberation wars in Europe and America, were democratic in nature. Yet, the struggle among the bourgeois countries for military superiority and the enslavement of backward and weak nations, the rivalry among the great powers, and colonial wars and conquests determined the appearance of institutions aimed at establishing and codifying relations of domination and subordination, and of coercion and inequality. These institutions were developed even further in the epoch of imperialism as being most consistent with its reactionary nature. However, this did not bring about the elimination of the democratic principles of international law which had developed in the course of several centuries. The reasons for this could be found in deep economic and social contradictions inherent in capitalism and, particularly, imperialism which, rejecting democracy, was forced at the same time to retain and create democratic institutions (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, p 71).

That is why in its essential principles and norms international law was contradictory: To a certain extent it continued to remain democratic despite the existence of stipulations which distorted its democratic principles and despite the violations of such principles by the imperialist countries.

Rejecting the imperialist institutions and unequal treaties, and formulating new and progressive principles of international relations, the Soviet state could refer, in substantiating and defending its own interests, to the universally recognized principles and norms of international law and to the corresponding treaties concluded by the old Russia--items which, to use Lenin's words, led to "good neighborly relations" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 20).

In its 4 June 1918 decree on the ranks of diplomatic representatives, the Soviet government emphasized that relations among equal countries is the basic idea of international law. References to this law are found in many other documents such as legislative acts, notes, declarations, and international treaties concluded by the Soviet state.

Naturally, in the practice of international relations by our country many old principles and norms of international law assumed a new social direction and content. Essentially, they became directed against imperialist aggression, national inequality, and oppression. Their nature changed not only in the international relations in which the socialist country engaged directly. The pacifistic actions in relations among capitalist countries also objectively acquired a different meaning. Whether their purpose was to conceal imperialist policy or settle intrainperialist contradictions for the sake of creating a single front against the Soviet state ("imperialist pacifism"), or whether they were aimed at retaining the status quo of the Versailles system, and so on, one way or another they could not fail to take into consideration the powerful ideas of the October Revolution.

The declaration on the purposes of the war made by British Prime Minister Lloyd George (5 January 1918), the "fourteen points" of the program for a "democratic" peace formulated by the American President Wilson (8 January 1918), formulated under the direct influence of the Decree on Peace, the obligation undertaken by the members of the League of Nations not to resort to war, founded in the preamble of its charter (even though the charter itself merely included certain restrictions on the right to war), the stipulation that "an aggressive war is an international crime" (a stipulation codified in the draft treaty for mutual aid elaborated by the commission of the League of Nations in 1923), as well as similar acts, despite their entire demagogic objectiveness, constituted an acknowledgment of the breakdown of the principle of the legality of war as the ideological base of the old international law.

The 1921 Paris Treaty on rejecting war as an instrument of national policy was also formulated on the level of "imperialist pacifism." However, thanks to our diplomacy which insured that the USSR became party to this treaty, and its quick application in relations with a number of countries, it could not be used as a weapon for anti-Soviet policy. At the same time, by virtue of the Paris Treaty the principle of the criminality of aggressive war, proclaimed in Lenin's Decree on Peace was codified in international law even though not to its fullest extent. It became one of the basic norms of the treaty: War was banned as an instrument of national policy. In accordance with the Paris Treaty war is illegal, as the sentence passed by the court in Nuremberg subsequently pointed out.

Firmly rejecting the thesis of the Cold War supporters to the effect that the conflicting nature of socialist and bourgeois ideology allegedly results in the breakdown of international law, the Soviet scientists convincingly proved (as was practically confirmed) that common ideology is not a necessary prerequisite for the existence of common international law. A conflicting ideology does not exclude common concepts as the latter could be formulated on a general democratic basis as a result of the acute ideological and political struggle waged by the socialist

states and the other progressive forces against imperialist ideology and politics. Common international law could not exist without the existence of common concepts and evaluations. Nor could it exist without a common, even though very limited, ideological foundation.

Before the October Revolution the ideological pace of international law was, as we pointed out, the principle of the legitimacy of any war. At the same time, that law was based on the idea of relations among equal states. The combination of the two principles was expressed in the equal right of sovereign states to wage war and their equal rights during and after a war.

As we know, the imperialist countries answered the suggestion of the Soviet state of adopting the principle of democratic peace as a base for international relations and international law with military intervention. Realizing the impossibility of the immediate establishment of a democratic peace, but without interrupting the struggle for it and trying to implement it in relations with a number of neighboring countries, the Soviet state adopted as the basic idea of the law as it was at that time the principle of relations among equal states. The breakdown of the German Empire, the defeat of the intervention, and the failure of the imperialist attempt to impose upon Soviet Russia its will and, subsequently, to recognize the equality of the two systems of ownership and grant full diplomatic recognition to the Soviet state resulted in the assertion of this principle as a base for contemporary common international law; the principle of legitimacy of war became so discredited in the eyes of the people's masses that the imperialist governments no longer dared to refer to it. The idea that an aggressive war is criminal was making its way. The attempts of the fascist countries to substantiate ideologically, under the new circumstances, the "right" to wage war and to implement this right were doomed by history as was fascism itself.

In the prewar period, however, the principle of a democratic peace was not codified properly. The right of nations to self-determination as well was not universally recognized. Aggressive war was banned not totally but only as an instrument of national policy.

The victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in World War II was of great importance to the struggle for a democratic peace. "The Great Patriotic War," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev says, "was to us, the Soviet people, a struggle not only for the freedom and independence of our homeland. It was also a battle for the salvation of world civilization, and for a future just peace."

In its 24 September 1941 declaration the Soviet government already pointed out that the allies face "the exceptionally important task of establishing the ways and means for the organization of international relations and the postwar structure of the world," and lay "the foundations for relations of



international cooperation and friendship which would be correct and consistent with the wishes and ideals of freedom-loving nations." In the course of the war many important principles of the postwar organization of international relations were agreed upon by the allies. In accordance with their agreements the United Nations Organization was established in 1945.

Along with banning the threat of force or its use in international relations, for the first time the United Nations charter codifies the international-legal right of nations to self-determination, included in the charter on the insistence of the Soviet Union. This meant that international law was to be based on the principle of a democratic peace, and that a new stage in the struggle for its practical implementation was beginning.

A number of international conferences of young national states and the 15th United Nations session which passed in 1960, on Soviet initiative, the declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and peoples, played a substantial role in contributing to the practical implementation of the right of nations to self-determination. It is very indicative that this declaration, fully consistent with the Decree on Peace, stipulates that "insufficient political, economic, or social preparedness or preparedness in the field of education" should never be used as pretexts for delays in granting independence. On the basis of the new norm--the right of nations to self-determination--the majority of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries gained statehood and equal membership in the international-legal commonwealth. Today, together with the socialist countries, they are actively struggling for the definitive elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system.

The Cold War unleashed by the imperialist countries considerably damaged international cooperation. It involved systematic and most gross violations of contemporary international law. As we know, however, the fact that a law is violated does not eliminate it. Under those difficult circumstances as well, international law continued to develop in a general democratic and anti-imperialist direction. The imperialists were forced to retreat in the face of irreversibly growing forces of social progress.

The crisis of the Cold War policy, which became drastically apparent at the beginning of the 1970's and its futility with the changed ratio of forces created conditions for a turn from confrontation to a policy of detente. The Peace Program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress played an outstanding role in this turn. Within a short time a system of treaties, agreements, and accords appeared laying the foundations for peaceful constructive relations among countries with different social systems. Detente became the leading trend.

The solution of a number of most important international problems became possible. The imperialist attempt to deal with a socialist state--Vietnam--and to suppress the national-liberation revolution in Southeast Asia, the

most important imperialist attempt after World War II, failed. Cuba's international position and prestige strengthened. The prerequisites for stable peace and good neighborly cooperation developed both in Europe and beyond it. On the basis of the universal recognition of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic and its membership in the United Nations, and the inviolability of the western borders of the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, codified on an international scale, the most important results of the liberation struggle waged by the European peoples in World War II and after it were codified. The beginning of talks on a peaceful settlement in the Middle East was undertaken.

Practical problems of the materialization of detente, adding military to political detente, and restraining and terminating the arms race were put on the agenda. The 25th CPSU Congress elaborated a program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the nations, aimed at continuing the reorganization of the entire system of international relations.

The active efforts of socialism and its allies on this level, taking into consideration a certain amount of realism displayed by some leading representatives of the capitalist West, met with the opposition of imperialist reaction. It clearly tried to impose upon mankind a second Cold War, forgetting the total bankruptcy of the leaders who had unleashed the first.

3

The idea of a democratic peace formulated by the October Revolution as a legal principle of "democracy in general and of the toiling classes in particular" assumed the quality of a foreign political principle governing the Soviet state (and, subsequently, other members of the socialist comity) and is now considered a most general principle on which contemporary international law is based. The main aspects of this principle are continuing to develop in the course of the struggle and competition between the two systems. At the present stage in the reorganization of international relations, life itself adamantly calls for the fullest application in international law of the principle of intergovernmental cooperation on a systematically democratic basis.

From the very first days of its existence the Soviet state has firmly favored such cooperation. The facts of its systematic struggle for the solution of this problem are widely known. It is important to note that the circumstances which developed as a result of the defeat of the shock forces of imperialist reaction in World War II made it possible for this principle to become a basis for the United Nations charter. The obligation of the members of this universal organization to develop friendly relations and engage in international cooperation on the basis of the equality and self-determination of the peoples, sovereign equality and

noninterference in domestic affairs, and respect for human rights and basic freedoms regardless of race, sex, language, or religion, as well as abstaining from the threat of force or its use all signified that the principle of international democratic cooperation had become mandatory in international law.

Subsequent decades, however, were noted by grossest possible violations in this field committed by the imperialist countries.

Under the conditions of the postwar development of the world revolutionary process imperialist reaction is directing the wedge of its foreign political activities against the socialist countries, the liberation struggle of the peoples, and democratic changes in all parts of the globe. Methods of direct and indirect aggression, the organization of coups d'etat, the financing of counterrevolutionary groups and military mercenaries, murders of foreign political leaders, and subversive activities directed against the socialist countries, as well as methods of economic pressure ("dollar diplomacy") in order to maintain the foundations of capitalism in some countries and reactionary regimes in others and, in general, to oppose the world's revolutionary process, were used extensively.

However, even under such circumstances, reflecting the tremendous social changes in the world, international law continued to develop in an anti-imperialist direction.

Let us particularly emphasize in this connection the United Nations 1970 declaration on the principles of international law in which for the first time the principle of cooperation among countries was codified in its expanded version as a basic one. It is clearly established as an obligation. This puts an end to any question whatever concerning its legal nature. The declaration states that the countries must cooperate with one another "regardless of differences in their political, economic, and social systems." They must help international cooperation "free from discrimination and on the basis of such differences." The indicated purpose is the maintenance of international peace and security, contribution to international economic stability and progress, and general prosperity of the peoples.

This principle was further developed in the final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Noteworthy in the Final Act is the desire of the participating countries to give such a principle the greatest possible material content. This is helped by the stipulation in this document of the areas, types, and directions of cooperation and the ways and means for its implementation.

The definition of the principle of cooperation as a duty stipulates that the countries will act as equals in accordance with the United Nations charter. The agreed upon stipulation of the strict application of the

principles named in the Helsinki declaration "in the interpretation of each one of them taking the other into consideration" is particularly important. This stipulation is important not only in European cooperation, for the participants in the conference proclaimed their intention to maintain relations with all countries in the same spirit.

The principle of cooperation as a duty of the countries must be distinguished from their practical activities. The practice of the capitalist countries includes a number of sometimes obvious violations of the principle. Yet, it demands that international cooperation be based on sovereign equality and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty, nonutilization of force or threat of force, inviolability of borders, territorial integrity of countries, peaceful settlement of disputes, noninterference in domestic affairs, respect of human rights and basic freedoms, equality and the right of nations to control their fates, and conscientious implementation of obligations based on international law.

These stipulations are exceptionally important in understanding the Helsinki Act both as a whole as well as in its separate parts. No single agreement contained in it could be used in order to violate the sovereign rights of countries. At the 16th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions Comrade L. I. Brezhnev most clearly stated that "...We shall not tolerate interference in our domestic affairs on the part of anyone or under any pretext." This statement is fully consistent with the spirit and the letter of the Final Act.

4

Naturally, as the product of the post-October Revolution epoch, contemporary international law reflects all its basic characteristics. Never before has it had such a complex sociopolitical structure as now. This is due to the complexity of the structure of international relations themselves. In addition to the three basic components of such relations--among socialist countries, among capitalist countries, and between countries belonging to the two world systems--three other components exist. It is a question of relations between developing countries with socialist and capitalist states, and among each other. Within the framework of these three types of relations differences exist determined by the directions of the social development of individual groups of such countries. Finally, yet another component consists of relations involving countries of all three groups--socialist, capitalist, and developing.

Common international law regulates intergovernmental relations regardless of affiliation with one or another group, either directly or through legal norms not of general significance, which could be described as restricted action norms (based on the range of subjects) which must be consistent with the norms of common international law or, at least, not contradict them. The limited action norms control relations which arise on the basis of varied and frequently specific needs and interests of different countries.

Such a characteristic of international law is expressed in its sociopolitical structure as well. In addition to the principles of common international law it includes principles which express the specific nature of relations among countries within the same social system (or social group) or countries belonging to different systems. By virtue of the heterogeneous structure of international relations the principle of a democratic peace as the ideological base for contemporary international law is manifested differently in their various types. This applies to the greatest extent to relations among socialist countries and between them and capitalist countries.

In terms of the countries belonging to the two world systems the principle of a democratic peace is manifested as the principle of peaceful coexistence. The latter, as the CPSU Program stipulates, "is the base for peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism on an international scale and is a specific form of the class struggle between them." Peaceful coexistence does not exclude but, conversely, presumes a class struggle in the field of intergovernmental relations as well--ideological, political, and economic--but without the use of force; on the level of the ideological struggle under the conditions of detente it is waged by comparing facts and through discussions, rather than in the form of psychological warfare which is being waged, in violation of the law, by imperialist propaganda.

In this realm of foreign political relations the general democratic content of the norms of international law is concretized in the direction of insuring the peaceful development of the struggle between governmental-organized class-antagonistic forces or, in other words, insuring the fact that this struggle takes place within a channel which does not lead to the threat of wars, dangerous conflicts, or uncontrolled arms race, in the form of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among countries belonging to the two opposite systems. This is the basis for the international-legal principle of peaceful coexistence through which the norms of common international law in this field of intergovernmental relations are refracted and concretized and developed further.

As to the realm of relations based on the existence of a large group of developing countries, at the contemporary stage their simple characterization would be impossible. Proceeding from the class assessment of the principle of peaceful coexistence, the only principle acceptable to our science, we should recognize that it is based on relations between socialist countries and developing countries which follow the capitalist path and are closely linked, economically and politically, with the main capitalist countries. Matters are different in the case of developing countries which are selecting paths of noncapitalist development. Here it is already a question of relations of a new historical type of transition to socialism.

At the same time, there is a common principle on which all types of relations involving developing countries are based--anticolonialism. The principle of a democratic peace is refracted through it. In particular, this is manifested in the fact that contemporary international law acknowledges the legitimacy of the armed struggle waged by the peoples for their independence and bans the use of military power or other repressive measures directed against national-liberation movements. In this case third countries have the right to help people fighting for their liberation. The socialist countries make full use of this right.

The idea of a democratic world in relations among socialist countries assumes a qualitatively new expression. Here it is implemented through socialist internationalism. The latter, as the most general principle governing cooperation among fraternal states in their struggle for the building of socialism and communism and against imperialist aggression, correlates all basic principles of their reciprocal relations giving them a clear class content. Not one of them, whether equality, respect for sovereignty, or any other principle, could be considered separately or interpreted as being merely generally democratic.

Voluntary fraternal cooperation, equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, as well as mutual advantages and unification of efforts for the sake of common great objectives are an aspect of socialist internationalism which developed as a result of the development of the democratic principles of international relations on the basis of proletarian solidarity. Socialist internationalism not only intensified the old democratic principles. It developed them and gave them a new content as a result of which they acquired a socialist character. It also created new principles unknown to the history of pre-socialist international legal relations such as, for example, comradely mutual aid and foreign political solidarity among socialist countries. Thanks to the unbreakable interconnection between the principles of solidarity and comradely mutual aid, on the one hand, and voluntary participation, equality, respect for sovereignty, and mutual benefit, on the other, relations based on the unity of their class direction, in their totality these principles form a system of principles of socialist internationalism as a form of proletarian internationalism. Developing and improving, they insure an ever-greater cooperation in the building and strengthening of the new world.

In the overall structure of contemporary international law the principles of socialist internationalism hold a position similar to the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among countries belonging to different social systems. They play a tremendous role in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale inaugurated by the Great October Revolution.

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## PARTY EFFICIENCY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 94-103

[Essay by F. Rodionov, Sukhinichi-Moscow]

[Text] The labor exchange in Kalanchevka was a low building. The gray colored hall was crowded by unemployed. A youngster wearing a borrowed coat was at the official's booth.

"Uncle, I need work, any kind of work..."

"Wait, Noskov, we cannot find jobs for the adults. Come in a week's time."

He came here every week, every month, for over a year.

...Today the building of the former labor exchange houses a famous clothing association to whose fame Petr Kondrat'yevich Noskov has contributed substantially. It is as though the building itself has straightened up and grown by several floors thanks to his efforts. A long announcement is on a wall: "The Bol'shevichka Association is recruiting for work..." Nevertheless, whenever Noskov approaches the building he could almost hear the words, "Uncle, I need work, any kind of work..." Like a hungry person enjoys the very sight of bread, Noskov gets real pleasure looking at the way the people work. Perhaps that is the reason why he does not begin his working day before touring the factory.

Noskov has never changed this habit. Even today, faced with an unusually difficult day--the long-planned visit to the Kaluga branches was to begin--he showed up at the factory early in the morning. With unexpectedly light steps for his heavy body he rapidly crossed the factory yard. He looked carefully at the trucks ready to leave and closely listened to the workers' conversation.

"They are sending me to Ivanovo again. The wife says that I have totally abandoned my home..."

"This is Produvalov," noted Noskov to himself. "Something should be said to the garage chief."

He reached the finished products warehouse. Aware of the fact that the director would remember their words, the women exchanged their morning impressions:

"Only small size pants were brought from the Kozel'sk branch. They are for school children but cost 40 rubles. Who would buy them?"

Noskov remembers this as well. He climbs to the highest floor where clothing production begins. He smiles thinking that there are no longer conveyer belts in the factory making the work monotonous and paralyzing the forces and initiative of the people. He looks with pleasure at the hard-working women. Each one of them is carrying out her operation without waiting for her neighbor, as was the case in the past. Yet, how many fears were expressed when he decided to abandon the conveyer belts and convert to the aggregate-brigade method...

Noskov went to the floor below. On the staircase he saw vocational-technical school students dragging on cheap cigarettes. Petr Kondrat'yevich frowned at them. Extracting from his pocket a handful of lollipops he handed them to the children.

"Better suck on these."

In the shop he immediately noticed the shelves packed with goods. Here again the women formed a tight ring around him.

"Why was Kanishcheva transferred? What kind of output will there be with young foremen? Bring Lyudmila back."

He listened sympathetically and said:

"We shall think about it..."

He walked by the chirring sewing machines, thinking that he could not but transfer Kanishcheva to another sector, as she had requested it herself. Recently a man approached her and fell dead in her hands. It was an infarct. Extremely sad, the woman begged: "Transfer me somewhere else. It seems to me all the time that...I can no longer stay here. Transfer me." What else was there to do? He transferred her. What about the output? Well, it will be settled...

In the passageway between machines Noskov came across the mechanic Luk'yanov. Petr Kondrat'yevich looked at him and remembered:

"You have a granddaughter, Luk'yanov!"

"A grandson, Petr Kondrat'yevich," said the mechanic laughing.



Noskov watched Luk'yanov's skillful hands and his eyes began shining. Work has the property of awakening in a person the desire to test his strength, to compete with those around him. The same feeling appeared in Noskov. He felt the collective's work rhythm and the mood of the people. This is the way ship navigators capture with a sextant the light of stars to chart the correct course.

Noskov was not in a hurry to get to his office. In about 30 minutes to 1 hour the Volga was to be ready to take him to the Kaluga branches in Kozel'sk, Sukhinichi, Meshchovsk, and Seredeyskiy. Petr Kondrat'yevich opened a green-covered notebook and recorded the remarks of the workers and his morning impressions. Then he carefully looked at the figures on the fulfillment of the plan by the branches. He opened the file "for signature" and began to write his decisions on the documents. He considered longer only one paper. It was an order awarding bonuses for the utilization of rationalization suggestions. "Thanks to rationalization suggestions conventional savings of 200,000 rubles were achieved," it stated. "How so conventional?" he thought with irritation. "What was accomplished, where, and by whom?" Petr Kondrat'yevich could not tolerate the word "conventional" in the case of specific people and their creative work. Furthermore, not each rationalization suggestion leads to savings. Some result in improvements in labor conditions. Yet, how to estimate their effect in rubles? Noskov wrote in big letters on the upper corner of the resolution to the chief of the plant's rationalizations and inventions bureau: "Talk to me about this personally."

The telephone rang sharply and long. It was a long distance call. Through the static Noskov heard the distant voice of his deputy Anatoliy Borisovich Tikhankov:

"Everything is in order, Petr Kondrat'yevich! I secured a plot for the boarding house. I am flying back tonight."

Noskov smiled broadly. Tikhankov was a good man. The association has its boarding house in Ruz, near Moscow, and now it will have one in Adler. In terms of what "conventional" economy could one assess the creation of a new boarding house? How is this computed in rubles?

There was a little time left before departure and Petr Kondrat'yevich went to the association's hall to see the models delivered in the past few days. This hall was his pride. Here suits came directly from the assembly line. Customers chose what they liked, measurements were taken for alterations, and in a few days the clothing could be taken away, as though custom made. The difference was that in this case a suit could be produced 10 times faster.

The spacious glass-lined cubicle premise, full of sunshine and multicolored clothing always gave him a good mood, reminding of the way the association's successes began. Once again he saw in his mind the time when Bol'shevichka converted to direct relations with stores. Everything began with a fair on the same type of sunny day. Models were lined along the sides of the hall exhibiting elegant suits made of inexpensive modern fabrics. The fair was in full swing. Representatives of the big Moscow enterprises--GUM, TsUM, Moskva, and Ruslana, walked from one model to another and exchanged satisfied comments.

"You may order the types of suits you like with the designs you like and at prices you find suitable," Noskov said.

These words concluded the ceremony and the business part began. The buyers began to place orders. Noskov has undertaken a difficult experiment which he could have avoided. Usually factories delivered their goods to wholesale warehouses and were no longer interested in the further fate of the items. They were interested only in their "gross output." They were not interested in shape, quality, or design, but in raising prices, which they did. Both the garment-makers and the wholesalers were pleased. However, the suits, dresses, and overcoats remained in the warehouses, for they were both ugly and expensive for which reason they remained unsold. The state began to suffer tangible losses.

It was then that the decision was made to experiment with "direct relations," as a result of which the stores were to direct the factories to meet consumer demand. For the first time the bonuses to clothing workers and the enterprises's fund were to depend not on gross output but on the volume of goods produced by Bol'shevichka sold to the stores. That is why Petr Kondrat'yevich watched with concern the orders written by store representatives. He soon stopped smiling. Looking at the orders he saw that they were mainly for the most inexpensive suits made of Dacron which was difficult to work with. Then, together with his deputy--Mariya Fedorovna Kuznetsova, the association's chief economist, Noskov checked the consolidated order and his heart sank: the stores wanted 30 percent more inexpensive suits than the Sovnarkhoz had planned. This meant a sharp decline in profits and profitability. Was this to be a failure?

At that time Petr Kondrat'yevich was unaware of the fact that the situation in which he found himself would be studied at the business school of Harvard University. The seminar was specifically named "The Noskov Situation." Much later he was told of this by a Soviet specialist who had received practical training in the United States. The factual base for the discussion was a note on the work of Bol'shevichka by Leonard (Wrigley) one of the organizers of the seminar who had made a special study of the activities of the enterprise headed by Noskov. In an ancient hall some 70 big businessmen discussed Noskov's reason to take the risk and launch the experiment. Questions were written on the blackboard and answers were

given immediately. They were erased and new questions were asked, more than there was space on the blackboards. The most heated item was that of planning. In the Soviet Union, the businessmen thought, everything is centralized: There is a Gosplan, a ministry, and a bank. Prices and varieties are planned. All this would exclude any initiative on the part of an enterprise manager. Therefore, Noskov was doomed to failure by agreeing to convert to direct relations with stores. Yet, he could have refused. Someone timidly objected that anyone among those present--heading one or another enterprise--was equally unable to set his own prices, for the prices were dictated by the industrial cooperation. This was totally ignored. Everyone was interested in the reasons for Noskov's behavior. A great variety of assumptions were expressed: vaingloriousness, pursuit of publicity, and, finally, profit.

The participants in the seminar believed that they had come closer to the truth. Profit was one of the main indicators planned for the enterprise. Profit would have made Noskov understood by the businessmen and it was in this area that they began to seek the reason for his behavior. Unexpectedly, however, a new circumstance was presented which puzzled the audience even further. Those who conducted the seminar reminded the audience that there is no private ownership in the USSR, for which reason Noskov could not invest the bonuses received for high enterprise profits in anything else and put it into circulation. All he could do was buy his wife a fur coat... Therefore, was it possible to achieve a sensible combination between the material incentive of producers and the interests of society? Leonard (Wrigley) tried to answer these questions. He said the following: If the director wishes to fulfill the state plans he must forego the interests of his workers and their material incentive. Should he be concerned exclusively with his workers he would thus violate the moral norms prescribed by the strict rules governing the Soviet society... Here (Wrigley) found himself definitely in a dead-end street. A new reason was presented: Noskov was a communist. The discussion sharply turned to social organizations. The party organization must watch over the interests of the state, for the Communist Party is the ruling party, the businessmen thought, while the trade union must defend the interests of the workers. Does this mean that a conflict arises between the party organization and the trade union? How should Noskov behave in a critical situation in order not to lose his job? All these questions appeared on the blackboard of Harvard's hall with the speed of motion picture frames. There were no clear answers...

Indeed, Noskov's situation was difficult. In the first month of work by the new method the average daily output in terms of retail prices declined by nearly one-third. Special handling was required in making Dacron suits. The revolutions of the sewing machines had to be slowed by one-half. The time needed to make a suit rose from 6 to 9 hours. By the end of the year production profitability had declined drastically. Noskov was summoned to the Sovnarkhoz. The official in charge of light industry declared stiffly that the next year the association would follow the method it used before

the experiment. Direct relations had not proved their usefulness. Regardless of all the arguments used by Petr Kondrat'yevich to prove that lowered profitability is a temporary situation and that a little time was needed to reorganize both output and accounting, the Sovnarkhoz official was inflexible. Impatiently, he banged on the desk and said with irritation:

"Your profitability was planned on the basis of an existing fact and must be strictly fulfilled." He became really agitated. "You see, for you this is an experiment while for us in industry, you understand, a plan must be fulfilled."

Soon afterwards the Sovnarkhoz issued a plan with numerous indicators which excluded the possibility to work on the basis of direct relations with stores. Petr Kondrat'yevich was bitter. It was late autumn in Moscow, snowy and windy. The wind blew through the bare branches of the trees and the discolored cloth sign on which was written "sale of priced-down goods" fluttered. Every day Petr Kondrat'yevich passed by this sign on his way to work. One day Noskov could not stand it any more and went into the store. He saw the strict lines of suits made the previous year or the year before that. Yet, the Sovnarkhoz wanted them to resume work on the basis of this "fact!" It was then that Noskov went to the party's Central Committee. There he was heard out attentively and was given the possibility to continue his work on the basis of direct relations with stores. This is probably the first answer to the puzzled questions asked by the businessmen at Harvard. Noskov took the risk confident that he was right as a party member. The Communist Party, whose policy is aimed at the dynamic development of the national economy and the entire Soviet society, and at serving the interests of the working people, supported Noskov. In a situation in which any of the students at the business school would have failed, Noskov gained the party's support.

Yet, Petr Kondrat'yevich did not intend in the least to live through moral credit. Returning to the enterprise, he immediately met with party committee secretary Anna Markovna Dykina, and with the chairman of the trade union organization Klavdiya Ivanovna Gerasina. Noskov, Dykina, and Gerasina stayed late planning ways to improve the work. They summoned chief economist Kuznetsova, since they believed that now priority should be given to the question of intensifying cost accounting.

This meeting again could have been considered by the Harvard businessmen as a unique social phenomenon. True, of late bourgeois sociologists have begun to supply entrepreneurs with demagogic means which could, allegedly, "humanize" their relations with the workers. Hoping for higher dividends, they are forced to fake democracy. Yes, precisely forced. Naturally, however, this results neither in class peace nor prosperity. Not by force but naturally Noskov relied on the powerful forces of democracy inherent in socialist production relations and operated in close unity with the social organizations. The businessmen would be unable to understand all this.

One week later the party-trade union aktiv met at the head enterprise of the association. Specific tasks related to upgrading production profitability were discussed. The economic services drafted new, more efficient norms for material and time outlays. One month later, in party training classes, the party members undertook the study of the foundations of cost accounting based on the specific examples provided by their enterprise. The trade union committee proclaimed a review of economy and thrift. The public economic analysis bureau drafted recommendations on the rational utilization of materials. Within a short time possibilities for the more economical manufacturing of the goods were found. Everything was considered by everyone: kopeks, centimeters, buttons, and kilowatts. The Komsomol members investigated the warehouses and found a great deal of materials which shop chiefs had stored "as a reserve." Production time was lowered systematically by the workers themselves. Within a relatively short time over 400 norms were revised. Five months after it began to follow the new method, Bol'shevichka's profits considerably exceeded those of the previous year...Such was the end of the first experiment in our country which laid the beginning of the search for a new method of industrial planning and incentive.

It was almost 9 am when Noskov sat in the Volga waiting for him at the main gate.

"Sukhinichi first, Sasha," Petr Kondrat'yevich told the driver.

The new buildings of the southwest showed up soon. Vnukovo showed up with the Aeroflot poster wishing a "good flight!" Petr Kondrat'yevich loved this poster as life had not been so good to him. At the age of five he lost his mother. He was raised by his grandmother in the countryside. He had to mow, harrow, and take care of the cattle. Then he became a trainee with a merchant and, subsequently, was able to find work at the aviation plant. His entire life had consisted of work--adamant, constant, intensive. Even those branches of the association in the Kaluga area, considered his success, and for which he had been awarded the State Prize were the result of sleepless nights and nervous tension...

Petr Kondrat'yevich nervously twisted in his seat:

"Faster, Aleksandr, we shall miss the shift change."

The driver answered:

"I cannot drive any faster."

Noskov looked at the speedometer. The arm was at 90. The gray asphalt ribbon cutting through the spruce climbed or dropped sharply. Up and down, up and down the road went. "As in life," Noskov thought. Following the initial success, demand for Bol'shevichka goods rose. Then, unexpectedly, quality complaints began coming. Once again the economists considered

possible alternatives for correcting the situation. Conferences were held headed by chief engineer Viktor Mikhaylovich Timashev. The conclusion was unanimous: Output must be increased and, in order to improve quality, specialization was needed. However, it was easy to call for an increase. How to do so? No one would allow the building of new industrial enterprises in Moscow. And even if allowed, there would be no workers. The only remaining thing was to open branches outside the capital. This decision was reached at a party committee session. Nothing else was possible. In Moscow, where the most skilled cadres were concentrated, more space was provided for cutting and experimental work--the most responsible operations. The pants and suits cut in Moscow were sewed at the newly created factories. That is how a division of labor and specialization were achieved...

Along the road birch trees replaced the spruce. The wind shook their long branches and gently rocked their flexible trunks. "They are young," Noskov thought, looking at their snow-white silky bark. "Maybe 20, 30 years old. Postwar..." He recalled the forest here wrecked by an artillery storm. The trees stood up beheaded, with split trunks. Perhaps that is why he was drawn to the Kaluga land, having begun the war here in 1941.

Interestingly, however, thinking of the war, he recalled not the wounds or the mad rushes under enemy bombs in a one-and-a-half ton truck loaded with shells for the front line. Rather, he remembered entirely peaceful events. The soldiers of the motor vehicle company he commanded picked up wounded horses with broken legs, laid them between the trees, and took care of them like children, feeding them by hand. Leaving, the division commander took the horses along. They had become used to them: they reminded the soldiers of a peaceful life.

Once, when the company was changing positions, Noskov saw a sight he was never to forget. In the field opposite the trucks he saw a line of hunched women. At first Noskov could not understand what was going on. Then he saw that the women were harnessed to a plow behind which an old man pressed his entire weight. The peasant women were breathing heavily and their faces were gray from dust and exhaustion. The plow was scratching the top of the soil. The women frequently stopped to rest. Without checking with his comrades, Noskov took the healed horses to the peasants. It is perhaps with these horses that one of the postwar kolkhozes may have begun to farm. It is, perhaps, precisely then that Noskov developed the desire to clothe these women impoverished by the war in gay garments. Noskov retained this desire throughout his life. No, probably it was not an accident that Petr Kondrat'yevich was drawn to the Kaluga soil.

When Noskov reached the Sukhinichi branch the news spread like lightning throughout the factory: "The general director has arrived." He heard this from a young seamstress who had failed to notice him but who became confused when she did. Noskov asked:

"Do you know my full name?"

"Petr Kondrat'yevich Noskov," the girl blurted out.

"So, call me Petr Kondrat'yevich," he said. "Do not promote me to general. In the war I did not reach even senior officer's rank."

At an almost running pace, without a stop, he climbed the steep steps and went to the shops. He looked closely at the work of the equipment and the way the labor process was organized. He went down to the warehouse. He saw that it contained more suits than required and, displeased, addressed the woman who was the director of the branch:

"Ship them to Moscow. With above-norm surpluses you are reducing bonuses to the collective..."

However, Noskov forgot his displeasure soon. He looked at the suits and recalled that once all there was here was a small workshop which made mittens and pillow cases. They began virtually from scratch: here with a workshop; in Meshchovsk with a workshop as well; in Kozel'sk Bol'shevichka was given the premise of a spaghetti factory. Still today Noskov smiles recalling the way the Kozel'sk director, transferring ownership, walked along the factory and, waving his arms, frightened off pigeons pecking at spaghetti. Today the Sukhinichi factory alone produces goods worth over 30 million rubles. Naturally, this did not come about immediately. The factory was rebuilt three times and modern equipment was installed which turned out to be unsuitable following the specialization of the Moscow production process. The people had to be trained.

"Well, gather your Komsomol members," said Noskov to the director.

Awhile later he sat behind the director's desk. Sitting on the chairs along the walls the young people, well dressed, bursting with health, were sitting and talking loudly. Noskov recalled the comrades of his youth in their gray clothing and with shadows under their eyes caused by fatigue and malnutrition. Some of his contemporaries are now complaining that today's youth has known no deprivation and, therefore, values nothing. "Should they be familiar with need? Should we blame them for sufficiency? Man breathes oxygen and does not notice what he breathes. As long as they are not made to breathe carbon monoxide they would go on concerned with fashion and clothing and then would have to be cured from egotism, philistinism, and others." For himself Petr Kondrat'yevich had long ago decided that the best antidote for all "infantile diseases" was responsibility for assignments which is stronger than egotism and thoughtless pursuit of fashion. These young people, now attentively looking at him, were able to build a modern enterprise replacing a primitive workshop.

Petr Kondrat'yevich opened his green notebook and asked:

"Any complaints?"

Noskov was well familiar with the situation based on information regularly submitted by the branch management. However, now he wanted to find out something that might have been omitted in the report figures: the mood of the collective, the thoughts of the enterprise engineers. Slowly a discussion began on the new sewing machines, on increasing the number of trailer trucks to take the suits to Moscow, and of insuring more rhythmical supplies of the various fabrics. Noskov recorded the requests and tried to answer extensively and clearly. Soon questions and answers merged into a general discussion among people interested in the production process. Petr Kondrat'yevich tried to direct the discussion in such a way that his young association comrades could see the problems broadly and correlate their decisions not only with the present but the future. That is why he became excited when the chief mechanic requested 10 sewing machines of an obsolete model to replace those which were worn out.

"Why do you take yourself 10 years back? Install a compressor here and we will give you modern machinery which will operate on compressed air..."

When requests and questions were exhausted, Noskov took off his glasses and looked nearsightedly around him. The thick glasses made him impressive. Without them he seemed simple and accessible. He quietly said:

"Let us think now together of the 10th Five-Year Plan. All of us here are managers and, therefore, we represent the Soviet system to the workers. This is our responsibility. The fulfillment of the Congress decisions largely depends on the way we represent our country in shops and in the collective..."

He spoke with a high tenor voice, in a slightly cracked voice, reminding one of a lively Komsomol worker somewhat hoarse from too much talk. Such was, in fact, the case. From prewar times, when he was a Komsomol leader, to the present, Noskov spoke frequently. He was able to find the precise and correct words describing the essence of the party's policy.

"The manager has the right to force a worker to do his job with an order. However, in such a case a person would meet his assignment, as the saying goes "from, to" and no more. However, another method exists as well: the ability to develop in a person creativity which multiplies forces."

He stopped and rubbed his heavy chin. Again he recalled the paths of the war. A storm of dirt and metal with deep ruts... Now, when he traveled, it was silent. White birches were growing along the road, young, 30-year-old... Only the monuments to those who had died for the homeland recalled the war. Soldiers of the Great Patriotic War, cast of metal, were among the



birches, on their knees in sorrow for the dead, clutching submachine guns, addressing themselves to the memory of the living. That is how he stood by common graves of friends, firing the final volleys. Noskov turned his mind away from his memories, looked once again at those assembled in the office, and continued:

"When we were fighting here, in your area, even in the most difficult times, the commanders operated not only through orders whose violation was punishable with death. They addressed themselves to the feelings of the soldiers, to patriotism, and to the hatred caused by the fascist atrocities. The soldiers made miracles of heroism. Such is the great force triggered by appealing to the feelings of a person. Our task is to awaken in the people a high feeling of creativity...A quality five-year plan is, above all, a five-year plan of creativity."

Petr Kondrat'yevich left Sukhinichi with a feeling of satisfaction. It seemed everything was going well. Now he could recall with a smile the fears of the opponents of the association who claimed that the branches would be uncontrollable, that hauling cut pieces a hundred kilometers out of Moscow would be uneconomical, and that the small cities would lack adequate qualified manpower. Life refuted all these arguments. However, Noskov never thought of his opponents negatively. In the course of discussions he checked the correctness of his own thoughts, excited by the desire to find new means of management, new forms of accounting. Now as well, summing up the discussion in Sukhinicki and his observations on the work of the branches, he was thinking of the fact that probably a new stage would soon occur in the life of the clothing associations. Obviously, it would be necessary to create a republicwide specialized association of the combine type which would include clothing enterprises, textile enterprises, modeling premises, and big workshops. This would eliminate the errors made today. Model-makers design a suit from one type of fabric while the textile workers provide another (not even on time). Bol'shevichka needs minor mechanization facilities and specialized equipment. Yet, there is no one to buy it from and it cannot make it itself. The concentration of forces and funds would make possible the fuller use of production capacities. Such an association would develop faster the process of specialization and the possibilities for reconstruction and technological improvements would broaden. The question was quite serious. Specialization would be intensified and the number of branches would increase.

Petr Kondrat'yevich recalled how once here, at the edge of the Kaluga area, he was met by the director of the Kudinovo animal husbandry farm Vasiliy Nikolayevich Tsvetkov. His appearance was somewhat solemn: he was wearing a dark suit with a severe-looking tie. The badge of deputy glistened on his lapel and above it the Hero of Socialist Labor star. Tsvetkov asked Petr Kondrat'yevich to get into his car:

"Would you like to see our hamlet?"

Noskov could not refuse such a noted person. The "hamlet" came into view soon...Noskov was surprised seeing the stone urban-type houses. Vasiliy Nikolayevich quietly instructed his driver: "To the children's sector, please."

The Volga passed by a small brick cluster of kindergartens and nurseries, and the music school. It stopped at a tall school building with light glass-paneled wings of sports facilities.

"This is our children's town. As the people say, from diapers to high school certificate. The sports grounds are on the right and the experimental field is on the left. Here students operate tractors. The tractors are brand new, straight from the plant," Tsvetkov could not avoid boasting, and immediately turned to the driver, "To the recreation sector, please..."

While the car was riding smoothly along the asphalted road, Noskov recalled his bare-footed rural childhood, and his perennially dirty-faced comrades with no one to look after them, as the adults were working the fields from dawn to dawn. He recalled the low huts which housed both the members of the family as well as the young cattle...He recalled the reading hut--narrow, with a few books.

The car stopped by the huge modern Culture House, made of concrete, glass, and steel.

"Yes, naturally, this is not a reading hut!" Petr Kondrat'yevich exclaimed.

"Here we give concerts and shows, and dozens of circles are operating." Tsvetkov opened the car door and asked him to step out. "Please look to your left. Pay attention to the sports complex." Vasiliy Nikolayevich took off his hat, and unbuttoned his coat, apparently considering the official part of the acquaintance over. "I shall not take you to see the production facilities. But believe me, there everything is like in town: mechanization, automation, and the people work in shifts, like at a plant"

Tsvetkov looked askance at Petr Kondrat'yevich and went on:

"This is only the introduction. The story follows. I showed you how our people grow up and are trained, how they study and rest. A modern man is developing. After all this, I would like to request, dear Petr Kondrat'yevich, to open here, in Kudinovo a branch of Bol'shevichka. We shall give you excellent workers. We already have them"

Noskov looked at him, puzzled. He did not expect such a turn in the conversation in the least. Tsvetkov moved his lips. He was no longer smiling:

"This is a very important problem for our Kudinovo. It is a social problem. If you find it possible to open a branch here, where women would make clothing between seasons and would work the fields only when necessary the problem would be eliminated on a cooperative basis, so to say, between town and country. A most modern variant. In the 1930's we could only dream of this. Do you remember?..."

They were walking in a young grove. The lights of the new agricultural city could be seen through the leaves. Tsvetkov recalled collectivization and the times of peace and war. Noskov listened and thought of how similar his fate and views on life and approach to the work were to those of Vasiliy Nikolayevich. They had met by accident yet he had the feeling they had known one another their entire lives and had worked together. Perhaps this meeting had not been that accidental? It had an inner logic, a sign of a time when big industrial enterprises cooperate with rural ones.

Meanwhile, interrupting his recollections, Tsvetkov resumed his talk on setting up a branch, and said confidentially:

"Working in the branch the women would learn how to sew and would wish to dress well their relatives, their families. Remember Chekhov: everything in man should be beautiful, including his clothing. This is culture and beauty. In our work not everything could be measured with money."

This last sentence made Petr Kondrat'yevich think of the words of the famous American businessman Frank Brugler: "We are in business not in order to make steel; we are in business not for building ships; we are in business not in order to build buildings. We are in business for the sake of making money." Petr Kondrat'yevich could not restrain himself. He asked Tsvetkov what he considered as the end result of his work. Vasiliy Nikolayevich did not answer immediately. He slowly looked at the young city and thoughtfully said:

"I think, man is the end objective of our work, dear Petr Kondrat'yevich. The ennoblement of his personality."

Noskov nodded his agreement and said gaily:

"We shall be friends, Vasiliy Nikolayevich. And we shall seriously think about the branch."

Noskov recalled Vasiliy Nikolayevich Tsvetkov and thought: "Who was he, an economic manager or a party worker?" In precisely the same way he thought of himself frequently: Who was he, Noskov: director or party organizer?

Every big worker has his own school of students and supporters. Petr Kondrat'yevich knew that many a talented manager had come out of Kudinovo. Bol'shevichka too had trained chiefs of main administrations and associations, and scientists. Yet, Noskov, together with Vasiliy Nikolayevich, and all other big Soviet organizers had one school--the party. This precisely explained their initial spiritual similarity. They are developing industry, building cities, caring for the land, and laying roads to happiness for the sake and the good of man.

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### THIRD SEMESTER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 104-111

[Article by A. Semenchenko]

[Text] Little red flags...Hundreds of such flags have been pinned on the map of our homeland at the Central Headquarters of Student Construction Detachments of the Komsomol Central Committee. The flags pinpoint the places where students have worked in the course of their labor semester. There is no oblast or kray where boys and girls wearing the uniform of the SSO [Student Construction Detachments] have not been. This is particularly pleasant to note, for 10 to 15 years ago student construction detachments were considered something unusual. Attitudes toward them, as an experiment, were different. The first labor semesters, however, proved that the experiment was successful. The student detachments clearly proved their right to life.

Since then over 4.5 million boys and girls have attended this labor training school. Whereas the first detachments were credited with no more than a few adobe houses and ship pens, last year students participated in the building of 31,000 projects, almost half of which were completed. Their work at the construction sites of the Ninth Five-Year Plan was rated highly by the party and the government. From the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "What about the student construction detachments! All of us know how the young people are gravitating toward them. These detachments are doing tremendous work. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan they did work worth approximately 5 billion rubles. It would be impossible to overestimate their significance as labor training schools as well." Over 6,000 of the best SSO troops were awarded orders and medals for selfless labor for the good of the homeland and for excellence in their studies.

## I

In recent years the number of detachments has increased and their realm of activities has broadened. From the simplest projects in the villages they have gone to the building of industrial-civic and production facilities. Today in addition to the traditional labor tools--trowel, saw, and shovel--the students' arsenal contains the most modern construction equipment and mechanisms.

SSO troops are working at projects of 45 ministries and departments. The students' "autographs" are found at the most important construction projects of Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan, the Extreme North, KamAZ, VAZ, the Baykal-Amur main line, Atommash, the Oskol'sk electrometallurgical combine, the Chernobyl' and Bilibino nuclear power plants, the Far Eastern Scientific Center, and the Novomoskovsk chemical combine--110 all-union shock Komsomol construction projects are the work addresses of the SSO. They are participating in the construction of the biggest water resource projects in Belorussia, in the area of the Bol'shoy Stavropol'skiy, Saratovskiy, and Severo-Krymskiy canals, and the reclamation systems in the Golodnaya Steppe and Primorskiy Kray. About 80,000 projects of industrial, social, and cultural-consumer significance have been built with the participation of the construction detachments, including 1,700 rural schools. The Non-chernozem Zone of the RSFSR has become to the students a second virgin land. Here the students have done work worth over 1 billion rubles.

Today the building profession is not the only summer profession of the students. The word "construction" is becoming more and more infrequent in SSO abbreviations, and today students may be seen working at trade and service enterprises, in civil aviation and railway transportation, in public health establishments, harvesting and processing vegetables and fruits, or engaged in restoration and completion projects. Students work at fish canneries and light and food industry enterprises. Future physicians do preventive work among the population in remote areas, giving substantial help to public health organs.

Moscow State University and Ul'yanovsk State Pedagogical Institute were the initiators of nature-protection detachments which are engaged in re-planting and improving forests, and in environmental protection. A new type of detachment--design detachment--has proved its usefulness. Thus, Perm polytechnical students designed and built a potato grading center. A detachment of the Belorussian Polytechnical Institute drew up a general plan for the construction of a village, which was then defended at an open kolkhoz meeting and accepted. At the present time students are already building "their own" village on the territory of the kolkhoz imeni K. Marx, Volozhinskiy Rayon.

The creation of specialized detachments was dictated by reality. Work in such detachments is a school for the future specialists, a substantial addition to the training process. When communications students install a telephone exchange and telephone facilities in settlements and villages, power workers set up electric power transmission facilities; transportation students lay roads and railroads; mechanics equip animal husbandry complexes and gain a clear idea of the type of work they will be doing after graduation. Later on, they become more active in creative work. In 1976 alone student rationalization suggestions yielded savings totaling 2.7 million rubles. Even though the young creative workers do not make outstanding discoveries, their efforts to modernize equipment and reduce manual labor help their professional training and make them better prepared to work under the conditions of contemporary scientific and technical progress.

## II

Following the example of the students, high school students are joining in the common labor rhythm evermore actively and extensively. Last year over 9 million secondary school students and hundreds of thousands of students of technical and vocational-technical schools experienced the miraculous power of collectivism in the country's fields and industrial enterprises.

Organically the student labor movement combines the production with the education process. The third labor semester was given this name precisely because it continues, only through other means, the education process in the VUZ's. Whereas in the classrooms the students learn how to interpret reality theoretically, in the detachment life is learned through practice, through labor which satisfies the greatest need of man--the need to create. Rectorates, and party and Komsomol committees and detachment staffs are always concerned with making the solution of production and education problems a single entity, an extension of training-educational work.

In a student detachment one out of five is a commander, a commissar, or a foreman, i.e., a manager and organizer of the collective. He is the organizer of an autonomous collective with its specific tasks and obligations for which he is responsible. Under such circumstances the complex science of leadership and education and modern production management is resolved sooner and more profoundly. The experience of a student detachment helps the young specialist in the future to become part of the "adult" labor collective more rapidly, and to earn its recognition and gain prestige.

Work in student detachments means not only the production of material values but the "production" of the person himself, the shaping of his spiritual world, and the development of his capabilities and moral

qualities. It is no accident that the first virgin land detachments had the following slogan: "We are building the virgin land and the virgin land is building us!"

Officially, each student detachment is a seasonal collective. However, it is based on groups which have developed in the course of the training process and in which everyone knows the others well.

In the final account, the content of the work in the SO [Student Detachment] helps the students to improve their grades. The main task of the student is to learn well. All forms of training of the future specialist, including labor within such detachments, should contribute to the solution of this problem. Here socialist competition plays an important role. Its specific nature is that it consists of two periods: preparatory and working. In the preparatory period, when the detachment is formed, grades and the sociopolitical activeness of the student are taken as a basis. Only positive results give a student the right to become a fighter in the detachment. Failing students are not accepted. This is one of the basic requirements of the SSO bylaws. In the working period the labor contribution of everyone and his grades based on the results of the spring examinations are taken into consideration. This solidly links the third semester with the entire educational process in the VUZ. In student groups which have taken the third semester grades the feelings of collectivism and comradely mutual aid are substantially higher. In other words, the SO helps to resolve the main problem of the student--to be successful in his studies.

Currently the socialist competition has gone beyond the detachments and has assumed an essentially new direction. Detachments have challenged to competition Komsomol-youth brigades and leading production collectives. The students learn from the workers experience and new and progressive labor methods and exchange knowledge. In recent years the achievements of innovation workers are being applied evermore extensively by the detachments. For example, student construction projects have begun to use the method of brigade cost accounting contracting. Last summer some 1,000 construction detachments organized their work according to the Zlobin method.

Heroes of the five-year plan and best workers are frequent guests of the SO. Many of them have become detachment instructors. Good and concerned, strict and demanding, they help in everything, particularly under the circumstances at the construction site unfamiliar to the students. It would be no exaggeration to say that their varied work in student collectives is of invaluable importance to the education of the youth. The meaning of the slogan "learn from the working class and be equal to the working class!" proclaimed at the 17th Komsomol Congress, becomes tangible and visible in the course of joint labor. Joint work with workers and kolkhoz members enables the students to develop a class



approach to social phenomena. It enables them to see and feel the revolutionary power of the working class and its leading role in the social renovation of the world and the building of a communist society.

Previously direct contacts between students and workers collectives were limited to the summer vacation and were essentially short. Now such relations are becoming permanent. Long-term contracts are being signed with enterprise collectives.

Moscow students have established close ties with the builders of the Kama Automotive Plant and the Krasnoyarsk GES; Ukrainian students have established ties with the petroleum workers of Western Siberia; Moldavian students maintain relations with working people in the Altay and in Kzyl-Ordinskaya Oblast; Leningrad students maintain relations with enterprises in the Komi ASSR and Murmanskaya Oblast.

Working together with workers and kolkhoz members, the future specialists undergo class training and become participants in the nationwide struggle for the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism. The detachments embody the Leninist behest that "the communist youth union must link its education, training, and upbringing with the work of workers and peasants...It is only in the joint work with workers and peasants that one could become a true communist" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, pp 316-317). The lessons of life and work become interwoven, contributing to the maturing of the future specialists and promoting their active position in life.

### III

Quite frequently, in the course of the labor semester, the young man reveals a new occasionally unexpected side. Many examples could be cited of boys or girls not remarkable by anything particular becoming active members of the Komsomol organization or the study group after a summer of work. Sociologists have noted an interesting pattern: the social activity of students who have attended a labor school invariably increases. Thus, according to available data, following the first labor summer such activities rose 4.5 percent; after two seasons or more, it rose by 15 percent. Characteristically, members of the SO are more frequently elected (by over 100 percent) as leaders of party and Komsomol organizations. This proves their increased prestige among their fellow students and their ability to lead the collective and to give the example in learning and social work.

This is the best example of youth initiative so successfully combining labor, training, and social education. During the third semester practically every member participates to one or another extent in sociopolitical work in accordance with his abilities, interests, and inclinations.

The social activeness of the SO troops has become a structural part of the sociopolitical practical training of students which was introduced in the VUZ training process. Purposefully, from one course to another, the future specialists acquire propaganda experience and develop the skill to study and convincingly explain problems of domestic and foreign policy of the party and the Soviet state. The third semester offers the young people all opportunities to manifest and develop these qualities.

Over 100,000 troops are engaged in mass agitation work among the population as members of lecture groups and agitation brigades. They organize lecture series, political clubs, and circles. The life of the detachments is filled with interesting social and sponsorship work, and with mass cultural and sports measures. In 1976 student agitation collectives delivered over 215,000 lectures and reports and gave about 80,000 concerts for the local population. Everywhere the detachments organized sports competitions and competitions for the Ready for Labor and Defense Norm, as well as youth festivals.

All this contributes to the establishment of live contacts with the population and makes possible the dissemination of our socialist ideals and the development of aesthetic tastes among the students themselves. Engaged in extensive mass cultural and sponsorship work, the student develops one of the main traditions of the Leninist Komsomol: to bring knowledge to the masses, to promote the ideas of communism, and to contribute to eliminating the cultural disparities between town and country.

The fighters in the student detachments, guided by the slogan of "no one is forgotten and nothing is forgotten!" engage in painstaking searches for unknown heroes. They correspond and meet with eyewitnesses to events and participate in trips to labor glory sites. As a result they have collected a great deal of data and combat mementos and discovered previously unknown defenders of the homeland.

During the labor semester the detachments sponsor the all-union roll call ceremony "we remember their names..." The detachments sponsor monuments and memorials, and help war invalids and their families. During the summer shock labor days are organized everywhere. The funds thus earned are used for the building of monuments to heroes of the revolution and the Great Patriotic War. Meetings with war veterans profoundly touch the young people and have a beneficial influence on molding their character and ideological convictions. Visiting sites of heroic battles and studying past events the students try to resemble the heroes in everything.

Frequently the participants in the labor semesters themselves become educators. They organize consultation centers where they help the local youth to prepare for entering secondary and higher schools and tutoring lagging rural school students. Every summer an average of 80,000 people benefit from their services.

Pioneer satellite camps in which tens of thousands of rural children rest have become a popular form of sponsorship work for the detachments. The sponsors organize the recreation of the Pioneers and teach them to work in fields and student construction sites. The economic results of this work are substantial. In the heat of the summer season, when kolkhozes and sovkhoses need additional manpower more than anything else, thousands of housewives can thus participate in the harvest.

The various social activities of the detachments are not discoordinated but closely linked with the plans and the work of the local party and Komsomol organizations. Together with raykoms and enterprise Komsomol committees, the detachment staffs elaborate sociopolitical measures. This contributes to bringing the students closer to the local youth, giving a new meaning to the life of Komsomol organizations of construction projects, sovkhoses, and kolkhozes. Thus the activities of the SO become a structural part of the comprehensive approach of the local public organizations to the problem of the communist education of the working people.

#### IV

The student detachments are a clear manifestation of the social activeness of the students and an interesting form of Komsomol activities. Here there are no paid "managers" and subordinates. All basic problems are resolved by the troops collectively. Everyone has the right to submit suggestions. The best of them are taken up by the entire collective.

It has become the rule in many detachments to leave something good to be remembered by: a well-repaired school or club, or a restored or new monument to war heroes. The Moldavian students participated in several subbotniks and purchased 50 tractors with the funds they earned. The tractors were presented to the best rural schools during the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the republic.

"We shall make the native city of the first cosmonaut in the world beautiful and modern!" Such was the decision made by the Soviet students. The Komsomol Central Committee supported the initiative. Thus the ancient gzhatsk became a part of the "student planet." After winning many competitions, the best envoys of the students from all union republics went to Gagarin. With the funds earned by the young enthusiasts in subbotniks a school was built here, the main square and the city streets were landscaped, and a hospital and hotel were built. In the forthcoming labor semester here again a 1,000-strong detachment of volunteers from VUZ's of all-union republics and city-heroes will work here.

Students from the Moscow State Foreign Languages Pedagogical Institute imeni Moris Torez, working at the construction site of the Kama Automotive Plant gave their earnings to the fund of the tractor column imeni Anatoliiy Merzlov, a Komsomol member who died heroically in saving the grain from a fire.

The party congress was still proceeding while the Komsomol Central Committee received the following telegram: "We, Komsomol members of the 514th group of the Voronezh Forestry Engineering Institute, in answer to the suggestion made by L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th congress, have decided to create on the basis of the group the Kommunar-76 free labor detachment and contribute all the funds earned to the construction of a monument in Moscow honoring the heroes of the international communist and workers movement and the selfless fighters for the people's happiness killed by the class enemy."

Is this not a vivid confirmation of the high idea-mindedness of our youth, believing that free labor was and remains the best tradition of the detachments? Subbotniks and Sunday work days in procuring hay and harvesting crops have become a good tradition. Traditions are multiplying and the number of detachments following this principle is growing. However, the question of the correlation between free and paid labor is far from simple.

On the basis of the sum total of socialist economic laws moral and material incentives should be considered as a single system. We must find the most efficient means for combining them in the interest of the common cause, since fulfilling his civic duty and participating in the solution of national economic problems, the student proceeds not only on the basis of his awareness of their importance but his private needs, like any working person in the socialist society.

We cannot agree with those who claim that students must work in the SO only on the basis of moral reasons. We should not fear the material interests of the participants in the movement. On the contrary, it should be used together with moral incentives.

The people work in the detachments both for rubles and for the sake of their conscience. However, occasionally weakening the educational work in the collective leads to various negative trends, including the pursuit of the "long ruble." Such trends develop an unhealthy atmosphere. Occasionally they result in physical overload which exhausts the children. The duration of the working day in excess of the legal norm is a sign of trouble in the detachment's collective.

#### V

The scope of the student detachments movement makes it necessary to consider its further development and improvement seriously and attentively. More than ever before, today it is important not to ignore a single "petty matter," and follow closely the style and "pulse beat" of the life of the detachments, and safeguard the principles and increase the traditions of student virgin land work. Student detachments Komsomol committees and staffs must improve their working and management methods. The search for new and improved forms of organization of the third semester is based on

existing shortcomings. Not all detachments have reached a harmonious combination of production with educational interests. Frequently ideological and educational work suffers from formalism and is reduced to the famous ticking off of accomplishments in reports. Labor discipline is sometimes weak and labor safety rules are underestimated. Considering themselves as adults and as omniscient, the children occasionally fail to observe elementary norms of caution.

In order for the labor semester to be successful and without hindrances, the economic managers must understand the entire extent of their responsibilities. The fighters in the student detachment are tomorrow's production leaders. They must be given a truly thoughtful and serious lesson in economic management. The managers of plants, factories, and construction projects where student detachments are at work become the immediate participants in the process of training specialists. They train them above all through the contemporary organization of the work and the psychological tuning of workers collectives. Close interaction among all production units, and organization and rhythm in the work are the foundations for developing in the young people high discipline and responsibility. If the students come across manifestations of negligence, poor organization of the work and living conditions, delays in the procurement of construction materials, and nonfulfillment of contractual obligations the educational process is reduced to naught. Every year idling (not by the fault of the students!) totals tens or even hundreds of thousands of man/hours. Obviously, the time has come to take more strictly to task those guilty of such waste.

It also happens that requests filed by economic organizations for the number of detachments are padded. In this case the enthusiasm of the troops and the level of their professional training are not taken into consideration. Occasionally the help of the students is refused at the last moment. Such cases are noted most frequently within the systems of the Russian Kolkhoz Construction Association, and the USSR Ministries of Agriculture, Rural Construction, and Land Reclamation and Water Resources.

Occasionally organizational errors which break down the planned work schedule reduce to naught even the most thorough preparations for a summer of work. The resulting moral harm is significant, for the young people usually react quite sharply to any omission.

Long-range relations between VUZ's and enterprises could become an effective measure for the prevention of such shortcomings. On the basis of national interests it would be expedient to establish the optimal variant for the use of Student Detachments. In the future VUZ centers could be assigned to specific economic areas in the country and to enterprises, basing their cooperation on long-term contracts and conditions for socialist competition between detachments and Komsomol-youth collectives of plants, factories, and construction projects. Joint plans and measures shared by detachments and labor collectives will contribute to strengthening even further the links between the youth and life.

The present level of development of the patriotic movement of the students makes it possible to turn it into a necessary stage in the training of specialists whereas today only 15 to 20 percent of the overall number of students annually participate in the SO.

The time is ripe for a legal regulation governing students' labor. This calls for the elaboration of a set of laws which would bring order, above all, in the labor activities of detachments engaged in nonconstruction work: those employed in harvesting the crops, participating in the fishing season, or working in consumer services and in transportation.

Of late the detachments have been considerably "rejuvenated:" they include many of yesterday's secondary school students. Yet, requirements concerning the quality of construction work are becoming stricter. Naturally, there is no time to offer vocational training...The introduction in the curricula (of respective training) is becoming evermore necessary. Such optional studies would enable us to avoid the "peak" overloads of the spring period.

Problems of labor hygiene are of major importance. The influence which work in the SO has on the bodies of boys and girls has not been sufficiently studied as yet. True, a beginning exists. This problem is being studied by brigades of scientific associates of the Moscow Scientific Research Institute of Hygiene imeni F. F. Erisman. On a parallel basis research is being conducted in secondary school labor detachments by members of the Institute of Children's and Adolescents' Hygiene. However, there are still no scientifically substantiated recommendations on the labor regimen and the organization of the life of the members of Student Detachments, even though they have been long and impatiently awaited. Summertime is summertime. The boys and girls, naturally, would like their work to be combined with recreation and for this recreation not to be monotonous and boring but interesting, attractive, and memorable. The detachment troops must come back to the VUZ's with an increased life tone, physically stronger and tempered, full of strength for further successful studies.

The problem of the patriotic students movement is assuming national importance. A comprehensive approach to their study is simply necessary. At the present time the studies deal mostly with problems related to developing a communist attitude toward labor. Aspects such as the development of the personality of the young specialist under the conditions of a Student Detachment, changes in the structure of value orientations, reasons for activities and behavior, the hygiene of youth labor and rest, ideological-political and cultural-educational work, and so on, have remained almost totally unstudied. We believe that VUZ departments and laboratories could include more frequently such problems in their plans for scientific work. Specialists in sociology, pedagogy, social and engineering psychology, theory of communist education, and political economy should supply their scientific recommendations and advice.

The patriotic movement of the Soviet students is meeting the steady support of party, soviet, and trade union organs, heads of higher and secondary specialized schools, and economic organizations which consider the work of the detachments part of the entire system of the communist labor training of the future specialists.

Raising the young people in a spirit of respect and love for labor has always been one of the most responsible party tasks. Our party and Soviet government see in the activities of the detachments of young enthusiasts the shoots of a new socially important youth initiative, a manifestation of its political maturity, and a desire to make its contribution to the solution of national economic problems. The 1967 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Improve the Organization and Upgrade the Effectiveness of Students' Summer Work" was of decisive importance to transforming the individual initiatives into a mass patriotic movement of students throughout the country. Last year a new decree was passed by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Further Improvements in the Organization of the Summer Work of Students' Detachments." It earmarked measures to be taken by party, Komsomol, and economic organizations in the country to promote the patriotic movement of student youth and to increase its educational influence on boys and girls.

Problems of SO activities are regularly studied by Central Committees of Communist Parties of union republics, party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and a number of other ministries and departments. Operative groups for coordination and support of the detachments, headed by secretaries of local party committees and heads of soviet organs provide daily assistance to the young people.

Labor is the main manifestation of human activities and the main realm of the person's self-assertion. The best experience in the organization of the labor semester proves that its highest effectiveness is achieved by organically combining a well-organized production work and ideological and educational activities of the participants with a consideration of their spiritual demands. The Komsomol organizations have the duty to make more extensive use of the opportunities offered by the educational influence of student detachments and to improve and multiply their best traditions.

The 25th party congress earmarked extensive prospects for the development of the economy and culture of our country. They capture the imagination of the youth by their scope and scale and offer them clear prospects and great opportunities. The student detachments entered the 10th Five-Year Plan more mature and stronger. Ever-new categories of students are joining them. The march of the labor exploits is continuing.

The school year in the VUZ's is ending and the time for the labor semester is advancing. The detachments have been formed and the itineraries established. Soon the SO fighters will go to the various parts of the country--to plants and construction projects, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. In the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution the students are brimming with the desire to increase their contribution to the nationwide cause of building communism.

5003

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PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES--AN EFFECTIVE FORM OF EDUCATION AND SELF-EDUCATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 112-119

[Article by Academician I. Artobolevskiy and Professor A. Vladislavlev]

[Text] The depth and unusual dynamism of the economic, social, and political processes characterizing the current stage in the building of communism, the powerful invasion of the scientific and technical revolution in all realms of social life, and the headlong renovation of scientific knowledge formulate essentially new requirements concerning the level of knowledge and culture of the Soviet people and the molding of a scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook.

Today high-level education is an absolute prerequisite for the normal functioning of society. One of the primary tasks is the establishment of a uniform system of continuous education and self-education and of raising the skills of cadres.

The system of continuous education means not only traditional training in schools and VUZ's. It also includes an important link such as training adults already graduated from secondary and higher schools. The significance of this link is growing ever further. Everyone clearly realizes that knowledge gained in youth, even on the university level, is inadequate for several decades of creative activity, when the volume of knowledge practically doubles each 5 to 6 years in nearly every field. It is not merely a question of the growth of professional skills. It is a question of systematically upgrading the overall educational and cultural level, and of shaping a scientific outlook--the foundation, the methodological base for the steady increase in knowledge.

Addressing the 17th Komsomol Congress, and drawing the attention to the stricter requirements governing human knowledge and professional training, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that this should particularly excite the young generation. "The youth," he said, "is faced more urgently than ever before with the task of continually supplementing and increasing its knowledge, mastering the latest scientific and technical

achievements. This applies not only to today's or future engineers, technicians, and other specialists, but to the working class and the rural workers as well."

## I

Our country has reached tremendous successes in the field of public education. In addition to conventional schools and institutes, combining work with training, young workers and employees could acquire a secondary education in night schools and secondary vocational-technical schools and other technical schools, as well as acquire a higher education in evening and correspondence VUZ's. Combining training with production work is the most important prerequisite for the all-round development of the individual. However, this is merely part of the nationwide system. The higher the level of education and culture becomes, the wider and broader are the interests of the people and the more they become drawn to knowledge.

Continuity, system, voluntary participation, and accessibility become important principles of adult education. In our country millions of people are adding to their knowledge within the political education and economic training systems, and in communist labor schools. The importance of people's universities as one of the most popular types of systematic adult education is becoming ever greater. This school year their students numbered in the tens of millions. Justifiably the question arises of making this method for the gaining of knowledge a substantial supplement to education provided by the state.

However, before speaking of the ripe problems it would be useful to consider the distance covered by the people's universities in previous decades. They appeared in Russia in the second half of the 19th century as Sunday Schools and immediately drew the attention of the revolutionary democrats A. I. Gertsen, N. A. Dobrolyubov, and N. G. Chernyshevskiy who saw in such institutions the basis for the broad democratic and general educational training of the population which the state schools neither could nor wanted to provide.

In the proletarian period of the revolutionary movement the activities of people's universities were closely linked with V. I. Lenin, N. K. Krupskaya, A. V. Lunacharskiy, and A. M. Gor'kiy. The Bolsheviks used them to establish contact with the workers and created Marxist circles in them. They saw in the people's universities, first of all, a means to fight ignorance and, secondly, one of the important legal forms of political struggle. From the very first days of its appearance, the bolshevik PRAVDA systematically covered the most important problems of the activities of people's universities.

Under the conditions of tsarist Russia where the people's masses, as Lenin said, "were plundered in the sense of education, light, and knowledge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 127), the attitude of official circles toward the people's universities was hostile. The Ministry of Education even banned teachers from participating in their work and educators in secondary and lower schools were forbidden to visit them in order not to meet "undesirable elements."

A new stage began in the development of the people's universities after the Great October Revolution. The party called for the total elimination of illiteracy and backwardness inherited from tsarism. The Eighth RKP(b) Congress, held in March 1919, included a special item in the party's program: "all-round state aid to self-education and self-development of workers and peasants..." Two months later, at the First All-Russian Congress on Extracurricular Education, Lenin presented greetings and delivered a major speech.

Despite the difficulties of the Civil War, in 1919 there were 119 people's universities on the territory of Soviet Russia. Unquestionably, this is one of the outstanding natural manifestations of the cultural revolution which had begun in the country.

Many of that which had been acquired after 50 years of people's universities experience was used in developing the system of evening and correspondence training, of secondary technical and vocational-technical training, and training cadres in the social professions. The transition of the Soviet society to the stage of mature socialism faced the people's universities as well with new tasks.

Such tasks, the main among which is the comprehensive all-round training of a harmoniously developed personality, were depicted most completely in the 8 October 1968 CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving the Work of People's Universities." After studying and summing up the practical experience of the people's universities, the Central Committee emphasized their great and ever-growing role in the dissemination of scientific knowledge, the shaping of a Marxist-Leninist outlook, and upgrading the culture, education, and skill of cadres in various economic sectors. The decree gave priority to new and considerably more complex assignments. The party's Central Committee decided to reorganize the scientific-methodical council of the people's universities, previously operating on a voluntary basis under the management of the Knowledge All-Union Society into the Central Council of People's Universities. In included representatives of the Knowledge All-Union Society, the AUCCTU, USSR Ministry of Culture, Komsomol Central Committee, USSR Ministry of Education, USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, USSR Academy of Sciences, All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, USSR Ministry of Agriculture, USSR Ministry of Public Health, and other interested ministries and departments and creative unions.

As early as 1968, in addition to the Central Council of People's Universities, the republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons set up their own people's universities councils. Today they rally 56,700 members. They are headed by senior party and soviet workers and by the biggest scientists in the country. Forty-five ministries and departments have set up sectorial councils for cooperation with the people's universities whose work is directed, as a rule, by deputy ministers. Many Ministries--of Culture, Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, Chemical Industry, Geology, Power and Electrification, Food, Light Industry, and others--have reorganized in recent years their cooperation councils into sectorial councils in charge of people's universities. At the same time, the Ministries of Trade, Construction Materials Industry, Machine Tool Building and Instruments, Medical Industry, Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, and others, have not created such councils so far. We have the right to expect more energetic efforts in this respect on the part of our creative unions as well.

A considerable percentage of the people's universities and their students are focused within the system of the industrial ministries (2.5 million students), the Knowledge All-Union Society (2.3 million), and the Ministries of Education (2.9 million), Public Health (1 million), Culture (1 million), and Agriculture (585,000).

Both the network of universities and the number of students have been growing steadily. Compared with 1964, in 1976 the number of people's universities was four times higher and the number of students had quintupled. This school year there are over 38,000 people's universities operating at enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, cultural establishments, schools, VUZ's, and scientific research institutes offering courses in a great variety of scientific and technical subjects. Furthermore, the people's universities operated by the radio and television broadcasting systems have a multi-million-strong audience. Last year alone 4,123,000 people completed the full training course offered by the people's universities.

Of late people's universities were opened for the study of new subjects: materials of the 25th CPSU Congress, problems of production management and automated control systems, and others.

## II

The people's universities are resolving a variety of problems. Generally, however, they could be classified into three groups, based on the most important social functions of these specific training institutions:

Satisfaction and shaping of profound and varied interests and spiritual needs of Soviet people; training in the public professions; and upgrading cadre skills.

The first group includes people's universities of a general educational and information-educational specialization. Their curricula include philosophy and pedagogy, economy and law, history and international relations, culture, sociology and psychology, and natural sciences and technology. Molding the steadily growing interests of the working people is the most important task of our ideological work. That is precisely why we would like to draw particular attention to this group of universities.

The effectiveness of their activities depends above all on the extent to which the interests of future students are being studied profoundly and systematically. Whereas the student himself decides what subject to study the content of the training depends on the teacher.

The activities of such social institutions contribute to the molding of a scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook in the working people, the development of a communist attitude toward labor, and a deeper understanding of economic and social problems facing the country this five-year plan. The people's universities also provide moral education and contribute to uprooting vestiges of the past in the minds and behavior of the people, the shaping of high moral qualities, upgrading organization and discipline, and increasing responsibility for assignments and for the quality of all work. The people's university not only helps to master the basic concepts of Marxist-Leninism but develops in the people the ability to apply acquired knowledge and become active members of society.

The propaganda of Soviet foreign policy and the interpretation of the purposeful activities of the party and Soviet state in the implementation of the peace program formulated at the 24th party congress and developed further at the 25th congress play an important role in the work of the people's universities.

Currently the extent to which the working people participate in social and economic life has risen immeasurably. This calls for instruction in the social professions.

Until recently, for example, two conditions were considered sufficient for a person to become a people's assessor: personal integrity and positive production record. It has become clear now that we must add to this a knowledge of the law so that a person could carry out his social duties competently and knowledgeably, thus fruitfully participating in the administration of governmental and social affairs. Soviet deputies, members of comrades courts, tutors, sanitation inspectors, heads of amateur art activities, and people engaged in many other social professions require special knowledge. Such knowledge could be acquired at the people's universities where training is combined with social practice. Here the working people are taught how to perform a variety of social duties. The systematic combination of education with the involvement of the students in various types of labor and social creative work enables them to develop the habits of self-education and self-training.

Such universities train the activists of local soviets, law-protection organs, people's control groups and committees, environmental protection supporters, workers and rural correspondents, and people dealing with legal matters. Training tutors of workers and rural youth--a noteworthy movement of our time of nationwide significance--is another promising direction in the work of such universities.

The All-Union Knowledge Society, the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, and other organizations which make active use in their activities of lecturers--members of this new mass social profession--train cadres of lecturers with the help of a large group of specialized people's universities.

Finally, there is a third group. The contemporary conditions governing the development of society call for the steady improvement of workers' skills. In our country, in addition to skill-upgrading institutes, many VUZ's have organized permanent courses or departments for various fields of knowledge. The state system of specialized institutes and departments is supplemented by the activities of the people's universities. In the past 3 years alone over 1.2 million workers, engineering and technical personnel, and employees have upgraded their skills in people's universities.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan, in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, workers and other working people in mass professions will improve their training and skills on the job. The people's universities have been assigned a great role in the implementation of this task.

Compared with the state system the people's universities have certain advantages: they operate without additional manpower resources and with minor material outlays, for teachers and auxiliary training personnel work either voluntarily or are paid on a hourly basis which is considerably lower than the wages of full-time teachers. Above all, they involve not only teachers in higher educational institutions but scientists from academic and scientific research institutes as well as skilled practical workers--directors and chief specialists of industrial enterprises, and leading production workers. This substantially enriches the content of the training process.

However, there is yet another aspect to this matter. "A specialist is like flux: his completeness is one-sided," the famous Koz'ma Prutkov used to say. Many decades have passed since and the size of the "flux" has increased greatly. Today the information flow is so high that it is difficult to cope with it even in one's own small field of knowledge. The people's university comes to the aid, in which the necessary information is presented on a systematized basis.

Today specialists in a great variety of fields need to have a certain knowledge of applied mathematics, the skill to "communicate" with computers, and so on. Many of them attended VUZ's at a time when no computers existed yet. The independent study of such machines is difficult. Here again the people's universities help successfully.

### III

Occasionally statements are heard that the people's universities are, allegedly, substandard schools and that under the conditions of scientific and technical progress and the rapid development of mass information media mass forms of education are archaic. This is a profoundly erroneous view!

Practical experience had indicated that the people's universities are real schools with highly skilled teachers in which training is provided on the basis of thoroughly and profoundly elaborated plans and curricula, using modern ways and means of teaching. In particular, extensive use is being made of seminars, conferences, practical training, and course and graduation papers. Incidentally, such papers are frequently directly related to the implementation of production assignments.

Along with specific sections dealing with one or another branch of knowledge, the curricula of people's universities include conceptual areas. Their programs mandatorily include the study of the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress.

A great deal of attention is paid to consolidating the scientific foundations of the organization of the training process. Ties between training and the practice of communist construction and the production activities of the students are being strengthened. The people's universities are being better equipped with curricula, programs, and methodical aids. All in all, in the past 5 years, the Knowledge Publishing House alone has issued 406 different works for the people's universities of the country in 34.5 million copies, as well as 65 curricula and programs covering various fields of knowledge, and 185 different training aids.

The 25th party congress indicated the need to develop the people's universities and to improve their activities. We must upgrade their role in shaping the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the Soviet people, raise the ideological and theoretical level of instruction, and encourage the creative use of the knowledge obtained in production and daily life. This is possible only on the basis of the elaboration of basic theory (pedagogy, psychology, methodology) for this specific educational sector--adult education.

It is entirely obvious that here the didactic principles, methods, and forms of training used in secondary schools and VUZ's are totally unacceptable. In recent years a number of studies have been made in the fields of didactics and psychology as applicable to general educational

schools for adults and even to postgraduate studies. However, so far no studies have been made of the continuous education and self-education system and the system for upgrading the skills of adults throughout their labor and sociopolitical life. We believe that the time is ripe for the elaboration of a scientific theory of adult education, for substantiating optimal training regimens and systems, and determining effective methods for the acquisition of knowledge.

The further improvement of the work of people's universities must be based on the professional and age group interests of the various groups of working people and the long-range development of the various production, scientific, and cultural sectors.

We must intensify studies in the field of social psychology. We must systematically study the interests of audiences, analyze the effectiveness of one or another form of organization of the training process, and elaborate active methods for providing an education and controlling the knowledge acquired in people's universities.

One of the most important organizational problems is to upgrade the role and prestige of the territorial and departmental people's universities councils. They must become the real coordinating organs and be able to make decisions within their range of competence mandatory to the joint and coordinated councils of state and social organizations.

As a rule, the people's universities councils include heads of ministries and departments or of their subordinate institutions as well as representatives of public organizations--party and trade union committees. This offers the real opportunity to link the activities of the universities with the long-range plans for the social development of enterprises and labor collectives.

The interaction between the system of people's universities with other forms of adult education is an essential aspect in long-range planning. The recent trend of combination of such systems is, obviously, proper. The coordination of all existing forms of adult education is an important prerequisite for insuring the adoption of a truly comprehensive approach to the organization of overall educational and training work and the close organic interaction between secondary school and VUZ training and adult education. This would enable us to elaborate a system which would combine political, ideological, moral, and professional education and training. It will also create possibilities for a more purposeful interaction among mass information media, lecture propaganda, and training.

It is a question of coordinating not only the social forms of adult education. Many people's universities have acquired a great deal of experience in upgrading the professional skills of cadres. Here the



training process is based on the plans and programs of sectorial institutes and the students are recruited in accordance with the plans for upgrading the skills of cadres.

The problem of the material incentive offered the instructors remains unresolved. The people's universities employ 487,500 instructors, 34,100 of whom have a scientific degree or title. They include world-famous scientists, members of the scientific and technical and creative intelligentsia, party and soviet workers, and national economic managers and specialists. Many enthusiasts have been connected with the people's universities for decades. They dedicate their free time and efforts to their favorite cause, working free of charge.

Yet, the view is frequently expressed that in a number of cases lecturers should be paid for their work. This suggestion is worthy of consideration. We believe that paying for the work of instructors within this system (in the majority of cases specialists with superior qualifications) would not contradict in the least the spirit and public nature of the work of the people's universities. The load carried by the teachers is tremendous. In addition to reading lectures they participate in the drafting of curricula and programs, in heading various seminars, conferences, and debates, and in drafting method literature.

The following question arises: What should be the origin of such funds? In our view, two sources are possible. In recent years, in a number of places people's universities have signed contracts with industrial enterprises on upgrading cadre skills. It is precisely such contractual relations that seem to us to be most promising.

The second source of financing is the sale of subscriptions. Practical experience indicates that many students willingly subscribe to cycles of lectures that interest them. Thus, a subscription for the right to attend classes at the 2-year term applied art department at Riga's City People's University is 40 rubles per year. However, it is extremely difficult to get due to the large number of applicants. Let us note, incidentally, that the works of students in this department have been exhibited in Prague and Paris.

Finally, there is yet another unresolved problem: the type and prestige of the diploma. Practical experience has indicated that such a document could be issued in three variants. The first is a certificate of graduation indicating that the student has attended lectures on a given subject and within a given amount. The second would be a document assigning a grade in the social profession chosen by the student. The third would be a document of graduation from a university for increased skill. Such a diploma would free its possessor from the requirement of repeating the same course over the next 5 years.

As to the prestige of the document, it would be greatly enhanced if enterprises and establishments would take such a diploma into consideration in the case of recertification or appointment to a given position. We believe that this problem could be fully resolved.

The study of the current trends in the activities of people's universities leads us to claim most firmly that they follow the main direction in the sociopolitical development of society--the shaping of a harmonious individual. They have all the necessary prerequisites for becoming a truly basic form of adult education--an important link in the continuing education and self-education system of the Soviet people.

Shortly a complex of multiple-story buildings with hundreds of lecture halls, laboratories, subject classrooms and lecture rooms will be completed in Moscow. An inexhaustible flow of thousands of students will rush through its wide-open gates--VUZ graduates, people with partial secondary education, people under 20, and people long-past 50. On the pediment the word "people's" will shine preceding the word "university"...

5003

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FORMULA OF INTELLIGENCE: WHO IS FOR AND WHO IS AGAINST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 120-126

[Article by N. Polyakov, Bonn, May]

[Text] Watching life closely on the banks of the Rhine and trying to take into consideration, to use Lenin's words, the precise facts of reality, a rather voluminous picture develops of the life of bourgeois society with all its inherent contradictions and social contrasts.

The decline in the realm of economics seems to have slowed down. However, one of the main industrial sectors, metallurgy, seems unable to "come out of the red" as they say here: there is a chronic shortage of demand. The newspaper seers have long been predicting a drop in the unemployment figure. However, such data remain alarming: over 1 million people are unemployed and the number of people forced to work half-time is growing. Statistical figures show that the West German mark has suffered less from inflation than its colleagues--the British pound, the French franc, and the American dollar. However, this is hardly a consolation (incidentally, compared with the Soviet Union rentals here are 8 to 10 times higher, streetcar or bus tickets are 10 times higher, and the cost of medicines is 12 to 15 times higher!)

The people face more than just economic concern. They are concerned for the future. Not even half of 1977 has passed while the public has already experienced new waves of political "earthquakes." One was the scandal of the bugging of the house of the Koln physicist Dr Traub, which marked the beginning of a series of exposures of scandalous violations of civic rights by the security service. Another one was the rude criticism of the "young socialists" and "young democrats"--youth organizations which dared to express the desire to act together with young communists in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and international cooperation. Another upheaval was the seizure by the social democrats of all Hessen city halls at the recent municipal elections. For decades they had been considered reliable social democratic bastions. All this is occurring against a background of

pathological anticommunism displayed by the reactionary press, the increased hunt of unconventionally thinking people and the uninterrupted persecution of "free thinkers" in government service.

However, nothing would be farther from the truth than the claim that the West German skies are covered by dark clouds only. No, clear patches are visible too. Never before have so many people, young above all, entered the correct fairway in the agitated political sea as today. Wearing yellow cloaks and scarfs with colored raincoats with holes purposely made to reduce resistance to the wind, in rain and slush they march along the narrow streets of towns and country roads, proclaiming their right to work, peace, and defense from arbitrary behavior. They boldly march against the threatening wall of round plastic shields used by the police in an effort to block their path, firmly withstanding the blows of "chemical clubs" which blind them with tear gas. Nor are they frightened by powerful water hydrant jets. Many of these young men and women do not have as yet a clear political belief. They are drawn by the element of social protest. They are different but united by their indignation and sincere desire to prevent their country from repeating tragic errors.

There are other changes as well. It is a pleasure when the prestige of communist members of city halls grows day after day in Bottrop and Gladbeck, Sooty Ruhr towns, Gottingen, the university city, the ancient Oldenburg, and the industrial cities of Nurnberg, Mannheim, Northorn, and Marburg, when a Georgian theater raises the curtains on the stage in Saarbrucken or Dusseldorf to present on the stage the characters of Brecht under thunderous applause; when, following the example of Dortmund and Munich, the big West German cities open a "window to the socialist world," enabling the people to become familiar with the homeland of the Great October Revolution during Soviet Union Week. Even though this was not consistent with the question of the expediency of cooperating with the communists as formulated by the Marburg organization of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the initiative spoke for itself.

Yes, local reality is complex and contradictory. Interwoven within it are a variety of processes including those closely linked with detente. Naturally, one could argue about the mark made by detente in one or another part of the zone of economically developed capitalism. However, unquestionably, here the depth of this mark is considerable remembering Bonn's former policy which remained in the trenches of the Cold War longer than the other Western capitals and which came out of those trenches only after common sense replaced frank or concealed revanchism. Facts remain facts: noticeable changes have taken place in ways of thinking and deployment of social forces.

For the first time in postwar history the Moscow 1970 Treaty and other treaties concluded between the FRG and the socialist countries helped to reduce the heat west of the main line of tension in Europe. This is the

line of the watershed dividing the Federal Republic and NATO, on the one hand, and the GDR and the other members of the socialist comity, on the other. The quadripartite West Berlin agreement had a sanitizing effect on one of the most painful areas of European policy.

The ratification of the Moscow Treaty by the Bundestag and the extraordinary parliamentary elections of the autumn of 1972 confirmed the realistic political course taken by Bonn. The redeployment of political forces between the lower Elbe and the Rhine was slow, painful, yet correct. This was unquestionably to the benefit of all of Europe and not only of Europe alone. Naturally, the "right-wing cartel" was personified in the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Socialist Union by its leaders--Kohle, Karstens, Strauss, and Dregger. Anyone who followed events in Bonn during that time could see clashes between the present and the past and most violent parliamentary duels.

Detente established its way in battle. Any sensible initiative in Europe originated by the Soviet Union and its partners and, particularly, the preparations for and convention of the European security and cooperation conference triggered the violent attacks of the "right-wing cartel." Recently, once again, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt mentioned again that the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Socialist Union were the only ones among the big European parties to oppose the Helsinki Conference. Schmidt himself was the only Western European prime minister who was attacked by the opposition on his return from this historic forum.

Some day, digging into archives, historians will describe in detail the widespread reactionary conspiracy against the forces of realism, a conspiracy which was made on the eve of the recent parliamentary elections and is still being woven today. They will describe the millions thrown into the insatiable jaws of the yellow press. They will describe the secret relations established between the transatlantic concerns such as Lockheed and the Bavarian extremists. They will describe the refined campaign for dulling the "man on the street" frightened by the demagogic slogan of "socialism or freedom." All this must be recalled in order to establish the psychological atmosphere in the FRG in the middle of the 1970's.

Today the local public is witnessing the frantic sallies of the reaction in the FRG and the other Western countries against the policy of detente. For awhile the big bourgeoisie was deeply engaged in adapting to the historical changes occurring in Europe. Now, under the conditions of extended crises and the growing discontent of millions of people, it is trying to discredit soberly-thinking leaders and go back if not to the Cold War at least to increased tension. Monopoly capitalism believes that this would make it easier to deal with civil freedoms. It is voting in parliament astronomical military budgets and urging on the arms race for the sake of securing its selfish interests.

The supporters of the West German concerns in the headquarters of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Socialist Union play a leading role in the current counteroffensive. Relying on the Pentagon's support and the NATO command they are trying to revise and undermine the policy of detente precisely in the directions in which it has been most effective: in the dialog between the two Europes--socialist and capitalist, and in the mutually profitable cooperation between the FRG and the USSR and the other socialist countries. The plan is simple: the more complex relations with the socialist neighbors become, the more difficult become the talks in Vienna on reducing armed forces and armaments in central Europe, and the worse the overall political climate becomes on the continent, the better it is for the "right-wing cartel."

Franz Josef Strauss has laid a "theoretical" base under such a position. He links the increased difficulties in foreign and domestic policy with the idea of setting up a new "anti-Comintern pact" initially in Europe and, if possible, beyond it. Through the press and in parliament the furor of the Bavarian extremists is waging a campaign against the current Bonn government and, at the same time, is aiming at strengthening his forces with the help of some supporters or simply fellow travelers abroad. Recently he held talks with Spanish falangists while his supporter Filbinger, prime minister of Baden Wurtemberg, went to China.

The comity of opponents of detente is quite varied in Europe and throughout the world. They rely mainly, above all, on withstanding the pressure of progressive and democratic forces in the very citadels of capitalism.

This could not fail to cause concern. The fact that the reaction may try to resolve in its own way domestic problems in the FRG in this case is one thing. When it tries to promote artificial complications abroad, in European and even, in general, in international life, this is something else.

It is striking that in recent months the activeness of reactionary forces aimed at reviewing the international-legal positions of the Federal Republic, to ascribe it "rights" which it does not possess (such as, for example, in West Berlin), and question again the fact that two German states exist is striking. Samples of such a provocatory tactic were provided recently at the Christian Democratic Union congress held in Dusseldorf. Its organizers openly clashed with reality, proclaiming that the postwar boundaries of the FRG are established not on the basis of treaties with the socialist countries but with the 1973 and 1975 decisions of the constitutional court in Karlsruhe. The revanchist spirit of these decisions is an open secret. In them the state boundary of the FRG with its neighboring workers-peasant republic is equated to a "West German internal administrative boundary." Furthermore, a map was shown at the congress in which even the western borders of Poland were presented as a "land boundary."

Accident? No, adventurism. One of the leaders directly stated that "he does not see in the eastern treaties a legal foundation" for the boundaries on the continent. This was said not by the hotheaded leader of an association of countrymen (incidentally, as in the past, such people are the most loose-tongued parliamentary speakers), but a strictly official person--K. Karstens, president of the Bundestag. Essentially, he also opposed the treaties concluded by the FRG with the socialist countries and the Helsinki Final Act in which 35 countries, including the United States, confirmed the inviolability of the present European borders.

Imposing such a course on Bonn means laying a mine under the system of international obligations which are the political foundations of contemporary Europe. The question is the following: What is the hope of those Western circles who benevolently look at such dangerous intrigues on the part of the enemies of detente? It should be clear to anyone that if their advice would be followed in the capital on the Rhine, not only the Federal Republic but its partners, those who pretend that such a risky game does not apply to them, would lose.

Another tactical trap set by the reaction is the campaign in defense of "human rights." Naturally, they are discussing not their fellow citizens and not those who are being oppressed in every possible way (let us recall the persecution of unconventionally thinking people), but of all sorts of renegades from the socialist countries. The initiators of this fuss are trying to exert pressure on the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and to impose upon us an order incompatible with true democracy. However, once again, this is being done in order to subvert the detente process. The leaders of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Socialist Union are trying to present themselves just about as the guardians of the purity of the very Final Act which they have just defamed since its principles do not coincide in the least with their plans for redoing the political map of Europe. Once again we see here the enemies of detente. As we know, one of the cornerstones of the European charter signed in the Finnish capital is the principle of noninterference in reciprocal domestic affairs. The entire fuss on the subject of "human rights" is precisely nothing but a secret attempt to interfere.

I had the opportunity to study the practical manifestation of this looking from the Bundestag's gallery. The speaker was Count (Guyn), a former diplomat, expelled from the service for delivering secret documents to Strauss, his party boss. The Count's speech was the malicious shout of a neo-Nazi who could not wait to refight a lost war. Demanding of Bonn to "take under its protection" the citizens of neighboring socialist countries, he presented an entire program for exerting pressure on these countries, including economic pressure, in order to achieve "through other means" that which could not be achieved through armed banditry. He described, incidentally, the Nuremberg court which tried the Hitlerite war criminals a "questionable instance." An open SS-man was posing on that rostrum. It would have been proper for someone to rebuff him, stop him, and expel him from the hall. However, it was that same Karstens who was presiding at the session...

However, it is not merely a matter of (Guyn) and revanchists like him. Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, whose headquarters are in Munich, continue to interfere most rudely in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Using American money, operating under American control and under the benevolent gaze of the local authorities, these CIA branches are engaged in subversive work ignoring the clear stipulations of the Final Act. Apparently, piracy of the air-waves is precisely the type of "defense of civil rights" which concerns some Western capitals. Instead of putting an end to such piracy Washington has decided to increase the budget of said subversion centers.

Yet another line followed in the tactic of the opposition is the war of nerves related to the imaginary "Soviet menace" and the stupid and intentionally panicky considerations of the "nine fatal hours" which it would take for Western Europe "to be conquered by the Russians." The television screens show entire divisions ready to hurl themselves directly at the Valley of the Rhine. While the psychosis is being increased the military budget of the FRG is being nearly doubled compared with 1971. The air force is being rearmed at a faster pace and a new tank--the Leopard-2--has come out.

According to Western authorities this psychosis...is groundless. Yet it is being thoroughly supported. Furthermore, military observer (Vanshtyn), a former Wehrmacht officer, lets it be understood that together with the armed forces of the other participants in the Vienna dialog the Bundeswehr should not only not reduce its strength and armaments but, conversely, should increase them and gain the official status of "main NATO support" on the continent, and the status of the "hard shell" of the alliance. What is behind such ambitions and what is, in fact, the role prepared for the Bundeswehr? One does not have to be an expert to realize that becoming the "hard shell" would not do Bonn, its NATO allies, or peace in general any good.

In other words, the "right-wing cartel" which claims that "it alone is responsible for Germany" and just about "for all of Europe" acts as the most irresponsible political force on the continent. A sober view on matters is alien to its leaders. They do not wish to understand the irreversible nature of the historical changes which have taken place in the European and world arena making peaceful coexistence an adamant necessity for all countries whatever their social system. Political egotism alone, bordering criminality, could create a formula such as that of Strauss--"the worse it becomes the better it is." This formula conceals a pathological yearning for the "steel glove," for the so-called strong personality which could both control differently minded people and talk to foreign countries in a deep voice. Strauss has assigned this role to himself. It is no accident that prophecies concerning his career are a permanent newspaper fixture. He is either proclaimed the future prime minister of Bavaria or a candidate for even higher positions.



Could it be that the time of the "strong man" has indeed come? The answer of most observers here is negative. Realistically thinking politicians in Bonn and in the other Western capitals perfectly realize that security and peace are interdependent and indivisible both in Europe and throughout the world. A 180-degree turn in Bonn would trigger a chain reaction whose outcome could not be predicted even by the person who would rush to the bridge.

All European countries have benefited from detente. The Federal Republic has benefited perhaps even more than the others, for it was one of the Western European countries which is quite successfully harvesting the fruits of changes for the better not only on a European but on a bilateral basis--in relations with its socialist neighbors. In Bonn's case, detente is linked with its international prestige, membership in the United Nations and, within the next 2 years, membership in the Security Council. Talking to politicians in the capital on the Rhine one frequently hears the admission that detente made it possible to drop down from the clouds of Adenauer's illusions to the firm soil of realism. Or, as Hamburg's DER SPIEGEL said, detente with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies, the abandonment of pan-Germanic claims in the official course, and the quadripartite settlement of the West Berlin problem for the first time gave Bonn a scope for pursuing an autonomous foreign policy, including a policy toward its Western allies.

Such revelations are symptomatic. They are based on the understanding of the simple truth that detente cannot be "granted to the Russians" in a polite gesture and taken away from them should someone object. Detente is a reflection of objective processes of historical development, and the only conceivable alternative to military confrontation in our nuclear century.

Helmut Schmidt is right by expressing the conviction in a governmental declaration (December 1976), in parliamentary speeches (January and March 1977), and in a number of interviews that the policy of detente is the only one possible for the Federal Republic. Such a viewpoint is shared by wide political circles. Evermore frequently they are expressing a positive approach to important all-European initiatives (in energy, transportation, and environmental protection, for example), to the Soviet-American dialog on limiting strategic armaments, and to the talks in Vienna.

In recent years, particularly following the 1973 visit paid by L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, the atmosphere on the banks of the Rhine has changed greatly. The people have seen other possibilities than those of the "Adenauer era." Political discussions are one of the characteristics of this. The 5-year-long debates held in Hamburg's Haus Riessen, an institute for politics and economics, which invited members of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation

to discuss one or another topical problem have lasted 5 years. Deafness to the voice of common sense was then considered by some political experts as almost being the proper tone to adopt. Now? In the latest discussions in that same Haus Riessen the Soviet guests were not only heard attentively but their arguments were accepted to an ever-greater extent as being most realistic.

Willy Brandt, the leader of the Social Democrats, believes that it is precisely such an atmosphere in the exchange of views that is needed at all levels for a business rather than speculative confrontation of arguments. In a recent speech delivered at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (United States), he stated that in his view at the forthcoming meeting in Belgrade no one should "set up a tribunal" in discussing the implementation of the Helsinki agreements.

No, despite their zeal, the enemies of detente have still not gained the initiative in Bonn. Public opinion is not on their side. As surveys have indicated, even 39 percent of those who would vote for the Christian Democrats would favor the policy of detente. Needless to say it is also favored by the majority which voted for the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats.

Until the October 1976 elections the Social Democrats had 230 seats in the Bundestag, with the decisive vote. The Free Democrats had 41; the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union bloc had 225. As a result of the elections the parties within the governmental coalition retained their absolute majority. They have 253 seats (Social Democrats, 214 and Free Democrats, 39), while the opposition gained 243 seats (Christian Democratic Union--190; Christian Socialist Union--53).

The data of the survey are a warning signal for the opposition: you are following a rather tricky path, gentlemen! It is time to understand that there could be no return to the "pretreaty period." This is 1977 rather than 1957, when the Cold War was at its peak and presented a great danger. Herbert Wiener, head of the Social Democratic faction in parliament, specifically stressed that "we shall not surrender a single thread of what is usually known as the eastern treaties." Politics is not an automatic process. Nothing happens within it by itself. It should not be expected that one or another candidate for "strong man" would suddenly convert from the wolf to the Little Red Riding Hood. Yes, it is not easy to retain the lines of detente reached! It is even more difficult to reach new lines. Here a great deal depends of restraining further the enemies of positive change.

Comrade Herbert Miess, chairman of the German Communist Party, receiving in his almost spartan office the author of this article, profoundly analyzed the situation within and around the Federal Republic. He compared the influence of social forces, assessed the course of their

struggle, and weighed their possibilities. His conclusions were simple: class conflicts are becoming aggravated. Even greater persistence and organization is needed in the actions of the working people against monopoly capital and for civil rights, European security, and detente.

The influence of the German Communist Party is growing, and millions of people are listening to it. Herman Gothier, deputy party chairman, points out that securing the peace is a profoundly personal matter for the working person. If there is peace there is social progress.

Soon we shall celebrate the first anniversary of the Berlin conference of communist and workers parties of Europe. Life itself has confirmed the topical nature of the objectives coordinated at the conference for the struggle for peace in Europe, security, cooperation, and social progress. The West German communists emphasize that the documents of this historical forum clearly provide the guidelines for the activities of the parties of the working class at the present stage, indicating how necessary it is in our time to isolate and defeat anticommunism, and how important is the solidarity among progressive democratic forces. "That which was earmarked at the Berlin meeting," said one of the leaders of the Berlin organization of the German Communist Party, "became our program for action."

Today the supporters of detente, peaceful coexistence, and equal cooperation have great practical experience in the field of mutually profitable relations among countries with different social systems. Let us take the USSR and the FRG as an example. In the past 5 years their volume of trade has quintupled, exceeding 10 billion marks. The Federal Republic is the biggest Western trading partner of the Soviet Union while our country is among its 10 most important partners. Already today reciprocal relations in this field are a substantial factor of political and economic cooperation on the continent.

Extensive possibilities are offered on the basis of compensation deals which make possible the ever fuller satisfaction of the needs of both countries for a variety of goods. Let us take as an example the construction of a number of big industrial enterprises in our country. The participation of FRG firms in building such projects will be paid out of supplies of some of the finished products--gasoline, paper, or chemicals. Hans Kirchner, one of the noted leaders of the Union of German Industry, shared his thoughts as follows: "This is an excellent form of economic cooperation! Our companies could program their work for many years ahead. This is important in times of economic disorders. This suits you as well: you can count on finished products." The share of such deals in the overall volume of trade has reached 10 percent.

This is not the limit. Looking ahead 30 years or longer, thinking of the scales consistent with the economic possibilities of the two partners, one could easily imagine the reserves awaiting their utilization. The economic and scientific and technical potential and creative genius of our countries could and should cooperate to the benefit of both nations. In this connection we must mention possibilities for long-term large-scale cooperation or the organization of mutually profitable relations between CEMA and EEC countries. This is a totally realistic development of cooperation.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly pointed out that it favors the extensive development of good relations with the Federal Republic, considering this, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev recently said, a major and important task. Naturally, it is a question of a two-way rather than one-way traffic.

While these notes are being written the thoughts of many Bonn politicians are turned to the second half of this year. They are awaiting the arrival of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. Recalling the first visit, 4 years ago, they speak of the beneficial influence which the summit dialog had on the condition of bilateral relations and on the general circumstances in Europe. Since then the process of detente has progressed but not to the extent to which we could ease the efforts to strengthen European peace. This, in fact, is what Helmut Schmidt had in mind when, on the eve of his meeting with the high Soviet guests, he specified that "Naturally, if we wish to maintain the peace, we must be willing to compromise with governments and countries of entirely different social systems or sharing a different ideology or philosophy. Those who are unable to display such a willingness would fail in their historical task."

Realities versus illusions is the sensible formula of Bonn politics.

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## BRIEF REVIEW OF BOOKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 77 pp 127-128

[Review of two books]

[Text] "Effektivnost' Proizvodstva: Puti Yeye Povysheniya"  
[Production Effectiveness: Means to Increase It]. A  
collection compiled by V. V. Bitunov and Yu. A. Tushunov.  
Mosk. Rabochiy, Moscow, 1975, 304 pp. Reviewed by Yu. Zykov,  
doctor of economic sciences.

The creative participation of many production collectives in the struggle for upgrading production effectiveness has created new specific forms of management of such processes. This experience deserves extensive study and dissemination. The book under review is one of the works containing a theoretical study of the practically tested merits of one or another way for upgrading production effectiveness. On this basis the authors provide suggestions aimed at improving the economic mechanism. Most thoroughly considered in the book is the experience of Moscow and Moscow Oblast enterprises. Big achievements were scored by the aktiv of the AvtoZIL Association which is operating in close practical cooperation with scientific institutions. The valuable experience of the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant, the First State Bearings Plant, the Plant for Automated Lines imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, and others is widely known.

Using a number of production collectives in our country as examples, the authors depict reserves for the growth of labor productivity, possibilities for improving the utilization of fixed production assets, the role of associations in upgrading production effectiveness, and methods for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

As the authors point out, the reserves for increasing labor productivity are far from completely used. In their plans some enterprises enter clearly lowered indicators. The overfulfillment of such plans, naturally, could be no proof of good work. At the same time, many production collectives elaborate and implement measures insuring truly high labor productivity.

indicators. Thus, the Dinamo Electrical Machinery-Building Plant imeni S. M. Kirov organized a socialist competition for upgrading labor productivity on the basis of long-term individual workers plans. The material incentive system was restructured. Now it takes into consideration the results of the implementation of such plans, and so on. The initiative of the Dinamo Plant was adopted by a number of Moscow enterprises, approved by the Moscow City Party Committee, and gained extensive recognition and dissemination. The authors analyze the positive experience of such progressive enterprises and establish the limits and prerequisites for the most successful utilization of this experience, and formulate corresponding suggestions on improving economic management.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the process of socialist production socialization in our country is intensifying considerably. Specifically, this means the establishment of a close interconnection and interdependence among all its units. At the present time, as the authors show, the economic mechanism does not as yet correspond adequately to the new level of production socialization (despite the implementation of a number of important measures such as the conversion to a two- and three-step management system in industry, the creation of production associations, and so on. Noteworthy in this respect is the initiative of a number of Moscow production collectives, described in detail in the book, which launched a struggle for upgrading the quality of output on the basis of competition and cooperation among related collectives.

The authors submit a number of suggestions aimed at improving economic management, focused on a fuller consideration of the close interconnection among enterprises in the social production process under socialism. They substantiate the need for extensively disseminating outgoing quality control and the implementation of the principle of inevitable liability for committed violations. In particular, they call for upgrading the responsibility of enterprise managers for the quality of output, and for penalizing those specifically guilty of producing substandard goods. The work covers other important problems of the theory and practice of upgrading social production effectiveness.

As a whole the reader will find in the book a number of interesting matters in the field of the theoretical problems for upgrading social production effectiveness and from the practical experience of the struggle waged by collectives of industrial enterprises for higher effectiveness.

I. T. Yakushevskiy, "Dialektika i 'Sovetologiya'"  
[Dialectics and "Sovietology"]. A critical analysis of  
"sovietological" interpretations of dialectical materialism.  
Nauka, Leningrad, 1975, 207 pp. Reviewed by V. Golobokov.

Establishing the place and significance of so-called sovietology within the framework of anticommunism, the author emphasizes that it is not limited to falsifying the socioeconomic and political foundations of

Soviet society but tries to undermine the theoretical and philosophical concepts of Marxism-Leninism. The main strike is aimed at dialectical materialism as the theory of the most general laws governing the development of nature, society, and thinking.

Revealing the class nature of "sovietology," seen through the covers of pseudoscientific "objectivity," and after considering its structure and role in terms of the other anticommunist currents, ways, and means used in the "study" of Marxist theory, I. T. Yakushevskiy draws the conclusion that "sovietology" is not simply one of the many directions of contemporary anticommunism. It is its theoretical nucleus and occupies a dominating position in its ideology. This conclusion is backed by the entire content of the book.

Realizing the importance of dialectics to Marxism-Leninism as a whole, our ideological opponents focus their criticism precisely on it. Since dialectical materialism is a universal scientific theory of development, naturally the interpretation of its laws is largely predetermined by the general concept of development itself. The author convincingly proves that the "sovietological" interpretations of the development process are anti-dialectical and do not exceed the limits of a metaphysical outlook.

"Studying" Marxist dialectics, the author points out, the "sovietologists" are trying, above all, to distort its history. To this effect it is insinuated to the reader that Marxist dialectics is not a single materialistic theory and that its national forms have long been developed, substantially different from each other. Furthermore, extensive use is being made of stereotype pittings of Marx against Engels and Marx against Lenin, and so on, suppressing the internal interconnection among the different stages of dialectical development.

Such an approach, as the author shows, is most closely linked with the desire of the anticommunist theoreticians to present dialectical materialism as a scholastic system and to undermine the belief in its objectiveness and the truthfulness of its laws.

The work by I. T. Yakushevskiy offers a thorough critical analysis of the anticommunist views on basic dialectical problems. However, the desire of the author to cover as fully as possible and to sum up the views of the "sovietologists" could not fail to create a certain schematism in his interpretation. Many important problems are merely indicated (such as, for example, the question of interrelationship between dialectical laws and categories). This considerably weakens the author's arguments. Furthermore, even though he has been able to depict the desire of the "sovietologists" to reduce Marxist dialectics to a primitive level with the help of unworthy and occasionally thoroughly concealed means, it would have been proper to provide a more detailed study of the logic of their views, directing the attention to the confusion of aspects leading to the vulgarization of theory, inherent in bourgeois thinking. This is an

important task, for, as was noted in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress, the ideological confrontation between the two systems is becoming more active and imperialist propaganda, more refined.

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