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19 September 1977

## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 11, July 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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## HIGHEST SPIRITUAL REQUIREMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 3-11

[Text] "It is accurately said that there is nothing more practical than a good theory." This statement by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, expressed in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress usually applies to the basic natural sciences. However, it would be equally justifiable to apply it to the social sciences which have a tremendous influence on social practice.

In relation to these words again we unwittingly recall V. I. Lenin's inspired statement that "Marx's doctrine is omnipotent because it is true" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 43). This simple and brief statement has a most profound meaning. The doctrine is omnipotent because it is accurate, because it is true, because it provides a proper interpretation of the course of development of nature, society, and human thought, and because it gives the proletariat, the most revolutionary force of our time, confidence in the justice of its struggle against imperialism and for peace and friendship among the peoples, and for building a socially just society--a confidence in the inevitable victory.

On the other hand, once a revolutionary theory is proved it becomes very attractive for all working people. Conquering the masses, it becomes a powerful factor for the reorganization of the world. What could be more practical than such a theory?

Why is it, Lenin asked, that Marx's doctrine could conquer millions and tens of millions of hearts? It was because, having discovered the laws governing the development of human society, Marx reached the conclusion that the defeat of capitalism was inevitable as a result of the organized actions of the working class--the creator of the new, the socialist society. He proved this on the basis of the most accurate, most detailed, and most profound study of capitalist society. He reworked, criticized, and checked against the workers' movement everything created by the human mind and drew the type of principled summations which people, limited by the bourgeois framework or bound by bourgeois prejudices, were unable to reach.

Marxism-Leninism is a purposeful and streamlined doctrine representing the organic combination of philosophical, economic, and sociopolitical views. It is the theoretical expression of the basic interests of the working class, and a program for its struggle for socialism and communism. This is a theory ubiquitously changing the world today on our planet. For the past 60 years the Soviet Union has been erecting the type of classless society scientifically predicted, and the roads to which have been basically determined. Socialism has either become or is becoming reality in many countries of Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

To this day the most topical problems of our time formulated by the very course of its objective development find their answers in the theoretical elaborations of the 25th CPSU Congress, the decrees of our party's Central Committee, and the speeches of its leaders.

Conquering the masses, Marxist-Leninist theory is not only a powerful revolutionary force which sweeps off of the world oppression and rightlessness and erects the bright building of the new society, but changes man himself, shaping his class consciousness, spiritual world, outlook, and thinking. Under the conditions of a developed socialist society, in our country it is the most important means for the development of a communist personality.

Looking back at the 60-year distance covered by our country, saturated with great accomplishments and truly revolutionary changes in all aspects of social life, revolutionary in terms of their objectives and deadlines, we clearly see that in their most concentrated form they are expressed in one thing: the Soviet person.

The Soviet person is the most important result of the past 60 years. This was mentioned in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress vividly and inspiredly: "This is a person who, acquiring his freedom, was able to defend it in the most severe battles. This is a person who built his future, sparing no efforts and agreeing to any sacrifice. This is a person who, withstanding all trials, changed himself beyond recognition, combining within himself ideological conviction and tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the skill to apply them. This is a person who, as a zealous patriot, has been and will always remain a consistent internationalist."

Noteworthy in this extensive and precise characterization is the part in which the change of man beyond recognition is linked, above all, with the fact that he combines within himself ideological conviction, tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the ability to apply them, and that he combines patriotism with internationalism. All these are also practical applications of Marxist-Leninist theory and the result of its conscious adoption by the working people of our country.



Marxism-Leninism is a doctrine the knowledge of which is necessary whatever a man's profession may be and wherever he may work: in the field or live-stock farm, by a machine tool or automatic line, in a design bureau or behind the control panel for outer space communications. This is because this doctrine helps man to realize his position in society, understand his involvement in the implementation of the great objectives of building a new world, and convert his knowledge into convictions and convictions into an active position in life.

We frequently recall Lenin's familiar thesis of the need to combine revolutionary theory with the proletarian movement, and the need to introduce a scientific revolutionary theory in the proletarian consciousness, the consciousness of the toiling masses. We recall it when it is a question of the distant prerevolutionary history of our country. However, this process does not end with a victorious revolution but merely gains new aspects.

What is the characteristic of the contemporary stage in the assertion of Marxist-Leninist theory in the awareness of the toiling masses?

In the course of building a new society and in the course of the cultural revolution Marxist-Leninist theory becomes the foundation of a world outlook not only of the vanguard of the working class but of ever-broader toiling masses. In the developed socialist society virtually the entire adult population has been raised in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet society is a highly educated society. This is confirmed by the impartial and precise statistical figures. Every 7th or 8th person out of 10 people employed in the national economy has higher or secondary (full or incomplete) education. There are 24 million specialists with higher and secondary specialized education at work in the country, including some 4 million graduate engineers.

At the same time, this society could also be described as a permanently learning society. The draft of the USSR Constitution, currently undergoing nationwide discussions, notes that our country has an integral educational system which serves the communist education and spiritual and physical development of the youth and which prepares it for labor and social activities. Not only the youth but the majority of the adults are continuing their training in night schools, technical schools, universities, postgraduate and doctoral studies, retraining and skill-upgrading courses, and the political education network. Many are engaged in self-education in their leisure time, for this has become their constant spiritual need.

The lecturers of the Knowledge All-Union Society, who deliver 25 million lectures per year, have an audience of over 1 billion people.

Political education and the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism play an important role in the ideological education of the Soviet person. Some 21 million people, including approximately 8 million non-party members, are involved in the party's education system. Over 410,000 people are increasing their knowledge in Marxism-Leninism universities. Currently about 35 million people are studying within the economic training system alone.

The mass study of Marxism-Leninism is the most important characteristic in the development of social consciousness at the present stage. However, along with mass attendance the success of such training depends on the daily concern for its content, and for upgrading its theoretical level. Presently the entire course of development of our society's culture and education has created prerequisites for the intensification and raising of the solution of this problem to a higher level. It is a question, in particular, of comprehensively converting to the requirement not only to learn but to assimilate theory. In other words, it is important not only to be familiar with the stipulations of Marxism-Leninism but to be able to think like a Marxist, to be able to apply one's knowledge to the independent solution of theoretical and practical problems. It was precisely this that Vladimir Il'ich Lenin demanded of us.

It is noteworthy that in his famous speech at the third All-Russian Komsomol Congress, addressing himself to the mostly illiterate or totally illiterate young people, he assigned them not simply the task of learning, acquiring knowledge, and mastering the foundations of the sciences and of Marxism. No, he assigned them the highest possible task of enriching their minds with the knowledge of all the riches created by mankind. He called upon them not simply to enrich their minds, not simply to memorize "ready-made" conclusions and slogans as found in textbooks and popular pamphlets, but, critically reworking the achievements of science and culture, to master them independently, to learn how to make practical use of their knowledge.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a manual for action. It is not a collection of ready-made answers to all situations in life. It is not a "universally mandatory" historical system or a theoretical "model" of the universe, given once and forever. Marxism-Leninism is a creative, a constantly developing and expanding doctrine. It is a method for the study of what is, in the steady dynamics and change. It is a scientific program for the revolutionary reorganization of society and a weapon in the struggle for this reorganization.

This being the case, Marxism-Leninism must be studied not as a collection of ready-made conclusions and formulations but in the course of its historical establishment, in the course of its dynamics and action. In order to attain the "living soul" of Marxism-Leninism and appreciate the essentially new aspects it has introduced in the world outlook and which distinguish it from previous philosophical and socioeconomic theories, one must be familiar with these theories. One must master and critically rework the entire heritage of human culture, of its origins. One must mentally cover the distance covered by the founders of Marxism-Leninism in the search for a scientific theory; to a certain extent one must "duplicate," experience the efforts of creative thinking which led to the new world outlook.

It is Marxist-Leninist philosophy above all that plays a tremendous role in the development of the culture of theoretical thinking and of creative capabilities. It teaches us to think in terms of categories which cover

most completely and profoundly reality as a complex, conflicting, and changing process of steady development and change. It teaches us not to avoid acute problems and controversial situations but to comprehend them precisely within such controversy and conflict between seemingly mutually exclusive opposites.

Marxist philosophy, like all Marxist theory, arose as a result of the summation and critical reworking of the entire past spiritual development of mankind. That is why, noting that at the levels of summation reached by natural sciences empirical methods were helpless, and that theoretical thinking alone could be of help here, Engels stated the following: "However, theoretical thinking is an innate characteristic only as a capability. This capability must be developed and improved. To achieve this so far there has been no means other than the study of all preceding philosophy" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 366).

As we know, nowhere in the works of the Marxist classics is the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism expressed in terms of a complete sum total of ideas. However, they have left us numerous works showing how the most complex economic, political, and social problems can be resolved with the help of the dialectical-materialistic method. Among these works "Das Kapital" holds a central position. According to Lenin, however, "Das Kapital" cannot be understood without the study of Hegel's Logic. In turn, Hegel cannot be understood without showing some interest in Goethe, Schelling, Fichte, Spinoza, Aristotle, and Plato...

The case of political economy, and scientific socialism and communism is similar. Here again we must turn to all previous culture.

Marx gave us the model of a person who, having penetrated deeper than any one of his contemporaries into the cultural strata of the past, outstripped his own time considerably more than anyone else. As a universally developed personality and as an encyclopedically educated person, he proved himself in everything: he was not only an economist, philosopher, sociologist, and historian, but a revolutionary, organizer, vivid publicist and journalist, and talented popularizer of his own ideas. The same can be said of Engels and Lenin.

The works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin--even those which seem to deal with the most "abstract" theoretical problems--are distinguished by the highest emotional tenseness and sharp and vivid polemics. It is as though they burn with the fire of class battles. In each of their lines beats not only the living and searching mind of the scientist and the revolutionary, but the warm palpitating heart of the fiery humanist, of the fighter against the exploiters and their scientific servants, their diplomaed lackeys. What hatred and scorn Marx displayed, for example, toward the scientific "base-ness" of the thinking of the corrupt political economic scribes who adapt their scientific conclusions to the interests of the ruling class!

Marxist-Leninist theory is not an "academic" doctrine creating its "historical judgment" in a tranquil-objectivistic manner in terms of ready-made formulas and "sentences," but a science imbued with revolutionary passion, addressing itself in fiery burning terms to millions of working and exploited people in all countries.

Reading the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics, in addition to everything else one experiences an aesthetic pleasure from their brilliant artistic style and precise and graphic language. Where does all this disappear in some of our textbooks, aids, and lectures? How formally, sketchily, dryly, and impassively is this material occasionally presented. Could such teaching become infectious and attract the audience?!

In our time it is no longer sufficient to be simply a knowledgeable, an educated person. It is important to develop within oneself a certain thinking culture. Naturally, this is inseparably linked with the development of a moral and aesthetic culture and true intellectualism.

Marxist-Leninist theory is filling the minds of the masses ever-more extensively and actively with a correct view on the world and a historically correct approach to the solution of a variety of practical problems. This is largely contributed by the experience in cultural construction, the political education of the working people, ideological education, and the general and specialized education of the youth, steadfastly developing in our country and in the other socialist countries. The CPSU pays constant attention to such problems and the positive results of such party concern are ubiquitously apparent.

The Soviet higher school is doing extensive work to upgrade the Marxist-Leninist education of the young men and women and to mold their ideological convictions and active position in life. The departments of social sciences play an important role in this respect. They are steadily improving their training-methodical, ideological-educational, and scientific research activities.

It was noted at the all-union conference of heads of social sciences departments of higher educational institutions, held last September in Moscow, that of late the ideological and theoretical level of the lectures has been enhanced considerably. Ever-more extensive use is being made of the achievements of contemporary science and social practice. The presented material is organically linked with the solution of problems of communist construction. The teachers have intensified their aggressive criticism of modern bourgeois ideology, reformism, and revisionism. Seminars have become more effective. Creative discussions are being organized more frequently at such seminars and student reports and papers are discussed. The participation of leading scientists, party veterans, labor heroes, and big specialists in seminars has spread.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work Done at the Moscow Higher Technical School Imeni N. E. Bauman and the Saratov State University Imeni N. G. Chernyshevskiy on Upgrading the Ideological and Theoretical Level of Teaching the Social Sciences" played a particularly important role in improving the work of social sciences departments and of the entire ideological training of students.

VUZ social scientists are developing topical problems of CPSU history, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism. They are extensively using the results of scientific research in the training process.

However, together with the obvious progress achieved, certain shortcomings remain which should not be ignored. We come across formal and sketchy aids and lecture courses. Occasionally the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory in VUZ's and party training courses consists of the cheerless repetition of the contents of textbooks and pamphlets and the frequent repetition of the same truths. Some teachers are largely unconcerned with converting knowledge into convictions and with enabling the young people to master the ability to apply Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology and the dialectical materialistic method in independent analysis of theoretical and practical problems.

Occasionally a comparison of Marxist-Leninist theory with the numerous bourgeois social and philosophical doctrines is limited to bare statements on the advantages of a scientific outlook. The specific nature of such advantages and the harm caused by one or another anti-Marxist concept are not depicted convincingly.

Such a "facilitated" study of Marxism-Leninism could bring nothing but harm. It only sets teeth on edge, and promotes an attitude toward sociopolitical and philosophical disciplines as a subject for cramming, something boring, officially required and necessary only in order to pass examinations. Understandably, the formalistic approach to a vitally important matter such as mastering conceptual disciplines results in the fact that general theoretical stipulations are easily dogmatized and, consequently, emasculated. The result is, on the one hand, the appearance of "skeptics" and "disappointed people," and, on the other, of uncritical readers, dogmatists, and pedants who perceive not the restless spirit but the frozen letter of theory, sincerely believing that it is precisely this "letter" that exhausts all Marxist-Leninist theory. Concerning such "Marxists," as Lenin ironically noted, "Marx would have probably repeated Heine's quote: 'I planted dragons but harvested fleas'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 3, p 14).

All of Lenin's activities are a vivid model of creative development of Marxist theory and of struggle against a dogmatic attitude toward it on the part, initially, of the so-called "legal Marxists" and, subsequently, of the mensheviks, the leaders of the Second International, and the opportunists of all hues.

After the October Revolution, Marxist doctrinaires and pedants both abroad and in the country argued that that revolution was "premature," and that Russia had to begin by developing its production forces and then make socialist changes. Here they referred to Marxist theoretical concepts. Since, according to Marxism, the new social system presumes a higher level of production forces compared with capitalism, one must reach this level to begin with and only then undertake to make a proletarian revolution and implement socialist measures. The general system seems correct. It is "a kind of Marxism." In fact, however, it is a mockery of Marxism and its creative nature.

Answering N. Sukhanov, one of the doctrinaires, Lenin wrote: "Civilization, you say, is needed in order to create socialism. Very well. Yet, why could we not begin by creating prerequisites of civilization in our country such as expelling landlords and Russian capitalists and only then begin a movement to socialism? In what booklets have you read that such changes of the usual historical order are inadmissible or impossible?" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 381).

Otto Bauer, the Austrian Social Democrat, a doctrinaire acting in the field of Marxism, was the author of many "learned" books on the class struggle and the future proletarian revolution. Yet, when the proletarian revolution in Russia became a fact, Bauer discovered with indignation that it had taken place "not by the book," and that the property of capitalists and landlords should not have been confiscated immediately. This pedant, Lenin wrote, "had firmly memorized (pedants do not know how to think, they are able to memorize and learn by rote) that theoretically it is possible to expropriate the property of expropriators without confiscation. He always repeated this. He had learned it. He knew it by heart in 1912. He recited it from memory in 1919" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 137).

Obviously, both Sukhanov and Bauer offer some of the most characteristic examples of worthless repetition.

In the study and teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory it is important to trace the process of its formation, establishment, and creative development at different stages in close and live connection with the history of the revolutionary movement, the history of the proletarian party, and the changing circumstances of the class struggle which call for corresponding changes in strategy and tactics. Using specific examples it is important to bring to light the continuing and systematic activities of the CPSU from the moment of its creation to the present related to the creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of its inviolable scientific principles and requirements.

It is important to be able to distinguish truly creative Marxism from revisionism which, hiding behind the requirement of creative approach, emasculates the revolutionary essence itself of the scientific theory of the transformation of society, substituting reformism for Marxism.

Characteristic of contemporary social thinking in the West, in general, is the aspiration to "flirt" with Marxism, to don Marxist clothing, and to hide behind alleged Marxist phraseology, using the prestige of scientific theory for the subversive promotion of an ideology hostile to the struggling proletariat. Bearing this in mind in organizing communist education, we must convincingly show the basic difference between Marxist-Leninist theory and all forms of "pseudo-Marxism" and "in the likeness of Marxism."

Wherever we fall short in ideological and conceptual education, as we know, the vacuum could be filled by views and beliefs removed from Marxism.

The Soviet person, the member of the developed socialist society, is an individual with great spiritual demands. He is not only a specialist in his narrow professional field. He lives in the thick of the sharpest and most complex problems of domestic and international life and is concerned with such problems. He thirsts for understanding them by himself, and for assuming a conscious, an active position in life. He considers himself the master of his country and participates in managing the affairs of the enterprise and the entire society. He is a coparticipant in the making of economic and political decisions.

In all this active and comprehensive work he is guided by a true guideline--Marxist-Leninist theory and dialectical-materialistic methodology. "Marxism-Leninism," states the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress, "is the only reliable foundation for the elaboration of a correct strategy and tactic. It gives us an understanding of historical perspective. It enables us to establish the direction of socioeconomic and political development for many years ahead and to be accurately guided in international events."

It follows from this that the profoundly creative mastering of Marxist-Leninist theory and the continuing improvement of one's ideological and political education are becoming a most vital need for every party member. It is not imposed from above or from the outside but is internally realized, and develops into the highest spiritual requirement.

The Soviet society is strong with the conscientiousness of the masses, their initiative and energy, and their readiness and ability to build communism and, consequently, their knowledge of how precisely to build communism and how, through what means, specifically to resolve the numerous and complex problems which arise in front of each and every one along this path. Therefore, here at every step one needs not only the "bookish" knowledge of Marxism-Leninism but the ability to use it in practice, to deepen and enrich one's knowledge constantly, including within its context ever-broader historical-philosophical, sociopolitical, and political-economic summations.

Consequently, it is a question of an inner need for continuing Marxist self-education. The knowledge and mastery of Marxism-Leninism cannot be achieved within the framework of a single training course. It calls for uninterrupted and independent mental work, steadily applied to practical matters. It

requires the development of a certain taste for such work capable of bringing great spiritual satisfaction and pleasure, for it broadens the horizons of one's vision, increases intellectual possibilities, and contributes to the inner self-assertion and spiritual enrichment of the individual.

Marxism-Leninism is the greatest treasury of spiritual values, a type of stored and concentrated and critically reworked intellectual energy of mankind to which a high revolutionary charge has been given. The task facing each one of us--the heirs of this wealth--is to link ourselves to it individually, to convert it into our own intellectual energy.

When the ever-deeper and independent study of Marxism and the steady broadening of the dimensions of the outlook become a daily spiritual need, the task set by Lenin can be implemented best and most naturally: "...assume the sum total of human knowledge in such a way that communism would not be something you have learned but something you have thought out yourself, representing conclusions which are inevitable from the viewpoint of a modern education" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 306).

The need for the continuing education and self-education of the working people is dictated today by the scientific and technical revolution which is continually renovating equipment and technology and increasing our knowledge of the world. It is dictated by the growing complexity and dynamism of sociopolitical and economic change. It is natural that uninterrupted ideological-political, philosophical, and economic education and self-education have become an inseparable part of the steady upgrading of the level of general skill of the working people.

Need for independent creative work and the ability to think independently must be developed starting with the classroom. As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, under contemporary conditions, when the amount of knowledge needed by man is growing sharply and rapidly, it is no longer possible to rely mainly on the learning of a certain amount of facts. It is important to develop the ability to supplement one's knowledge autonomously, and to be oriented in the rapid stream of scientific and political information. This calls for a corresponding reorganization of training methods and for improved teachers' training.

The study of Marxist-Leninist theory and social science, initiated in the secondary school, is continued in colleges, technical schools, VUZ's, and the political education network, and on a self-training basis. It is important that at all these levels the entire training be based on the Leninist principle of "learning communism" in an atmosphere of creative study and lively discussion of theoretical problems closely linked with practical contemporary problems.

The main indicator of the success and effectiveness of our comprehensive activities in the field of communist education is the high spiritual culture and true intellectualism of the members of the socialist society, their idea-mindedness, conscientiousness, firm conviction of the correctness of



Marxist-Leninist theory, and need for continuous upgrading of their general and specialized education and of the ever-deeper mastery of a scientific outlook, a mastery which presumes not only knowledge but the ability to participate actively and with initiative in all work related to the building of the new society.

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FOLLOWING THE PATH OF OCTOBER, UNDER THE SIGN OF IMPLEMENTING THE 25th CPSU CONGRESS DECISIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 12-29 LD

[Article by A. Kirilenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] Since 1917, since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the attention of all progressive mankind, of the forces of peace, freedom, and democracy has been turned invariably toward our motherland--the first country of victorious socialism. We are traveling the untried path to the summit of social progress--communism--and our successes on that path are a powerful urge to action for the sake of a shining future for all peoples.

The main element in the life of the land of the Soviets today is active and purposeful work in implementing the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The congress armed the party and the people with an extensive program for communist building at the modern stage, and for the struggle to strengthen world peace.

This year of 1977 is an important historical milestone. It is the year of the 60th anniversary of Great October--the main event of the 20th Century, which fundamentally changed the course of development of all mankind, and opened up a new, communist era in history.

The preanniversary atmosphere in the country is characterized by political and labor activeness on the part of Soviet people, and is being marked by many portentous events. The CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum, the local soviet elections, the publication of the draft of the new USSR Constitution, and the nationwide discussion of it, have awakened fresh creative strength among the masses and demonstrated the inviolable unity of the party and the people.

All the events testify vividly and convincingly to the boundless trust and authority enjoyed by the Communist Party, its Central Committee, the Politburo, and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee,

among our people. Soviet people's unanimous approval of the decision of the supreme organ of socialist people's power to elect Comrade L. I. Brezhnev head of the Soviet state marked their high appraisal of all his activity, and demonstrated their profound recognition of his outstanding merits. It is hard to exaggerate his exceptional contribution to the achievements of the society of developed socialism and to the cause of peace throughout the world, or the example which Leonid Il'ich sets by his unquestioning devotion to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, and by his selfless work for the sake of the people's happiness, and for the sake of communism.

This year is the year of the adoption of the new constitution of the land of the Soviets--the constitution of developed socialism. It embodies the Soviet people's great revolutionary gains, and their highest aim--the building of a communist society.

#### I.

Steadfastly following Lenin's course along the path of October, the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party have attained the leading heights of socioeconomic and cultural progress. In only 6 decades, the selfless work of Soviet people has turned economically backward, bourgeois-landowner Russia into an advanced, socialist industrial power.

The main result of the historic creative work of the masses led by the party consists in the building of a developed socialist society--a society highly mature in all spheres of social life, and in its entire system of socialist relations. It constitutes the highest level of social progress achieved to date; it is the most just and the most humane social system, whose main aim is the benefit and happiness of the working person.

No matter how refined our political and ideological enemies become in slandering Soviet people and the socialist social system, they cannot escape reality. And the reality is this:

A state which defended the interests of an exploiting minority of society, and which was torn by antagonistic contradictions, has been replaced by a working people's state of the whole people characterized by high sociopolitical and ideological unity among the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia, and by complete coincidence of fundamental interests and aspirations among all citizens;

A tsarist empire, which oppressed working people of all nationalities and pursued a cruel colonial policy, has been replaced by a new historical community--the Soviet people--and by a wonderful fraternity of working people rallied together by true equality, common interests, a single aim--to build communism--and the most advanced ideology--Marxism-Leninism;

An economy riddled with deep contradictions and weakened by dependence on foreign capital has been replaced by a powerful, unified national economic complex which enables the tasks of creating the material and technical base of

communism to be directly resolved and increasingly full satisfaction of people's growing material and spiritual requirements to be insured;

Crushing poverty and class tyranny, with no access for the working person to cultural wealth, have been replaced by a new, Soviet person--a patriot and internationalist, combining ideological conviction with tremendous vital energy, a constant striving for the peaks of knowledge and culture, and a sense of collectivism and comradely mutual help. It is his skill and his heroic work which have built the developed socialist society.

Developed socialism is the creation of those who won victory in October 1917, fought on the civil war fronts, implemented the industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture and the cultural revolution, of those who defended the socialist homeland in the war against fascism, and of those who are now carrying on the great cause of communist building. It is the creation of all the generations of Soviet people. It is what brings together the veterans of the revolution with the young people just taking their first steps in their working lives.

The tremendous achievements of our people, and the intensive, comprehensive development of Soviet society consistently embody the great ideals of October. The very fact that the nationwide discussion of the draft of the fourth USSR Constitution is in progress on the eve of its glorious jubilee is a clear reflection of the great dynamism of the social and state system engendered by the October Revolution. Each of the constitutions adopted in 1918, 1924 and 1936 has been linked with a portentous stage in the development of the land of the Soviets--the formation of the world's first worker-peasant state, the fraternal republics' voluntary unification into a single union, and the creation of the foundations of socialism. The new constitution will seal in legislation the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR and the major, fundamental changes which have occurred in the last decades affecting all aspects of our life.

Take the main sphere of society's vital activity--the economy. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev observed at the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum, it has changed beyond recognition: "Socialist ownership completely dominates the economy. A unified, powerful national economic organism has been established and is successfully functioning. It is developing on the basis of combining the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system."

The story of how far our national economy has progressed in the 4 decades since the adoption of the 1936 Constitution can be told in the eloquent and convincing language of figures. National income has increased 18 times, industrial output 29 times, gross agricultural output 3.6 times, and capital investments 22 times in that period.

On the basis of our modern economic potential, we can now achieve in a matter of days what once took months or years. For example, in only 10 days, we now generate as much power and produce as much mineral fertilizer as in the whole of 1936, and the corresponding times are 18 days for oil and gas condensate, 2 days for gas, 40 days for steel, and 24 days for motor vehicles.

The current 10th Five-Year Plan is a five-year plan of labor achievements on an unprecedented scale, and of creative work of tremendous proportions. Almost the same amount will be injected in capital investments during the plan period as was invested from 1918 through 1965.

A new step forward has been taken in implementing the party's agrarian policy. Never before has so much money been invested in agriculture as is being injected in the current five-year period. A high target has to be attained in revolving agriculture's central task of increasing grain production. It is planned to raise the average annual grain harvest to a level of 215-220 million tons, which means an increase of almost 14 million tons. The party is devoting much attention and effort to the major statewide task of developing the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone, whose successful solution will help to raise further the standard of all our agriculture and of the entire Soviet economy.

The impressive prospects for the development of Soviet society opened up by the 25th CPSU Congress have proved a powerful stimulus to Soviet people's creative activeness. The party's appeal to mark the 60th anniversary of October with new labor achievements met with widespread response and wholehearted support among the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all the working people. The nationwide socialist competition to raise production efficiency and work quality, and to fulfill the plan targets successfully is assuming increasing dimensions.

The 10th Five-Year Plan means not only the imposing plans outlined by the party. It means the visible results of the creative work of the communists and all the Soviet people. The plans for the first 18 months have been fulfilled successfully in terms of the main indicators, and most sectors of industry overfulfilled them. In the first 6 months of 1977, the increase in industrial output was 5.7 percent, which is more than the growth envisaged by the plan for the year.

In the annals of the Soviet people's labor achievements the initial period of the five-year plan has already been marked by a number of remarkable events. In the first year alone, 260 large industrial enterprises and a large number of new shops and production units were commissioned. The first phase of that giant of modern industry, the Kama truck plant was commissioned and its main assembly line is now producing increasing numbers of trucks. The Kursk and Armenian AES's, rolling mills at the Krivoy Rog and West Siberia metallurgical plants, the Nizhnevartovsk, Yuzhniy Balyk, and Belorussia gas processing plants, and many other enterprises have been commissioned. Construction of the Cheboksary heavy tractor plant, the Volgodonsk

nuclear machine building giant, and a number of other very large industrial complexes is in full swing. The constructors of the Baykal-Amur main railroad have handed over a number of sections, which have opened to traffic.

The working people of agriculture have marked the start of the five-year plan with major successes. In its first year, a record grain harvest and good harvests of cotton and of a number of other crops were obtained. The countryside's working people are overcoming the consequences of the extremely unfavorable weather conditions prevailing in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, and particularly in 1975. An important point is that, as a result of the implementation of the measures adopted by the party and government, kolkhoz members and sovkhoz working people are restoring livestock numbers and increasing livestock productivity.

The working people of agriculture are now concentrating their attention and their efforts on harvesting the crops and procuring fodder. They are striving to fulfill their adopted socialist pledges on the sale of agricultural produce to the state and to make the biggest possible contribution to the development of our economy.

As we know, at all stages of the establishment and development of the new society our party and the Soviet state have done everything possible to increase the people's prosperity and to reinforce the socialist way of life. It is profoundly symbolic that the Soviet state followed the decrees on land and on peace by adopting legislative enactments on the 8-hour working day and the duration and spread of working time, on social insurance, on health protection for working people, and others.

In the briefest historical period, our country resolved such complex social problems as the elimination of unemployment and poverty, illiteracy, and serious epidemic diseases. The socioeconomic conditions of work and of daily life were fundamentally changed. The transition to a qualitatively new level of people's well-being occurred effectively within the lifetime of one generation. An important indicator of this growth has been the fact that people's average length of life has more than doubled.

During the Eighth and Ninth five-year plans (1966-1975), the most extensive social program in the country's history was implemented. The population's rising incomes, for example, are vivid evidence of this. Thus, 1.5 times as much money was directed into state measures for raising work payments, improving pension provisions and social insurance, and other measures in the Eighth Five-Year Plan as in the Seventh, and 1.7 times as much was spent in the Ninth plan in turn as in the Eighth. As a result, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan more than 75 million workers and employees, that is the overwhelming majority of working people in state enterprises, organizations and institutions, had their wages increased. Work payments for kolkhoz members were raised. Approximately 40 million people started to receive higher pensions, allowance, and grants. In the 10 years prior to the present five-year plan, per capita money incomes doubled. Meanwhile, the proportion of the population with incomes of R100 per month or more per member of family increased 8.5 times.

The draft of the new constitution quite justifiably seeks to seal in legislation the objective law, inherent in socialism and reaffirmed by the whole of the Soviet state's 60-year history, that the supreme aim of socialist social production is the fullest satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of society's members. For the first time in history, concern for the good and for the happiness of man has been elevated to a constitutional principle and confirmed as a supreme social value of the state and of society.

Relying on the growing potential of the economy of mature social socialism, and on the creative work and initiative of Soviet people, the party and the Soviet state are implementing an extensive complex of measures aimed at further increasing the people's well being. A characteristic feature of the 10th Five-Year Plan is the major increase in resources allocated by the state for these purposes. It is planned to increase the consumption fund by almost R76 billion--an increase of R12 billion higher than the increase in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Some R20 billion will be spent on developing the material base of the health services, education and culture, and R100 billion are allocated for housing and municipal construction. The implementation of the social program outlined for the 10th Five Year Plan will have a beneficial effect on the living standards of every working person and of every Soviet family.

It must also be taken into account that the significance of social consumption funds in increasing the people's prosperity, and improving the socialist way of life is increasing even further. These funds double practically every 10 years. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, the social consumption funds will total R525 billion, which is more than the sum total of the funds in the Seventh and Eighth five-year plans taken together.

Social consumption funds constitute the material foundation for the exercise of the Soviet person's most important constitutional rights. It is through them, as we know, that free education and production training, free medical help, material provision for old age and sickness, paid annual leave, and so forth, are implemented.

Thus, in the 10th Five-Year Plan more than R7 billions' worth of capital investments are allocated for the development of the material base of the health services. Big new general and specialist hospitals, polyclinics, and sanatoria are being constructed. All-union scientific medical centers are being set up in the spheres of oncology, cardiology, maternity and pediatrics, eye diseases, and others. The medical industry has to increase output, widen its range, and improve its quality. The health service organs are required to work even more effectively to implement the 25th CPSU Congress instructions about improving medical services to the population, stepping up preventive work, and introducing into practice the achievements of modern medical science.

Our successes have also been impressive in the sphere of education, and of raising the broadest masses' cultural standards--something demonstrated inter

alia by the virtual completion of the transition to universal secondary education. There are now over 90 million people in our country studying in schools and vocational and technical schools, tekhnikums, and VUZ's, and following courses for further training, and for learning new professions. The cultural life of our country, which is rightly called the most widely read country in the world, is also typified by the fact that the number of books printed increased by 340 million in the Ninth Five-Year Plan; it has now reached 1.705 billion and is still rising. There are 131,000 libraries functioning in our country, with a stock of books and journals in excess of 1,5 billion volumes.

The examples cited are a vivid illustration of the great significance of social consumption funds in the Soviet people's life. At the same time, they serve as an important source for supplementing family incomes. This is shown in the fact that a family of four receives an average of R1,470 worth of payments and allowances per year from these funds. As labor productivity and production efficiency increase, so this source of supplements to family incomes will also be augmented. This clearly demonstrates the action of the principle of socialism that society is concerned for the prosperity of each, and each is concerned for the prosperity of society.

Our society of developed socialism is resolving the housing problem in a persistent and planned way. People's vitally important right to housing, which is proclaimed in the draft of the new USSR Constitution, is insured in practice in our country and, what is more, increasingly fully insured. For a long time now we have been implementing housing construction on a scale unparalleled anywhere in the world. In the period 1966-1975 alone, more than 1 billion square meters of living space were commissioned. In the 10th Five-Year Plan a further 550 million square meters of housing will be constructed, and this will enable one citizen in every five in our country to improve his housing conditions.

Soviet people appraise on its merits the fact that new housing is now being distributed basically according to the principle that every family should have a self-contained apartment. Approximately 90 percent of the newly constructed apartments in our country are already being allocated to individual families. Another very important factor is that the appointments of apartments are improving in terms of layout, trim, and technical equipment. Moreover, rents have remained unchanged since 1928 and now constitute not more than three-fourths of 1 percent of the family budgets of workers and employees, whereas in the capitalist countries rents fluctuate between 20 and 30 percent of those budgets.

The volume of retail trade turnover is increasing steadily, albeit not to the extent we would like. It is to increase by 20 percent in the 10th Five-Year Plan, and to reach almost R270 billion in 1980. This means that in the last year of the five-year plan a family of four will be able to acquire food products and industrial goods worth an average of R4,000 whereas, for example,



in 1965 the same family was buying R1,800 worth of goods. Supplies to the population of clothing, footwear, and consumer durables are increasing. Whereas in 1965, 1 family in 10 had a refrigerator and 1 in 4 had a television, in 1980 almost nine-tenths of Soviet families will have these things at their disposal.

A fundamental feature of the social program elaborated by the 25th CPSU Congress is the improvement of the entire complex of people's living conditions. As we know, this program embraces problems of material and of housing and all living conditions, working conditions, the use of free time, leisure and rest, and the protection of the environment.

Soviet people note with satisfaction that the start of the five-year plan has been marked by a further rise in their living standards. Real incomes increased by 3.7 percent in 1976 against the previous year. State allocations for the payment of pensions, allowances, and grants were increased. The growth of production enables the sale of consumer goods to increase by 4.6 percent. Approximately 11 million people were provided with better housing conditions.

At the end of last year, as we know, an important resolution was adopted under which minimum wages for workers and employees are increased, and wage and salary rates for average-paid categories of working people employed in non-production sectors of the national economy are raised. Great importance attaches to this measure: it not only increases the prosperity of tens of millions of people, but also constitutes a new step forward in resolving the social task of equalizing the living standards of different strata of the working people. This measure is also bound to help improve cultural and consumer services to the entire population since it provides for increased work incentives for a substantial section of working people in that sphere.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are taking the necessary steps to insure that, as the working people's incomes increase, the growing demand for goods and services is at the same time met more fully. The party takes account of the shortcomings existing here, and attaches particular importance to the decisive improvement of the whole sphere of consumer goods production. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has called this problem extremely important and of truly program significance in both social and economic respects.

Proceeding on this basis, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have this year adopted a resolution on developing the production and raising the quality of consumer goods. Targets were fixed for USSR ministries and departments, and for union republic councils of ministers for increasing the production and expanding the range of these goods. The output of high-quality products in heightened demand among the population is to be increased especially substantially.

It is well known how important it is to insure that goods actually reach the mass consumer. A recently adopted CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution defines ways and means of improving trade. Approximately R3 billion is allocated for its development in the 10th Five-Year Plan. The trade network will be considerably expanded, and many new stores and public catering enterprises will appear. Simultaneously, the entire system of consumer goods storage and supply will be developed: stores, warehouses and refrigerators, and packaging and transportation facilities. Every effort must be made to insure that the task set--of improving the organization of trade and substantially improving the entire sphere of services to the population--is implemented.

## II.

The objective foundation for the people's rising prosperity and for the improvement of the entire socialist way of life is the development of social production, increasing production efficiency, and improving work quality. When striving to insure the consistent implementation of its program tasks, the party concentrates its main attention and efforts on the sphere of the economy. Soviet people fully approve and unanimously support the CPSU's economic policy, which is characterized by a profoundly scientific approach, realism, and the combined resolution of immediate and longer-term tasks in communist building.

Our dynamically developing economy needs more and more machines and equipment, metal and fuel, electric power, and various products of chemistry. So it is easy to understand the importance which is still attached to the development of heavy industry. Successes in these sectors, including machine building, determine to a tremendous degree the pace at which the achievements of science are assimilated, all sectors of the national economy are reequipped, and social labor productivity increases.

It is important to be persistent and energetic in improving industry's work. It is all the more essential to stress this since major reserves for accelerating progress were revealed during the first 18 months of the five-year plan.

This relates primarily to commissioning and starting up production capacities on time so that all sectors of industry and all enterprises and associations are operating at full capacity throughout the year, and do not try to put off the greater part of the year's work--as often does happen--to the latter quarters. It is also important to try to insure that all enterprises without exception fulfill their output production plans in terms of the full product list and range.

The successful resolution of these problems, which is mainly dependent on good organization and efficiency in the work of enterprises and associations, ministries and departments, could produce a tremendous saving in the national economy. At the same time, it will enable efforts to be concentrated on the basic problems of production development related to its qualitative improvement, and to increasing efficiency.

The 25th CPSU Congress decisions and subsequent party documents point out that we can only achieve the successful resolution of the economic and social tasks confronting the country by following the path of constantly increasing the efficiency of all social production. Only by following this path can we develop our national economy at a rapid pace, strengthen the country's defense capability and at the same time allocate more resources to increasing the prosperity of Soviet people. In all sectors and at all levels of the national economy, we must struggle in a persistent and business-like way to attain the targets in terms of increasing efficiency and quality which are outlined by the five-year plan. The essential task, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, is to "learn to struggle more efficiently to raise efficiency."

Quite clearly, the overall policy of raising production efficiency and output quality is implemented in different sectors of economic building, taking into account the specific nature and particular operating conditions of the individual sectors and particular elements of our economy. Accordingly, the party Central Committee has identified the decisive sectors of work and the key problems which demand the unremitting attention of party, soviet, and economic organs,

One of these problems is capital construction. We should note that a considerable increase in efficiency in this sphere is envisaged in the 10th Five-Year Plan. In the last five-year plan, capital investments rose faster than the national income. But in this plan, bearing in mind the provision for increased return on capital investments, the rates fixed for the growth of investments are equal to the national income growth rates.

Among the major trends in the intensification of capital construction we ought to point out first and foremost the need to improve its comprehensive planning, especially in terms of planning the fulfillment of construction work on each individual project under construction. Mistakes in planning, and violations of state discipline, frequently lead to a situation in which construction collectives fulfill a plan for expenditure on construction, and yet new projects are not surrendered on time. Local party organs, and enterprise and construction organization collectives, must direct their attention toward reducing construction times and speeding up the commissioning and starting up of production capacities.

As a result of the steps taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the government in compiling the 10th Five-Year Plan, capital investments are now being directed primarily into technical reequipment and modernization of existing enterprises. This is of great importance since it enables unit expenditures to be reduced, construction times to be shortened, and a faster return to be obtained. Experience in modernizing a number of enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, and the Central Urals shows that units capital investment was 1.5-2 times less than in the case of new construction.

Only by concentrating investments on the most important projects, speeding up their rate of construction and reducing the amount of unfinished construction will it be possible to increase the rate of commissioning of fixed capital by almost 40 percent in this five-year period despite having a capital expenditure growth rate lower than in the last five-year plan. This policy aim demands that local party and economic organs and labor collectives devote special attention to questions of modernization and construction. There is hardly any need to prove that success in this sphere is ultimately decided at the local level, and depends on the organization and activeness of the working people's collectives and the militancy of the party organizations.

Progressive forms and methods of work must be more extensively introduced, a daily struggle must be waged against manpower fluctuation, losses of working time and of materials on construction sites, and idle time on mechanical equipment and machinery, and the quality of construction and installation work and finishing must be substantially raised.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan we have to insure a further boost for metallurgy, a qualitative improvement in the structure of metal industry output, and an expansion of the output range. Ways of comprehensively resolving the major problems in the development of metal production are defined in the recently adopted party Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On measures for the further development of ferrous metallurgy in accordance with the 25th CPSU Congress decisions." The resolution envisages increasing the output of economical types of rolled metal and piping, an improvement in their quality, and increased efficiency in the sector's work on the basis of comprehensive and balanced development of all subsectors of ferrous metallurgy, especially its raw materials base, improved production organization, faster construction of projects, and startup of newly commissioned capacities, scientific and technical progress, and wider use of leading domestic and foreign experience. The outlined measures are bound to insure fuller satisfaction of the national economy's requirements in terms of ferrous metals, and the creation of the necessary preconditions for the successful development of this major sector of our industry beyond the 10th Five-Year Plan.

I should also like to touch on the questions of strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture, since the growth of efficiency throughout our national economy depends fundamentally on the state of affairs here. Over R170 billion are to be invested in this sphere of the national economy in the 10th Five-Year Plan. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev observed at the CPSU Central Committee October (1976) Plenum, this vast sum has not been easy to find, and we have had to cut back to some degree on the requirements of other sectors of the national economy; but the party took this step consciously because there is currently no task more vital than raising the agrarian sector of our economy to the level of the most modern industrial standards.

We can note with satisfaction that in the 18 months of the five-year plan which have elapsed, 540,000 tractors, 145,000 grain harvesting combines, and approximately 400,000 trucks and specialized vehicles have been supplied

to agriculture. Work on creating and starting up production of radically new equipment, complexes and fully complete systems of machinery needed for the reequipping of agricultural production, is being performed on a broad front.

For the first time in world practice, higher-speed machines have begun to be used in the USSR for basic operations in crop farming. The large-engined K-701, T-150, Belarus/MTZ-80, and other tractors have been created for this purpose. The production of these tractors is being increased more than fourfold in the 10th Five-Year Plan compared with the Ninth. As a result, the average capacity of tractors being produced will increase 1.2 times by the end of the five-year plan. The Volgograd tractor builders have created a 170-horsepower plowing tractor and are now preparing to go over to series production.

The main merit of large-engined tractors is high productivity. For example, where in the past it was necessary to use two or three ordinary plowing tractors, one K-701 is now sufficient. The use of the large-engined all-purpose cultivator tractors now being developed for production starting in the next five-year plan will be of great significance for agriculture.

Expanding the production of larger-engined tractors, especially plowing tractors, confronts the machine builders with a number of new tasks. There are plans to construct a big motor plant to produce motors of 170-horsepower capacity or more, and with high technical and economic parameters. Research and development work is in progress in the motor-building sphere aimed at raising the economy, power output, and reliability of tractor and combine motors.

The emergence in agriculture of fast, powerful tractors requires fundamental amendments in the development of the production of the complex of functional trailer and tractor-mounted machines and tools. In this connection, the modernization of many agricultural machine-building enterprises has been speeded up. Design offices and enterprises are required to close the "gaps" in this complex as rapidly as possible so that machine and tractor units of high capacity and productivity can be delivered to the farms in the fullest possible form.

Much attention is currently being devoted to equipping the entire harvesting conveyer with advanced equipment. In the last five-year period, a transfer was effected to the production of the Sibiryak, Niva, and Kolos grain harvesting combines, whose productivity is 1.3-2 times higher than the combines of the 1960's. By the end of the five-year plan, capacities will have been created at the "Rostselmash," Taganrog, and Krasnoyarsk combine plants designed for an annual output of 125,000 of these tractors.

It should be noted that major steps have also been taken in the progressive sphere of agricultural mechanization which consists in the development of self-propelled equipment for harvesting beets, corn, potatoes, and fodder.

The newly created KSK-100 combine is achieving a productivity of up to 199 tons per hour in harvesting a number of fodder crops, which is 3-4 times higher than the trailer machines currently in service on the farms. Hence it is clear what great significance attaches to equipment like the KSK-100 in terms of resolving the task of increasing fodder resources. It is incumbent on the machine-building enterprises to give the "green light" to the production of this kind of equipment.

The tremendous potential of new agricultural equipment opens up broad prospects for the further development of production specialization and concentration, for the improvement of land use, and for obtaining greater effect from the use of fertilizers. Another important factor is that technical progress will help to accelerate the process of changing agricultural work into a variety of industrial work.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress is of key significance for our entire economy and for increasing its efficiency. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, as we know, provision is made for closer links with science in all sections of the state plan for national economic development. The five-year plan provides both for the further development of fundamental scientific research, and for the resolution of applied problems linked directly with production. For the first time, the five-year plan sets specific targets for ministries and departments for raising the technical standards of production, and they must strive to insure that these targets are unswervingly fulfilled.

It must be said that technical progress is gathering speed in the national economy. In the first 18 months of the five-year plan, more than 4,000 types of products have been assimilated and started in production. They include a constant-flow steel smelting installation and converter with a capacity of 350-400 tons, a 10,000 ton-force hydraulic drop-forge press, and new technological lines for producing high-stress polyethylene, with a capacity of 18,000 tons per year.

The struggle for scientific and technical progress is above all a struggle for high output quality in every sector and at every enterprise. In the present five-year plan, there has been even more extensive development of the movement of labor collectives struggling to win the state mark of quality for their output. This is very pleasing, of course. But there are still fundamental shortcomings here. Sometimes a metallurgical plant leadership, for example, can report that a substantial number of its products have won the quality mark, but the list does not include the plant's main types of output, notably its rolled metal. There are also leaders who try to "struggle" much more actively for the mark of quality than for quality itself.

Obviously, all output and not just certain types must meet modern requirements and the consumer's growing needs.

The machine builders are required to resolve major and crucial tasks. The most characteristic trend in the development of machine building at the contemporary stage consists in increasing the unit capacities and the productivity of equipment, and in assimilating machines and units equipped with efficient control and regulating facilities which are capable of producing profound qualitative changes in production. For example, power blocks with unit capacities of 1 million kilowatts each have been created and are now in service at a number of nuclear power stations.

In the development of nuclear power in general, it should be said, fundamental changes have been made in recent years. The construction of the Chernobyl, Smolensk, Kalinin, Rovno, South Ukraine, and other AES's with capacities of 2 million kilowatts-plus each is in progress.

The accelerated development of the nuclear power industry is one of the main directions being followed in the rational balancing out of fuel and power resources, especially in the European part of the USSR. In addition, already the modern AES's enable the cost of electric power to be reduced by more than 16 percent compared with power stations operating on organic fuel. In the future they will be even more economically viable, on the one hand because they are constantly being improved, and on the other--and this is very important--because traditional types of fuel are becoming more expensive since deposits of oil, gas, and coal, which are not easily accessible are having to be worked on an increasing scale, and moreover in regions remote from the centers of consumption.

In addition to developing nuclear power, a policy has been adopted of constructing very big thermal power stations with capacities of 4 million kilowatts-plus based on the Ekibastuz and Kansk-Achinsk coalfields. It is also planned to erect a direct-current power transmission line between Ekibastuz and the center of the country to carry 1.5 million volts; it will be possible to use this line to transfer tens of billions of kilowatt-hours of electricity to the European part of the country annually.

The successful introduction of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution into the national economy is being insured to a substantial degree by the development of new organizational forms of integrating science and production. A big role is played here by production, and science and production associations, within which science and practice are closely linked together. Effective forms are developed for creative cooperation between fundamental science and production. The successes achieved in this sphere by the scientists of Moscow, the Ukraine, the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and a number of other scientific centers are well known. Their experience has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee and should be studied, improved, and disseminated.

Soviet scientists are making a substantial contribution to the cause of communist building, taking an active part in resolving the tasks advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress. The party shows tireless concern for the

development of fundamental research conducted within the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences--the general headquarters of our country's science and a major center of world science. As Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has observed, "The party places a high value on the academy's activity and will enhance its role as the center of theoretical research and the coordinator of all scientific work in the country."

As we know, the 25th congress stressed that the practical introduction of new scientific ideas is nowadays just as urgent a task as the original development. Both science itself and all levels of management, and all the subdivisions of social production--state committees, ministries, associations and enterprises--are required to play an active role here.

Despite our undoubted successes in applying the achievements of science and technology in the national economy, we cannot say that we have succeeded in creating an organizational machinery which contributes to the utmost to the speediest passage of new scientific ideas along the whole chain from discovery or invention to widespread practical use. The national economy often receives from scientific institutions inadequately substantiated technical and economic recommendations; sometimes ministries and enterprises show too little reaction to the scientists' proposals.

Active searching is underway in the country for the most expedient ways of accelerating the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress into all sectors of the national economy. In this connection, we can note the creation in a number of sectors of a unified science and technology development fund, which is used for scientific research, planning and design, technological and experimental work, and for covering increased expenditure during the startup of new equipment and the launching of new types of production. Material incentives for scientific institutions, especially sectorial institutions, have been made dependent on the results of the use of their developments in the national economy. This system of organizing the work of scientific research institutions is already being used by the ministries of the electrical engineering industry, heavy machine building, the chemical industry, and tractor and agricultural machine building.

There are many other proposals worthy of close attention and of extensive experimental proving. Planning organs, ministries, associations, enterprises, institutions, and design offices must do everything in their power to insure that the measures for improving the machinery for introducing scientific and technical achievements produce results as rapidly as possible.

In improving planning, great importance belongs to the practice of elaborating comprehensive programs uniting the efforts of various subdivisions of the national economy in decisive sectors. For the 10th Five-Year Plan period, for the first time targeted programs for resolving many scientific and technical problems have been compiled and are being compiled in many sectors. This practice contains great potential, not only for expanding



scientific and technical potential, but also for increasing the return on that potential.

The successes achieved in accelerating scientific and technical progress will be all the greater the more fully all participants in social production are involved in this problem. The initiatives of the Moscow working people, struggling for technical progress under the mottos "High Quality and Efficient Research Work for the 10th Five-Year Plan," and "Engineer's Support for Workers' Initiative," deserve wide dissemination. The scientific and technical societies must be expected to play a big role in this.

In the technical renewal of the national economy, and the strengthening of the alliance between science and production, a great role belongs to the working class--the leading force in communist building. Its numbers exceed 70 million. The workers' standards of education and training are constantly rising. In the 1976-1977 academic year alone, more than 34 million people learned new professions or increased their training in enterprises, institutions, organizations, or kolkhozes, or were involved in other types of training. In the current five-year plan the system of vocational and technical education alone will train 10.7 million qualified workers.

Since we have now mainly completed the transfer to universal secondary education, the working class is increasingly composed of people possessing secondary education. Thus its constructive, creative potential is increasing even further. Workers must be even more actively drawn into the rationalizers and inventors movement, and infused with a sense of innovation and intolerance toward technical conservatism. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress is a reliable means of successfully implementing our plans for creating the material and technical base of communism.

The party is also working persistently on resolving the key task of further improving management and planning. This is an objective demand of life, caused by the increasing scale of production, the further complication of intrasectorial and intersectorial links, and the rapid development of science and technology.

It is well known that in recent years the process of production concentration has been developing intensively in industry. We have elaborated and are introducing 25 general plans for the management of sectors, which are intended to reduce the number of managerial levels, create a network of industrial and production associations, and deepen production specialization and concentration. As of now, there are more than 3,500 production or science and production associations functioning in industry, and they account for 41 percent of the total volume of output sold.

Simultaneously the enlargement of construction organizations is in progress. Interfarm enterprises, organizations, and associations are developing in agriculture; there were 7,000 of them by the beginning of 1977.

In the sphere of improving planning, the party sees the task as being to insure that clear machinery is elaborated to insure the fuller balancing of national economic plans, the formation of the necessary reserves, and the achievement of high final results in production activity by associations and enterprises.

Our planning and economic organs are doing a lot of work, including extensive experimental work, with the aim of elaborating more objective indicators for appraising the results of industrial enterprises' economic performance and real contribution to the production of the social product, and also a system of economic incentives. For example, a transfer is underway to the appraisal of enterprises' economic performance according to their results in fulfilling economic contracts and schedule-orders. This will help to improve the substantiation of plans as they are fixed and to strengthen production discipline, including discipline in relation to the fulfillment of orders, and moreover in terms of the required products list and range.

As in industry, in capital construction collectives' performance has started to be appraised more and more widely on the basis of the material values and end results actually produced, that is, in terms of the commissioning of production capacities, housing our cultural and consumer projects, and not only in volume terms.

The CPSU Central Committee report to the 25th party congress pointed out that we must regard measures for improving the leadership of the economy as a major reserve whose utilization will aid the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

### III.

A major task confronting all sectors of the national economy is that of accelerating social labor productivity growth. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, 90 percent of the increase in industrial production, and the whole increase in agricultural output, and in the volume of construction and installation work, has to be obtained by means of this factor. It is planned to increase labor productivity by 25 percent in the course of the five-year plan, which is equivalent to saving the labor of approximately 26 million working people.

The task of sharply increasing labor productivity becomes especially urgent in the light of the exacerbation of the manpower problem. The national economy's manpower requirements are constantly increasing. In recent times, we have been commissioning approximately 300 new large enterprises every year in industry alone, and the number of workers and employees in this sector increases by approximately 500,000 annually. Clearly, then, the existing enterprises must insure right now that as a rule they increase their production volumes using the same or even a smaller number of working people.

Under these conditions, it is essential to mobilize all sources for increasing labor productivity. The mechanization of manual work, above all in auxiliary production processes, in loading and unloading and warehousing operations, and in repair work, assumes particular significance here.

Specific measures have been outlined in the 10th Five-Year Plan for the gradual elimination of manual work, especially heavy and unattractive work. The production of facilities for mechanizing labor-intensive and heavy construction, lifting and transporting, loading and unloading, and warehousing operations is to be doubled. Substantial capital investments have been allocated for expanding this production. At the same time, much here depends on the enterprises and associations themselves, which have at their disposal considerable potential for reducing manual work. This means using money from the production development funds and bank credits, and also producing in enterprises' repair shops so-called minor mechanization facilities. The party and trade union organizations must take this important matter under their control since what is involved is not only a major national economic problem, but also the improvement and easing of workers' working conditions.

At a time when what is needed is a steadfast policy of production intensification, such shortcomings as wasting working time, violating labor discipline, and cadre fluctuation are especially intolerable. Because of the scale and complexity of modern production, savings in working time assume particular importance. Nowadays, even one idle machine tool or one undisciplined worker can cause large numbers of people, or a whole complex of equipment, to be left idle. Slackness and different kinds of violations of the working rhythm can have a negative effect, not only on the performance of the collectives where such things occur, but also, ultimately, on the results of the work of linked elements and can cause damage to the national economy as a whole.

"It is necessary," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the CPSU Central Committee May Plenum, "for every person to realize clearly that the main guarantee of his rights is ultimately the strength and prosperity of his homeland. And for this to happen, every citizen must be aware of his responsibility to society, and must conscientiously discharge his duty to the state and to the people."

An important element in efficiency is the reduction of unit expenditure of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and power. The 10th Five-Year Plan lays down tight targets for saving resources. Thus, in 1980 as compared with 1975, we have to save 9 million tons of rolled ferrous metal, 50 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, 35 million tons of boiler and furnace fuel, 5.5 million tons of gasoline for motor vehicles, and large quantities of other types of raw materials and supplies. The reduction in materials-intensiveness in the social product outlined by the plan for 1980 will produce a saving of approximately R8 billion across the national economy. "No matter how wealthy our society becomes, the strictest economy and thrift remain a major condition of the development of the national economy, and of increased prosperity for the people" was the way Comrade L. I. Brezhnev put the problem at the 25th party congress.

Ways of resolving the tasks connected with the rational utilization of material resources were clearly defined by the congress and concretized by

by the CPSU Central Committee October (1976) Plenum. The first of these consists in sharply increasing the efficiency of such basic sectors of the national economy as the extracting industry, the power industry, and metallurgy. This involves, in particular, the fuller extraction of all useful components contained in raw materials, the comprehensive utilization of raw materials at all stages of processing, and the expansion of the range and improvement of the quality of finished output.

There is tremendous potential for meeting the national economy's requirements in terms of raw materials and fuel more fully in--and this is the second way--improving their utilization in the consumer enterprises. Substantial savings of metal can be made through the use of improved processing technology, by lightening machine structures, by decisively reducing waste and spoilage, and by introducing high-quality, economically efficient metal substitutes widely into production. In the light of the substantial increase in the country's stock of metal, the question of protecting metal against corrosion assumes a tremendous economic importance. Specialists calculate that corrosion damage in the national economy costs billions of rubles annually.

A complex of measures aimed at the efficient use of metal is defined in the Central Committee resolution, adopted at the end of 1976, "On the Chelyabinsk party obkom's organizational and political work on saving ferrous metals at the oblast's enterprises and construction sites in the light of the 25th CPSU Congress demands." This resolution must be a guide to action for all those producing and using in production what is the main construction material for metallurgy workers, construction workers and machine builders.

All this shows that the struggle to raise efficiency and quality and to insure the rational use of material resources must become an integral part of all economic activity. It also means that every working person and every labor collective must strive for the very highest labor productivity, must strictly observe production discipline and the regimen of thrift, and must daily improve their work and the quality of the output produced.

It means, further, that it is incumbent on every leader and specialist in the national economy to master the Leninist style of work and the Leninist science of management and must establish modern methods of planning and production organization. They must introduce more extensively and vigorously such systems of production organization of proven efficiency as the team contract method, the Shchekino method, the integral process team method, and others.

It means, finally, that every communist and every party organization must do everything possible to encourage and spread functional and useful initiatives and be resolute in eliminating everything which hinders the development of creative thinking, innovation, or our progress in general. It is the duty of party committees and organizations to insure that Soviet people's labor activeness continues to grow and that lively participation by them in resolving fundamental economic problems is increasingly stepped up.

The further development of socialist competition demands particular attention. The main tasks of competition at the present stage are defined in the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and All-union Komsomol Central Committee resolution "On the All-Union Socialist Competition To Raise Production Efficiency and Work Quality and To Fulfill Successfully the 10th Five-Year Plan Targets." The party believes that in our time the main content of the competition must be determined by a policy aimed at intensive methods of economic activity and at raising the efficiency and quality of work in all sectors of the economy. And the initiatives which merit the most vigorous support and dissemination are those which aim directly at achieving these purposes.

Workers relays, counterplans, multiprofessionists' mass contracts, creative cooperation between scientific and production workers, team financial autonomy, individual and collective plans for raising labor productivity, specialists' creative plans, individual savings records, the mentor system--this is by no means a complete list of the undertakings engendered in recent years by the initiative of working people. Thus the role of competition is increasing in the achievement of high final results in production.

The main point in organizing competition is to make the leading workers' experience the achievement of all. Its success is determined, as we know, not by individual records, even if they are very high, but by common progress. This is the meaning of socialist competition. Supporting what is new and advanced means not only approving of it but learning thoroughly about the essence of an innovation, determining its economic effect, and involving the masses in conscious participation in its implementation.

Our country's successes in communist building constitute the reliable foundation of the Soviet Union's active, peace-loving foreign policy.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution includes a special chapter summing up the Soviet state's 60 years of international experience and defining its long-term policy line. This Leninist strategic policy line, elevated to a constitutional principle for the first time, is aimed at insuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, at strengthening the positions of world socialism, at support for the peoples' struggle for national liberation and social progress, at preventing aggressive wars, and at consistent implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. Indissolubly united with these lofty ideas is the peace program elaborated by the 24th CPSU Congress and its continuation and development--the program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, and for freedom and independence for the peoples advanced by the 25th party congress.

The CPSU's foreign policy program has met with wholehearted support both in our country and abroad. The efforts of the party and the Soviet state, the active, coordinated policy of the socialist community countries, the latter's

strengthening alliance with all fighters for the peoples' freedom and for social progress and their businesslike cooperation with peace-loving circles in the capitalist countries are producing positive results.

The full implementation of the program of further struggle for peace, however, is no easy task. There are many enemies of detente in the world. Stubborn, protracted efforts are needed to consolidate peace and the peoples' security.

And this is not only the concern of politicians and diplomats. As L. I. Brezhnev said at his meeting with the ZIL plant collective, "This is the concern of the entire party and of all the Soviet people." Every Soviet person takes part in the implementation of our great homeland's foreign policy simply by working at his machine tool, on his combine or tractor, in his scientific laboratory or design office. "And if we have succeeded in averting the danger of war, and if our country's international position is now stronger than ever," Leonid Il'ich went on, "that is because our country has tremendous moral and political prestige and economic and military strength which have been created by the labor of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia. This labor earns the wholehearted gratitude both of the socialist homeland and of all progressive mankind."

Our people are greeting the Soviet state's glorious jubilee with a sense of legitimate pride in the fact that, for 60 years now, they have been the active creators of a new life across one-sixth of the planet, thus exerting tremendous influence on the entire course of world history.

The successes achieved by our country in all sectors of communist building are rightly linked by Soviet people to the activity of the Leninist party. The historic path traveled by the land of the Soviets since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution demonstrates convincingly that the CPSU is honorably discharging its great mission as the ideological inspirer, political leader and organizer of the working class and all the working people.

There is no doubt that the plans outlined by the party and by its 25th congress will be successfully fulfilled or that our socialist homeland will take another major step forward in the 10th Five-Year Plan toward the communist future. We draw this confidence from the unbreakable unity of the party and the people, from the Soviet people's cohesion around the CPSU Central Committee and from their unquestioning devotion to Lenin's cause and to the ideals of communism.

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## GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

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[Article based on materials of a theoretical conference in Prague]

[Text] The international circumstances in the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution are characterized by the intensification of the ideological and political struggle between the forces of reaction and war and of progress and peace. This struggle is developing around the most important problems affecting the basic interests of the working people, the nations, and the fate of mankind. On the question of the attitude toward the experience and the ideological heritage of the October Revolution history becomes most closely interwoven with the present and with the topical problems which affect today tens of millions of people on earth--the problems of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. That is why the growing interest in anything related to the October Revolution anniversary in literally all parts of the globe is entirely understandable. Hence the aspiration to interpret better the universal significance of the October Revolution in the light of present-day tasks. This desire also imbued the international scientific-theoretical conference on "The Great October and the Contemporary World," held in Prague toward the end of June, under the sponsorship of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA.

The conference had a broad and representative nature. It included the participation of leading figures from 67 communist and workers' parties and 10 revolutionary-democratic organizations and movements. Delegates of 7 parties were headed by Central Committee first secretaries or deputy first secretaries; 25 party delegations were headed by Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries.

A broad range of problems was discussed at the conference. Naturally, an exhaustive idea of the content and wealth of expressed ideas could be gained only by publication of all its materials in full, something the conference organizers intend to do. The present article provides a short survey of the most important problems touched upon in the speeches of its participants.

I

The thought that the October Revolution marked a radical turn in the history of human civilization was the tenor of the conference.

"The Great October," said B. N. Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, and CPSU Central Committee secretary, head of the CPSU delegation, in his address, "laid the beginning of a radical turn in world history. Mankind entered a new epoch--the epoch of the elimination of capitalism and of the liberation of the peoples from all types of oppression and their transition to socialism." The most important feature of the historical changes triggered by the October Revolution, he noted, was the unification between the world's revolutionary movement and Marxism-Leninism and the practical activities of the communist parties. The victory of the proletarian revolution made it possible to implement the age-old dream of the working people of a society without exploitation and oppression. It was proved for the first time that such victory is possible, and that the working class and working people can seize the power and administer society without bourgeoisie and landlords, and that the new social system, meeting the interests of the working people, was not utopia or an invention of desk-bound dreamers but could be created through the will and efforts of millions of people guided by a revolutionary party of a new, a Leninist type.

"The Great October Socialist Revolution," said A. Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, "was the first revolution not reduced to changing the type of social form of exploitation or to substituting one class oppression with another, but which destroyed the very foundation of exploitation and created a new socioeconomic organization of society whose very nature excluded social oppression."

The speakers spoke of the tremendous direct impact which the October Revolution immediately had on political circumstances and on the living and working conditions of the working people in other countries. Representatives of the communist parties of Bulgaria, Greece, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, the United States, Italy, Columbia, Portugal, Finland, and others recalled the powerful response triggered by the news of the victory of the proletariat in Russia, and the way it inspired workers and peasants to engage in decisive revolutionary actions, the way it helped lead the masses to the struggle against imperialism and war, stimulate the international unification of the working people, and create universal interest in Lenin's ideas.

The inspired words of the "ten days which shook the world" were not simply a vivid image. The establishment of the Soviet system in Russia and its brilliant victory over a crowd of enemies truly shook up the minds of its contemporaries and exerted the strongest possible practical influence on the entire international situation.



"The victory of the October Revolution opened new prospects to mankind," noted R. Frelek, secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee. "Formulated in the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, thanks to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and thanks to the Bolshevik Party, the objective of the proletarian class struggle--the seizure of power and its exercise in the interest of the broadest possible social strata--converted from the realm of theory to that of practice; the new socioeconomic system became a fact. The events of October 1917 were the impetus, the incentive for the offensive of the progressive forces the world over. To this day they remain and will always remain the guiding star of social progress."

The international significance of the October Revolution consists not only of the fact that it opened a wide breach in the imperialist system and not only of the fact that it gave an impulse to the revolutionary-liberation movements in other countries. It proved the accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the socialist revolution and brought to life factual sociopolitical forces capable of developing and intensifying the world's revolutionary process in all directions. Communist parties--a qualitatively new force in the international workers' movement--began to appear under its direct influence. It was under its influence that the establishment of revolutionary-democratic currents and organizations in colonial and dependent countries was accelerated. These young progressive forces, different in nature but identical in their anti-imperialist direction, gained their own dynamics and sunk deep roots in the masses, in national reality. As they grew and strengthened, with each passing decade, the potential of the influence of the October Revolution on the course of worldwide developments grew as well.

The October Revolution, the participants in the conference pointed out, laid the beginning of a process which is continuing to this day, reaching a level characterized by the conversion of socialism into the decisive factor of contemporary progress. The basic and main directions of this growing influence of the October Revolution on worldwide development were discussed in detail in the speeches.

They include, above all, the influence of the October Revolution on the problems of war and peace. The Russian revolution won under the banner of peace among the peoples. The Soviet system gave the peoples the example of how to put an end to imperialist wars. For the first time in history the ideas of peace and peaceful coexistence were proclaimed the guiding principle of the foreign policy of a huge state covering a large part of the globe. The significance of this fact to the entire global politics could not be overestimated.

The representatives of the fraternal parties especially noted that it was precisely thanks to socialism, created by the October Revolution, that the possibility arose of excluding a world war from the life of society and establishing in international relations the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, based on recognition of the sovereignty and equality of all states, true independence, noninterference in domestic affairs, and equal and mutually profitable cooperation.

"For the first time in the history of mankind," said F. Cohen, representing the French Communist Party, "a social system exists in which the ruling classes are interested in maintaining the peace and developing international cooperation on the basis of equality, and in the establishment of realtions in which there is no place for exploitation or conquest. This socialist system, in which the power is in the hands of the working people, now has the material and moral strength which enables it to assert its principles. This contains the possibility for peaceful coexistence in which all nations are interested and for which they all struggle."

Many participants in the conference pointed out the direct continuity between Lenin's Decree on Peace--the first decree of the Soviet system--and the Peace Program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress and the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress. The cause of peace, they noted, is based on the growing power of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries who, allied with all peace-loving forces on earth, can erect a powerful barrier to the aggressive policy of imperialism whose nature remains unchanged.

Furthermore, the influence of the October Revolution was manifested in the fact that it radically changed for the better the international circumstances of the struggle for socialism in all countries. It laid the beginning of a process which brought about a change in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism and to the detriment of imperialism. This broadened possibilities for the accomplishment of profound social changes, including changes which assumed forms previously impossible or unlikely.

"The establishment of the first state of workers and peasants in the world and the successes it achieved within a short historical time in economic construction and in the development of culture, science, and technology," said Maria da Piedad Morgadinhe, member of the Communist Party of Portugal Central Committee, "created an entirely new situation in the world characterized by a ratio of forces favorable to the struggle waged by the peoples for social progress and socialism. This made even more obvious the international significance of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union became the property of all peoples on earth aspiring toward a more just society."

"The other socialist revolutions of the century," said P. Spriano, member of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee, "the Chinese revolution above all, would not have taken place; such powerful and strong appearances of 'new' peoples and independent countries, and entire 'rising' continents would not have existed without the way opened by the Soviet workers, soldiers, and peasants during those decisive days of 60 years ago, without the creation and development of the USSR."

The delegates to the conference noted that now, when socialism has already won in more than a single country its revolutionizing influence has broadened. Each member of the socialist comity and all of them together are making their contribution to this influence. Pointing out that the influence of the Soviet Union

on the development of world events has been considerable in the past as well, C. Anavitarte, representative of the Peruvian Communist Party, emphasized that presently "its influence, together with the influence of the socialist comity, is quite high and has a decisive significance to our epoch."

Thanks to the October Revolution and the permanent "presence" of factual socialism, the positions of the organized workers' movement in its confrontation with capital and the monopolies, have strengthened greatly. The birth, victory, consolidation, and progress of the new system, free from the capitalist exploitation of man by man, delegates to the conference noted, totally changed the conditions of the class struggle. This enabled the working class in the capitalist countries to defend its immediate vital rights and interests more effectively, and to raise, steadily intensify, and broaden new demands. In the past 60 years the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries achieved major successes both in terms of improving their material position and in the field of democratic rights and freedoms.

"On the basis of the struggle taking place in recent years in the capitalist countries," said E. Kauppila, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Finland Central Committee, "it is possible to draw the important conclusion that the possibilities of the struggle waged by the working class and the democratic forces have greatly increased even in a period of profound economic stagnation and serious crises. It has become possible not only to counter the desire of monopoly capitalism to shift the entire burden of the crises on the shoulders of the working people, but to achieve new successes favoring the toiling population strata even under the conditions of an economic crisis."

"We must particularly stress," said L. Muller, German Communist Party Presidium member and board secretary, "the exceptional importance to the struggle against national and international monopolies of the existence of an economically, politically, and militarily strong socialist camp. Its very existence substantially narrows the economic and political operational possibilities of national and international concerns."

Today ever-more prerequisites are developing in a number of capitalist countries for the unification of all democratic currents in a political alliance around the working class, an alliance which could decisively curtail the role of the monopolies in the economy, put an end to the power of big capital and, relying on achieved accomplishments, implement the type of radical changes which would represent progress toward socialism. As F. Hexmann, representative of the Austrian Communist Party, noted, under such circumstances the accurate orientation of communist strategy toward the utilization of the new opportunities in the struggle against monopoly rule assumes particular significance.

The tremendous historical successes of the national liberation struggle of the peoples are directly related to the October Revolution. According to S. Mitra, member of the Communist Party of India National Council, "the

deliverance from colonial dependence of millions of people who lived in the vast outlying areas of the Russian empire, on the basis of the Leninist principle of the right to self-determination, acted on all the peoples of Asia and Africa fighting for national liberation like an electric spark." In the final account, this struggle brought about the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system and the appearance of tens of young national states on the map of the world.

The Soviet Union and the socialist comity have invariably acted as the reliable friends and allies of the peoples of the so-called Third World in their struggle for national independence, economic liberation, and social progress. In this connection M. D. Menendez, representative of the Communist Party of Cuba, cited the following statement by F. Castro: "Unquestionably, we trust Lenin's homeland, because for over half a century the Russian revolution has proved its loyalty to the principles and supports a firm line in its foreign policy. It proved this not only in Cuba but in Vietnam, the Middle East, the Portuguese colonies which fought for their independence, in Chile, Cyprus, Yemen, Angola, and in all other parts of the world wherever the national-liberation movement is pitted against colonialism and imperialism."

This topic was discussed by many other speakers and, above all, by representatives of communist parties and revolutionary-democratic organizations of Asian, African, and Latin American countries. They pointed out that their peoples are understanding ever better the significance of an alliance with the forces of existing socialism. "The call for an alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries is no longer a slogan for which communists alone are fighting," said Abd-al-Razzak as-Safi, member of the Iraqi Communist Party Central Committee Politburo. "The progressive patriots and the broadest possible circles of the toiling people are rallying around this slogan. It has become the official policy of a considerable number of progressive national governments and has been embodied in international treaties."

The October Revolution and the socialist society which appeared as the result of its victory had a profound influence on imperialism and the capitalist system. The general crisis of capitalism which began in connection with World War I is continuing to deepen. The increased power of socialism, the elimination of colonial systems, and the pressure of the workers' movement are influencing to an ever-greater extent the internal processes and policies of imperialism. This forces the imperialist circles to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems. Such an adaptation takes different forms. They include an intensification of the economic role of the state, the ever-closer intertwining of the monopoly apparatus and that of the state within a single mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism, the development of international state-monopoly integration, and so on. "Naturally," said G. Pittman, representative of the delegation of the U.S. Communist Party, "we know that the development of state-monopoly capitalism strengthens the capitalist

positions in the class struggle and that this is precisely the basic reason for such a development. However, the development of state-monopoly relations also means the aggravation of the basic contradiction inherent in capitalism between the social nature of labor and the private acquisition of its results. It also means the broad socialization of production and labor and the growth in the numerical strength and organization of the working class."

Summing up all directions in which the October Revolution influenced world-wide processes, we could say with A. Mosquera, member of the Columbian Communist Party Central Committee, that "without the October Revolution the contemporary world would have been different and the destinies of mankind and the main trends of social development which now promise a better future to the population on earth and, above all, to the toiling majority, would have been different." "The path opened by the October Revolution," noted M. Gheorghiu, representative of the Romanian Communist Party, "led to the biggest possible changes in the life of mankind..."

The exploit of the October Revolution will never be forgotten, said H. Karkabi, member of the secretariat of the Communist Party of Israel Central Committee: "It opened to mankind the path to socialism. The country of the October Revolution played a decisive role in the defeat of fascism. The country of the October Revolution is playing the biggest role in the prevention of a third world war. That is why we have always spoken and will speak with the most profound gratitude and thanks about the October Revolution and its great leader V. I. Lenin, and of the country of the October Revolution--the great Soviet Union."

Today not only communists but hundreds of millions of noncommunists realize the significance of the October Revolution which laid the beginning of the irreversible process which, in the words of B. (Ramelson), member of the political committee of the executive committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, "must bring about and will unquestionably bring about the implementation of the dream of all mankind of the creation of a world free from the exploitation of man by man, putting an end to the domination of stronger and more powerful countries over weaker ones and of the whites over the blacks, the liberation of all mankind and the creation of classless societies, and the elimination of the basic reasons for wars." That is precisely why, said he, that "in the next few months, in addition to millions of communists, hundreds of millions of men and women of all nationalities and in all continents will celebrate in their own way the anniversary of this unprecedented historical event, the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, as though it were their own--and, in a certain sense, it was indeed their revolution."

## II

The speeches delivered at the conference reflected the live interest which the communists throughout the world and all fighters against imperialism and for national liberation and social progress are showing in the contribution which the October Revolution made to Marxist-Leninist theory and social practice, and in the historical lessons of October.

The participants in the conference pointed out the organic link between this contribution and these lessons, on the one hand, and the insurmountable force and universal significance of Leninism today, on the other. "The people of Vietnam," said Khong Truong, representative of the Communist Party of Vietnam, "were able to win great victories because they followed the path of the October Revolution, the path laid by Lenin. This is the origin of their loyalty to Lenin, the October Revolution, and the Soviet people. Lenin's ideas played a prime role in the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. Leninism is the peak of Marxism in our epoch. Comrade Ho Chi Minh said that "To the revolutionaries and the people of Vietnam Leninism is not only a magic means and a compass but a real sun which illuminates our path to final victory, to the building of socialism and communism. We won because we were true to Leninism."

"In the many faceted confrontation between the 'new' and the 'old,' and in the revolutionary struggle waged in the world since the Great October Revolution," said R. Frelek, "the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution became the weapon of the international proletariat and its organizing factor. Its universal significance is confirmed both through the practice of the European workers' movement as well as the revolutionary processes in other parts of the world."

The CPSU was the first to offer practical proof of the possibility to overthrow capitalism and to build a society without exploitation and oppression, thus confirming the correctness, realistic nature, and viability of Marxism-Leninism--the revolutionary theory of the proletariat.

As Abd-al-Razzakas-Safi pointed out, since the October Revolution "played the role of the discoverer," the overall experience of the CPSU in the implementation of revolutionary changes and in the building of socialism is of a permanent nature. This was mentioned by many delegates at the conference. "The rich experience of the Soviet Communist Party in resolving a great variety of problems of the first proletarian revolution in the world was a vivid example to our young party," S. Mitra said. "Today as well this experience is a treasury for all communists and revolutionaries..." "No single communist party," A. Lilov said, "could bring its struggle to a successful completion without mastering Leninism, without studying and mastering the historical experience of the October 1917 revolution and the period of the building of socialism."

In general, as was emphasized at the conference, the study of the experience of the international workers' movement has been and remains to the communists one of the most essential elements of the autonomous elaboration of their national strategy and tactics. E. Kauppila stated that "The study of the acquired experience and its creative application under the new historical conditions, combined with the experience of subsequent decades is the duty of the revolutionary forces."

The ability to make proper and fruitful use of both one's own and the international experience and, perhaps, to rely on objective laws is a task without whose implementation no further progress is possible. However, this is no easy task. It demands of the communist party the realistic and sober assessment of the distance covered and not to promote to the level of universal truth solutions created by particular and unique conditions, or to reject international experience; it requires the nonabsolutization of its approaches or the pitting of its specific way against the experience of the workers' movement as a whole. This was stated, for example, by B. Altangerel, candidate member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo: "We do not wish in the least to impose upon others our experience but are merely emphasizing the existence of common aspects and similarities in the content of revolutionary-democratic changes implemented under different specific-historical and natural conditions, in different ways, through different means, and at different paces determined by the specifics governing the development of the different countries."

"Many peoples have converted to socialism since the creation of the first socialist state in the world, as we know," noted Y. Garro, representative of the Syrian Communist Party Central Committee. "As V. I. Lenin predicted, each nation will bring something original to this process. However, despite the different ways and means used for the transition to socialism, in accordance with the historical conditions and national characteristics of these peoples, historical practice also confirmed that socialism has a single common content, and that it obeys common laws which must be observed. Therefore, any overassessment of local specific conditions at the expense of general laws or the pitting of one against the other could only harm socialist reorganization in a given country." Essentially, it would mean the abandonment of the study of the basic laws governing social phenomena which, according to Lenin, is nothing but the "rejection of science, the tendency to spit on all summations, and to hide from any 'law' governing historical development and to fail to see the forest for the trees..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 25, p 44).

Naturally, the experience of any given party is an alloy of such decisions, some of which could be used by other parties while others are suitable only under the specific space and time conditions of a given country. To see and to distinguish in the experience of a party that which reflects the overall laws of revolutionary development and that which has been created by specific circumstances is the most important structural part of the science and art of political guidance of the revolutionary struggle. The path to socialism, said J. Fojtik, secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, "is a path of acute class battles whose conditions cannot be set by only one of the warring sides. Unquestionably, everything depends on the way the specific historical conditions of this path will be taken into consideration in the systematic use of the common laws governing the revolutionary transition to socialism. However, there is nothing more dangerous--I refer here once again to our own experience--than to emphasize these conditions only so that, concealed behind statements of 'creative

approach,' or 'respect for specific circumstances,' we justify and put a halo on errors and even build out of them an entire system of 'national' or 'zonal' socialism."

At the same time, however, many speakers pointed out that the proper application of a common experience does not mean in the least the automatic use of the experience of individual parties or the thoughtless borrowing of "models." Noting the topical nature of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution and the experience of the October Revolution, M. Morgadinhe stated: "We, Portuguese communists, are not following the absurd path of duplicating foreign models and foreign experience. However, we take them into consideration in our search for solutions consistent with our situation, our problems, and the objectives of our struggle today."

As was noted in the course of the discussions the experience of the CPSU convincingly proved that the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine was, is, and will always remain one of the most important mandatory prerequisites for success by any communist party in any country. "The international significance of the Great October Revolution is also confirmed by the fact," said in this connection I. Gyori, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, "that its main features were applicable not only to Russia and that their nature was not only local but international. At the same time the experience of the revolution in Russia proves that everywhere the struggle waged by the proletariat has its specific features depending on history, culture, economic life, and so on. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, during the seizure of power and its consolidation the Soviet people reached outstanding successes because the party's strategy and tactics were based on the coordination of the principles of Marxism-Leninism with Russia's national-historical characteristics."

In all 60 years of the existence of the Soviet Union the enemies of socialism have done everything possible to defame the objectives, policy, and experience of Lenin's party and of the first socialist country above all precisely because it was the first and precisely because its experience was victorious. "The bourgeois ideologues and the entire tremendous imperialist propaganda machine," said O. Millas, member of the political commission of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee, "are dedicating tremendous efforts to conceal the organic link between the Great October Revolution and the contemporary revolutionary process. In fact, they would like for this process, once deprived of the rich experience of the October Revolution, to abandon its course and fail. Briefly stated, they would like to subordinate the working class to capitalism."

"We would underestimate the lessons of the victorious October Revolution and render poor service to our working class," said Zh. (Reyn), representative of the Luxemburg Communist Party, "should we retreat in the face of this intensive anticommunist persecution directed against the socialist comity of states and, particularly, against the Soviet Union. Instead of separating ourselves from the successful policy of the socialist countries we need a class approach to factual socialism, for it is only such an approach that makes possible the effective struggle for the interests of the working class."



In the view of the representatives of the communist parties it is particularly important today to emphasize the decisive circumstance that the Soviet Union was the first to prove the basic advantages of the socialist system, its truly national nature, and its humanism. In this connection the participants in the Prague discussion characterized the draft of the new Soviet Constitution as one of the most important political documents which has become today the strongest argument in the ideological confrontation in the world arena. "The fighters for socialism throughout the world," stated P. Rousos, representative of the Greek Communist Party, "are now being given a new weapon in the struggle against imperialist subversive acts and slanderous fabrications on the alleged absence of citizens' democratic rights and freedoms in the socialist countries." "Nothing," noted P. (Ferner), Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, "could prove more convincingly the universal-historical accomplishments of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the meaning of socialism than the new USSR Constitution. As the Magna Charta of developed socialism, it is also the declaration of human rights of the 20th century, and the declaration of the real rights, freedoms, and obligations of people standing at the line of transition toward a communist future."

Many of the participants in the conference considered the experience gained by the USSR an important objective source for the development of the revolutionary process of the working people of different countries and of the fraternal parties independently making their way to socialism. Even the part of the experience created by the characteristic conditions of Russia and, subsequently of the Soviet Union, it was stressed at the conference, is of unquestionable interest, for the knowledge of the solutions found by the Leninist party under "atypical" circumstances gives an idea of the ways, means, and methods of approach to one or another specific problem from the positions of Marxist-Leninist theory. It was precisely this that insured the victory of socialism and its further development on the path to communism. "In the final account, it is precisely the victorious struggle of the working class that contains the most valuable experience in the laying of new paths, whereas missed opportunities, which have also occurred in the history of the workers' movement, are a warning against the consequences of ignoring the universal laws of the social struggle," said I. Noerlund, member of the executive committee and secretary of the Communist Party of Denmark Central Committee. "The ways which led to progress contain, in all cases, lessons which cannot be found in ways which have not led to success. Naturally, it is a question not of duplicating the October Revolution in different places and at different times, but of mastering the experience the way, for example, Lenin mastered the experience of the Paris Commune without, however, repeating it. Such an experience, however, also means knowledge of general laws, i.e., of what is essential in social changes, what is repeated. Otherwise there could be no question of any laws whatever."

Naturally, Marxism-Leninism covers the entire historical and social experience of mankind and, above all, that of the world's revolutionary movement. It would no longer be a reliable manual for action had it paid attention only to

the positive results of this experience, ignoring or underestimating the need to understand the reasons for errors, defeats, missed opportunities, and so on. At the different stages of the struggle for socialism, one or another aspect of the acquired experience acquires greater or lesser significance. In our time, when the forces of socialism and of the workers' and national-liberation movements are in a state of major historically significant upsurge, naturally they are most interested in the victorious experience of the past and, precisely, in how, with the help of what ways and means, was one or another party able to gain success and victory, and what type of policy yielded the best result, optimal within a given set of specific circumstances, in terms of progressing toward the common objective of the working class and of all working people. It was precisely on the basis of such positions that the participants in the conference undertook the study of the October Revolution epoch as a whole and of the revolutionary struggle in their own countries, as well as the assessment of the role of victorious socialism in the world's contemporary revolutionary process. Another viewpoint as well was expressed at the conference by P. Spriano (Italian Communist Party). He emphasized the need to study again and again "the cult of Stalin's personality."

The CPSU position on this matter was expressed in its familiar 30 June 1956 Central Committee decree. Discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution at the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, pointed out that some years in the history of our country "were clouded by illegal repressions, and violations of the principles of socialist democracy and of the Leninist norms of party and state life. This was done in violation of constitutional stipulations. The party firmly condemned such practices which must never be repeated." To our party and country this problem has been historically and politically resolved once and forever and is not topical in the light of the great positive experience of the October Revolution.

Justifiable attention was paid in Prague to the fact that, as Marx, Engels, and Lenin predicted, the great variety of conditions creates also a great variety of forms of transition to socialism and to the building of a new society. Yet, as was also mentioned at the conference, however original such ways and means may be, they are all united precisely by the socialist approach to the solution of socioeconomic problems on the solid foundations of Marxism-Leninism. As R. Arismendi, first secretary of the Uruguayan Communist Party Central Committee, emphasized, one cannot imagine a world "separated by impassable barriers and the entire experience of the international communist movement as the sum total of parallel relative truths with no absolutes, and mechanically intermixed yet unrelated theories and practices of the international communist movement as a result of which they cannot be subjected to theoretical systematization."

The successful struggle for socialism and the building of the new society, despite the great variety of specific forms, are possible only by taking into consideration the general laws of historical development and the creative use of the experience acquired by the entire communist movement or, in other

words, by relying on the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolutionary progress. Dedicating his address to some problems of CPSU theoretical work over 60 years following the October Revolution, B. N. Ponomarev said: "Looking back at the distance covered, and thinking of the course and inner mechanism of most complex and uniquely broad events, the Soviet communists have the right to say that in 60 years our party has made a great practical contribution to the revolutionary renovation of the world; to a great extent it owes this as well to its Leninist responsible attitude toward theory, loyalty to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and its constant creative development on the basis of the summation of its own experience and of the results of the world's revolutionary process."

### III

The international significance of the October Revolution is that it brought new forces into the workers' movement. With growing confidence and hope in the victories of the first socialist republic, the revolutionary trend developed in the workers' movement as the leading one. It was on this basis that communist parties were established as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and all working people, and that the world communist movement appeared as a great international force. Naturally, all aspects of the international significance of the Great October Revolution were considered at the conference as inseparably linked with proletarian internationalism.

The Marxist-Leninist approach to internationalization reflects the objective need for solidarity in the workers' and communist movements of different countries and the constant interaction among the main currents of the world's revolutionary process. Many of the speakers spoke of the greatest political importance of such solidarity. "Today internationalism is the basic means for stopping the arms race unleashed by imperialism," M. D. Menendez noted. "It is a prerequisite for the building of the new society in the socialist comity; it is manifested in the solidarity and constant mutual aid among the socialist countries, the international proletariat, and the liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism; finally, it is an instrument in the ideological education of the toiling masses in all countries."

The working class detachments which have already seized power have the greatest possibilities to influence the course of world events in the interests of peace and socialism. That is why unity of action among the socialist countries and the solidarity of all other revolutionary and democratic forces are of particular importance. "The strengthening of the USSR and the socialist system as a whole does not make secondary the need for solidarity of all others with them. On the contrary, it makes it even more necessary in order to strengthen comprehensively the main bastion of the world's revolutionary process and to accelerate the doom of imperialism," said A. Mosquera. "...The unquestionable solidarity displayed by the Soviet Union with the other peoples is the basic principle governing the internationalist position of the Soviet state and its ruling party."

Many speakers described as harmful the political nature of anti-Sovietism. "Anti-Sovietism is anticommunism and, whatever its shape may be, it inevitably works to the benefit of imperialism and the reaction," S. Mitra said. "This conclusion is confirmed by the bitter experience which our party and other fraternal parties in Southeast Asia gained by experiencing the tremendous harm which the policy of anti-Sovietism pursued by the Maoist leaders of China caused the revolutionary movement."

"Whatever its form of manifestation may be, anti-Sovietism is one of the most disgusting unless it is the most disgusting form of anticommunism and hostility toward the worldwide movement for national and social liberation," Y. Garro stated. "Any attempt to defame the Soviet Union or to undermine or simply weaken the faith in it harms all detachments of the international revolutionary movement, including those who allow themselves to participate, in one or another manner, in such slanderous campaigns or are indifferent to them."

The link between the international and national interests of the working class was attentively analyzed at the conference. The fraternal parties pay very close attention to this problem and undertake its deep theoretical study. They point out that today more than ever before the national and international factors in their activities become particularly closely interwoven. Under contemporary conditions "V. I. Lenin's statement that Marxism replaces any kind of nationalism with internationalism is particularly important," Zh. (Reyn) emphasized. "This statement indicates that there are no conflicts between the basic national interests of the working class and all working people of an individual country, on the one hand, and the objectives of the international revolutionary process, on the other... Proletarian internationalism adequately expresses the interests of the national workers' movement, for it combines them with the entire revolutionary movement." "Proletarian internationalism," H. Karkabi stated, "is the highest manifestation of the patriotism of the working class. These are two sides of a single coin. There neither is nor could there be any contradiction between the doctrine of proletarian internationalism and the real national interests of the working class and the people of any country."

The participants in the conference pointed out that in the course of historical development and with the broadening of the scales of the revolutionary-liberation struggle and of the composition of its participants the very concept of proletarian internationalism has become enriched and developed. Today it covers an immeasurably broader range of socio-political forces than ever before. Presently the peoples of the socialist comity, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, the democratic forces which oppose, together with the working class, monopoly rule, the national-liberation movement, and all anti-imperialist forces rely on international solidarity.

Today not only does internationalism extend to the proletariat and its political organizations but it has become a necessary prerequisite for the successful struggle waged by all forces opposing imperialism," said

M. (Rakotobe), member of the Tananarive federation bureau of the Madagascar Independence Congress Party. "The ACFM will continue and broaden its activities, always guided by Lenin's doctrine, linking our own struggle for true independence and social progress and against imperialism with the demands of proletarian internationalism."

S. Muhammad, candidate member of the Politburo of the United Political Organization-National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, noted that "Failure to understand the depth of the dialectical tie linking the working class in the capitalist countries and its parties with the socialist countries has harmed some progressive movements. They have been defeated or have retreated. Understanding this link and reliance on it give each revolutionary movement the kind of power which must be taken into consideration by the imperialists in their criminal plans."

The entire experience of the post-October revolutionary movement, the delegates noted, emphasizes the tremendous importance of the development and strengthening of cooperation among communist and workers' parties, and of finding the most effective methods for strengthening the unity within the international communist movement.

"We all know," R. Arismendi said, "that ever since the Communist International was disbanded there has been no guiding center and no one has suggested its restoration. We must not confuse the tremendous influence of the CPSU in the workers', communist, democratic, and national-liberation movements, and in worldwide politics with a center which issues directives or commands the parties." The speakers pointed out particularly that under the current circumstances, when there neither is nor could be a center in our movement, as has been stipulated in many joint documents issued by communist and workers' parties, including the document of the Berlin conference of European communists, relations among fraternal parties must be built on the universally acknowledged norms which call for solidarity based on the great ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, reciprocal support, voluntary comradesly cooperation, noninterference in domestic affairs, and respect for the equality, autonomy, and independence of each party. All this does not conflict in the least with proletarian internationalism but, conversely, constitutes its necessary elements.

B. N. Ponomarev emphasized that our party favors the strict observance of the established norms and principles of voluntary cooperation among communist parties. Both in the realms of politics and theory the CPSU opposes the establishment of any kind of center in the communist movement. It is against the classification of parties into leading and led. "We favor the true equality of fraternal parties and comradesly solidarity and joint actions in the struggle for the great common objectives--lasting peace on earth, freedom, independence of the peoples, and the ideals of communism."

The profound and comprehensive study of the experience of the October Revolution and of the world's revolutionary process, collectively made by the participants in the scientific-theoretical conference in Prague, strongly re-emphasized the great importance of the general laws governing the struggle for socialism.

This means the following:

First, the systematically revolutionary approach to the theory and practice of social change, based on Marxism-Leninism. The principle of revolution is inseparably linked with the understanding of the need for the hegemony of the working class and for its seizure of political power allied with the other toiling strata. It is also linked with the need to establish corresponding guarantees against the counterrevolution and to deprive capitalism of the decisive economic levers and means for the suppression of the masses.

Second, it is a question of internationalism. Along with the development of the world's revolutionary process the forms of solidarity and interconnection within its detachments may change; however, the principle of internationalism itself is inviolable for it expresses a general law of the class struggle.

Third, the vanguard role of the communist movement. Its growth in the post-war period made possible the conclusion that the communist movement had become the most influential political force of our time.

The Prague conference made a contribution to the collective study of the historical experience of the great October Revolution and of the world's revolutionary process at the present stage. It proved that the celebration of the October Revolution anniversary is assuming an ever-broader, ideologically saturated, and politically significant nature.

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## COMPLETE EQUIPMENT DELIVERIES: EXPERIENCE AND PROBLEMS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 42-51

[Article by K. Brekhov, USSR minister of chemical and petroleum machine building, hero of socialist labor]

[Text] The solution of the economic and social problems of the building of communism calls for steadily upgrading social production effectiveness. The main factors governing its growth were formulated at the 25th party congress. One of them is orientation toward end economic results. "Such an approach," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, "becomes particularly topical with the growth and increased complexity of the economy, when such end results depend to an ever-greater extent on a number of intermediary links and on the complex system of intra-sectorial and intersectorial relations."

The party systematically directs the economic cadres toward the timely implementation of output delivery plans, the accelerated completion of new production projects, and the increased effectiveness in the utilization of material, manpower, and financial resources. Machine building has particular responsibility in the solution of such problems and for the further growth of the country's economic power. Its purpose is to supply all areas of the national economy with modern machines and equipment and accelerate the transition to the most modern technological base.

The USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building supplies equipment to progressive and rapidly developing industrial sectors such as the chemical, petroleum refining, petrochemical, petroleum extraction, gas, microbiological, cellulose-paper, and other sectors. In the past decade the volume of sectorial output has risen 2.5 times. The variety of equipment produced nearly doubled. Its technical level and quality improved. Great attention is being paid to improving the organization of machine-building output and equipment deliveries, directing the production collectives in the sector toward the steady improvement of end economic results. As we know, sharply increasing the pace of development of the chemical and petrochemical industries, the scientific and technical revolution brought about

major qualitative changes in these sectors. The most important of them is the conversion to the use of new types of raw materials--petroleum, gas, and the products of their processing, and, on this basis, the creation of effective large-scale production facilities with equipment sets with great unit capacity.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan, together with the personnel of other sectors, the ministry increased the unit capacity of technological lines for the production of ammonia, polyethylene, diluted nitric acid, ammonium nitrate, ammonium phosphate, and the primary processing of petroleum, two to four times. The use of such equipment sets yields high economic results thanks to the reduction of specific outlays, higher labor productivity, and lowered production costs. Thus, computations show that specific capital investments for technological lines for the production of ammonia with a capacity for 400,000 to 450,000 tons per year are 22 percent lower compared with the cost of systems with a 100,000-ton capacity; recycled water outlays declined 7 times while production costs per 1 ton of ammonia dropped 2.2 times. The increased capacity of primary petroleum-processing systems from 3 million to 6 million tons per year made it possible to reduce capital investments by approximately 1/3 and raise the consumers' labor productivity 70 percent.

The cost of equipment for large-scale chemical and petrochemical production facilities using such sets reaches tens of millions of rubles. Bearing in mind the great capital intensiveness of such production facilities we must maximally reduce their building time, accelerate their completion and insure the fastest possible recovery of capital investments. The previous practice of partial installation of equipment in construction projects did not contribute to the solution of this important economic problem. Such supplies force the customer to deal with a great number of complementing organizations and manufacturing enterprises, for which reason coordinating the time for receiving the equipment with its subsequent installation on the construction site becomes very complex. The plant and installation readiness of thus supplied equipment were inadequate. All this put together extended the construction time and delayed the completion of the projects.

Therefore, reality called for a reorganization of the manufacturing and delivery of technological lines and systems, converting to the delivery of the entire set covering the entire technological process, production facility, or project. Together with the creation and manufacturing of more powerful technological lines and systems, the ministry assumed the function of general supplier for the full equipment set at a high level of plant readiness to enterprises under construction (including apparatus, mechanisms, and instruments produced by other sectors). Between 1968 and 1975 the consumers received 260 technological lines, about 2,000 systems, and over 3,500 complete equipment blocks worth 1.3 billion rubles. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan the average annual economic savings from the delivery of complete equipment equalled 200-220 million rubles.



The economic effectiveness of complete deliveries is insured by a number of factors. First, they contribute to the substantial acceleration of the completion of new projects compared with normative or planned deadlines, thus resulting in additional output. Secondly, the volume, labor intensiveness, and cost of construction and installation work are reduced considerably, as a certain percentage of them are transferred from the construction sites to the manufacturing plants. The period of time in the course of which the equipment is in the preassembly stage in warehouses is reduced and construction capital assets are released.

Let us prove this with specific examples. In 1975 the ministry delivered to the Sumi Khimprom Production Association a technological line for the production of extraction phosphoric acid and a technological line for the production of ammonium phosphate with respective capacities of 100,000 and 540,000 tons per year. This enabled the construction and installation organizations to shorten construction time by several months while customers received an additional 219,000 tons of chemical fertilizers. Here is another example. Three technological lines for the production of diluted nitric acid (120,000 tons annual capacity each) were delivered to the Nevinnomyskiy chemical combine. The equipment was delivered on the basis of a special schedule, at the maximally possible level of readiness, based on transportation and production conditions. All lines were installed ahead of normative deadlines: the first by 1 year, the second by 6 months, and the third by 4 months. The chemical combine was thus able to obtain an additional amount of over 200,000 tons of diluted nitric acid. The overall economic results from its sale, and from the lowering of labor intensiveness and cost of installation totaled about 3 million rubles. The economic effectiveness of complete deliveries and deliveries of entire technological lines for the production of ammonia and ammonium nitrate, and of facilities for the primary and secondary processing of petroleum, and for the production of ethylene, polyethylene, and other products is high.

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress call for organizing "deliveries of complete sets of complex equipment for the entire technological production process including installation supervision and industrial testing and deliveries to the customer based on the reaching of planned capacity (output) in accordance with the design." The organization of complete deliveries of equipment by the ministry's system is largely consistent with these requirements. This contributes to the increased capacity of the chemical, petroleum-refining, petrochemical, microbiological, and other industrial sectors. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan, for example, together with other ministries the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building supplied 110 complete technological lines. This contributed to the implementation of the task set at the 24th CPSU Congress of producing 90 million tons of chemical fertilizers in 1975.

The delivery of equipment to the petroleum and gas industries consisting of ready assembly blocks greatly reduces the time needed for the completion of projects and yields tangible results. Upgrading the plant readiness

of such blocks, for example, enabled the Medvezhiy gas deposits in Tyumenskaya Oblast to commission them 14 months ahead of schedule. This resulted in the additional processing of several billion cubic meters of natural gas (worth about 20 million rubles).

Such examples prove that complete deliveries of technological lines, systems, and blocks are a promising method for the organization of machine-building output and for supplying the construction projects with equipment, quite advantageous to the national economy. The ministry's experience was positively rated in the March 1977 CPSU Central Committee decree which recommended its extension to other machine-building sectors.

The personnel of our sector tries to apply more extensively the system of complete equipment deliveries, to upgrade production effectiveness, and to improve quality in order to fulfill ahead of schedule the 10th Five-Year Plan and celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution with new labor accomplishments.

Following the conversion to comprehensive designing and complete deliveries, the ministry faced the task of formulating and implementing a number of major organizational and technical measures covering all the stages of the "science-production" cycle: equipment designing, manufacturing, transportation, and installation at construction sites.

Let us take as an example the problem of standardization of technological lines and systems and of their equipment. The problem is that many chemical production facilities are equipped on the basis of different technological systems and individual designs even though they produce the same commodity and have insignificant capacity differences. This increases labor intensiveness and production costs and lengthens the time needed for manufacturing the equipment.

The conversion to the delivery of complete technological lines and systems required their standardization in such a way that the various types of equipment and pipe assemblies had to be repeatedly duplicated in the designing and installation of new projects with specific capacities involving no changes whatever. This made possible a drastic reduction in the drafting of technical documentation and the manufacturing of equipment, and the upgrading of the serial nature of output.

Before the system of complete deliveries was organized no close ties existed between machine-building scientific research institutes and design bureaus on the one hand, and customers' scientific research and design organizations on the other. The result was that occasionally the customers included in their plans the type of equipment which ignored contemporary achievements in our sector or else equipment which, by virtue of a number of circumstances, could not be manufactured at that point. On the other hand, in a number of cases the machine builders were not sufficiently familiar with consumers' demands and lacked a complete idea of their long-term developments and were unable

to plan with sufficient accuracy their activities in accordance with consumer demand. That is why, along with specializing in the development of specific types of equipment, the basic scientific research organizations in the sector and their branches specialized themselves on the basis of technological characteristics. In other words, they were assigned corresponding chemical and petrochemical production facilities based on the nature of their technology. Thus, the Moscow All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Chemical Machinery designs equipment for large-scale ammonium production facilities and complex fertilizers; its branches develop facilities for the production of diluted nitric acid, lacquers, dyes, and plant protection chemicals; the Leningrad Scientific Research Institute of Chemical Machinery has specialized in the creation of equipment for the production of polyolefines and resins; the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Chemical Machinery develops equipment for enterprises producing chemical dyes, synthetic detergents, and dacron; the Irkutsk Scientific Research Institute of Chemical Machinery develops equipment for the micro-biological industry, and so on.

The scientific research institutes and design bureaus specialized on the basis of technical characteristics have set up departments for designing complete equipment, located and operating directly in the scientific research and design institutes of the consumer ministries. These departments employ not only machine-building specialists but chemical technologists and petrochemists. This has made possible the more profound analysis, together with the customers, of the worldwide level of the equipment and the formulation of better substantiated forecasts on the basic trends of development of each type of equipment, as well as the better coordination of the plans for its manufacturing and complete delivery, and the coordination of the technical assignments of new equipment included in the designs.

A great deal has been done to restructure and reconstruct production facilities in order to be able to make complete equipment deliveries. Production facilities have become more efficiently specialized. Production cooperation has improved. The ties between enterprises and scientific research and design organizations have been strengthened. The leading plants for the manufacturing of consolidated blocks of technological lines and systems with a high level of assembly readiness have been established. Complete deliveries have become a structural part of the production plans and organizational and technical measures implemented by the enterprises.

A number of big shops equipped with special machine tools and welding equipment and heavy-duty lifting mechanisms have been built in the sector. The ministry has undertaken to deliver nonstandardized goods, intermachine communication and coordination elements, and pipelines. Production facilities in a number of shops of operating enterprises had to be reorganized to make their output possible.

The manufacturing plants are paying greater attention to technical production standards. Their responsibility for the timely and qualitative implementation of plans and assignments has increased. Thus, mastering the production of new types of equipment, a number of progressive technological processes were developed and applied. The USSR State Prize for 1976 was awarded to a group of workers for the creation of multilayer coiled high-pressure vessels for machine units of great unit capacity and for the organization of their industrial production.

Complete equipment deliveries are among the most complex types of material and technical supplies shipped to projects under construction or repair. In order to organize such deliveries the ministry set up a cost-accounting administration in charge of the delivery of complete technological lines, systems, and machine units (Kompletkhimmash). This administration has jurisdiction over the head scientific research institute for complete technological lines (VNIikomplekt), the All-Union Soyuzkhimmashmontazh Trust, which includes administrations which supervise installations and offer technical supervision of technological lines and systems, and a number of plants engaged in the production of nonstandardized equipment.

In addition to managing subordinate organizations and enterprises, the basic functions of Kompletkhimmash are the following: participation in the consideration of new designs for technological lines and systems, acceptance of technical documentation from clients, determining needs for funded and planned equipment and submission of corresponding data to the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab, processing of shipments to the Gossnab marketing organizations, and concluding contracts with clients and suppliers.

The VNIikomplekt is engaged in scientific research on improving systems for complete design and deliveries of equipment. It elaborates the methodological foundations and organizes preparations for the certification of technological lines and systems with the state Emblem of Quality. It makes studies in the field of the transportation of big equipment, design of industrial pipelines, standardization and price setting, as well as technical and economic research.

In order to insure a more efficient organization of complete deliveries, the ministry initiated and is continuing its efforts to apply grid schedules for each technological line and system. They include all completion deadlines, starting with designing and receipt of technical documentation and ending with the testing and delivery of the line or system for use. On the basis of the general schedules the manufacturing plants formulate their own local schedules. This creates unity within the planning system at all sectorial management levels. Unfortunately, we are still experiencing difficulties in coordinating the grid schedules for equipment deliveries because of shortcomings in the procurement of material resources.

The technical supervision service, set up within the Soyuzkhimmashmontazh Trust, is beginning to play an important role in the making of complete set deliveries. It supervises the delivery of the equipment to construction

projects, and the completeness and quality of the equipment. It participates in its acceptance, supervises its storage, and formulates schedules for completing the assembling of large-size equipment.

The technical supervision service has the right to summon to the construction site personnel from any organization or enterprise within the ministry to resolve technical problems. Should equipment defects or missing parts be detected, the client may draw up a corresponding document only in the presence of a representative of this service. A special system of operative information on violations has been formulated. Receiving such information the manufacturing plant must take urgent measures for the elimination of the defects without awaiting additional instructions.

The effectiveness with which the complete equipment set of great unit capacity is operated largely depends on its quality and reliability, for the breakdown of a single unit could result in great production losses. That is why the sector pays great attention to insuring the high quality of each apparatus, machine, or assembly within the complete line or system. The scientific research institutes and design bureaus are upgrading the level of machine and apparatus design and the enterprises are applying a comprehensive quality control system. The organization of the procurement of complete sets makes it possible to award the Emblem of Quality to entire technological lines and systems. For example, the Emblem of Quality was recently awarded to a line for the production of thermal phosphoric acid with a 60,000-ton annual capacity. Presently preparations are being made for the certification of other lines. This makes it incumbent upon all participants in the delivery of complete lines and systems to insure that their equipment is on a level consistent with high-quality category requirements.

By virtue of the great complexity of big complete technological lines and systems, their manufacturing and delivery exceed the possibilities not only of a single enterprise but of an individual sector or even of the entire country. That is why, together with the ministry's enterprises manufacturing basic technological equipment for such lines and systems, plants in many related sectors--the electrical engineering industry, heavy and power machine building, instrument making and means of automation, and others, participate in the production of many complementing items. Furthermore, the possibilities of CEMA-member countries and, partially, firms in the capitalist countries are used in the production and procurement of complete equipment.

One of the characteristic examples of production-technical cooperation within the framework of CEMA is the development and procurement of complete systems for the manufacturing of polyethylene using the "Polimir-50" high-pressure method. Our ministry carried out this work through extensive cooperation in the designing and manufacturing of equipment with GDR enterprises. Such cooperation is continuing in the current five-year plan in the building of similar systems in the USSR and the GDR and their shipment to other countries. Czechoslovakia has organized the production

of steam reforming blocks for ammonia-producing technological lines. Close and extensive cooperation with the socialist countries takes place also in the supply of big systems for petroleum processing, ethylene and resin production, and the manufacturing of other chemical and petrochemical products.

In recent years industrial companies in the capitalist countries have displayed greater interest in engaging in joint designing and manufacturing of modern equipment with us. The ministry is organizing mutually profitable cooperation with such companies. This enables us to reduce the time needed for the development and creation of big production equipment.

The 1976-1980 state five-year plan for the development of the USSR national economy greatly emphasizes the further growth of chemical and petroleum machine building. In the current five-year plan the sector will increase its overall output 55 percent; deliveries of complete equipment will increase nearly 80 percent. Structural changes will also be made in deliveries of complete equipment, affecting above all the chemical, petroleum-refining, and petrochemical industries. The share of technological lines and systems which yield the biggest economic results yet distinguished by their increased complexity and manufacturing labor intensiveness, and delivered to the construction projects of these sectors, will increase particularly greatly.

At the same time, in order to upgrade production effectiveness and quality in the consuming sectors the considerable increase in the unit capacity of technological lines and systems, compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan, has been stipulated. For example, the annual productivity of a currently designed line for the production of ammonia will be increased from 400,000-450,000 to 800,000 tons. The unit capacities of systems for petroleum processing, and the production of ethylene, polyethylene, and other items will be increased by 50 to 100 percent.

Presently the ministry is implementing a number of measures aimed at improving further the work of all production, science, and management units. The organization of the designing, manufacturing, delivery, and assembling of complete equipment is improving; the workers are assuming greater responsibility for the timely and qualitative implementation of the work. Yet, our practical experience also indicates that a number of problems of improving the current economic mechanism at its various levels must be resolved in order to insure the further development of such an important project facing not only our but other sectors, as mentioned in the CPSU Central Committee decree we cited.

The decisions of the 25th party congress ascribe prime importance to improving the mechanism which expresses the unity of the organizational forms of economic planning, incentive, and management, and the system of economic relations among participants in socialist social production. Article 15 of the draft of the new USSR Constitution calls for the legislative codification of an important principle for socialist economic management as combining centralized management with the economic initiative of enterprises and associations.

Let us consider the problems which, in our view, must be resolved in connection with the expansion of deliveries of complete technological lines and systems in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Their delivery to enterprises under construction is a multiple-stage and lengthy process which involves the participation of a large number of interconnected organizations and enterprises. As a rule, 12-15 or more months are needed for the manufacturing of complex labor intensive big equipment distinguished by the novelty of technical solutions and increased unity capacity. Therefore, we must intensify the program-target approach to planning, the optimizing of plans on the intersectorial level, and the close coordination of the plan elements at all stages in the "production-consumption" cycle and insure its integrity.

Certain steps have been taken in this direction in the course of the organization of deliveries of complete big equipment in the field of chemical and petroleum machine building. For example, currently deliveries of technological lines for the production of chemical fertilizers are planned on the basis of the entire five-year plan with an annual breakdown. This enables the scientific research and design organizations, scientific-production and production associations, and enterprises to draft on time the necessary technical documents, place orders for the manufacturing of equipment and complementing items, insure the necessary preparations for the production process and for achieving higher production quality, and so on. However, the manufacturing and procurement of big equipment sets (and their installation) for other production facilities in the consuming sectors are still mostly planned according to the old system, on an annual basis, i.e., regardless of the length of their manufacturing cycle. This creates great difficulties and unjustified tension in the work of the supplying ministry and manufacturing enterprises, frequently resulting in delays in the implementation of important national economic orders and in the completion of new projects. The conclusion is self-evident: we must convert more rapidly to continuous planning of the production of all technological lines and systems in the proper variety and in accordance with the length of their manufacturing, installation, and tuning cycle. As to one-of-a-kind equipment produced within the ministry's system, its manufacturing and delivery should be planned for no less than a 2-year period.

Naturally, in order to deliver within the stipulated deadlines complete technological lines and systems requiring a lengthy manufacturing cycle, based on network schedules (taking into consideration priorities and the construction readiness of the projects) it is necessary to create a proper stockpile the preceding year. This will require the faster supply of enterprises with material resources. Unfortunately, the chemical and petroleum equipment allocated for such purposes by the USSR Gosplan and the convertible stock of rolled metal and pipes established for the ministry are entirely insufficient. As to industrial armatures, pumps, compressors, and other complementing goods, they are not received in the full amount even in the year when the line or system is to be completed.

The need is ripe to improve reciprocal guarantees given by manufacturers, clients, and installation workers of complete technological lines and systems. The reliability of the equipment used depends not only on the quality of its manufacturing but the transportation conditions from the manufacturing plant to the client's construction site, its unloading, storage at the construction site, delivery to the assembling area, and the assembling operation itself.

There have been cases of violations of technical stipulations governing the storing and transportation of the equipment, frequently resulting in its breakdown and loss. That is why strict requirements must be formulated not only concerning the manufacturer of the equipment but the client and the assemblyman, since the quality of their work determines the equipment's condition.

In order to insure operational reliability and durability of complete lines and systems, following the assembling operations their apparatus, machinery, and other items must be tested and tuned at the construction site. However, so far the contracts concluded between the general supplier--Komplektkhimmash--and the complementing organizations of the USSR Gosnab have failed to stipulate the time needed for such operations. Taking into consideration the complexity of such equipment sets, this gap in the contractual obligations of the parties must be eliminated as soon as possible. This will enable us to insure the more reliable work of the lines or systems.

The 25th party congress called for improving the entire system of indicators in assessing the work of ministries, associations, and enterprises, and upgrading the role of economic incentives in increasing production effectiveness, upgrading quality, and accelerating scientific and technical progress. The draft of the new USSR Constitution stipulates that active use of cost accounting, profits, and production costs must be made in economic management. This fully applies, in particular, to supplies of complete equipment. In order to intensify the role of economic levers it is necessary to determine, above all, the proper national economic effectiveness of this method compared with deliveries of individual pieces, as well as the concrete contribution of manufacturing plants, construction and installation organizations, and consumer enterprises. The existing method for determining direct and indirect savings based on delivery of complete technological lines and systems has been applied by the ministry since 1971. It lists the principles for determining the effectiveness of the ahead-of-schedule completion of the project and the production of additional output, the reduced volume and cost of construction and installation operations, the relative release of capital assets and working capital by construction and installation organizations, and the reduction of the time which such equipment spends in the warehouses of construction sites in the preassembly period. However, this method must be further improved and refined.



The point is that deliveries of complete equipment and even the ahead-of-schedule installation of a technological line or system merely create the potential opportunity for achieving the estimated economic result. This result could be achieved only by factually reducing the construction time of the project, the timely training of necessary cadres, the timely mastering of the technological system, and so on. Unfortunately, frequently the activating of a completed project is detained for reasons independent of the suppliers. Consequently, the effectiveness of complete deliveries is lowered or even reduced to naught. It is also necessary to point out that in manufacturing equipment for complete technological lines and systems, as a result of its increased plant and installation readiness, labor, material, and financial outlays rise. Furthermore, the manufacturing plants include in their deliveries nonstandardized equipment, pipeline parts, pipe assemblies, and so on, which are not entirely within the range of specialization of the supplying ministry.

Therefore, the time has come to formulate a regulation with the help of competent organizations which would call for the distribution of a certain percentage of the factual economic results of the delivery of complete lines and systems among all the participants in their manufacturing and utilization. In that case all partners--equipment suppliers, consumers, and construction-assembly organizations--will be interested in improving the end national economic result and in creating effective prerequisites for achieving it: reducing the overall time for the construction of projects, completing them ahead of schedule, and reaching planned capacity faster.

The further increase in the volume of complete procurements largely depends on the pace of development of sectorial production capacities. In order to insure their fastest possible growth, the ministry is allocating over 90 percent of its five-year plan capital investments for the expansion, reconstruction, and technical retooling of existing plants. Yet, a number of construction ministries are violating stipulated deadlines for the completion of the most important projects of the sector. Such lagging must be surmounted and the construction of chemical and petroleum machine-building enterprises must be completed on time.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on the experience of the work of the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building in organizing the production and delivery of complete equipment to construction sites emphasizes that the extensive use of this system by all machine-building sectors is of great importance to reducing deadlines and improving capital construction quality, accelerating the commissioning of new production projects, and improving the working conditions of construction and assembly workers. In order to reach the best possible results a systems approach is needed on problems related to the organization and expansion of complete procurements, including planning, material and technical supplies, relations among clients, suppliers, and construction workers, economic incentives, and so on. Their complex solution will enable us to accelerate scientific and technical progress, increase production capacities, and upgrade the effectiveness of capital investments and public production.

## DYNAMIC OPTIMIZING OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by A. Kats, doctor of economic sciences; article published as a basis for discussion]

[Text] At the present stage in the building of communism the party considers as its main task the all-round increase in social production effectiveness. The solution of this problem depends mainly on the implementation of the most progressive technical policy. The systematic far-sighted party stipulations have steadily called for the systematic elaboration and application of the most advanced and highly productive types of new equipment. Furthermore, in the past 15 years effectiveness criteria have become widespread in scientific economic publications and in planning practices which, in our view, are only officially directed toward optimizing the development of the national economy, since factually they could slow the pace of scientific and technical progress, the growth of labor productivity, and social production. True, despite attempts to legitimize such criteria and establish differentiated sectorial or even uniform normative recovery deadlines (or levels of profitability), such norms are frequently violated in order to clear the way for the installation of the most progressive and highly productive yet initially expensive new equipment. Bearing in mind the urgent practical requirements and in connection with the need for an all-round acceleration of the pace of scientific and technical progress, the need for a scientifically substantiated dialectical determination of the general criterion for optimizing socialist economic development has become particularly tangible.

Optimizing the development of the socialist national economy is occasionally identified with the best utilization of available economic resources, limited at any given period and, above all, with capital investments. To this effect, it is recommended to establish criteria for the economic effectiveness of the new equipment variants (capital investments), for optimal social accumulation norms and for an optimal structure of individual and public consumption. It is precisely this general approach that is the basis in determining sectorial profitability norms or time for the recovery of additional capital investments in the introduction of technical

innovations. This is the basis for criteria such as the average profitability norm and for the uniform high maximal profitability norm (so-called "objectively based ratings") which, in our view, could delay the development and utilization of the most advanced and highly productive new equipment even more than differentiated sectorial profitability norms (recovery periods). The basic shortcoming of such a general theoretical approach is its static nature in which the overall volume of resources currently available is considered as the prime, the initial factor of economic development. In reality, it is mainly the direct result, the consequence of preceding developments and a link in the future developments. In other words, it is developed to a decisive extent only as a dependent value in the dynamic sequence of events.

The general criterion in optimizing socialist economic development should contribute, above all, to maximizing the growth rates of production forces and technical progress, and to upgrading social labor productivity. Insuring a maximal overall volume of available economic resources within any given period depends precisely on labor productivity as the prime cause. In our view, this is the only basis on which we could insure as an inevitable secondary, additional, and subordinate task the best possible utilization of already-created and statically limited economic resources. The optimal utilization of the mass of raw materials, materials, and labor means (capital investments) available at any given period develops in an entirely different way depending on the levels already reached in the national economy.

The task of reaching maximal amounts of economic resources and of the social product is laid on factual grounds by the fact that the norm of social accumulation and the corresponding volume of industrial capital investments are considered the starting point for the development of the economy. In the use of such an initial factual ceiling of capital investments the growth of social output will be greater or lesser depending, to a decisive extent, on the intensiveness of the pace of technical progress and the growth of social labor productivity. As to changes in the social accumulation norms, the possibilities here are extremely limited (within the range of no more than a few points). Consequently, the impact of such a change on the production process, compared with the endless prospects for the growth of production forces occurring under the influence of scientific and technical progress and developing into an upsurge of labor productivity will be equally limited. Therefore, the personal and social consumption of the working people which, under socialism, is the immediate objective of social production and accumulation, could grow immeasurably more through technical progress and increased social labor productivity rather than as a result of the inevitable slightly possible reduction of accumulation norms which, on the other hand, is fraught with a further weakening of the growth rates of the consumption fund itself. It is only on the basis of the main objective causal relation that the optimal dimensions of social accumulation norms have, within a certain range, a reverse influence on the pace of technical progress. Similarly, in the final account, production determines the structure of the personal and

social consumption fund. Even though, in turn, consumption influences production, nevertheless, as K. Marx emphasized, in the dialectical inter-connection between production and consumption "production is truly the starting point and, therefore, the dominating aspect as well" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 12, p 720).

Therefore, the approach to the choice of an optimal way for socialist economic development is complex and includes two primary components: first, a determination of the basic optimizing level which insures as a primary and decisive prerequisite the maximizing of the pace of technical progress and the growth of social labor productivity or, briefly, the general criterion of a dynamic economic optimum; secondly, the determination, on this basis, of additional, secondary, subordinate criteria governing the most favorable development of socialist social production, including the criterion for optimizing the general norm of industrial capital investments and factual accumulations, and the criterion for optimizing the structure of the individual and public consumption fund.

The present article is a consideration of the general criterion for a dynamic economic optimum.

#### General Model for the Dynamic Optimizing of Economic Development

The study of systems for social reproduction and of the intersectorial economic balance shows that the related indicator (ranging from the workplace, shop, and enterprise, to the association, ministry, sector, rayon, and national economy) of changes in social labor productivity is the growth of the end (conventionally net) output (in comparable prices) per worker or per worked man/hour, or else the converse ratio--the reduced labor outlays per unit of end (conventionally net) output. This indicator is free from the secondary consideration of material outlays and, therefore, is free from the shortcomings of the indicators of the growth of the gross (market, sold) output per unit of labor. It provides a universal measurement of the consolidated labor productivity, for it reflects synthetically and precisely (with proper price setting), in each production area, economy of labor and material outlays (raw materials, fuel, and auxiliary materials), i.e., past labor at plant or sectorial levels or, which is one and the same, the economy of related annual labor used on a parallel basis for the manufacturing of materials in related production stages (at other enterprises or other sectors). At the same time, it reflects the thrifty utilization of operating capital assets, for without a proper care for the equipment and the use of technical improvements in the process of its utilization we cannot achieve either high output or economy of raw materials, materials, fuel, and so on. As we shall see further, the overall production effectiveness indicator also reflects the end return of all capital assets.

The study of the two basic forms of the growth of consolidated labor productivity--uneven, related to the installation of new equipment, or gradual, based on partial improvements of installed capital assets--is of decisive

importance in establishing the dynamic optimum. This is an expression of the influence of the basic objective laws of technical progress on economic development. These laws enable us to properly formulate the overall problem of the dynamic optimal development of the national economy and the determination of the way for its solution.

The following summations may be reached on the basis of the study of specific processes for improving production technology.

First, the newer and more progressive are the developed types of machinery in terms of quality characteristics (mechanical, physical, chemical) and in terms of the level of mechanization and automation of operations, the more significant are the positive dynamic changes which take place in the process of the initial finishing and mastering of the new equipment under industrial conditions, i.e., the more could initial production results exceed planned estimates.

Second, the higher the technical level of the new production capacities created is, on the basis of those same characteristics, the more substantial are their potential possibilities which are revealed in the course of their service life through the subsequent accumulation of production experience and the making of gradual partial improvements (until they are totally replaced by the latest equipment).

Third, the more technically progressive are the production capacities developed and applied at any given period, the more significant become the accumulated scientific and production and technical knowledge and experience needed for the transition to the next and more progressive design of machines and new inventions.

An understanding of the basic objective laws governing the development of production forces and technical progress is necessary in order to determine the causal relations between the two basic methods (irregular and gradual) for the growth of labor productivity. The point is that in the elaboration and application of the most mechanized and automated technically progressive equipment we achieve not only the most significant initial drastic leap in the growth of the consolidated labor productivity. Subsequently, in the course of the exploitation of the new equipment, partial improvements lead also to relatively higher subsequent discoveries of the extensive potential opportunities found every time in progressive superior quality equipment. Direct scientific-design and production continuity in the creation of technical inventions and the elaboration of new types of machines and their systematic utilization in production not only determine at any given period the most important changes in the sudden and gradual growth of the consolidated labor productivity; they also predetermine particularly favorable objective prerequisites needed for achieving similar results in the subsequent period, in the development and utilization of the latest new equipment.

The optimality criterion in the selection of new technical variants for development and production use should be formulated in accordance with the laws of technical progress and the growth of labor productivity. Which of them are the truly most economically effective? Is it the most advanced in terms of technical, mechanical, and physical-chemical characteristics which maximally upgrade, unevenly, the consolidated labor productivity on the basis of the intensive mechanization and automation of operations, regardless of initial considerably higher price? Or else, conversely, could it be the less mechanized and automated new technical variants which provide a lesser increase in the growth of consolidated labor productivity yet are also less expensive initially and, therefore, result in a more considerable growth of social labor productivity and the social product at an initial limited time segment?

To resolve this problem which, essentially, is the central problem of the entire contemporary theory and practice of accelerated economic growth we draw up a general model of the dynamic optimization of increased social labor productivity. The first postulate of this general model consists of the basic objective laws governing technical progress which we mentioned, and the development of the uneven and gradual forms or growth of consolidated labor productivity. The second postulate is that of the inevitable converse favorable influence of the rates of this growth on the processes of reducing the cost of the new equipment, i.e., in the final account, on production capital intensiveness. The purpose of the general model is the following:

With the systematic elaboration and application of the most progressive and most productive, yet frequently initially expensive technical variants, having at our disposal a certain annual amount of capital investments, we could equip with new production capacities a relatively lesser share of the entire annual social manpower with a relatively highest uneven initial increase in its consolidated labor productivity. Should we systematically select less advanced and less productive yet initially less expensive and statically optimal variants, within the same annual amount of capital investments we could supply new capacities to a relatively greater share of the overall social manpower with a lesser initial uneven increase in its consolidated labor productivity. In the second case we have the highest initial, but only initial, growth of social labor productivity and end social product. This is precisely the initial short-term benefit which is, even though in different variants, the cherished objective of all the concepts of the static optimizing of the economic effectiveness of capital investments and of the overall growth of output.

In such a case, after an initial static annual increase in the growth of social labor productivity and, respectively, in the end social product, inevitably, throughout the service life of the newly installed capacities numerous parallel benefits show up in subsequent years. They are determined by the corresponding slower pace of gradual growth of consolidated labor productivity among the overwhelming share of the social manpower servicing already-installed production capacities. This is the inevitable result of the fact that the lesser potential possibilities for partial improvements

were used in the past through the systematic utilization of less advanced and less progressive yet statically "optimally" expensive new equipment facilities.

Furthermore, by virtue of the most important basic objective law governing technical development--the direct scientific-design and production continuity of new types of machines and inventions--in the latter case as well the intensiveness of the reaching of new technical discoveries slows down and, in the course of time, the pace of technical progress itself declines. Therefore, in the future the corresponding pace of the uneven growth of the consolidated labor productivity experiences a relative slow-down. Finally, the reverse influence of the pace of its uneven or gradual increase on factual social production costs and on the utilization of labor tools leading to their subsequent relative or even absolute cost reduction, in turn, becomes relatively less favorable.

The general model also reflects the laws of a radically different development of processes in which the most advanced and most productive, highly mechanized and automated, even though initially expensive, new technical variants are systematically developed and applied. With such a technical policy the initial static annual benefits in the growth of social labor productivity are the result of disturbances in the initial "optimality" of technical variants of capital outlays. However, such benefits are countered by parallel and subsequent annual benefits which grow in time and space. The latter are based on the accelerated pace of technical progress and, consequently, on the pace of the uneven and gradual growth of consolidated labor productivity and on their increased converse favorable impact on the processes of relative or even absolute reduction in the cost of the new equipment itself.

The theoretical study of the abstract model is fully confirmed by specific historical proofs. Historically, in fact the general model of dynamic optimization reflects the tremendous and growing superiority of accumulations of annual profits in the growth of the social labor productivity and, respectively, the social product, including the accumulation and consumption funds, compared with the results of the initial and the transient annual benefits which are determined by the initial high cost of the most progressive and most productive new equipment.

The potential power of partial technical improvements, following the installation of new and progressive capacities, and the further gradual growth of consolidated labor productivity on this basis are shown by the following factual processes. If we consider the most important area of technical development in the past decades--the creation of automated lines in mass machine building--the production of engine block cylinders per shift with one of the first automatic lines installed--"Blok-2"--at the ZIL led to an average uneven increase in labor productivity of 300 percent and, subsequently, rose from 108 pieces in 1949 to 212 pieces in 1957, and to 270 pieces in 1966, i.e., 2.86 times (taking the shortening of the work day

into consideration). In other words, in 17 years it averaged 6.4 percent per year. Three automated lines for the machining of engine block cylinders, installed at the Serp i Molot engines manufacturing plant in Khar'kov operated at a loss in 1959-1960; by 1964-1966 they had virtually reached their planned capacity, while in 1971 they had exceeded it by 22.6 percent.

The objective law of the constant discovery of additional technical possibilities is manifested with equal strength even in the electric power industry, a sector in which the biggest units might be considered to have firm technical parameters. This is confirmed by the Kostroma GRES, with progressive economic indicators, considered currently one of the biggest in Europe, which is currently undertaking the modernizing of 8 blocks with a 300,000-kilowatt individual capacity. As a result, the electric power production per block will be increased by approximately 10 percent.

Similar examples could be found in any production area. The higher the level of the technical inventions, and the greater the uneven growth of labor productivity become, based on the planned parameters of the new equipment, the more considerable is the result of the discovery of potential possibilities in the process of the initial installation, mastering and, subsequently, operation, based on the making of partial improvements.

The history of the automation of the very complex production of bearings proves the significance of the direct scientific-design and production continuity of new types of machines and technical inventions. The first automated shop, set up for the first time in the world at the First State Bearings Plant (1-m GPZ) in 1955-1956, increased production costs by 14-33 percent and appeared "ineffective," even though improved production quality should have been taken into consideration. The second stage of the automation, whose plan was formulated for the shop in 1960-1962, based on the experience acquired in the establishment and operation of the first, was characterized by a substantial reduction in the weight of consolidated equipment, increased spindle revolution speed, concentration of operations, and increased labor productivity by 30 percent compared with the first section and 3.7 times compared with nonautomated production; output per equipment unit rose respectively 60 and 90 percent. The recovery time for additional capital investments, based on production costs, was still considered excessive--10.8 years--even though taking into consideration savings of total labor outlays it did not exceed 3.7 years. The third stage in mass automation, which included subsequently acquired experience, was related to the completion of the second automated shop at the First State Bearings Plant, in 1964, and resulted in a decrease in metal outlays of 2.5 times, an increase in labor productivity of 2.8 times, and output per unit equipment of 3.1 times and a 34 percent increase per square meter of industrial area and, finally, a 38 percent drop in production costs compared with non-automated production facilities. Recovery time for additional capital investments declined to no more than 3.2 years and, taking into consideration savings in total labor outlays, 2 years. The fourth stage in the automation was the completion of the third automated shop at the end of 1967. It was characterized by a doubling of labor productivity compared with the previous



automated lines installed at the beginning of the 1960's. Finally, in the final period of the project, the manufacturing of an experimental line of an entirely new type of standardized comprehensive automated flow for the production of 2 million rings for bearings per year, labor productivity doubled again compared with the standard automated lines of the end of the 1960's.

The development of essentially new and revolutionary technical inventions has been characterized by a flow of sharp leaps and intensive partial improvements. Quite eloquent in this respect is the development of contemporary computer technology. The first U.S. computers for civilian purposes were hard to sell. They were believed ineffective and were either under-profitable or unprofitable. Their biggest manufacturer--IBM--was forced to market them for over 10 years without profit. The further discovery of the potential possibilities of this revolutionary new equipment opened the way to a tremendous growth of labor productivity and reduced production costs. As a result of three consecutive computer generations the production costs for data processing and memory systems per 1 million operations declined from \$10 in 1955 to \$0.70 in 1960, and to \$0.04 in 1965, i.e., 250 times over a 10-year period. Microprocessing, which marked the fourth generation of computer, replaces hundreds of integral systems and other elements. As a result of the consecutive continuity of alternating technical inventions a microprocessor which offers the same computing possibilities as the first industrial computer which cost \$1 million 20 years ago was selling for \$100 in 1975 and \$20 in 1976, or a reduction of 50,000 times. Characteristically, the first systems for the automatic control of production processes based on computer use cost as much as \$300,000 in 1958. Toward the end of the 1960's, following the use of minicomputers, their cost dropped to \$100,000. In 1976 the initial equivalent microprocessing regulators were priced at no more than \$3,000.

This leads to the following important conclusion: the initially uneven increase in labor productivity, based on the use of prototypes of the latest equipment, is merely a modest share of the entire historical benefit in terms of the growth of labor productivity potentially found in them, realized in the course of the further accumulation of technical knowledge and production experience, thanks to the continuity of most progressive technical developments and discoveries.

The historical example of the industrial growth of the United States and, particularly, of the USSR is a synthetic proof of the growing effect of new technical developments and of the correctness of the initial prerequisites for a general model of dynamic optimization of economic development.

We know that by virtue of a number of historical circumstances the wage level in the United States was substantially higher than in Western Europe. As a result, as Marx himself noted, the United States applied steadily and more rapidly more advanced and productive new equipment, including equipment of European origin, which was held back in Western Europe itself over a longer or shorter time, for because of the relatively low wage level it

seemed either underprofitable or losing, i.e., relatively "nonoptimal" in its static condition. Such basic economic differences remain to this day to one or another extent. Their influence on development turned out to be decisive.

Whereas in the middle of the 19th century the level of hourly social labor productivity was lower in the United States than in the then capitalist "workshop" of the world--Britain--conversely, the United States was 33 percent ahead in 1900 and 66 percent ahead in 1913. Compared with the other industrially developed European countries of that period U.S. superiority was even greater. In 1929 and 1938 U.S. superiority in terms of hourly social labor productivity, compared with industrially developed Western Europe, was over 100 percent higher. By 1970 the gap had been reduced somewhat compared with the unusual immediate postwar maximum (1950) but was even wider than in 1929 or 1913.

Socialism creates an incomparably broader scope for upgrading social labor productivity compared with capitalism, including the most economically developed capitalist countries such as, for example, the United States. For this reason even more impressive historical proof provided by such a general model is the tremendous socialist industrial development of the USSR over the past decades. The most important element of dynamic optimization found its specific practical manifestation in the familiar party stipulation of giving priority to the higher and long-term economic effectiveness of capital investments in new equipment in contrast to immediate short-term effectiveness. Essentially this meant an assertion (even though on the basis of more or less empirical criteria) of the primacy of maximal growth of consolidated labor productivity in the process of the development and utilization of new equipment and the ubiquitous nonobservance of the criteria of static optimization--not only of the average profitability norm but of sectorial return norms.

Characteristically, during the first stages of our socialist industrialization, directed toward the fastest possible elimination of the country's economic backwardness inherited from the tsarist past, we took from the developed capitalist countries precisely the most advanced and productive equipment which was then only at its beginning, despite its initial high cost and the then acute shortage of sources of accumulation in our country. Under the influence of the firm party decisions on the need to accelerate comprehensively the pace of technical development in all production sectors and to reach and outstrip the highest world technical level, the line of systematic development and utilization of the most advanced and productive new equipment has been pursued essentially in the national economy in the past 15 years as well, despite the theoretical errors made by a number of economists and planning workers and of individual annoying practical departures from this line.

The party's far-sighted technical policy contributed with incredible speed to the even greater independent scientific and technical development of the USSR. As a result, whereas the gap in the level of hourly social labor

productivity considerably increased between the United States and the other developed capitalist countries, on a broad historical level, it narrowed drastically between the USSR and the United States.

According to our calculations, in 1928 the hourly social labor productivity in the USSR was 7 percent of that of the United States, 14 percent of that of Britain, and 19 percent of that of prewar Germany. By 1959 these ratios had risen, respectively, to 51, 113, and 110 (FRG) percent while by the end of the 1960's they had reached 73, 150, and 117 percent. Such are the real dialectics of historical development.

A number of important conclusions stem from the objective logic of the general model of the dynamic optimization of the growth of social labor productivity. One of them applies to the mandatory nature of the adoption of a specific historical approach to the problem of the "high cost" of the latest equipment.

The study of long-term data shows that it is precisely technically advanced but initially expensive machines that become relatively inexpensive in the final account over the years. In particular, this is a direct result of the high rates of the gradual increase in the consolidated labor productivity as the result of partial improvements of existing capacities requiring only limited additional investments. At the same time, the capital returns of labor tools rise to a predominant extent leading to their progressively intensive relative cost decline. At any given year the elements of the initial relative high cost of the most progressive equipment installed are manifested in the national economy along with the predominant effect of a relatively strong factual reduction in the cost of existing capacities which, until then, were equally installed on a correspondingly high technical level and which gradually reveal to an ever-greater extent their potential possibilities. The intensively reduced cost of the latest types of equipment follows the same direction as its production goes on. Therefore, the general result on the social scale of the relatively low cost of capital investments in their dynamics is always in favor of the development and utilization of precisely the most advanced and most productive types of new equipment.

The conclusion of the secondary, subordinate production significance of the "limited nature" of annual capital investment ceilings is also of basic importance in formulating the problem of optimizing the development of the socialist national economy.

The concepts of a universal static optimization are based on the consideration of the "limited nature" of annual capital investment ceilings as the initial independent factor in the process of economic development. All of them stem from the concept that the choice of even though not the most perfect yet less expensive technical variants "optimally" expensive in their static condition provides a certain benefit in the utilization of the annual amounts of capital investments depicted as a self-seeking factor of economic progress. In reality, the statically optimal economy of capital investments

thus achieved in the initial period is compensated over a number of years, to an ever-greater extent, by parallel and subsequent losses, increasing in time and space, in terms of the growth of social labor productivity and, respectively, of the end social product, including (all other conditions being equal) the growth of the annual capital investment amounts themselves. In a dynamic state the initial statically optimal economy of capital investments inevitably converts into its opposite--into a progressing annual shortage of capital investments and factual accumulation resources. Consequently, it is not the value of the optimality criterion that depends on the "limited nature" of the initial volume of capital investments, groundlessly depicted as the prime factor for economic development but, conversely, it is precisely the use of the proper criterion for optimizing technical development and the growth of social labor productivity that predetermine the most favorable growth of capital investments in time and in terms of annual amounts.

We must point out that along with surmounting the scarcity of resources in their dynamics, thanks to the maximizing of rates of technical progress and the growth of social labor productivity the objective need arises for the optimal utilization of scarce resources in their static condition. It is a question of the implementation of economic measures aimed at the best possible utilization of production capacities and material resources available at a given period unrelated to the use of new capital investments. Such a static optimization of the utilization of available economic resources is achieved through the use of adequate facilities (mathematical programming and others). It is effective and assumes a positive significance only in resolving truly static economic problems, i.e., problems which are resolved without new capital investments and only as strictly subordinate and operative supplements to the systematic use of the most progressive and superior equipment, within the use of the general criterion governing the dynamic economic optimum.

This intensifies the overall effectiveness of economic development. In the opposite case, in the choice of new technical variants based on static optimizing methods the dynamic economic optimum is violated. Essentially it is replaced by an ineffective, negative, and regressive general static optimum.

#### General Criterion of a Dynamic Economic Optimum

The general criterion of a dynamic economic optimum is a criterion of dynamic optimization of the economic effectiveness of new equipment and capital investments. In the elaboration and utilization of technical variants it requires, above all, a maximal increase of consolidated labor productivity--the end (conventionally net) output  $U$  (production and utilization conditions) per labor unit (number of workers or man/hours worked)  $R$  or  $U/R$ , and, subsequently, the minimizing of production capital outlays  $F$  per unit labor  $R$ , or  $F/R$ . In practical terms this means that according to the criterion of the highest increase of consolidated labor productivity priority is given to the systematic development and

utilization of the most progressive new technical variants of capital investments (in terms of the level of mechanization and automation). Ways for insuring the lowest possible specific capital investments and achieving the shortest construction periods are looked for only as an additional, secondary, and strictly subordinate, even though intrinsically very important condition. To this effect special measures are being also implemented such as the additional enlargement of machine units, extensive sectorial and intersectorial standardization of parts and assemblies, improved kinematics of machines and technology in the manufacturing of their parts, lowering of their weight, compact and cluster location of enterprises, use of highly industrial construction methods, reduced construction time, and others.

The general criterion of the dynamic economic optimum reflects the dialectical, internally contradictory, and dual nature of amortization withholdings. As Marx proved, the relatively higher the amortization funds reflecting the already accumulated labor tools are, the higher the level of social labor productivity becomes and the greater become the amounts of the entire material wealth produced by society, which includes even greater elements of factual accumulation within the amortization fund. On the other hand, that same amortization fund also becomes a structural element of current production outlays and, as such, like any other current outlay, is subject to maximal thrift. The priority of maximizing the level of consolidated labor productivity expresses to a higher degree the positive role of increasing outlays of labor tools and, thus, increasing the respective amortization fund as a decisive material prerequisite for the acceleration of the growth of labor productivity and as an important element of factual accumulations. The secondary, subordinate, even though in itself important minimizing of capital outlays in this connection also insures the maximally possible economy in the outlay of labor tools and of respective amortization withholdings as a structural element of current production outlays entirely identical to all other types of production outlays. As a result, the criterion of the dynamic optimum predetermines the minimal total labor outlays ( $c + v + m$ ) per unit of output over a number of years in a state of uninterrupted dynamics, rather than at an initial determined time segment.

Three situations under whose condition the criterion of the dynamic optimization of the economic effectiveness of capital investments is applied are of essential practical significance. The first (most frequently encountered) consists of the fact that the most advanced new technical variants corresponding to the highest value of the criterion determine the lowering of factual social production costs and total labor outlays ( $c + v + m$ ) per unit of output based on planned parameters. In such cases superior equipment must be applied without any hindrances. Here the optimality criterion for the development and utilization of superior equipment is not the maximal reduction of total labor outlays ( $c + v + m$ ) per unit of output, based on planned stipulations, but precisely the initial priority maximal increase of consolidated labor productivity ( $U/R$ ). The point is that it is precisely the most progressive technical variants that could be related--

as a result of increased amortizations--even to relatively low initial (planned) reductions of total labor outlays ( $c + v + m$ ) per unit of output. By virtue of the basic laws governing technical progress, a minimum of such labor outlays develops only in a dynamic state, with the systematic selection of the most advanced technical variants.

The second situation is characterized by the fact that technical variants which maximally increase consolidated labor productivity, regardless of the secondary all-round minimizing of specific capital outlays, still based on planned data, do not as yet reduce total labor outlays ( $c + v + m$ ) per unit of output. They may even initially create a certain slight increase. Greater amortizations and electric power outlays, and so on, are initially totally covered or even somewhat outstrip the reduction of all other social labor outlays. The extensive use of such most advanced and most productive labor equipment is, unquestionably, advantageous from the very beginning. On the one hand, in the initial period the national economy does not or almost does not use more labor per unit of output compared with the replaced technical means and does not suffer tangible absolute losses. On the other hand, the discovery in subsequent years of the potential possibilities of the latest equipment insures the fastest possible rates of growth of consolidated and social labor productivity. Consequently, the factual social production costs and total labor outlays ( $c + v + m$ ) per unit of output are reduced in time. This more than compensates for their lack of reduction or their slight reduction in the initial period of the utilization of the new capacities. The abandonment of such a systematically progressive and dynamically optimal technical policy inevitably leads, over a number of years, to a relative slowdown of the very pace of technical progress, and of the increase in the consolidated (individual) and social labor productivity and of the reduction in the cost per unit of output.

Finally, the third situation (less developed) develops whenever the use of superior equipment with a maximally increased consolidated level of productivity and secondary minimizing of capital outlays are related, according to planned data, to an initial substantial increase in factual social production outlays ( $c + v + m$ ) per unit of output. The growth of amortizations, electric power outlays, and so on, initially tangibly exceed the maximal economy of all other social labor outlays. The immediate extensive use of such revolutionary equipment is related to absolute losses to the national economy and is, therefore, inexpedient. At the same time the acute need develops for a substantial amount of experimental investments in the field of such most progressive and latest equipment. This maximally accelerates the accumulation of scientific and production-technical knowledge. It makes possible the subsequent elimination of the initially planned higher production cost, thus opening the way to the extensive use and mastering of the most progressive new equipment by the national economy. Our entire historical experience proves that such revolutionary equipment conceals tremendous potential opportunities for upgrading further the consolidated and social labor

productivity. The development of nuclear reactors is a classical example in this respect. Initially beginning with a substantial increase in the cost of electric power, they are currently on the threshold of a considerable drop in the cost of electric power production compared with the most powerful thermoelectric power blocks operating on solid fuel.

The general criterion of the dynamic optimum contains the dialectical opposite of the maximal and minimal values of its components. Its equivalent synthetic expression is the indicator of the growth of specific labor productivity established in two ways. Under favorable conditions the combination of a maximal upgrading of the consolidated labor productivity with the growth of the end capital returns represents an increase in the conventionally net output (U) per worker (R) and per unit capital investments (F) taking also into account the coefficient of the upgraded quality of the goods produced (Ka), or  $(U/R \times U/F)Ka$ .

In order to determine the dynamic economic effectiveness of highly productive yet initially expensive new technical variants, inevitably involving an initial sharp lowering of capital returns, i.e., in order to strengthen the priority of upgrading the consolidated labor productivity compared with the secondary and subordinate significance of minimizing capital investments in this connection, the growth of the specific labor productivity is computed on the basis of the use of correction coefficients such as, for example,  $(U/r \times 0.7 + U/f \times 0.3)Ka$ .

These correction coefficients are objective, for they correspond approximately to the factual share of production capital investments in the end social product. In individual cases used for purposes of expert evaluations it would be expedient to use even easier correction coefficients for the use of superior equipment (such as, for example, 0.75 and 0.25; 0.8 and 0.2, and so on). Objectively, this is related to the fact that in the dynamics over a number of years, in the process of revealing its potential possibilities, regardless of its initial considerably high cost, superior equipment yields tremendous results including a subsequent considerable reduction in production capital intensiveness.

Let us emphasize that the combination of indicators of the growth of consolidated labor productivity and of increased capital returns does not have in the least a conventional or artificial but a very substantial and real economic content. This combination encourages the maximal (uneven and gradual) upgrading of the consolidated labor productivity compared with the maximal possibilities to economize on capital outlays, the fastest possible mastering of new capacities, insuring their maximal load, and improving their utilization. Thus the increase in specific labor productivity reflects general economic accomplishments far more extensively than merely the indicator of the growth of consolidated labor productivity.

The point is that with an annual growth of the end social product by, let us say, 7-10 percent, production capital investments account for approximately 25-30 percent while net investments account for 15-20 percent of

the entire amount of the annual end social product (with a systematic price setting based on a uniform labor standard). This means that every year an average of approximately 3-3.5 units of that same end social product are removed per unit of growth of the end social product as production capital outlays, while 2-2.5 units are subtracted as net investments.

Consequently, the more favorable are the dynamics of capital returns as a secondary condition in the use of the most progressive and highly productive new equipment, the greater is the amount of additional funds released within the national economy which could be directed toward accelerating the growth of both the accumulation and consumption funds.

A number of examples show the practical results of the use of the dynamic optimum criterion. The automated shop for the automatic processing of tractor valves, the first of its kind in the world, set up in 1962-1963 at the Kuybyshev Avtotraktorodetal' plant made it necessary to increase capital investments from 549,000 to 2,744,000 rubles, or 500 percent. It increased the labor productivity of basic workers 3.3 times while that of all production workers (reduced on the basis of the wage scale) rose 2.25 times. Nevertheless, in the first years of the shop's work, the cost of a valve rose from 10.8638 to 11.1785 kopeks, or 2.9 percent, even though overall wage outlays dropped from 5.6820 to 2.5276 kopeks per valve. It appeared as though the automated shop was ineffective. Profits were declining and no returns from the additional capital investments could be predicted. However, the factual social production outlays (total labor outlays) include added labor as well. In consecutive price setting of the uniform labor level the norm of the added product in the national economy is approximately 1.61. Consequently, the factual social production outlays had dropped significantly from 20.0118 kopeks [ $10.8638 + (5.6820 \times 1.61)$ ] to 15.2479 kopeks [ $11.1785 + (2.5276 \times 1.61)$ ], or 23.8 percent per unit of output. This proved the tremendous factual economic effectiveness of the latest and most progressive new equipment. In the first years of operation annual savings of factual social production outlays equalled 476,400 rubles. Consequently, an indicator such as recovery time, taking into consideration full labor outlays, did not exceed 4.6 years [ $(2744 - 549):476.4$ ]. Specific labor productivity, from the very beginning of the use of the shop rose 64 percent [ $(1.00/0.444)0.7 + (1.00/5.00)0.3$ ].

In exactly the same way the automated line for clutch cases for the ZIL-130 motor vehicle, installed at the ZIL, and which, according to the plans was to increase the labor productivity of basic workers 6 times and of all production workers (reduced on the basis of the wage scale) 4.3 times, called for an 83 percent increase in specific capital investments and appeared excessively expensive and "ineffective." Recovery time was 12.3 years. Estimates showed that as a result of the lowering of total labor outlays the recovery period was no more than 2.8 years. Expressing the dynamic economic effectiveness specific labor productivity rose 3.17 times [ $(1.00/0.232)0.7 + 1.00/1.83)0.3$ ].



Here is another example. According to 1972 estimates the installation of the most advanced spindleless assembly line, excluding rewinding, used for the manufacture of tex 25 (number 40) cotton yarn increases labor productivity 64 percent; capital investments per ton of yarn rise from 402.59 to 656.72 rubles, or 63.1 percent, while production costs drop 5.1 percent. However, on the basis of the then-used 20 percent sectorial profitability norm (5-year recovery time) reduced outlays increased greatly from 240.52 to 283.11 rubles, or 17.7 percent. Even with a 12 percent profitability norm (8.3 years recovery time) reduced outlays are substantially higher, rising from 208.30 to 230.58 rubles, or 10.7 percent. They begin to drop only with a capital investment profitability norm of under 3.24 percent, or a recovery period in excess of 31 years. It appeared as though the new equipment which marked a revolutionary turn in spinning and opened the way to a tremendous acceleration of labor productivity would be ineffective. In reality, the factual total labor outlays, which included added labor, drop quite significantly from 289.47 to 230.98 rubles, or 20.2 percent, while specific labor productivity rises 33.2 percent. The highly effective latest spinning machines have been extensively applied in the 9th and particularly, the 10th Five-Year Plan. The further use of the BD-200 spindleless machine will raise labor productivity even further and its cost will be substantially reduced as its production expands.

Practical experience literally rebels against the economic chains restraining technical development. For example, the vertical multiple-operation machine tool with digital programming and automatic instrument change (machining center), whose utilization has been planned in recent years for the manufacturing of complex shape parts (bodies, stamped parts, brackets) can replace a group of all-purpose machine tools (horizontal-boring machine, vertical milling machine, and radial drilling machine). It increases labor productivity 3.85 times (based on wage computations). Additional capital outlays total 49,600 rubles; production costs are reduced by 5,500 rubles while total labor outlays are reduced by 14,300 rubles. Consequently, recovery time based on production costs equals 9 years (profitability level not exceeding 11.1 percent). This far exceeds the 5-6.7 years norm applicable to machine-building sectors. Yet, even if we include the static recovery of additional capital investments, in terms of total labor outlays is would not exceed 3.5 years. The factual dynamic economic effectiveness of this progressive type of equipment changes drastically: specific labor productivity rises 2.88 times  $[(1.00/0.2597)0.7 + (1.00/1.6479)0.3]$ .

We must emphasize that contemporary experience in the field of scientific and technical developments fully confirms Marx's basic theoretical concept that "Labor productivity determines the amount of consumer value produced in the course of a specific period of time and, consequently, in the course of a specific added working time as well. Consequently, the factual wealth of society and the possibility for constantly expanding its reproduction process depend not on the duration of the added labor but on its productivity and on the greater or lesser availability of production conditions under which it takes place" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 25, part II, p 386). Developing this Marxist concept, V. I. Lenin determined

the main way followed by contemporary historical development. "In the final account, labor productivity is the most important, the main feature for the victory of the new social system. Capitalism created a type of labor productivity unparalleled under serfdom. Capitalism could be finally defeated and will be finally defeated by the fact that socialism will create a new and far higher labor productivity...

"Compared with capitalism, communism represents the highest productivity of voluntary labor by conscientious and united workers using progressive equipment" ["Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, pp 21-22).

In our view, it is only on the basis of the theoretical positions we expressed that a successful solution could be found to the problem of historical importance of organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and developing more extensively our socialist form of combining science with production.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and in the light of the decisions of the 25th party congress the systematic and purposeful dynamic optimizing of the further development of our planned national economy becomes particularly important. It is based on giving priority to the growth of labor productivity and calls for the use of a general indicator of effectiveness of installed new equipment and of the overall production process, historically new and purely socialist in terms of content and form. The objective advantages of socialism enable us totally to surmount the economic barriers on the path of technical progress inevitably embedded in the very nature of static, limited, and inefficient effectiveness indicators such as amount of profits and level of profitability, whatever their appearance may be. The historically limited and inefficient features of such economic categories to the extent to which they are interpreted as expressions of economic effectiveness are inseparably based on their most profound content for which reason they inevitably appear entirely independently from the disappearance of the production relations based on capitalist exploitation.

Under socialist conditions, naturally, the amount of profits has an entirely rational significance, not in the least as a production category of economic effectiveness but only as a distribution economic category, as a necessary planning, financial, and statistical measurement of the constituent element (the result) of the production process--the primary added product which is the source for real accumulations (together with the production amortization fund) and for the formation of the social consumption fund.

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## RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ARTIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 66-69

[Article by Donatas Banionis]

[Text] I have played many roles. Some of them I could master immediately while it took a long time, sometimes years, to understand others. However, that which came to me immediately was not easy. I remember reading that Mikhail Svetlov had written his famous "Kakhovka" in 40 minutes. Asked how he was able to do this so rapidly, Svetlov answered: "...forty minutes plus my entire life."

Such is the seeming facility in the work of the artist. Simple plus a lifetime. It is not easy to serve the arts. It is wrong to say that creation is easy. Creation cannot be only happiness if we are to take it seriously. The life of easy works is short and dim. Creating a big play, a big motion picture, the actor and director give the public a part of their souls. This is the meaning, the purpose of our work. The artist creates in a state of torment, seeking in the characters new destinies, leading to new thoughts about the meaning of life. He does not preach but, seeing with his particular inner sight the nature of his contemporary, he re-creates him. He must express everything through his work: his thoughts on civic tasks, art, and world outlook...

A role is always a study of the human soul. The work of the actor who studies the character of the hero and the environment in which he lives and acts does not tolerate a simplistic one-sided approach. Any type of plot, circumstance, or place of action enables the artist to raise problems which excite his fellow citizens.

I am sometimes asked how important is the artist's position in life in terms of his successful work? The question seems strange. If the artist has no personal view on life he must be blind. If he is, what could he tell the people about life full of color and dynamism? The true artist is, above all, a personality. Yet, a personality is inconceivable without convictions and positions in life.

Naturally, every person develops his convictions his own way and reaches his own position in life through different roads. Sometimes such roads may be long and even painful. My path was both simple and difficult. I inherited my views on life from Yuozas Banionis, my father, a restless and passionate man. A deep feeling for justice was inherent in his nature. It led him to the revolution. He took part in the class battles of 1905 and the revolutionary events of 1918. His clandestine activities were interrupted by detentions and jail sentences. Released from captivity, my father rejoined the struggle for the happiness of the people. I always felt personally, from childhood, the social injustice against which my father fought. The road to high school and to university was blocked to the son of a poor man. I could not even dream of working in the arts. At the age of 13 I began to study a craft to earn a piece of bread.

I frequently think of how difficult it is for our young people who gain their views on capitalism from books to understand the entire difficulty of living in a bourgeois society. It is not merely a question of the socio-economic system whose nature could be learned from academic textbooks. It is the daily, the hourly degradation of the individual. Here the class barrier is strong and reliable. However, the liberating wave of the restoration of the Soviet system in Lithuania abolished all social barriers. The gate to the kingdom of freedom opened for me as for the other Lithuanian working youngsters. To me these were gates to a beautiful world. I entered the Panevezhys theater-studio organized by Yuozas Mil'tinis. That is how I came to the theater. I came to it thanks to the Soviet system and the triumph of the ideals of my communist father. That is why my position in art is clear. It is determined by the Soviet system, by the ideals of communism.

These views withstood yet another stern test. I was accepted by the Panevezhys theater on 1 June 1941. Twenty years later the Great Patriotic War broke out. This was a difficult trial for our entire country. Fascism was defeated in the confrontation between the two worlds--humanism and inhumanity. The ideas of communism, internationalism, and social humanism triumphed.

Reading today the draft of the USSR Constitution my entire life passes in front of my eyes, from the revolutionary activities of my father and his fellow fighters to the triumph of the communist ideals in our country, expressed in that document with the following words: "The free development of each one is a prerequisite for the free development of all." As an actor I value the article which speaks of the protection and multiplication of the spiritual values of society, and their extensive utilization for upgrading the cultural standard of the Soviet people. The draft of the fundamental law calls for encouraging professional art. An example of this is our small Panevezhys drama theater whose blossoming was insured by the Soviet system and the socialist state.

Our theater, still headed by Yuozas Mil'tinis is a vivid side of Lithuanian culture, a noted phenomenon of Soviet multinational art. Even though it is working in a small city it is known far beyond the boundaries of the republic. This confirms the vivifying nature of the Soviet way of life.

The Panevezhys theater re-creates on its stage characters of different nationalities but their main feature is their contemporary spirit. The actors are united in their revolutionary and progressive art whose ideas we try to present to the audience. I would like to understand what kind of man will exist in the future. I seek an answer to this question in the characters of my contemporaries, for the features of this future are already visible today in the best members of our society. I consider it a great happiness to play characters who could be described as the remakers of life. Here I spare no efforts, time, or sleepless nights.

I particularly like the role of Pavka Korchagin. It is a very responsible matter to create the characters of people who serve the noble ideas of justice. It is also difficult. One is afraid of creating a character of unlikely goodness. The moment of emotional truth which brings total reciprocal understanding between the actor and the audience comes when the actor has found the precise artistic expression of views considered progressive. The character may turn out sketchy unless one fully realizes this. It may be accurate but not exciting. Working on a role I develop myself both as an actor and as a person.

I continued my development in the process of creating the character of Davydov in "Virgin Land Upturned." I wanted to depict him as a person who is always searching. We consider interesting a person who finds himself in a difficult situation. The tenser the situation is the more difficult it is for the character to make a decision and the more interesting becomes the actor's task. Davydov is trying to find himself and his place in life, for which reason he is mercilessly strict toward himself. In an effort to depict this I recalled both my own past experience and the dictates of my civic conscience. I wanted the audience to see the decision-making process, the time when the path is chosen. In "Virgin Land Upturned" I tried to depict Davydov's desire to understand himself, to depict the love for the people his experienced heart felt. To me this was the most important thing.

To me working on the characters of those who remake life is related to thoughts on the establishment of a communist reality. We are building a new society and the people are affected by the problems of how to live in order to be more useful in the building of communism and understand the meaning of life today. We know that our enemies are trying to erode this line separating good from evil. Moral problems are problems not only of spiritual self-awareness but of community life. Therefore, beginning work on a role I try to clarify for my own sake the main question: who does my character support? Analyzing his actions and line of behavior I try to understand his beliefs and the virtues and faults of his character.

It is only after understanding this that I can fulfill my civic duty as an artist: to show with whom to share or not to share a life. I would like for the viewers to think about their lives. However, I am not in favor of openly impressing my position on the audience. I would like to play roles which would make it possible to debate, to argue, to challenge the viewer into an argument, perhaps even against himself. Let him compare his life

with the life of my character and ask himself: "What about me? Do I live as a should?" To make people think is one of the main tasks of art. Art must help man to gain a moral position consistent with our way of life. Moral positions are not something frozen. They are always social. They live and develop with society itself. There is no abstract morality.

This is confirmed by the entire history of mankind. In recent years I have had the occasion to play the characters of Goya and Beethoven. The work was difficult. I had to study thoroughly the lives of these geniuses and their surroundings. I plunged mentally into the epoch in which they worked. It was then that I felt particularly sharply the profoundly social nature of the concepts of good and evil. Entirely different views have been invested in such moral categories. That which some of the readers considered evil was considered good by others.

I recall yet another role--that of Tesmann in "Hedda Gabler," a play by H. Ibsen. Initially he is not a bad man. He is a good family man, a scientist, and may even be considered progressive. However, looked at from another aspect, it becomes clear that his interests are focused only on himself and his family for whom he is ready to do anything. He conceals the petty, the narrow nature of his world behind beautiful words. His character reveals that he is a petit bourgeois, living in fear, without risks. I find the rôle of Tesmann interesting because I expose precisely this philistine nature. Philistinism is a phenomenon alien to our society even though under another governmental system to be a philistine is almost a virtue.

"Concern for man," said Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev addressing the 16th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, "means not only the satisfaction of his material needs....I would like to single out the moral side of the matter." The country is becoming richer with every passing year. Today the people are concerned not about a piece of bread or a change of underwear. Their material demands are considerably greater and they are able to satisfy them. However, regardless of how many beautiful things we may have at home and around us, nothing must conceal the spiritual beauty of the people. The duty of the actor is to bring to the people this spiritual beauty, to make them think and purge themselves through laughter and tears.

The artist must always tell the truth. A lie kills the talent and separates art from the people. Accepting a role I think of what the audience could learn from the life of my character. Occasionally, my character forces me, the actor, as well to think about things. Playing the character of Mebius in "Physicists," the play by F. Duhrenmatt, for a long time I was unable to gain a really profound understanding of my character. The situation as presented in the play was the following: In order to prevent a deadly weapon which could doom mankind from falling into imperialist hands, Mebius, a physicist, voluntarily dooms himself to exile in a mental hospital for life. Performing this rôle, for a long time I was unable to determine psychologically why a very great physicist of world renown would abandon everything,

even what was most precious to him, his work! Events related to the conquest of outer space gave an impetus to my thoughts. I believe that it was then that I felt the truly gigantic activities of man in the universe and the civic responsibility which my character, a scientist, felt for the results of his mind, for his discovery could have brought mankind both great happiness and inevitable death.

The educational role of art has been repeatedly proved by life. The heroic fate of Pavka Korchagin continues to give the strength to fight to more than one generation of young people. During the Great Patriotic War the poems of Aleksandr Tvardovskiy and Konstantin Simonov helped the soldiers to withstand the clashes with the enemy. Appealing to the feelings and minds of the people, art promotes in their hearts the principles of a lofty morality. We take to the audience our art, our thoughts about life, our feelings, and our skill. The audience does not simply accept our creativity but corrects it, suggesting topics and characters. This combined creativity of the actor and the viewer enables us to find the proper way.

I always find it difficult to answer the question of what role would I like to play? This is a rather difficult question. I envy the talent of Vasilii Shukshin who has been able to accomplish so much in life. He was able to embody all his thought, as he was able to write scenarios, direct motion pictures, and act. He was able to embody an idea from beginning to end.

I am not a writer. I am an actor and I must work only with the material given to me by the playwright. However, finding the accurate solution is not only my right but my duty as an artist. This is the answer to the question of the type of role I would like to play. It is a role in which, through the power of my skill, I would be able to express the hopes of my contemporaries. I consider the actor's profession as no less important and responsible than that of a physician. The physician is responsible for the health of the person while our work determines his spiritual, his emotional strength. The task of Soviet art is to promote what is progressive. That is why the responsibility of the artist to the people is exceptionally great. Art must not be the simple reflection of life. Its task is to engage in active revolutionary intervention in our activities and to mold the personality of the citizen of the Soviet state whose 60th anniversary is celebrated by the entire world!

5003

CSO: 1802

## MUSCOVITES APPROVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 70-78

[Article by R. Dement'yev, secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee]

[Text] The draft of the fundamental law of our state--the USSR Constitution--submitted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for nationwide discussion is a new confirmation of the triumph of the life-bringing ideas of the October Revolution whose 60th anniversary the Soviet people and all progressive mankind are preparing to celebrate. It profoundly reflects the historical gains of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party, sums up the rich experience in the building of socialism and proclaims the scientific principles governing the subsequent development of our society in future decades.

The drafting, discussion, and adoption of the new constitution are an epochal landmark in the country's biography and a clear proof of the correctness of the Leninist doctrine of the building of socialism, the strengthening of the state of the whole people, and the systematic development of socialist democracy.

The report which Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev submitted at the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum comprehensively substantiated the need for the adoption of a new constitution. It described profoundly its basic concepts and convincingly proved the significance of this event to domestic and international life.

Like all Soviet people the working people of Moscow welcomed the draft of the USSR fundamental law with great enthusiasm and satisfaction. In the very first days following its publication, at numerous meetings which laid the beginning of the mass discussion of the draft, the Muscovites expressed their unanimous approval and support of the decisions of the May plenum and the stipulations and conclusions contained in the report which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev submitted to the plenum, as well as of the draft of the USSR Constitution, imbued with profound faith in the definitive victory of the ideas of communism, and concern for the property of the Soviet people, the further all-round blossoming of our homeland, and the preservation of peace on earth.



The Muscovites welcomed with great approval the results of the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the position of chairman of its Presidium. The working people of the city-hero unanimously share the opinion that Leonid Il'ich's combination of the positions of CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is consistent with the highest interests of the socialist fatherland. The exceptionally high prestige enjoyed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at home and abroad and his outstanding personal qualities as a fighter for the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and for peace the world over will contribute to the even more successful solution of the problems of building communism and to strengthening the positions of our country and the entire socialist comity in the international arena.

The draft of the USSR Constitution, the decision of the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the materials of the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the fifth session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet are the focal point of attention in the organizational and political work of the party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations of all labor collectives in the capital.

In his report to the Central Committee plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated the urgent specific tasks, emphasizing that "We must insure the maximally broadest, freest, and truly efficient discussion of the draft of the constitution, involving in this matter the toiling masses and representatives of all population strata, and utilizing for such purposes our existing forms of social activity."

Implementing this instruction, the Moscow City Party Committee bureau adopted a specific plan for basic organizational and mass-political measures. The tasks related to the organization of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the fundamental law were considered in detail and comprehensively at conferences held by the city and rayon party committees with secretaries of raykoms and primary party organizations, and with the various categories of ideological workers.

The meeting of the aktiv of the Moscow City Party Organization heard a report "On the Draft of the Constitution of the USSR and the Tasks of the Moscow City Party Organization Stemming from the Report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, and the Decisions of the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" presented by Comrade V. V. Grishin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee. The participants in the meeting rated highly the draft of the new USSR Constitution, expressed their complete support and approval of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government, and earmarked specific measures for organizing the discussion of the draft.

Similar aktiv meetings took place in all Moscow rayons, in a state of great upsurge and efficiency. The speakers unanimously noted the new upsurge in the political and labor activeness of the Muscovites triggered by the documents of the May Central Committee plenum and the draft of the new constitution.

Words of warm gratitude were addressed to the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and, personally, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for their invaluable contribution to the elaboration of the fundamental law of the USSR and for their concern for and constant attention paid to the capital.

Indeed, in the 40 years which have passed since the adoption of the current constitution our ancient city changed unrecognizably. The following data were cited at a meeting of the city party aktiv and at the session of the Moscow Soviet: Moscow's population has doubled. The capital has become a major center for machine tool, instrument, and motor vehicle manufacturing, and for the chemical and petroleum-refining industries. Within that period the volume of capital investments rose 14 times while retail trade rose 11 times. A modern, technically equipped housing-communal economy was virtually re-created. Housing facilities increased 4.5 times. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone Muscovites received over 500,000 new apartments. Today Moscow is a very big scientific and cultural center containing thousands of scientific research institutes and design bureaus, higher educational institutions, museums, theaters, and other cultural establishments. Our wonderful rejuvenated city reflects in its appearance all the spiritual, moral, and socioeconomic gains inseparable from the Soviet system and created after the Great October Revolution.

Wherever the draft of the USSR Constitution was discussed--at city or rayon soviet sessions, open party or workers' meetings, by trade union or Komsomol organizations, or at meetings of microrayon residents--everywhere the people were showing great activeness and a deep interest, for each line of this document serves the profound interests of the working people. In the first month alone the draft was discussed in open party meetings at over 4,000 enterprises and organizations in the city. About 40,000 people spoke. Over 2 million people attended meetings and assemblies of workers' collectives and about 100,000 spoke.

The Muscovites rate the draft of the fundamental law exceptionally highly. Characteristic in this respect was the statement made by Hero of Socialist Labor and foreman at the first Moscow plant for radio parts, K. Rol'nova: "I approve with all my heart the draft of the new USSR Constitution which legislatively codifies the great gains of socialism. It clearly proves the further strengthening of our socialist state and the systematic development of socialist democracy, as well as improvements in the governmental and party leadership of the country."

The Moscow communists and working people are particularly emphasizing the legitimacy of that part of the project which legislatively codifies the leading functions of the Communist Party--the guiding force of the Soviet

society and the nucleus of its political system and of all state and social organizations. Expressing the thoughts and feelings of his fellow workers, P. Ilyukhin, a fitter at a Moscow machine-building plant, said:

"Studying the draft of the constitution one feels pride in our homeland which has achieved tremendous successes in the building of socialism and communism. We, the workers, well understand that everything we have achieved was made possible thanks to the wise policy of the Leninist party and to its outstanding role as the organizer and inspirer of all our victories."

The participants in such meetings and the authors of numerous letters to the editors of newspapers and journals, or letters addressed to party committees and social organizations emphasize the idea of how important the personal example of the party member is in production and in daily life. Wherever he may work and whatever his position, the party member always stands out and must be a model in the fulfillment of constitutional requirements.

Matters related to the work of the soviets in the draft of the fundamental law are discussed extensively. The Muscovites unanimously believe that it is entirely correct for the constitution to call for an increased role of the soviets in the solution of the most important problems. They consider as timely and expedient the legislative codification of the ties between soviets and their deputies with the masses. This will enhance the prestige of the soviets as truly people's power organs.

The section of the draft of the constitution which codifies for the first time the Leninist foreign policy principles meets with the warm response of the working people. Addressing a general meeting of the collective, P. Bastrykin, communist labor shock worker and tuner at the First State Bearings Plant, said: "For the first time the USSR Constitution has a special chapter entitled 'Foreign Policy,' which codifies the successes of the peaceful foreign policy of the party and the state. We, former veterans, add our voices to the warm words of approval of the peace-loving policy pursued by the CPSU headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The introduction into the constitution of articles on foreign policy will contribute to the gaining of new successes in the struggle for preserving the peace, and for disarmament, adamantly pursued by our party and state."

At their meetings the party organizations and labor collectives welcome the systematic line followed by the CPSU of further improvements in socialist democracy, broadening the rights and freedoms of USSR citizens, and upgrading their individual responsibility to society, the state, and the people.

The draft of the fundamental law considerably develops stipulations on the rights of the Soviet citizens. It includes matters pertaining to the rights of the citizens to housing, health protection, and use of the achievements

of culture. As throughout the entire country, all this meets with the full understanding and approval of the working people in the capital who see in it yet another confirmation of the permanent concern displayed by our party and state for the working people.

The draft of the fundamental law has firmly entered the lives of each collective and every Muscovite. This is confirmed by the tens of thousands of letters and declarations sent by the working people of the capital to party and soviet institutions and mass information organs in which they express their warm approval of this document and submit their suggestions.

Ascribing great importance to the study and summation of the remarks and suggestions related to the draft of the USSR Constitution received from the working people, the city CPSU committee has developed a system for handling this work. It involves the Moscow City Soviet, the Moscow City Trade Unions Council, the Moscow City Komsomol Committee, and a broad party, soviet, and economic aktiv. Each suggestion or remark is considered by the commissions set up at the CPSU raykoms and party committees.

The commissions' materials, drafted on the basis of the classification of all suggestions submitted by the working people, are directed through the proper city and central organs to the secretariat of the Constitutional Commission.

Model work is being done by the commissions of the Kievskiy, Proletarskiy, and Lyublinskiy rayon party committees, the party committees of the "Pamyati Revolyutsii 1905 Goda" plant, the radio engineering institute, and others. On the basis of their experience the CPSU Gorkom is teaching the aktiv how to work on the suggestions submitted by the working people. The letters received by the commissions prove the deep interest of the Muscovites in making our fundamental law a document perfect in content and form, adequately crowning the great gains achieved by the socialist society in 60 years of Soviet system. The suggestions and remarks of the working people apply to all the parts of the draft of the USSR Constitution.

A number of suggestions are imbued with concern for the further spiritual and creative development of the Soviet people, their rights to work, rest, and housing, and the protection and preservation of natural resources.

A considerable percentage of the suggestions deals with the duties of the Soviet person and is directed toward upgrading his responsibilities to society and to developing in him the feelings of duty, conscientious discipline, and communist attitude toward labor. Many suggestions are related to upgrading the responsibility for the implementation of parental obligations, children's education, and more attentive attitude toward working women and mothers.

Numerous suggestions emphasize that the working people and their collectives must be responsible for the implementation of socialist pledges and for upgrading further labor productivity; they speak of the specific participation

of the individual worker in the affairs of the collective and production management, and of the further strengthening of relations between science and production with a view to accelerating scientific and technical progress.

G. Sidorov, teacher at the Moscow Higher Technical School imeni Bauman, proposes the following text for the final paragraph of Article 13: "Combining material with moral incentives, the state helps to convert labor into a prime vital need of the Soviet person and into a source of joy and happiness." I. Usanov, brigade leader at the trolleybus repairs plant, suggests an addition to the same article on the inadmissibility of avoiding socially useful labor and on the responsibility of the citizens for such an avoidance. V. Kadushkin, School No 819 principal, and other comrades suggest the following addition to Article 60: "Individuals who avoid work or violate the labor discipline bear a responsibility to society." I. Pushkin, machinist-instructor at the Izmaylovo electric power depot, Moscow subway, has suggested that Article 16 reflect a view on the responsibility of every member of the collective not only for his own sector but for the overall state of affairs in the collective.

I. Gurvich, honored painter of the RSFSR, and secretary of the party bureau of the painting section of the Moscow organization of the Painters Union, considers that Article 27 of the chapter on "Social Development and Culture" which reads "The state is concerned with the preservation and multiplication of the spiritual values of society and their extensive use for upgrading the cultural standard of the Soviet people" be expanded as follows: "and insures the further upgrading of the role of socialist culture and art in ideological-political, moral, and aesthetic education."

In their letters the working people also express various suggestions and critical remarks indirectly related to the project but dealing with the work of enterprises, social organizations, the city and rayon economy, consumer services, and others. All such correspondence is being quickly readdressed to the proper local state organs or departments for the adoption of the necessary measures. A number of problems have already been resolved. Some are in the consideration stage and some will be recommended for inclusion in plans, orders, and memoranda issued by the heads of the respective departments, or in other documents.

The suggestions and remarks submitted by the working people pertaining to basic problems are frequently discussed by the bureaus of CPSU raykoms, executive committees of rayon soviets, and permanent commissions and groups of deputies at enterprises. The city party committee ascribes great importance to this work and demands of the party, soviet, trade union, and other social organizations the mandatory adoption of measures based on the reports submitted by the working people or, wherever necessary, the organization of explanatory work among the population.

Organized forms of study of the draft of the constitution are being applied ever-more extensively. In this respect the political education and economic training systems have been assigned an important role. The materials of the May CPSU Central Committee plenum, the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the draft of the constitution, and the documents of the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have been included in the curricula of political education schools and seminars attended by nearly 4 million people. Such collective forms of work make possible a more effective propaganda and interpretation of the draft of the constitution.

On the initiative of the propagandists of the party organizations at the electrical engineering plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich, the Frezer plant, the TsNIIImash [Central Scientific Research Institute of Machinery-Manufacturing Technology] and others, two additional classes were held with the political and economic training systems in the city. The Political Education House of the Moscow City Party Committee formulated method plans for propagandists. Respective topics for lectures, talks, and political informations were formulated and sent to the party organizations. Consultation centers have been organized in all raykoms and party committees of big enterprises in which propagandists, lecturers, political informants, agitators, or private citizens could be supplied with information on problems related to the draft of the fundamental law.

The CPSU Gorkom, the Moscow party organizations, and the city department of the Knowledge Society have developed extensive propaganda through lectures on the principles on which the future constitution rests. Every day 4,000 lecturers deliver their lectures in the city. In the first weeks following the publication of the draft alone tens of thousands of lectures were delivered. Lecture cycles on "The New USSR Constitution is a Constitution of the Socialist State of the Whole People," "Socioeconomic Rights and Duties of the Soviet Citizens," "Historical Significance of the Draft of the USSR Constitution," and others are considered particularly interesting. A large number of scientists have been recruited for propaganda work. Fifty percent of the lectures are delivered by doctors or candidates of sciences. Associates from the Institute of the State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences have opened a permanent consultation center which enjoys great popularity in Kievskiy Rayon. Collective visits by social science teachers to enterprises are being practiced. Lecturers from the Knowledge Society Organization at Moscow University decided to deliver about 600 addresses at the shops and departments of the Automotive Vehicles Plant imeni Likhachev and over 2,500 lectures and talks on the future USSR Constitution at Moscow enterprises and construction sites. Many Moscow State University scientists have already visited the Kauchuk and Elektrosvet imeni Yablochkov plants, and the Krasnaya Roza combine. Collective meetings between scientists and working people are an effective method for the interpretation of this most important political document, warmly supported and developed by the CPSU Gorkom.

Yet, we also take into consideration the fact that with such a mass amount of lectures there is a danger of lowering their quality. In this connection the Moscow City Party Committee and the raykoms and party committees have taken measures to provide greater aid to lecturers and supervise topics, the ideological-theoretical content of the lectures, and the forms of their delivery.

The city party organization fruitfully combined the campaign for the preparations for and holding of elections for local soviets with the dissemination of the materials of the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Sixth USSR Supreme Soviet Session. The meetings between voters and deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and RSFSR, secretaries of the Moscow City Party Committee and CPSU raykoms, and heads of the executive committee of the Moscow Soviet and the rayon soviets of deputies of the working people were an important aspect of this work.

We know the important role which economic managers and specialists play in political work in general and in mass agitation work in particular. The city party committee and the party organizations involved most leading workers and engineering and technical cadres in the efforts to interpret the draft of the constitution. The CPSU raykoms and the local party committees held instruction conferences with them. Currently the entire ideological aktiv of the city--about 400,000 people--is involved in explaining the basic stipulations of the draft of the constitution and the tasks stemming from the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the May Central Committee Plenum at industrial and transportation enterprises, construction projects, establishments, and places of residence. Reporters, political informants, and agitators are working creatively, summing up and extensively using the best available experience, and searching for new agitation methods.

A group of reporters working on the basis of specially developed topics has been set up at the Kievskiy Party Raykom. During the first month of discussions of the draft of the USSR Constitution it visited rayon enterprises and establishments over 20 times. Systematic and purposeful work is being done by agitators and political informants at the universal joints plant, the Central Scientific Research Institute of the Clothing Industry, the First Model Printing Press imeni A. A. Zhdanov, the First Moscow Timepieces Plant, the State Nitrogen Industry Institute, and others. Here topic exhibits and special stands have been set up exhibiting books and posters. Practical experience is shared. Agitators and political informants meet with enterprise managers.

After the elections for local soviets the lights of the agitation centers remain lit. Voters' clubs are at work as centers for political work at places of residence. Lectures, reports, and political informations are given here and one could meet soviet deputies, take part in an information conference, consult with a jurist, and so on. Agitation brigades travel in a number of city rayons. This makes it possible to do explanatory work

among a considerable population in the capital, informing the people regularly and operatively on the various problems of life in the country, answer promptly questions of interest to the people and, at the same time, give the party organizations the possibility to determine better the opinions and feelings of the citizens and to react to their requests, wishes, and critical remarks.

On the basis of the capital's integrated plan the party committees are engaged in visual agitation everywhere. The gorkoms and rayon party committees have assigned each party organization specific tasks related to artistic-political work on the anniversary of the October Revolution, the draft of the constitution, and the materials of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Panels, exhibits, posters, and slogans have been erected and organized at streets, squares, and main arteries, and at enterprises and establishments.

The city party committee is directing the party organizations toward the active utilization of the possibilities of cultural and educational institutions in promoting the draft of the constitution and the struggle of the working people to welcome properly the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Zhdanovskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, Kirovskiy, Proletarskiy, and Sokol'nicheskii rayon party committees and the party committees of the automotive vehicles plant imeni Likhachev, the Stankolit plant, the Krasnyy Bogatyr' production association, the depot of the Moscow freight yard, House Building Combine No 1, and many others are doing extensive work in this direction. Clubs, and culture homes and palaces sponsor topic evenings, oral journals, and photographic exhibits on "Everything for the Good of the People, for the Soviet Person," and "We Approve the Draft of the New USSR Constitution." They sponsor topical motion pictures such as "Tale of the Soviet State," "In a Single Union," "The Avrora Cannon Shot Announced," and others. The houses of culture of a number of enterprises present sociopolitical readings on "The Draft of the USSR Constitution is the Embodiment of the Great Achievements of the Soviet People," "The Victory of the October Revolution is the Main Event of the 20th Century," and "Insuring the Peace Throughout the World is the Highest Principle of the Foreign Policy of the Soviet State." The houses of culture have set up permanent consultation centers on the draft of the USSR Constitution. The city's mass libraries have organized book and illustration exhibits on "The USSR Constitution--the Fundamental Law of the Soviet State."

Days on "It is Good to Live in the Soviet Country," "We are the State," "Our Soviet Way of Life," and other themes enjoy great popularity among the visitors of the city's culture and recreation parks; exhibits on "The Fundamental Law of our Life," and "Stages in the Great Path" have been organized.

The CPSU Gorkom, the Moscow City Trade Unions Council, and the Main Culture Administration of the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee are taking measures to energize the activities of cultural institutions so that the participation



of the working people in the nationwide discussion of the historical document and the preparations for the great 60th anniversary of the Soviet system will be clearly reflected in all clubs, culture homes and palaces, parks, libraries, and museums.

The press has been assigned an important role in this work. The city party committee is directing the mass information media toward active participation in the discussions of the draft of the constitution and toward supporting anything valuable created through the initiative and creativity of the masses in the course of the socialist competition in honor of the October Revolution anniversary. MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, and MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, factory newspapers, local television and radio broadcasting, and factory-plant radio broadcasting facilities have become factual rostrums for the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR fundamental law. Every day they offer their pages and air time for speeches by workers, employees, and scientists, and publish citizens' letters, responses, and suggestions. Most of the letters received by the editors show deep interest in upgrading further the effectiveness of the national economy and making fuller use of production possibilities at enterprises, organizations, and establishments.

Implementing the decisions of the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the instructions of the report which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev submitted at the plenum, the city party organization is trying to use the entire arsenal of means for propaganda, political agitation, and mass information, and all its experience to depict convincingly the achievements of our country in 60 years and the radical advantages of socialism and the Soviet way of life, and to expose the bourgeois falsifiers and revisionists who are trying to belittle the significance of the October Revolution and defame the experience of the building of socialism and communism. Particular attention is being paid to the all-round clarification of questions related to the growth of the leading role of the CPSU in the development of the Soviet society, improvements of socialist democracy, steadfast growth of the material and cultural living standards of the people, and systematic implementation of a policy of peace among nations by our party.

Some shortcomings may also be found in the tremendous and exceptionally important work done by the capital's party organization in connection with the discussion of the draft of the constitution. Some primary party organizations and labor collectives have not as yet established a clear procedure for the collection and study of submitted suggestions and remarks. There have been cases in which measures related to the discussion of the draft are superficial, presented separately from problems of work effectiveness and quality and of the ideological and moral education of the working people and are not related to the practical life of labor collectives. Not all economic managers, scientific workers, or members of the creative intelligentsia participate in the dissemination and interpretation of this document. The city party committee is taking measures to eliminate the shortcomings and create the most favorable conditions possible for the discussion of the draft of the fundamental law at each party organization, collective, or microrayon.

Addressing the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "The nationwide discussion will contribute to the further energizing of the country's entire social life. It must awaken in the people new creative forces, give socialist competition a new scope, and upgrade everyone's responsibility for his assignments." These days the Moscow City Party Organization is building its activities in such a way that the successful implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the obligations assumed by the capital's working people in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution will be the results of its organizational and political work. In the course of this work the comprehensive plan for the development of Moscow's economy for 1976-1980 is being successfully implemented.

Good results were achieved in 1976. All sectors of the city's national economy successfully fulfilled their plan for the first year of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Labor productivity rose 3.5 percent. The city's national economy is developing on a stable and dynamic basis this year as well. On 28 June the collectives of industrial enterprises fulfilled ahead of schedule their semiannual plan for the volume of commodity marketing and for the production of the majority of most important commodities. The tasks on the growth of volume of output and higher labor productivity were over-fulfilled. The construction organizations fulfilled their plan for construction and installation work. Transportation and communications enterprises successfully fulfilled their assignments. This is a guarantee for the implementation of all the plans for 1977--the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and of the adoption of the new USSR Constitution.

In an effort to celebrate properly these historic events in the life of the country, the capital's labor collectives have made high socialist pledges. The workers in industry resolved to fulfill their annual assignment for commodity marketing and for the production of the majority of most important goods ahead of schedule, by 28 December. By the time of the anniversary the Muscovites will have produced above-plan goods worth hundreds of millions of rubles and will have mastered the production of a large number of new commodities.

Preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and discussions of the draft of the USSR Constitution have brought to life a number of valuable initiatives and contributed to their extensive dissemination. Thus, the initiative of the production brigades of the Electrical Engineering Plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich--"A Workers' Guarantee of a Quality Five-Year Plan"--has already been taken up by the collectives of 23,000 brigades, sectors, and shops and over 1,000 enterprises in the capital. Today over 500,000 workers and specialists are following the example of the innovators. The initiatives of the machine tool builders of the Krasnyy Proletariy plant "First Grade Equipment for the Effectiveness and Quality Five-Year Plan;" of the scientists and scientific workers of a number of Moscow Institutes--"High Quality and Effective Research Work in the 10th Five-Year Plan;" of the workers in the service industry--"Model

Services to Muscovites," and others have become widespread. The struggle for model plants, factories, establishments, and entire microrayons is being joined by an ever-larger number of such Moscow entities.

A patriotic movement for welcoming the great anniversary of our homeland with individual labor gifts has developed among Moscow enterprises. Workers at the Moscow Silk Combine imeni Shcherbakov such as weaver and Hero of Socialist Labor M. Poleshchuk and her friends V. Bobrova and N. Martynova have increased the number of looms serviced by using progressive labor methods and resolved to fulfill their individual five-year assignments for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, and three five-year plans by the end of 1980. Hero of Socialist Labor V. Pogibeleva, spinner at the Trekhgornaya Manufaktura imeni Dzerzhinskiy cotton fabrics combine, has pledged to fulfill four annual norms by the time of the October Revolution anniversary. V. Antipov, tire assemblyman at the Moscow Tires Plant, pledged to fulfill his plan for the first 3 of the five-year plan by that date.

The initiative of leading production workers such as Hero of Socialist Labor A. Petukhov, welder at the Serp i Molot plant, Ye. Kop'yev, laureate of the USSR State Prize, turner at the machine tool-building plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze, the drivers' brigade at Motor Vehicles Combine No 29 of Glavmosavtotrans, headed by Ye. Fedyunin, laureate of the USSR State Prize, the complex brigade of House Building Combine No 1, headed by A. Surovtsev, honored construction worker of the RSFSR, and others, is gaining ever-broader support. They have pledged to fulfill their assignments for the first 2 years of the five-year plan by the 60th anniversary of the Soviet system. Currently over 400,000 production workers, and 10,000 brigades, sectors, shops, and shifts have pledged to fulfill their assignments for 2 or more years of the five-year plan by 7 November. During the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution over 60,000 production workers have already reported the fulfillment of their pledges.

The course of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the constitution in the capital, its unanimous approval, and the high political and labor activeness of the Muscovites as well as their responsible attitude through the implementation of the party's plans offer a firm guarantee that, under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, the city party organization and all Moscow working people will fulfill their assignments, welcome properly the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, and implement successfully the decisions of the 25th party congress.

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CSO: 1802

## THE EMINENCE OF LABOR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 p 79

[Letter to the editors by M. Ayvazyan, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law]

[Text] As a sociologist my attention was particularly drawn to Articles 13 and 21 of the draft of the USSR Constitution on the policy of the state in the field of improving labor conditions.

The final sentence of Article 13 reads as follows: "Combining material with moral incentives, the state helps to convert labor into the first vital need of every Soviet person." In my view, this concept needs a further specification. The point is that the problem of converting labor into a prime vital need will not be resolved through material and moral incentives alone. If the content of the work remains monotonous and difficult, bringing no creative satisfaction, it could hardly be able to become a vital need however much we may stimulate it from the outside.

Under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution real possibilities are created for increasing the meaningfulness of labor and the share of research and intellectual functions within it with the help of new equipment, technology, and production organization. The state is trying to turn such possibilities into reality. This must be reflected in the USSR Constitution. In this connection I suggest that the statement of Article 13 read as follows: "Combining material with moral incentives, and contributing through its technical policy and production-organizational activity to upgrading the meaningfulness of labor, the state assists in the conversion of labor into the prime vital need of every Soviet person."

In the 1 July 1977 PRAVDA issue S. Nikanorov suggested that the words "its gradual conversion into communist labor" be added to this article. I believe this to be premature. Communist labor is, above all, free labor for the good of the entire society. Under contemporary conditions and in the immediate future, however, the principle of material rewards for labor and payment based on labor does not lose its significance in the least.

Article 21 of the draft of the constitution reads as follows: "The state is concerned with improving labor conditions and reducing and, subsequently, totally eliminating heavy manual labor on the basis of comprehensive production mechanization and automation." However, heavy manual labor is not always the most burdensome to the worker. No less burdensome is work which could involve light physical stress yet which is monotonous and meaningless performed by workers running semiautomatic machines or conveyor belts where the same simple operation is repeated again and again.

The technical policy of our state is directed toward reducing and replacing with the help of equipment and technical systems the types of functions involved in manual, machine, physical, and mental labor which represent merely mechanical, noncreative, and monotonous activities and which, while requiring extensive physical or nervous-mental stress, do not contribute to the self-assertion of the personality and the realization of the capabilities, talents, and initiatives of the working person.

That is why, perhaps it would be more accurate for Article 21 to speak not of reducing heavy manual labor but of reducing heavy, monotonous, and noncreative labor functions.

5003

CSO: 1802

## SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP AND THE FUTURE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 80-83

[Letter to the editors by Yu. Abramov, candidate of economic sciences, docent at the Moscow Higher Technical School imeni N. E. Baumann]

[Text] The nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution covers all basic problems of the theory and practice of socialist economic management. In itself, this is a fact of tremendous social significance, for it is a question of a program document which determines the conditions for the building of communism and which asserts the political structure of the Soviet society and of the sum total of social relations.

It is natural, therefore, that the chapter on "The Economic System" in the section entitled "Foundations of the Sociopolitical and Economic System" in the draft opens by formulating that which constitutes, one could say, the backbone of the economic base of socialism--the socialist ownership of capital goods.

In Marxist political economy the concept of "ownership" is a basic one. It represents a system of social relations, historically changing in a course of uninterrupted development, characterizing the distribution of the elements of society's material resources among individuals, groups, classes, and the state. This manifestation of social relations is not simply codified in the fundamental law. Virtually the entire draft of the constitution of the socialist state of the whole people is imbued with the idea of the assertion of the new and higher form of ownership. The introductory part already mentions the fact that the Soviet system, having accomplished most profound socioeconomic changes, has put an end forever to the exploitation of man by man and to class antagonisms and national enmity, and established the social ownership of capital goods.

Tracing the development of the idea of the legislative codification and the definition of the forms of ownership in the preceding Soviet constitutions one could clearly see the consecutiveness and continuity of the formulations and, at the same time, the aggressive progress made by this concept from the first Soviet constitution to the draft of the new one, currently under discussion.

The "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People," drafted by V. I. Lenin and taken as the basis of the 1918 RSFSR Constitution, stipulated the following: "1. The private ownership of the land is abolished. All the land with all buildings, inventory, and other agricultural equipment, is proclaimed the property of the entire toiling people. 2. The Soviet law of workers' control and of the Higher Council of the National Economy is confirmed with a view to insuring the power of the working people over the exploiters and as a first step toward the full conversion of factories, plants, mines, railroads, and other capital and transportation goods to the ownership of the state of the workers and peasants. 3. The transfer of all banks as property of the state of workers and peasants is confirmed..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, pp 221-222).

Substantiating the prime importance of the theses in the Declaration concerning ownership, at the ninth party congress (bearing in mind private ownership) Lenin said: "The spirit, the main content of all previous constitutions, even the most republican and democratic, could be reduced to a single ownership. Therefore, our constitution has the right, and has earned for itself the right to the historical existence of the fact that ownership is abolished and not only on paper. The victorious proletariat abolished and totally destroyed ownership. This is what class rule represents. It is above all a question of ownership" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 251).

Summing up the tremendous historical experience in building the new society, the 1936 USSR Constitution concretized the understanding of socialist ownership and codified as a real fact the existence of two forms of socialist ownership: of the whole people (state), and cooperative.

The fact that the draft of the new constitution notes a third variety of socialist ownership--ownership by trade unions and other social organizations--triggered the great interest of the broad public and the specialists, as reflected in the big press.

Thus, in the 15 June 1977 issue of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Doctors of Juridical Sciences M. Kirichenko and V. Perttsik justifiably consider this type of socialist ownership a form of social relations created by mature socialist conditions.

As to the legal breakdown of socialist ownership, we could agree with the variant suggested in the draft, but under one condition: we should not confuse a strictly juridical aspect with the political and economic consideration of ownership relations.

The three varieties of socialist ownership stipulated in Article 9 of the draft of the USSR Constitution neither eliminate nor replace the division of socialist ownership into two historically developed basic forms as established in economics: state (of the whole people) and ownership of kolkhozes and other cooperative organizations (cooperative-kolkhoz).

Such a division indicates different levels of socialization.

We understand the particular stipulation in Article 9 concerning ownership by trade unions and other social organizations: it emphasizes the increased role and amount of their material values needed for the implementation of the right stipulated in the Article 51 of the draft of the USSR Constitution allowing the citizens to join social organizations which contribute to the development of their political activeness and gainful employment and the satisfaction of their various interests.

Such a seeming contradiction in classification disappears if we bear in mind that cooperative ownership and ownership of the whole nation are basic forms. This presumes the possibility that nonbasic, derivative (yet sufficiently important) forms of socialist ownership may exist as well. They are not basic, for they are not directly related to capital goods and apply primarily to the realm of distribution and consumption of material goods or of the implementation of social functions by the Soviet people.

In this light it would be pertinent to consider Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Moiseyev's substantiation of the expediency of giving a more general title to social organizations within the text of Article 111 without especially singling out those of the trade unions (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 10 Jul 1977). Therefore, the article in the draft of the USSR Constitution should read as follows: "The socialist organizations are the owners of the property they require for the implementation of their statutory tasks."

I also believe that from the viewpoint of terminological accuracy, both the preamble (see 2nd par) and Chapter 2 should speak of "public socialist ownership," for if we omit any of these definitions (regardless of which one) the concept would not be expressed in full and, therefore, may be subject to different interpretations. Article 9 should begin as follows: "Public socialist ownership of capital goods is the foundation of the economic system of the USSR." This could also be expressed as "public ownership of a socialist type."

The scope of the discussion of the draft of the fundamental law, the universal interest in improving the social system of developed socialism, and the substantiated theoretical and practical arguments contained in many statements confirm the substantial growth of the political awareness of the Soviet people and their understanding of their own role in the administration of social affairs. We understand the patriotic feelings motivating I. Mamedov, chief agronomer of the kolkhoz imeni Tel'mann, Takhtinskiy Rayon, Tashauzskaya Oblast, Turkmen SSR, who suggested an addition to Article 11 stating that it is incumbent upon the kolkhozes to obtain maximal yields per each hectare of cultivated land (IZVESTIYA, 27 Jun 1977).



Many of the statements carried by the press are imbued with concern for maximal returns for the national economy per ruble of capital assets, hectare of land, or innovation developed through the creative toil of workers, engineers, and scientists.

A. Polishchuk, chief engineer at the Scientific Research and Planning-Design Institute for Cellulose Machine Building in Petrozavodsk reported with concern in the 21 June 1977 issue of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA that the institute was unable to complete over 50 major projects as a result of the insufficiently well-planned technical policy of the Ministry of Pulp and Paper Industry. The cost of the projects was about 1.5 million rubles but the economic results they could have achieved were worth approximately 20 million. The author justifiably submits that an item be added to Article 26 of the draft of the constitution on the legal responsibility of sectorial managers for promoting the practical application of scientific accomplishments. The same idea has been emphasized by Academician A. Ishlinskiy (Ibid., 7 Jun 1977).

A. Osipov and V. Kovalev speak of intensifying the struggle against the misappropriation of state and public property. "...the squandering of the people's property occurs mainly at enterprises where the property is carelessly kept, where accountability and control over its preservation have been poorly organized, and where the level of ideological-educational work is low. Thus, in order to make space a plant buried metal underground and burned lumber. In addition to material harm such so-called actions caused considerable moral damage, undermining in the workers the feeling that they are the masters of their plant and their respect for national property" (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 8 Jun 1977).

In this light, it would be expedient to add another article, Article 61, to Chapter 7 of the new USSR Constitution, to read as follows: "The prevention of misappropriations and waste of state and public property is the direct obligation of officials."

Citizens' responsibility must be upgraded not only concerning misappropriations but careless and negligent attitude toward socialist property, writes retired Maj F. Tsvetkov (IZVESTIYA, 18 Jun 1977).

Such statements confirm the mass concern of the Soviet people for the preservation of socialist property and their desire to comprehensively block attempts to use state and public property or official position for personal gains. It would be pertinent to recall Lenin's words to the effect that "The struggle against speculation must be turned into a struggle against misappropriations and avoidance of state supervision, accountability, and control" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 244).

Bearing in mind the fact that the state form of public socialist ownership (and cooperative ownership as well) is of a historically transient nature, as justifiably pointed out by Dr of Economic Sciences N. Kolesov (PRAVDA,

12 Jul 1977) this thesis should be reflected in the new constitution, for in the future, with changed internal and external conditions, the property of the whole people will lose its present governmental form as the state will yield to social self-administration of communist property. Naturally, this should be considered on the level of the dialectics of the development of social relations as a global prospect, as an objective, and such a process should not be artificially accelerated. Any premature abandonment of the state form of socialist ownership would result in the loss of its social content, turning it into ownership by individual production cells which would hinder social progress and progress toward communism.

I consider that the following stipulation should be entered as a separate article in Chapter 2 of the new USSR Constitution: "The development of socialist social production relations is achieved through the strengthening of the state form of ownership and through raising kolkhoz-cooperative ownership to the level of ownership by the whole people which, in the future, will legitimately grow into the ownership of communist social self-administration."

Other aspects of ownership relations included in the draft of the USSR Constitution could also be discussed. The collective mind of the Soviet people is perfecting the formulations of its fundamental law in accordance with which the national-state ownership will be strengthened further, stimulating progress in all sectors of communist building.

5003

CSO: 1802

THIS PRECISELY IS INTERNATIONALISM!

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 83-87

[Letter to the editor by N. Yugov]

[Text] The draft of the new USSR Constitution has met with a broad response not only in the Soviet state but abroad as well. The working people in the fraternal socialist countries are reading this outstanding document of our time with great interest, for it reflects also the experience in the building of socialism in those countries and the creative application of the theoretical and practical achievements of the entire world socialist comity. This collective experience irrefutably proves the international nature of the new social system. The draft of the Constitution points out that as a structural part of the world socialist system and the socialist comity, the Soviet Union develops and strengthens its friendship, cooperation, and comradely mutual aid with the socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism.

Today there is no realm of social life in the fraternal countries in which the beneficial influence of the international cooperation among nations is not apparent. This is confirmed with particular emphasis by the pre-October competition which has extensively developed in the socialist comity. The outstanding initiative of the Hungarian workers proves how powerful and life-bearing its roots are.

As we know, at the beginning of this year the collective of the Csepel Metallurgical and Machine-Building Combine launched the noble initiative of fulfilling ahead of schedule its export deliveries to the USSR, thus making its contribution to the proper welcoming of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. This initiative triggered the lively response of the Hungarian working people and was joined by the working people of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's greeting gave a particular impulse to the development of this movement. Turning to the Csepel workers he emphasized that "To celebrate the revolutionary anniversary with specific actions and accomplishments in labor and in the building of socialism is as befits a

worker, a communist, a Leninist." Returning to this topic at the 16th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "...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 has a great future."

The immediate initiator of the competition launched by the Csepel workers was the Peace Socialist Labor Brigade at the machine tools-building plant, headed by Jozsef Horvat. Asked by newspaper correspondents whether someone had suggested this initiative, the young brigade leader answered: "Yes, it was. It was suggested by our party conscience."

Suggested by the conscience...Standing behind these words are the revolutionary past of the "Red Csepel," the traditions of proletarian internationalism, and the unbreakable ties of fraternity and unity linking the peoples of the socialist countries, backed by the internationalist nature of socialism.

This year Csepel is celebrating its 85th anniversary. At the start it was a small plant for metal structures. Its owners--the brothers Weiss, Austro-Hungarian capitalists closely related to the Rothchilds--oriented its output toward the war industry. The enterprise grew (by 1915 it already employed 25,000 people), and so did the revolutionary awareness of the workers. The first Russian revolution had a deep influence on the Csepel workers. It was precisely then that the first general strike of the plant's workers broke out. It was triggered by an urgent order placed by the Russian tsarist government for 25 million bullets. Neither police terror nor the cruel repressions were able to force the Csepel proletariat to fulfill the order. The tsar did not receive a single bullet to fire on Russian workers. The Csepel workers had their own "bloody Sunday" as well: on 23 May 1912 a peaceful demonstration by workers who were marching on the streets together with their families was shot at.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a most profound impact on the Hungarian working class. As early as the beginning of 1918 a workers' soviet was set up in Csepel. This example was followed by workers in other Budapest enterprises. Csepel became the citadel of the Hungarian revolution. It was precisely from here that a radiogram was sent to V. I. Lenin on the birth of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. That same radio station received the message of greetings sent by the leader of the world's proletariat.

In the period of fierce battles for power the plant's working people supplied the Hungarian Red Army not only with ammunition and equipment but with the most firm fighters. The 22d Infantry Regiment of the Hungarian Red Army, made of Csepel workers, gained fame in the battles with the interventionists.

During the reactionary period the Csepel workers countered white terrorism with revolutionary endurance and high class consciousness. Strikes and sabotage became their weapons in the struggle against fascism. In 1944, when

the Hitlerites tried to remove equipment because of the approaching Soviet army, the people of Csepel unanimously took up the defense of the plant and did not allow its evacuation. After the liberation the Csepel workers did everything possible to help Soviet command. They rapidly organized the production of military equipment.

Red Csepel played a major role in rebuilding the country's national economy and in converting it to the tracks of socialist development.

Today Csepel is one of the biggest European enterprises and the most progressive one in Hungary. It employs over 35,000 workers--the backbone of the qualified cadres of metallurgists and machine builders. The combine has over 150 enterprises producing hundreds of different goods. Metallurgy and machine building are the most developed production facilities. The production of mass consumer goods such as motorcycles, bicycles, sewing and washing machines, and refrigerators, also plays a great role.

The management of such a complex production facility is quite difficult. However, the combine's management and its party organization, numbering over 8,000 party members, has been able to organize properly the economic management mechanism and develop work methods which contribute to the steady advance of this giant. A characteristic feature of the Csepel party organization is, above all, the ability to link a profound understanding of the tasks facing the entire country with the specific practical work of the combine, and to see in its daily concerns and needs problems typical of the entire national economy.

In 1972 the party committee initiated the elaboration of the concept of an effective production structure which would not only satisfy current requirements but would be acceptable for the future as well and would take into consideration possible changes in technology, production organization, and construction. This concept was the basis for a general plan for the combine's development, essentially representing its total reconstruction over a 10-year period.

The party organization pays great attention to the development of scientific and technical research at the combine. To this purpose a good material base has been established here: three scientific research institutes and a number of big laboratories. The scientific research institute of metallurgy and technology of machine building, the computer center, and the design institute filling both domestic and foreign orders are widely known.

The scientists' research work is supplemented by a broad rationalization and innovation movement. The party organization directs the efforts of rationalizers and innovators above all to the search for reserves for the growth of output, savings on materials, and better labor organization. Every year the workers submit 2,500 to 3,000 rationalization suggestions.

Csepel's communists try to look ahead, to see weak points even wherever the current situation is more or less good. Thus, several years ago the party committee suggested that the combine organize its own institute for the training of production managers. The suggestion amazed the ministry and, speaking frankly, some comrades even felt insulted. However, the party members were able to prove the need for this measure. A 2-year institute was set up. Its first class has already graduated: 120 specialists aged under 40 mastered the foundations of production management. This turned out to be quite timely, for the combine began to feel a shortage of leading cadres, particularly in the field of middle management. It is planned that by 1980 the "workers' academy" will have trained about 500 skilled managers which will make it possible not only to reinforce the combine's cadres but to help other enterprises in the country.

Naturally, the education of the people, the development of their socialist attitude toward labor, and the establishment of a climate of relations which contributes to the manifestation of all the best qualities of the collective are the main weapons of the party organization in its struggle for the growth of output and its technical advancement.

Reality proved that competition, particularly competition for the title of socialist labor brigade, is a noteworthy school for the molding of the new man. Currently this is the most widespread competition method in the country. Suffice it to say that nearly 1.5 million people (out of more than 3 million Hungarian workers) have joined the competition under the slogan of "Let us Work and Live Like Socialists."

Csepel has about 2,000 such brigades. Essentially, they are the real production management personnel. They participate in the solution of problems related to the development of the enterprise, management, wage raises, distribution of bonuses, and presentation of awards. They are the support and the promoter of the party line among the workers. The activities of the socialist labor brigade clearly prove that the development of democracy is determined not by external attributes but by its class content: by the factual opportunity given the working people to manage and control the production process.

The factual embodiment of the principles of socialist democracy is yielding generous results. It creates in the workers the desire and mood to do better work, and the ability to look farther ahead, and to display initiative, daring, persistence, and deep interest in the affairs of their collective.

It was precisely such an atmosphere that contributed, in particular, to the fact that there is no manpower turnover at the combine. The Hungarian worker considers it a great honor to work at Csepel. It was precisely this that explains, above all, why twice a year the thousands-strong collective goes to communist subbotniks and does model work.

The new sociopsychological climate at work is also manifested in the great political activeness of the workers and their desire to engage in social activities and to upgrade their professional and general educational knowledge. Currently up to 80 percent of Csepel's workers are pursuing various forms of training--at the Marxist-Leninist university, the machine-building institute, the foreman's school, and at skill improvement courses.

Literally thousands of ties link Red Csepel to the Soviet Union. Let us begin with the fact that a considerable percentage of the basic raw material is imported from the USSR. The combine also receives Soviet computers and other equipment. In turn, the Csepel workers supply the Soviet Union with machine tools, pipes, automated lines, and mass consumer goods.

The Moscow Krasnyy Proletariy and imeni Vladimir Il'ich plants and other enterprises give a good rating to the Csepel output. For example, the Vladimir Il'ich plant has a high opinion of the two new automatic vacuum treatment systems. Their installation made possible a considerable increase in labor productivity and quality improvements. The fruitfulness of the joint efforts and the fraternal interaction between Hungarian and Soviet workers were clearly manifested in the course of the installation of the equipment. According to the technical norms each of the systems had to be installed in 12 weeks. However, Hungarian specialist Laszlo Horvat and Aleksey Kostikov, the head of the Soviet assembly brigade, were able to organize the work in such a way that the first system was completed in 10 weeks and the second in 8.

Successful cooperation is developing between Csepel and related enterprises and scientific research institutes in the Ukraine. For example, for a number of years close business contacts have been maintained between the Dnepropetrovsk rolled pipes plant imeni Karl Libknekht and Csepel. The plant uses equipment for the production of pipes designed and assembled by its Hungarian friends. A joint Soviet-Hungarian group of specialists has been set up to promote further improvements in pipe production technology.

Very warm relations have developed between the combine's collective and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He has visited Csepel a number of times and met with the workers. The Csepel workers have elected him member of their workers' guard, or honored combine veteran. Every year they send L. I. Brezhnev detailed letters-reports describing their work, achievements, and problems. L. I. Brezhnev answers the Hungarian workers warmly and cordially. He follows carefully their successes. "Let me point out in particular," he wrote in his greeting to the Csepel workers, "that your concern for the timely and qualitative fulfillment of Soviet orders is fully harmonized with the tasks of our production collectives: the timely supply of excellent quality goods to fraternal Hungary and other socialist countries. This is a matter of workers' honor. This largely determines our general progress toward the building of socialism and communism."

Presently everyone at Csepel is living with the pre-October competition whose tension is steadily mounting. The collective's slogan is "Green Light to Soviet Orders." The semiannual obligations for export deliveries of machine tools to the USSR were fulfilled ahead of schedule. The leading workers are those of the machine tool-building plant and the Peace Brigade. They have already delivered 90 percent of the planned annual output.

The party of the Hungarian communists ascribes particular importance to strengthening further the fraternal friendship with the CPSU and the Soviet people. "Hungarian-Soviet friendship was able to withstand the test of time and is steadily strengthening," said Comrade J. Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, at the all-Hungarian conference of leaders of socialist labor brigades held last April. "Wishing our people only good and being internationalists we could say the following: Let it continue to strengthen and be inviolable and eternal. We are proud of the fact that the Csepel workers initiated the socialist competition in honor of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, that their initiative became a mass movement and that it earned high international rating."

The competition in honor of the October Revolution anniversary has brought the Csepel collective even closer to the Soviet people and their accomplishments and plans. The publication of the draft of the new Soviet constitution was welcomed here with exceptional interest. It triggered a very broad response and the type of discussions which the combine had not had for quite some time according to veteran workers.

Foreman Jozsef Vozar, deputy secretary of a shop party organization bureau, notes that the workers in his shop were greatly impressed by the section describing cooperation between the USSR and the socialist countries and the internationalism of the Soviet state. "We at Csepel feel through our own experience the internationalism of the Soviet Union. We need no explanation of why the USSR is helping other countries." "The Csepel workers," he goes on to say, "were particularly pleased by the fact that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, whom we profoundly respect as a former worker and now an outstanding state leader, was elected the head of the Soviet state. We wish him new great successes in that position as well and good working health, for he is an honored veteran of our combine!"

Engineer Laszlo Kovacs is head of the Csepel training center. "This is an entire set of laws," he said on the draft of the new USSR Constitution. "One needs time to interpret it. This document excites us, for it sums up the path we are yet to cover. The draft of the constitution emphasizes the fact that the Soviet people are guided by the ideas of scientific communism and are loyal to revolutionary traditions. This concept is of great international importance. It reminds us, yet once again, of the fact that the stage of a state of the whole people cannot be achieved without the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is confirmed by the experience of our country as well which is building a developed socialist society."



Comrade Antal Ernst, Csepel party committee secretary, directs the attention to that part in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report to the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum which states that the experience in the constitutional development of the fraternal socialist countries was used in formulating the draft of the constitution. "We are even more proud of the fact that we could consider the new Soviet constitution as our program for life as well. Soon--on 20 August--we shall celebrate Hungarian Constitution Day. During this significant day, precious to all of us, we shall turn our feelings of gratitude to the Soviet Union, for to us the USSR is like a workshop for party, governmental, and technical experience and, above all, because the Soviet Union is the first to follow the difficult and complex path and the first to cross dangerous thresholds and shoals of historical progress."

Every day which brings us closer to the anniversary of the Great October Revolution is providing ever-new proof of the fact that together with the Soviet people millions of working people in the socialist comity are actively preparing to celebrate it. Stemming from the very foundations of the new social system, this patriotic movement proves the deep internationalism of the working people. It is developing and opening ever-new possibilities for accelerating our common progress on the path to communism.

5003

CSO: 1802

## MAGNA CHARTA OF THE BUILDERS OF COMMUNISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 88-95

[Article by V. Korionov]

[Text] The basic documents of the CPSU and the Soviet state, summing up the distance covered and opening new stages in the life of the society building communism always trigger the greatest interests and numerous responses throughout the world. This is natural, for it is precisely the activities of the Leninist party and the first socialist state in the world that embody the age-old dreams of the best sons of mankind for true democracy and for the freedom and happiness of the people.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution, elaborated by a commission chaired by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is precisely one such document. It draws universal attention to itself with its rich content and the broad way in which it covers various matters.

The new Soviet constitution will reflect the profound changes which have taken place in our country and in the sociopolitical aspect of the world in the 4 decades which followed the adoption of the current fundamental law.

The Soviet Union built a mature developed socialist society. The country's economy has changed unrecognizably. Here socialist ownership completely dominates today. A single powerful national economic organism, developing on the basis of combining the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, is successfully operating. Today the social appearance of our society is different. A new historical community--the Soviet people--has developed. With the building of developed socialism and the conversion of all population strata to the ideological and political positions of the working class, the Soviet state which arose as a state of dictatorship of the proletariat grew into a state of the whole people.

These successes are the result of the tremendous organizing and mobilizing role of the Leninist party heading the movement of our people toward communism. This role and the scale of the guiding influence of the CPSU on the entire domestic life of the country and on its foreign policy are continuing to grow.

Qualitative changes have taken place in the international position of the Soviet Union as well. The capitalist encirclement of our country no longer exists. Socialism has become a world system. A powerful socialist comity has developed. The positions of capitalism are weakening. Today a large group of young national states pursuing an anti-imperialist policy exists on the planet. The very deployment of forces in the international arena creates a real possibility for the prevention of a world war, even though an adamant struggle remains to be waged here.

The new fundamental law will continue the great traditions of the previous constitutions of the Soviet state. These traditions began with the first constitution of the Soviet country. Assessing its significance, in July 1918 V. I. Lenin pointed out that "...The Soviet constitution created, like the soviets, in the period of revolutionary struggle, was the first constitution which proclaimed that the power of the working people was the state power, having deprived of their rights the exploiters--the opponents of the building of a new life. This is its main distinction from the constitutions of other countries and a guarantee for the victory over capitalism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 534).

The constitution which will be adopted on the 60th anniversary of the Soviet system properly crowns the distance covered by our people over the past decades. "...The adoption of the new constitution of the USSR," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "will become an important landmark in the country's political history. It will become yet another historical contribution made by our Leninist party and the entire Soviet people to the great cause of the building of communism and to the international struggle waged by the working people the world over for freedom, progress by mankind, and lasting peace on earth."

#### Tremendous International Response

The peoples of the fraternal socialist states and the Marxist-Leninist parties consider the publication of the draft of the new constitution and its forthcoming ratification not only a historical landmark in the life of the country building communism but as a most important event of the entire worldwide revolutionary movement.

"When the biggest country in the world, possessing a tremendous industrial and defense potential," writes the Polish newspaper TRIBUNA LUDU, "discusses its fundamental legislative act the entire world public listens carefully. No other way is possible. The approved constitution will influence all continents both directly, through its content, as well as through the Soviet policy promoting the interests of peace and security of the peoples. That is why it is discussed not only by the Soviet people but by all politically thinking people, whether supporters or enemies of socialism."

The communists and all true fighters for socialism and democracy are deeply satisfied by the fact that the constitution, providing an expanded characterization of the leading and guiding role of the CPSU, is the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society. "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union," emphasizes the newspaper of Vietnam's communists NHAN DAN exists for the people and serves the people. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the CPSU formulates the general prospects for the development of the Soviet society and the domestic and foreign political course of the USSR. It guides the great constructive activities of the Soviet people and gives a planned scientific nature to its struggle for the victory of communism."

Anyone who has dedicated himself to the cause of the freedom and progress of the peoples cannot fail to be pleased by the fact that within a short historical period the Soviet state built a developed socialist society and that our homeland is successfully progressing toward its supreme objective--the building of communism.

All the press organs of the fraternal countries note that the new USSR Constitution will present to the world the real face of the mature socialist society. Summing up the socioeconomic and political gains of the Soviet people, it will increase the international prestige and attractiveness of socialism as a whole. In an editorial entitled "The Image of the New World," the Czechoslovak RUDE PRAVO writes: "The draft of the new USSR Constitution is an epoch-making document and a proof of the gigantic creative forces of socialism and of its inexhaustible sources. For the first time in the history of mankind a fundamental law has been drawn up embodying all the features of a developed socialist society and the prerequisites for the building of communism. The document presents a picture of the broadest and most systematically guaranteed civil rights and freedoms, a picture of true democracy. The clear wording of the draft expresses the nature of the most humane social system developed by the working person master of his land." The new Soviet constitution, according to Cuba's GRANMA, is proof that the future belongs to socialism.

In the view of the world's progressive press each line in the draft clearly proves the truly inexhaustible opportunities which the advent of the socialist era opens to mankind. This view is backed by Lenin's thought. Defining the universal-historical forces which could decide the fate of mankind, in his time Lenin pointed out that either capitalism will win and, whatever kind of democratic republic one may have, capitalism will strangle all small peoples in the world; or else the dictatorship of the proletariat will win and this is the only hope for all working people and for all small, ignored, and weak nations (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, pp 396-397). Historical developments fully confirmed the correctness of this analysis. As Lenin pointed out, political reaction along all lines, and giving priority to the forces of militant and reactionary antidemocracy have become characteristic of capitalism at its imperialist stage. However, the emergence of socialism in the historical arena turned a new page in the struggle waged by the progressive forces for the triumph of true democracy throughout the world.

The Soviet system which was established in our country as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution as one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat saw its historical mission as the building of a society which would insure the type of freedom and democracy for the tremendous toiling majority impossible in any capitalist country. What great efforts were made by the enemies of socialism to develop in the eyes of millions of people in the capitalist part of the world a distorted idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to convince them that it is, allegedly, the opposite of democracy. Today the entire world can see that, after establishing true democracy and fulfilling its historical tasks, it has naturally converted into a system of nationwide democracy.

The draft of the constitution, writes the Hungarian newspaper NEPSZABADSAG reflects the epochal changes which brought about in the USSR the growth of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people and to the building of a developed and mature socialist society. Yet, this is also a document of continuity, not only in the sense that it contains the fundamental principles of the preceding Soviet constitutions but also the fact that, summing up the results of the distance covered, and earmarking the direction for further progress, it codifies the unchanged basic class objectives of the Soviet society building communism.

The hearts of the working people become filled with pride in the socialist system and in its implementation of the age-old aspirations of the peoples for freedom and true democracy. Studying the draft of the new Soviet constitution they are convinced that the main purpose of its new aspects is to expand and deepen socialist democracy.

The democratic principles governing the establishment and activities of soviets are developed further. The ways for strengthening relations between soviets and their deputies, on the one hand, and the masses, on the other, broaden even further. Offering all Soviet citizens the opportunity to be elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet and to the supreme soviets of union republics as of the age of 18 is a real manifestation of the concern of the Soviet society for the youth and of its faith in it.

The draft also includes a broad set of socioeconomic rights pertaining to the very foundations of the life of the Soviet people. The content of these rights becomes deeper and the material guarantees insuring their factual implementation become even richer and more substantive. The world's democratic press pays great attention to the fact that the right of the Soviet people to work is combined with the right to choose a profession, type of employment, and work in accordance with their vocation, capabilities, professional training, education, and social needs. The new USSR Constitution is one of the first in the world to proclaim the vitally important human right to housing. The Soviet people are guaranteed rights of which millions of people in the nonsocialist part of the world can only dream.

## The Basic Principle of the State

The newspaper NEUES DEUTCHLAND describes the draft as a charter of human rights the likes of which neither exists nor could exist in any capitalist country. More extensively than in the past the draft formulates the political rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens. Thus, sums up the newspaper, the words of the Communist Party Manifesto to the effect that "The free development of everyone is a prerequisite for the free development of all" is the basic principle of the Soviet state.

The workers, the working people on the planet know that building a socialist society the Soviet people are resolving problems of vital importance to all nations. The drafting of the new Soviet constitution, said Joaquin Moreno, member of the secretariat of the Communist Party of Colombia Central Committee, is of great importance not only to the Soviet people but to all progressive mankind, for it indicates the aspiration of the state of the developed socialist society to satisfy the basic expectations of the people. In his view, the main thing is that the Soviet people juridically codify now the achievements of their society in all realms, which is the most cherished dream of the peoples the world over.

The same thought is emphasized by Asuncion Caballero Mendez, chairman of the Peruvian-Soviet association for cultural relations. The draft of the new Soviet constitution, said he, reflects the confident progress of the working people of the first socialist state in the world toward the great lines earmarked at the 25th CPSU Congress. A characteristic feature of the draft is the further development of socialist democracy on the basis of the growing participation of the working people in the administration of the state. A study of the view that the USSR is the state of the whole people shows, yet once again, the impossibility of anything similar occurring under the conditions of the capitalist system. Such is the conclusion of the Peruvian public figure.

The supporters of socialism and democracy realize that in circumstances in which the reactionary circles of capitalist countries are intensifying their offensive against the democratic rights and freedoms of the peoples the adoption of the new USSR Constitution will be an indictment of imperialism. This document, they stress, will become a powerful instrument in the hands of the fighters for social progress.

Lisbon's newspaper DIARIO POPULAR notes that the new USSR Constitution will prove yet once again to the entire world that the Soviet Union has created a society to which social stability, maturity of all institutions, and total guarantee of human rights are inherent. Studying the draft, points out the Finnish newspaper TIEDONANTAJA, the working people in the capitalist countries will be able to see how extensive and varied are the rights and freedoms of the citizens of the socialist society. This becomes particularly clear against the background of the fact that even the citizens' rights entered in the constitutions of the capitalist countries are not exercised.

Capitalism, writes the Lusaka Newspaper ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S VOICE, is incompatible with the concept of human rights, for its only factual right is the right to exploit. To us, Africans, it is hypocrisy when capitalists assume the role of defenders of human rights.

The peoples making their way to freedom and social progress through torments and blood, see in the draft of the Soviet constitution the light of a new life and the embodiment of true democracy. The announcement of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new fundamental law in the USSR, writes the Benin newspaper (EUZU) was welcomed with great interest by the people of Benin.

The draft itself and its nationwide discussion prove so irrefutably the advantages of socialist democracy that, despite all stipulations and distortions, the unquestionable opponents of the new system are unable to deny the fact. "This is a historical document," writes the British FINANCIAL TIMES. It "has a tremendous significance," notes the West German SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

Naturally, it would be naive to assume that the legislative charter of victorious socialism would fail to make the enemies of the new world prick their ears. The ruling circles of the capitalist countries realize the tremendous impact of this document on the broad circles of Western society. Naturally, the reaction which controls the mass information media is mobilizing all available forces in an attempt to belittle its significance and distort its nature.

Initially there were people in the West who tried to claim that the draft "contained nothing new," and that, allegedly, it did not go any further than the 1936 constitution. However, even the initial and hasty study of the document would convince anyone that such an "argument" does not contain a single grain of truth. By its very nature and its entire content the draft shows that Soviet socialist democracy is rising to a new even higher level. Also important is the fact that in our country the rights and freedoms of man in the socioeconomic and civic areas are backed by factual guarantees and secured by the full power of the Soviet state.

NEW YORK TIMES columnists acknowledge that the draft of the new USSR Constitution "contains extensive details of the economic guarantees of civil rights such as the right to education, labor, rest, medical services, and old-age pensions." However, they also claim that allegedly the situation with political rights in the draft is different since, it is claimed, in the Soviet constitution the rights are guaranteed and granted by the state whereas they are "inherent" in the American constitution. The factual meaning of such "inherent rights" is proved by the very reality of bourgeois society where some, by virtue of the private ownership of capital goods, have the right to exploit, while others have only the "right" to be oppressed.

The other organs of the American bourgeois press prefer to avoid the risky comparisons made by THE NEW YORK TIMES. They point out the "complete difference" between the Soviet socialist and American bourgeois legal concepts. "The draft of the new USSR Constitution reflects the different approach of the Soviet Union, compared with the United States, to civil rights and freedoms," writes THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. The newspaper does not conceal that "in the new constitution the rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens will be even broader compared with the present constitution."

A profound gap between the promises contained in the constitutions and the factual rights of the working people in the capitalist countries remains a characteristic feature of bourgeois democracy. The United States is one of the most vivid examples of this. Indeed, the Declaration of Independence, the first constitutional document of the United States, contains the stipulation that "all men are created equal" and have certain inalienable rights "among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Yet, who could fail to see today that the factual content of American democracy is tremendously different even from the postulates of the "founding fathers" and the idealized model created by the contemporary defenders of capitalism?

#### Superiority of the New World

Life confirmed the accuracy of the assessment of bourgeois democracy given by the founders of scientific communism. Marxism always warned of its illusory nature. Marx and Engels mocked the empty words of freedom and equality when they conceal the freedom of the workers to die of hunger or the equality of a person selling his manpower and that of the bourgeois who buys his labor freely and equally. That which the bourgeoisie and its servants call democracy is in fact dictatorship of capital, dictatorship of the exploiters over the multimillion toiling masses. "...Your freedom, Messrs. Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans, is a fraud," V. I. Lenin said, "if it conflicts with the liberation of labor from the oppression of capital. You, civilized gentlemen, have forgotten one small thing. You have forgotten that your freedom is inscribed in a constitution which legitimizes private ownership. This is the essence of the matter" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 348).

Studying the draft of the new USSR Constitution, again and again the people are convinced of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy which deprives the huge toiling masses of a basic human right--the right to work. It is a fact that in the Western countries unemployment--a phenomenon unknown to the citizens of the socialist countries--is the nightmarish reality of some 15 to 18 million people. What kind of democracy could there be a question of in the United States where even according to official statistics the income of 26 million people is below that of the official poverty level? Could the United States be considered a truly democratic country if the overwhelming mass of the 25 million-strong black population in that country and of approximately 10 to 12 million other "colored" people is still rightless? "Such freedom," writes the American Marxist researcher H. Aptheker,



"always contains something of the freedom of the wolf who tears up the sheep. In other words, the freedom of the former becomes the death of the latter."

Some political figures across the ocean are now attempting to take the position of "defenders of human rights." However, they will be able to trick only those who would like to be tricked. Public figure Aaron (Boy) said the following at a meeting held some time ago in New York to protest the violation of the rights and freedoms of Americans: "Where are they, these human rights, in America? Where are the rights of Ben (Chavis) and his comrades of the 'Wilmington Ten?' Where are the rights of (Assapa Shakur)? Where are the rights of thousands of political prisoners who are behind bars only because they objected to racism and political repressions now flourishing in the United States? Has President Carter heard about Harlem, this gigantic ghetto for black Americans which has become their concentration camp? Walk on the streets of Harlem, look at the slums teeming with rats, at the young people perishing in a swamp of drug addiction, and at the old dying on the streets from hunger and cold. Where are the rights of these people, rights demagogically claimed by Washington?"

Socialist democracy is a beacon of hope for millions of working people in the nonsocialist part of the world because it has factually eliminated the gap between the rights of the members of society, as proclaimed by the constitutions, and their real implementation. "The new Soviet constitution," said Comrade Gus Hall, secretary general of the U.S. Communist Party, "is a sharp and convincing rebuff of Western circles, including those in the United States, who are prattling about 'human rights' under capitalism and presenting themselves as 'defenders of democracy,' even though they have no grounds whatever to do so. Under capitalism--a system which places above all the right to earn profits through the exploitation of people--the 'rights' of man and the rights of a corporation are incompatible. The process of further expansion and intensification of the democratic principles in the USSR is possible only in a society in which the power of monopoly capital has been ended once and for all."

Yet, it is precisely this that the British GUARDIAN does not like. It is irked by the durability of the Soviet state and the strengthening of its union principles. The pen-pushers of this London newspaper are beside themselves by the fact that "Not one of the 173 articles of the new constitution calls for any type of weakening of the regime" in the USSR. These gentlemen would like to see the USSR weakened. They are enraged by the resolve of the Soviet people to comprehensively strengthen the power of the socialist homeland which is the main guarantee for the rights and freedoms of every one of us and for the further growth of our prosperity.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE GUARDIAN, and several other Western press organs are dissatisfied with the fact that the draft of the constitution extensively defines the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party in the Soviet society and state. Naturally, the enemies of socialism would wish nothing more than a lowering, a restriction of the role which the Leninist party

plays in the life of the Soviet state. However, they will never live to see this. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people. The Soviet people see in the further strengthening of the leading and guiding role of the Leninist party a guarantee for the successful progress of our homeland on the path to communism.

The French L'AURORE, THE NEW YORK TIMES, and several other bourgeois press organs use the matter of the constitution as a pretext for supporting yet once against the so-called dissidents. In this case they "fail to note" that which, essentially, they themselves recognize: those whom they take under their protection are nothing but a pitiful insignificant handful of renegades who, failing to achieve their careerist-egotistical aspirations, and deprived of all support on the part of the Soviet people, turn for support abroad, to the subversive propaganda and intelligence imperialist centers. It is in vain that the pens serving imperialism are trying to present a group of people who have allied themselves to our external enemies as some kind of "opposition" within the USSR. In a recent interview with a representative of an American television company Comrade F. Castro justifiably stated that "The Soviet Union is the freest of all countries. Could one imagine that people who are not free would sacrifice 20 million human lives to defend their homeland in the struggle against fascism? The United States should have to experience such a trial to find out how far-reaching its freedom is. The error of the United States is that you are confusing the activities of some isolated renegades and the convincing reality of the Soviet Union."

As is already commonplace, Peking's propaganda organs have joined the "critics" of the draft of the Soviet constitution. Absolutely nothing of this document suits them, above all the stipulation that the USSR is a state of the whole people. Yet, the "Communist Party Manifesto" itself stated that "If in the struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat mandatorily unites within a class, and if through revolution it becomes the ruling class and, as a ruling class voids by force the old production relations, together with such production relations it destroys the conditions for the existence of class conflicts. It destroys the classes in general and, thus, its own rule as a class" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 447). The more mature socialism becomes the more the democracy of the new society broadens and deepens and the more the foundation of its state of the whole people broadens. However, it is precisely this which the Maoists oppose, seeing no means for retaining their rule over the Chinese people other than deceptions and repressions.

Naturally, there is no doubt that in the future as well the bourgeois and other critics of the draft of the new USSR Constitution will fabricate new "reasons" and "arguments," in an effort to conceal from the working people of their own countries the nature of the tremendous changes which are taking place in the life of the Soviet people building communism. However, nothing will help them. The draft of the fundamental law, irrefutably proving that democracy in the USSR is becoming ever deeper and comprehensive, shines on the political horizon of the contemporary world as a bright sun, carrying the life-bearing truth about socialism to all mankind.

The introduction of a special chapter in the draft of the new Soviet constitution on foreign policy triggered a most lively response throughout the world. The fact that the peaceful Leninist foreign policy is now elevated to a constitutional principle is, according to the widespread view, of exceptional significance. "The struggle for peace, security, and international cooperation," notes L'HUMANITE, "becomes henceforth the fundamental law of the Soviet Union." The draft, writes the London TIMES, proves that the USSR pursues peaceful objectives and tries to develop peaceful coexistence. Many other press organs note that the USSR is the first country in the world to enter in its constitution the principles of international relations adopted at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

For the first time the constitution will clearly state that the Soviet Union is a structural part of the world's socialist system, of the socialist comity. It is developing and strengthening friendship and cooperation and comradely mutual aid with the fraternal countries on the basis of socialist internationalism. It is actively participating in economic integration and in the international socialist division of labor.

The new constitution emphasizes even more extensively the historical mission of the Soviet Union in the struggle for universal peace, progress, and democracy. "In the interpretation of the concepts of democracy and human rights distorted and debased by bourgeois and revisionist propaganda," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "we oppose the fullest and most factual set of rights and obligations of the citizen of the socialist society. We are putting on the scale of history the truly epoch-making gains of the working people achieved thanks to the power of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party."

Addressing a meeting in Moscow's Presnenskiy Rayon on 26 July 1918, Lenin pointed out that "All constitutions which have existed so far guarded the interests of the ruling classes. The Soviet constitution alone serves and will always serve the working people. It is a powerful weapon in the struggle for achieving socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 535). In his 24 May report Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that today Vladimir Il'ich would have added: and a tool for the building of communism.

The previous constitutions of the Soviet state served our people well. Undoubtedly the new constitution--the charter of a society confidently marching to the peaks of communism--will serve it and all progressive mankind splendidly.

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'I WANT TO STRUGGLE WHERE THERE IS REAL LIFE!'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 96-104

[Article by N. Ovcharenko, doctor of historical sciences, on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of Klara Zetkin's birth]

[Text] Klara Zetkin plays an outstanding role in the great galaxy of fighters for the cause of the working class and the social liberation of the working people. We see Klara Zetkin as one of the most outstanding representatives of the revolutionary Marxist wing of the German and International Workers Movement at the beginning of the 20th century, as the initiator of a proletarian women's movement, as one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany, as an active figure in the Communist International, and as the loyal friend of the Leninist Party and the Soviet people.

Noting the 120th anniversary of the birth of this heroic woman, we render its due to what she accomplished for the liberation struggle of the German and international proletariat in the course of 50 years of revolutionary activities. Her ideological-theoretical heritage is in harmony with our time. Her ideals and aspirations have been implemented in the German Democratic Republic. Zetkin remains in the ranks of the active internationalist fighters for peace, democracy, and socialism.

In the difficult days of March 1919, when the German counterrevolution, with the direct support of right-wing social democrats such as Noske, were brutally dealing with the proletariat, having killed its leaders K. Liebknecht, R. Luxemburg, and others, K. Zetkin firmly condemned the accomplices of the reaction and proclaimed the need to break with them. Addressing the congress of the Independent Social Democratic Party, she said: "For nearly 40 years I have been fighting for socialist ideals. Even though I'm old and, possibly, my days are numbered, in the course of these years, as long as I am able to act, I wish to be fighting there where there is real life, and not where I see immoralization and weakness."

K. Zetkin considered that the struggle for socialism, as exemplified by V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, was the meaning of her life. She came to the communist movement, to Leninism, conscientiously and systematically.

K. Zetkin lived the big life of a professional revolutionary--complex, difficult, and dangerous. Her activities occurred under different historical circumstances: in the periods of free-monopoly capitalism, imperialism, proletarian revolution in Russia, and the beginning of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Zetkin was one of those purposeful characters who could only temper and strengthen in the crucible of the struggle. She not only remained loyal to her Marxist convictions but constantly intensified them, surmounting everything obsolete in the workers' movement, anything hindering its progress.

Klara was born in the family of the rural teacher G. Eisner, in a small Saxon village between Leipzig and Chemnitz (today Karl-Marx-Stadt), located in a traditional textile production area and subsequently known for the courageous struggle waged by the weavers against the entrepreneurs. These were the painful years of reactionary dominance following the defeat of the 1848-1849 revolution in a Germany splintered into a number of small provincial states. The time of Klara's youth--the end of the 1860's and beginning of the 1870's--coincided with the creation of a Marxist proletarian party in Germany, and with the steady growth of the socialist movement at whose cradle were K. Marx and F. Engels. The successes of Marxism in Germany multiplied the ranks of its supporters and enraged its enemies headed by Bismark, the "Iron Chancellor" of the just-appeared bourgeois-landlord militaristic empire.

At the beginning of the 1870's the Eisner family moved to Leipzig, one of the biggest proletariat centers in the country, where the socialist movement was strongly developed. The young Klara decided to become a teacher. It was exceptionally difficult to accomplish this, for the very idea of giving a girl higher education was considered inadmissible. Finally, she was able to enter a private teachers' institute for women and was graduated in 1878. Both her mother and her teachers expected of Klara to find a place in the bourgeois feminist movement. However, their expectations were not to be met. Exposure to stern reality, to acute social antagonisms, and to ideas of scientific socialism did not disappear without a trace in the mind of the student, even though during her years of training she was more of a socialist "by feeling" than by conviction.

At that time Klara Eisner met the Russian emigre and former narodnik Osip Zetkin. By then he had already become a Marxist and was the head of the international socialist circle of Leipzig University. Under his influence Klara studied socialist literature, attended meetings of the Workers Educational Society, and heard outstanding speakers such as W. Liebknecht. Gradually, her intuitive socialist aspirations were replaced by deeper and already scientific and revolutionary views.

The year 1878 marked a turning point in Klara's life. This mark introduced in the country the so-called exceptional law against the socialists, proclaiming illegal the study of Marxism, the proletarian party, the trade unions, and the other workers' organizations. Thousands of people were affected by repressions and persecutions. Many of them lost their jobs, were thrown in jail, or forced to emigrate.

Klara left Germany in 1880. Initially she worked as a teacher in Austria, then moved to Zurich which, at that time, was a major center of the international socialist emigres. She plunged head first into political life and participated in organizing shipments to Germany of SOZIAL DEMOKRAT, the clandestine revolutionary newspaper of the Germany Social Democratic Workers Party. Here she came across the clandestinely published book by A. Bebel' "Zhenshchina i Sotsializm" [The Woman and Socialism]. Under the influence of this book she developed the conviction of the need to engage in socialist propaganda among working women, to free them from the influence of the bourgeois feminist movement, and to create an independent proletarian women's movement as an organic component of the socialist and workers' movements. However, many years had to pass before such thoughts acquired clear theoretical and program stipulations and were implemented.

In 1882 Klara moved to Paris where she met her friend O. Zetkin. They were married soon afterwards. Klara met with Marx's daughter Laura and her husband P. Lafargue, one of the leaders of the young French Workers Party, and became their close friend. She met with the other leader of the French socialists, G. Guesde and with some veterans of the Paris Commune, including the famous Commune Louise Michel, and with revolutionary emigres from different countries. At that time Klara was a contributor to the newspaper BERLINER VOLKSTRIEBUNE.

In 1889 K. Zetkin took part in the preparations for and proceedings of the Constituent Congress of the Second International. As the delegate of the socialist women of Berlin Zetkin delivered a major speech on the organization and tasks of the women's proletarian movement. She substantiated the Marxist program of the movement and demanded full equality of women in production and social life. Zetkin emphasized that the organization and political education of women workers are of important significance not only to the struggle for improving their situation but also because they are an essential factor of the growth of the workers' movement in general. On her motion the first international women's secretariat was set up. She was entrusted with its leadership. Engels rated highly the activities of the young revolutionary.

In 1890 Bismark's hated exceptional law was abrogated under the powerful strikes of the working class. Zetkin returned to her homeland, settled in Stuttgart and, with Bebel's help, became a contributor to the party publishing house. Starting with the end of 1891 Klara became editor-in-chief of a women's newspaper, specifically of the journal of the German social democratic movement "Gleichheit. A Newspaper Defending the Interests of Women Workers." In the course of 25 years, until 1917, she remained the editor of this most important Marxist organ which became essentially an international publication.

At that time the Social Democratic Party of Germany entered a period of acute and lengthy internal ideological-theoretical and political struggle on all basic problems of Marxist theory and tactics. With unabating power the struggle grew until World War I broke out, when the opportunistic leaders of that once revolutionary party openly betrayed the interests of the working class, betrayed Marxism, and led the party to its complete ideological and political destruction.

The infamous E. Bernstein launched his famous slogan which called for "revising" Marx's theory and the revolutionary policy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany as allegedly inconsistent with the new conditions and tasks of the struggle for socialism. This revisionist action raised the question of the fate of the party and of the proletarian movement in the country. The new enemy within the party was discovered by far not immediately. The first principled writings against the Bernstein movement were by G. V. Plekhanov. However, its class nature and socioeconomic content and the entire extent of the danger were comprehensively and exhaustively exposed only by Lenin. A great deal of time had to pass before the German Marxists drew practical conclusions from this struggle and broke with opportunism organizationally and politically.

From the very beginning K. Zetkin was on the Marxist flank of the German social democratic movement, refusing all concessions to or unprincipled agreements with the opportunists. She systematically defended the class interests of the proletariat in theory and revolutionary practice. In her theoretical works and public addresses she always stemmed, first of all, from historical necessity and the law of the replacement of capitalism with socialism through the expropriation of the bourgeois class; secondly, from the fact that the transition from capitalism to socialism is possible only in the process of the mass class struggle by the proletariat in the form of a socialist revolution; thirdly, from the fact that the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the establishment of its dictatorship is a prerequisite and a condition for socialist change; and, fourthly, from the fact that the liberation of the working class and all working people is an international matter, inconceivable without the proletarian solidarity of the workers of all countries.

As early as 1893-1894 GLEICHHEIT published a series of articles theoretically elaborating some problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in this connection, the practical tasks of the class struggle. Bearing in mind that the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat had been omitted in the 1891 Erfurt program, even though Engels had advised its inclusion and, subsequently, Lenin considered as essentially incorrect the absence of this stipulation in this program, it will become clear how timely and important these writings in the Marxist journal were. The articles rejected the opportunistic reassessment of the role of bourgeois parliamentarianism in the class struggle as well as anarchic and sectarian tactics, pointing out the need to strengthen the class proletarian party as the most important force for the destruction of the "power of the capitalist state." The dictatorship of the proletariat was considered as the political power of the working class to be used by it in order to destroy the "economic base of capitalist exploitation and put an end to class domination in general."

Already then Zetkin became an acknowledged and authoritative leader of the international socialist, workers', and women's proletarian movements. She was a delegate to all the congresses of the Second International and the organizer of German and international women's conferences. The 1910 International Conference of Socialist Women which convened on the basis of

her call passed the famous decision of the annual celebration of 8 March as International Women's Day.

The acquaintanceship and friendly relations with Engels and Lenin played a major role in K. Zetkin's ideological and political development. Vladimir Il'ich was always greatly interested in Klara's theoretical and political views, helping her through his advice and his actions to find the correct revolutionary line in the most complex matters. In her excellent "Vospominaniyakh o Lenine" [Recollections on Lenin], and in her numerous articles and pamphlets on Leninism Zetkin emphasized the powerful charm of the personality of the leader, and the universal-historical significance of his theoretical and revolutionary genius.

K. Zetkin played an outstanding role in the struggle against the German and international revisionism, in the consolidation of Marxist forces, and in the defense and development of the Marxist doctrine. This was a steady ascension toward an ever-more complete and profound acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the international revolutionary experience, including the experience acquired in the course of the three revolutions in Russia and through the activities of the Bolshevik Party, even though occasionally contradictory and accompanied by hesitations on some problems.

Thanks to her uncompromising position, in 1894-1895 the opportunists were unable to impose upon the party a reformist agrarian program. Together with A. Bebel', W. Leibknecht, F. Mehring, and R. Luxemburg she rejected Bernstein's revisionist claims in all matters. However, both she and the other representatives of the Marxist wing within the party had to withstand the severe trials of history and to surmount their own doubts and inconsistencies in order to become entirely convinced of the reality of the socialist ideal and reach the only correct conclusion made by Lenin: A proletarian party and revisionism are incompatible and no victory over imperialism is possible without victory over opportunism.

Zetkin reached this conclusion not only on the basis of theory but of lengthy political practice. Since the time of the first Russian revolution and, particularly, the Great October Revolution the attitude toward the bolshevik experience was considered by Klara and like-thinking people a criterion of proletarian internationalism and one of the prerequisites for the formulation of the revolutionary strategy and tactics within the German workers' movement.

In 1903 at the Dresden Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Zetkin expressed her warm solidarity with the revolutionary movement in Tsarist Russia. In July 1905 she wrote in GLEIHEIT: "The Russian proletariat has undertaken a historical mission...Thus it has become the model of the fighter for the revolutionary proletariat of the entire world and, particularly, of Europe." She considered the first Russian revolution the "prologue of an entire series of revolutions in which the proletariat of all countries would break its chain and conquer the entire world." Zetkin drew practical lessons from the 1905 revolution defending together with her fellow workers the



familiar concept of the role of the mass political strike, in the course of sharp clashes with the opportunists.

The Stuttgart Congress of the Second International (1907) was an important stage in Zetkin's activities, as a new Leninist organization. She assisted Vladimir Il'ich together with R. Luxemburg. Lenin highly valued Klara's principled position and her article in GLEIHEIT which gave an assessment of the struggle between the currents at the congress. He edited and added a commentary to the Russian translation of the article.

Klara sadly realized that opportunists were taking over the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and that it was losing its prestige as a revolutionary party in the international workers' movement. "On most of the items and in most of the commissions," she wrote after the congress, "this time the German representatives showed themselves as supporters of opportunism." Zetkin emphasized that the party would be a vanguard only if it would assume a maximally clear and truly revolutionary position concerning the most important problems of the times.

In Stuttgart V. I. Lenin gave the example of how to resolve complex problems on a principled basis, particularly the problem of the attitude toward militarism and the threat of war. Substantiating his position he called for unity among revolutionary forces and opposed opportunism. K. Zetkin was deeply imbued with Lenin's ideas. In subsequent years she was a warm supporter of proletarian internationalism, considering it a reliable guarantee for the unification of the international proletariat.

Today the Leninist line of the struggle for the unity among Marxist-internationalists has been further developed and vividly embodied in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted that "The communists in different countries follow with interest and understandable attention their reciprocal activities. Occasionally differences of opinion or in the approaches adopted toward one or another matter may arise between them. Enemy propaganda has frequently made sensations on such occasions. However, the Marxist-Leninists approach such matters from the positions of internationalism. They are concerned with strengthening the unity of the entire movement and discuss arising problems in a spirit of true comradeship, within the limits of the inviolable norms of equality and respect for the autonomy of each party. Naturally, here there could be no question of compromises on matters of principle, or of tolerating views and actions which conflict with communist ideology."

Until World War I broke out, together with K. Liebknecht, R. Luxemburg, F. Mehring, W. Pieck, and other revolutionary social democrats K. Zetkin promoted a proletarian policy of opposition to the aggressive plans of Prussian-German militarism and imperialism, against the growing threat of a world war, and for the democratization of social life, and for the interests of the working class and of proletarian women. At the last congress of the Second International in Basel (1912) Zetkin addressed a passionate appeal to the women and mothers the world over to fight against imperialism and war.

The time of the imperialist war was for Zetkin a time of rigid and comprehensive review of her views and political positions. She passed this examination with honor, having seen in the October Revolution a victory for Marxism and the beginning of a transition of mankind to a new, socialist system. During that period Klara Zetkin's tremendous contribution was that, following Lenin, and together with the other German Marxist-internationalists, she was able to make the German proletariat realize the reasons for the failure of the Second International and for the opportunists social-reformists degeneration of the German social democratic movement whose leaders had broken with Marxism and taken the side of "their own" bourgeoisie and militarism. We must particularly emphasize her role in sobering up the German workers from their social-chauvinist intoxication and in returning them to their revolutionary positions and, to an even greater extent, in defending the demand for a total break with the opportunists and the need for the founding of a communist party.

Together with her friends and fellow workers Zetkin covered the long and difficult road of shedding off the burden of the obsolete traditions of the old social democratic movement and of some of its illusions. Together with K. Liebknecht, R. Luxemburg, F. Mehring, and others she played a leading role in the activities of the International and Spartacus Alliance groups. The revolutionary experience of these organizations was the preparation for the establishment of the German Communist Party.

V. I. Lenin followed most closely the actions of the German Marxists-internationalists, noting, among others, the outstanding role which K. Zetkin played in them. In the summer of 1918, as the revolutionary crisis in Germany was growing, he wrote Klara: "All of us are very happy that you, Comrade Mehring, and the other 'Spartacus comrades' in Germany 'are with us with your minds and your hearts.' This gives us the confidence that, despite all difficulties, the best elements of the Western European working class will nevertheless come to our aid" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 50, p 128).

K. Zetkin worked hard to prepare the creation and practical organization of the Communist Party of Germany. Following its establishment the country's workers' movement entered a new area of historical development. At the same time, the appearance of the Communist Party of Germany and of many other communist parties provided factual grounds for the creation of the Third Communist International.

K. Zetkin's attitude toward the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Bolshevik Party and the First Socialist State is of great historical and practical interest.

Klara accepted the October Revolution from its very first days unconditionally, definitively, and uncompromisingly as her own personal cause, and as the cause of the German and the entire international working class. The October Revolution triggered in her and in her fellow fighters warm feelings of solidarity with revolutionary Russia and the desire to study revolutionary science from the bolsheviks.

One week following the victory of the revolution in Petrograd, Zetkin wrote in the newspaper of the Leipzig proletariat that the Bolshevik Party "has supported from the very beginning the viewpoint that the existence and cause of the revolution could be secured only through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the conversion of all governmental power into the hands of the soviets of workers and soldiers deputies. The revolution in Petrograd and its victory represent the triumph of the firm and systematically pursued bolshevik policy and of the bolsheviks' basic views and tactics." She exposed the falsifying interpretations of opportunists of all hues, including the supporters of Kautsky, who claimed that Leninism and the October Revolution are, allegedly, "specific Russian phenomena." In August 1918, in one of her letters to Lenin, Klara emphasized that revolutionary Russia "is going forth, showing the way to the international proletariat, acting as its leader...May you, communists, be as victorious as you are courageous and dedicated, and may the proletariat of all countries find itself, in the final account, worthy of the Russian proletariat!"

In her report to the Fourth Komintern Congress (November 1922) K. Zetkin showed a clear understanding of the international significance of the October Revolution. "Not only the revolutionary social forces or objective and subjective trends which develop on Russian soil exist and act in the Russian revolution," said she. "The Russian revolution is also influenced by the action of socioeconomic revolutionary trends and the forces of international capitalism, and the bourgeois society the world over...The Russian revolution expresses all the economic, political, and social ratios which were created by worldwide imperialist capitalism both in Russia and abroad. However, also crystalized within the Russian revolution in a single entity is the historical awareness and revolutionary will of the proletariat of all countries to have a revolution. The spiritual and moral forces awakened and nurtured by international revolutionary socialism have come to life and become effective within the Russian revolution." This is a proper answer to all bourgeois and opportunistic "critics" who are trying today to question the general laws governing the socialist revolution, laws which were manifested for the first time in their full force in the flames of the October Revolution. Zetkin launched a decisive struggle against the renegade Kautsky. She disproved completely his ideas of "pure democracy" which he pitted against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system. In reality, as Zetkin convincingly proved, such "pure democracy" was nothing but bourgeois democracy which the German reaction used for the defeat of revolutionary forces with the connivance of the right-wing social democratic leadership.

After the November 1918 revolution K. Zetkin worked hard to build the Communist Party in Germany on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles. Together with outstanding leaders of the Communist Party of Germany such as E. Thaelmann and W. Pieck, she fought for the conversion of the young Communist Party into a party of a new Leninist type, and for unity within the German workers' movement. In 1920 the Communist Party merged with the majority of the National Social Democratic Party of Germany on a Marxist-Leninist platform. K. Zetkin was elected secretary of the Communist Party of Germany Central Committee.

K. Zetkin played an important role in exposing the opportunistic "theory of offensive," in the promotion of the Leninist strategy and tactic in the German revolutionary movement, and in defending the decisions of the Fourth Komintern Congress on a united front and a workers' government. In subsequent years, when Thaelmann assumed the leadership of the party, she gave her full support to the course followed by the Communist Party of Germany in the struggle for peace and democracy, and against fascism and the threat of an imperialist war.

The old revolutionary had long dreamed of visiting Russia which had now become a revolutionary country. Soon after the February revolution she wrote: "Everything attracts me toward Russia. In my young years I found a home among the Russians, both politically and on the all-human level. I would like to work and fight among them to the end." Her dream came true. In the autumn of 1921 Klara arrived for the first time in the Soviet Union. Soon afterwards she met with V. I. Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya. They discussed culture, art, and public education, and their role in the building of socialism. Returning to Germany, in the autumn of 1920 Klara wrote Vladimir Il'ich the following: "Dear, dear, and profoundly respected friend Lenin, take care of yourself for us, for the revolution!" In her subsequent trips to Moscow Zetkin stayed at the Kremlin, occupying premises next to Lenin's. They frequently met and discussed ripe problems of the international workers' movement and other topical questions. In her numerous speeches and articles, pamphlets, books, and at international congresses and conferences K. Zetkin invariably called for solidarity between the German and international working class and the struggle of the workers and peasants of our country and with the building of socialism in the USSR. She traveled extensively in the Soviet Union and learned through practical experience the nature of the new system which she ceaselessly admired.

Despite the fact that K. Zetkin was over 60 years old she tirelessly struggled for the strengthening of the international communist, workers', and women's movements. In 1921 she was elected member of the executive committee and of the presidium of the executive committee of the Komintern. At Komintern congresses and executive committee plenums she actively participated in the elaboration and implementation of the tasks in the struggle waged by the international working class for peace, democracy, socialist ideals, and unification of all proletarian, anti-fascist, and democratic forces within a united front.

K. Zetkin earned the great respect of the workers the world over. In 1925 she was elected president of the International Organization for Aid to Revolutionaries. In the last period of her life Zetkin lived in the USSR and maintained strong ties with the German communist and workers' movement. She repeatedly visited Germany and told the German working class the truth about socialist Russia. Exposing German and international imperialism, addressing the Reichstag in 1925, Zetkin cautioned the reaction against launching military adventures against the Soviet Union and directed future Germany to establish the closest possible relations with it. In her last visit to Berlin, in August 1932, as member of the communist faction of the German

Reichsthe, Zetkin attended its opening as its eldest representative. In the deadly silence of the Hitlerites who crowded the benches of the Nazi Party, she turned to all anti-fascist forces: "The demand of the time is the establishment of a united front of all working people to fight fascism." Her speech was a passionate appeal for revolutionary action and for joint action among all democrats against the reactionary offensive and the threat of a new imperialist war. It created an indelible impression the world over.

The old revolutionary returned to Moscow which she justifiably considered her second homeland. However, her strength was nearing its end. On 20 June 1933 her brave heart stopped beating. The Soviet state, the entire international proletariat, bowed their battle flags over Klara Zetkin's grave. She was buried on Red Square, in the Kremlin Wall.

Klara Zetkin's life and revolutionary activities are an example worthy of emulation. She lived through periods of reaction and unparalleled upsurge of the proletarian movement, and through the complex and contradictory conflicts of history and of class, party, and human interrelationships. She inflexibly believed in the triumphs of the revolutionary cause of the working class. From the very first days of her joining the class struggle and to her last breath Klara remained a revolutionary without fear or blame. She carried highly the title of communist: "To be a communist means to be a new person, better, more dedicated, and more energetic and brave than the person which capitalist morality could create." Her work and creative heritage remain precious to millions of people the world over, to those who are engaged in a tireless struggle for peace and social progress, and for socialism and communism.

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FROM THE MANUSCRIPT LEGACY OF F. E. DZERZHINSKIY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 105-122

[Materials published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of F. E. Dzerzhinskiy's birth]

[Text] A large number of documents may be found in the personal papers of Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party and Soviet state, kept at the Central Party Archive of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Many of them cover the period during which F. E. Dzerzhinskiy worked as people's commissar of railroads (April 1921-February 1924), and as chairman of the USSR Supreme Council of the National Economy (February 1924-July 1926).

It was in these most important sectors of state and economic construction that the organizational talent of V. I. Lenin's loyal student were disclosed in full. Appointed people's commissar of railroads on Vladimir Il'ich's suggestion, Dzerzhinskiy was able within a short time to rally the army of railway and river navigation personnel in the resolution of the party's task of eliminating the economic destruction and restoring transportation channels. As chairman of the USSR VSNKh [Supreme Council of the National Economy], Dzerzhinskiy made a tremendous contribution to the restoration of industry and to the interpretation and implementation of Lenin's plan for the socialist industrialization of the country.

Most of the documents published here are actual official letters and notes illustrating individual aspects of Dzerzhinskiy's great activities on the economic front and on the front of peaceful socialist construction.

The documents show the efforts made by Feliks Edmundovich with a view to implementing Lenin's instructions on reducing the cost of and simplifying the state apparatus, improving the management of the national economy, and asserting the principles of democratic centralism and of a bolshevik work style. The author's statements on the measures adopted in the struggle against departmentalism and parochialism, bureaucracy, and red tape, and his suggestions in the field of cadre policy and the organization of vocational-technical training are of great interest.

A number of documents deal with Dzerzhinskiy's suggestions on upgrading labor productivity in scientific organization, production rationalization, standardization of industrial commodities, and application of technical improvements.

Feliks Edmundovich considered insuring the party's influence on all aspects of the country's economic life and the strengthening of relations between the party organizations and economic organs as the most important conditions for the successful accomplishment of economic management work. He tried to enhance the role of every party member working at industrial and transportation enterprises and the economic people's commissariats.

The official letters substantiate individual important concepts of the overall system of party measures designed to implement the New Economic Policy (NEP), to restore industry and transportation, to eliminate the disparity between the prices of industrial commodities and agricultural products, to implement a regime of savings and a struggle against waste, to strengthen planning in the development of the economy, to defend the Leninist principle of foreign trade monopoly, and to insure the implementation of a unified economic policy for all USSR industry.

The documents characterize Dzerzhinskiy as an active promoter of the party line designed to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, to implement the Leninist program on the national question, and to strengthen the governmental alliance and friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Each of Dzerzhinskiy's practical steps was distinguished by party-mindedness, infinite loyalty to the communist cause, crystal-pure honesty, and principle-mindedness.

A member of the party's Central Committee since 1906, and a candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo since June 1924, Feliks Edmundovich was the initiator of the formulation of many important sociopolitical problems. The documents published here include Dzerzhinskiy's notes on the state apparatus and the organization of the TsKK-RKI [Central Control Commission of Workers and Peasants Inspection], which were the basis of the report he submitted at the 12th Congress of the RKP(b); a draft note for the Central Committee (October 1923) substantiating a number of basic concepts of party economic policy; a note to the Politburo dated 17 December 1924 on the publication of a circular on the upgrading of labor productivity; a note to V. I. Mezhlauk dated 8 March 1925, setting forth a detailed plan for a report on the metallurgical industry to be read at the forthcoming 14th All-Union Party Conference.

The documents are presented chronologically, some with insignificant abridgments. Their publication was prepared by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences S. Khromov.

CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism

1. From the Letter to V. I. Mezhlauk<sup>1</sup>

2 February 1922

...You will be informed of the situation and of my suggestions... by the materials sent and a copy of my report to the Central Committee... Among other things, I suggest the abolishment of the institution of commissars and the inspectorate, the sooner the better. The commissars should be sent to do basic work and reinforce the administrative services and party and trade union work. I am ready to fight to the end for this suggestion, which has been ripening in my mind for quite some time. Now, seeing their helplessness and uselessness, I can no longer wait. We must then strengthen the local areas at the expense of the center. This is possible and necessary. With work done locally, the work done by the center will be less, and more fruitful. The same situation prevails with the trade unions: less in the center and more along the tracks, at the junctions and the workshops. We can implement this reform now, without waiting for the spring, by assigning people to local areas to carry out their combat missions. Then, it would be useful for our NKPS and precisely, in your TsU (coordinated with the TsA),<sup>a</sup> to create an apparatus for communications with the local areas by okrug and oblast (rather than by service), with representatives assigned to Ekoso to observe their work and meet their requirements. The center should have three to five secretaries to do this... In general, this would reduce red tape and our cumbersome apparatus.

I would like you to do something else as well. I keep thinking of the urgent need to have a militant organ in charge of applying and looking for technical improvements. Yet nothing is happening. Would you find the time to deal with this? Without it, we keep suffering. It is the basis for our development and for a brighter future. It requires a pioneering organ headed by an enthusiastic and efficient comrade. A high technical committee is not a battle organ. It cannot accomplish this, and we shall not restore it. We need people without routine... Such a battle cell must be set up within our collegium and the Tsektran, centrally and locally. It must be granted funds and connected with the local groups. See to it that this matter is not forgotten. The main thing is to find a leader for this group... Should such a group be organized and issue an appeal, it would probably win support everywhere.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

2. Note to the Members of the NKPS Collegium

9 January 1923

In the past, we have spoken and published a great deal and spent time on the matter of a scientific organization of labor in production. I assign the collegium a more modest task: to make the work of the collegium itself



more economical and productive. The following is my suggestion, which might be useful in this respect: each Sunday, every member of the collegium will draft a brief review of his work for the past week and draw up a work plan for the next week. Every Monday, the review and the plan will be submitted to me for instructions and corrections. I request your opinion.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

3. Note to Gosplan Chairman G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy

4 February 1923

The work of our transportation commission and of the NKPS to establish order in the transportation sector could move ahead faster if the Gosplan were to formulate and submit to us precise questions the answers to which would force us to work, and which would, essentially, produce a certain clarity in the transportation situation and in our interrelationship with other economic sectors and with the republic's financial policy. To a certain extent, such questions could constitute for us a program of work, a program for approaching the solution and clarification of the transportation problem. I request that such questions be received.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

4. From the Note to V. I. Mezhlauk

28 February 1923

Unlike the military workers in local areas and the Sovnarkhoz personnel, our transportation workers (communists) are not involved in local party life, just as until recently they stood aside from general economic life. They are not active in the party. As a result, the party is not active in transportation matters, unlike the period of the... (Tsektran). Our party members must realize the full role which the party plays in the restoration of transportation and must determine their obligations in this respect. To this end we should call a congress of boards and set up a group for the study of this topic, pointing out the need for party connection and work (reports dealing with transportation, participation in general party life). Furthermore, during the party congress as well, we should convene a conference of congress delegates working in transportation... Only such activities will enable us to restore the significance of transportation. Arrange things with Serebryakov, Khalatov, and Zimin<sup>2</sup> and earmark a plan.

P.S. - See to it that firm and prestigious comrades head the transportation subsection of the Central Committee and of guberniya committees.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

5. Notes on the State Apparatus, the TsKK-RKI

March-April 1923

Tasks: to improve and reduce the state apparatus from the cost viewpoint;

Same, in connection with workers and peasants;

Same, in connection with accumulations;

Same, in connection with the elimination of bureaucracy;

Same, in connection with overcoming departmentalism.

To formulate the basic problems of the Soviet state apparatus.

Choice: candidates must be nominated by economic organs, university students, and guberniya committees at conferences with economic managers, before the congress.

Party-mindedness -- class formulation of tasks in the field of the state apparatus.

Party organ -- the organizational department

State apparatus:

Plan: 3. On the membership of the RKI (300-400) and the TsKK (35-75) and choice of membership.

4. On their organization and coordination.

1. On their tasks.

2a. On the scientific organization of labor under the conditions of the Soviet state (study and training organs).

2. On their work methods.

The RKI and the TsKK are not only elements within the system. What is important is the formulation of the question -- the idea.

Hairsplitting. Class struggle (People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs).

RKI party-mindedness (in what sense).

This is a long-term program.

Better less but better.

Methods -- less petty control.

A system of trust (selection of individuals who could be trusted).

Helping those who are honest and are learning and creating communications facilities for them.

Organization of the leadership -- selection of its personnel.

General assessment.

Study of the system and elaboration of a system of measures.

Focusing attention on main points. Concentration.

Support of all production clubs.

Promotion of people from below, from the provinces.

Cadre training.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

6. From the Notes to I. A. Grunin<sup>3</sup>

16 October (1923)

The norms and yardsticks provided by the NKPS are one of the basic reasons for mismanagement along the roads. They are issued either as average or "scientific" (inconsistent with our potential) or with leeway based on our waste. Thus instead of a realistic plan, we are originating disorganization and are losing our leading role. This must become one of the basic items at your conference. Above all, you must instruct someone... to gather the facts proving this disparity between our instructions and reality. You must then determine our procedure for issuing norms and yardsticks for the roadways, as well as the other standards we use (including those of the FKK<sup>b</sup>), in drawing up estimates for the individual roadways and for the entire NKPS. Then you must consider this problem at an extended conference, in order to establish order and fix deadlines for the review of all norms and yardsticks for the roadways.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

7. Letter to A. B. Khalatov

20 October 1923

I read your article in GUDOK on wages and I disagree with it. It is ill-advised and incorrect. The result may be not higher productivity in connection with the 50 percent increase,<sup>4</sup> but a waste of time caused by

expectations followed by demands for a new increase. You mention nothing about a 50 percent program but elaborate a further program for a general increase. You further state the following: along individual routes, material improvements could be achieved through the conclusion of local contracts. In other words, you are against the line on which even Comrade Andreyev<sup>5</sup> agreed for the present, opposing local contracts in connection with the Central Committee plenum decree. You write further of additional advantages based on chervonets<sup>c</sup> computations for workers, but fail to mention the tension this will create and the fact that the implementation of the 50 percent program itself will require tremendous tension on the part of all transportation workers. I still lack confidence that we would be able to deal with payments on the basis of the current rate of exchange. Furthermore, all these savings should not go into higher wages. We must set up and accumulate substantial working capital. We must allocate more funds for the restoration of roadways, bridges, installations, and buildings. We must not pour everything into wages or we shall never rebuild the transportation system.

Your article may direct the workers not along the path toward becoming interested in the restoration of the entire transportation and economic system, but toward where and how to earn more. In no case should we give advances in excess of 50 percent of the program. This would include all local contracts as well.

P.S. - On the subject of our wage policy, I shall today send a directive letter to the TsP and the TsCh<sup>d</sup> for discussion.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

8. From A Draft Note to the RKP(b) Central Committee

23 October 1923

On 15 June, after a lengthy and stubborn struggle with the GUT,<sup>e</sup> the NKPS was given two rayons -- one (Rovenetskiy) with anthracite, and the other (Bayraskiy) with coal, in the Donbass, for its own use. For this purpose, the NKPS, together with the railroads, set up the Transportkopi Society.

The conditions under which we received these rayons were rather strict, in terms of obligations to engage in restoration projects, payment for all available materials, relinquishing the right to any kind of state subsidy allocated for the restoration of the Donbass; the share of the subsidy planned for the rayons delivered to us will be used in other rayons and mines; we shall have the right to sell the coal and anthracite to the railroads only.

The following are the results after a short time...<sup>f</sup>

The achievements are beyond question. The following are the reasons for them:

1. Prompt payment of wages. This was the main thing.
2. The closeness of the owner to the mines, with no need for cumbersome bureaucratic machinery. The owner himself can see the thousands of petty shortcomings the elimination of which will further the work and produce tremendous results.
3. Not only an absence of departmental and antagonistic friction with consumers (i.e., with railroads), but their all-round support and direct interest in obtaining inexpensive fuel in adequate amounts.

Conclusions: this is a small success in a minor matter, achieved in too short a period of time to draw the conclusion that it is permanent. Nevertheless, it gives an indication as to where to look for the foundations for the rebuilding of the economy. This will require the following:

1. Abandonment of the fatal smug complacency of all-embracing planning in the spirit of our practice, of pouring funds into capital restoration while lacking funds to pay the workers extracting the coal. The plan must be formulated on a long-range basis: we cannot work without it, just as we could not introduce the NEP without the prospect of advancing toward communism. In this respect, the position adopted by Rukhimovich<sup>6</sup> should be comprehensively supported.
2. Funds must be found at any cost to pay all workers promptly, leading inevitably to a tremendous increase in labor productivity and improvements in the whole of the organization of production and labor.
3. Assignment of big economic managers -- practical workers (rather than windbags) -- to ore administrations, unburdening the center, the UGKP [expansion unknown], and so on.
4. Commercial, economic-organic, rather than bureaucratic, ties with the main direct consumer, and with those interested in the development and reduction in cost of extraction -- the railroads (they themselves consume fuel and earn an income from transporting fuel to other consumers). I conceive of such a connection in terms of the establishment of a combine.

I would like to expand on this matter. Today I consider the idea of combines as an inevitable consequence of the development of our NEP, with the monopoly held by trusts and syndicates a dead end to which this monopoly has led us, with its related symptoms, which could result in a political crisis (a gap). Today the system of a planned economy under the NEP, i.e., with the rule of the market, could above all find its manifestation precisely in the combines, i.e., in the type of association which would include both production and consumption. Our economic life has already created the potential for the implementation of this idea. It was not concocted in an office, but stemmed from practical experience in a national economic sector which the party entrusted to me to lead

2 and 1/2 years ago, i.e., transportation, and above all, railway transportation. Our transportation rallies about 1 million workers or, together with their families, about 3 million people. Our transportation is, essentially, the most powerful support of the Soviet system, covering within a single organism the entire USSR -- one-sixth of the dry land area of the globe. Basically, our transportation system is that least contaminated by the NEP. It is no accident that it is supported by the state budget and suffers more than any other entity from the negative aspects of the NEP and from the violation of the foundation of contacts with the peasantry, which is manifested in the slow rate of development for freight haulage. Yet our railway transportation system became virtually a non-loss operation not as of January 1924, as I presumed at the second plenum after the congress, but as of October 1923... It had been a losing enterprise for a long time, and had long, as it still does, paid its workers in a miserly fashion, above all because of the intolerably high payments for metal and fuel and because of disproportionately high railway rates, i.e., income. Yet still today, even after the conversion to the chervonets rates, our rates are lower than in the prewar years, while even the planned prices of metal and coal have doubled.

It is therefore not in the least astounding that the transportation system and its workers were almost the only ones to engage in a fierce struggle for lower metal and coal prices... Here again the transportation interests coincide entirely with those closest to the peasants, and the line of interests common to all workers -- the reduction of living costs.

Even though it is not a losing operation, the transportation system cannot raise the wages of its workers, rebuild tracks and fleet, and lower its rates in any way except by a fierce and successful struggle to lower the prices of fuel and metal, above all, and then of other materials... Yet the prices of fuel and metal and haulage rates are the main factor determining the prices of all other manufactured goods.

Therefore the struggle against these disparities is an organic project for the whole of the transportation system and its workers, considering its situation. It can undertake this, just as it was able to demonstrate its viability.

Yet the whole policy of our trusts and syndicates and their conventions (yes, there is a convention among syndicates in the metallurgical industry) can in fact be reduced to the term plunder.

With the help of a monopoly position and the methods of the NEP, they seize the market, set prices based on "cost," i.e., their mismanagement and the interests of their own apparatus; they use the system of low wages to extract money and subsidies from the government for political considerations; and finally, they use the helplessness of our management to organize the production process and impose their program on government orders and their own prices, which are always proved "scientifically" and "in planned fashion." We in transportation are experiencing the consequences of this practice...

Now that everyone has realized that, whatever the case, prices must be lowered, and the entire party has undertaken to resolve such problems, that same Main Metal Administration and the fuel organs, reaching all the way to the Gosplan, are concerned about how to raise prices, failing to understand that they are leading our state toward its doom, while allegedly wishing to save on petroleum, coal, and metal. I must say that those who benefit from all this, i.e., those in the apparatus, are able to make skillful and impeccable use of our systems -- in this case, a planning system with its calculations, amortizations, production costs, and so on. Indeed, their arguments are insurmountable. I would be unable to prove that we do not need 4.8 billion rubles, as estimated by the scientists, in order for the transportation system to develop; however, the People's Commissariat of Finance, using its own methods, does not give me any more than it has. It has discovered how to make the railroads operate without losing money...

This does not mean that I reject the plan. We cannot work without a plan. However, the plan should be different and planning should be different from what it is now. The economy faces a dead end. There is a crisis in the sale of machines, metal, kerosene, coal, and other goods, due to high prices; the country hungers for metal, machines, kerosene, coal, and other goods. Prices cannot be lowered, for all the scientific indications point to bankruptcy. This is all rubbish. In such a case, we must sell today at prices below cost, taking all the steps necessary to lower production costs. In terms of fuel and metal, this means creating a combine with the main consumers, i.e., the railroads. Railroad orders account for more than 50 percent of Yugostal's output. About 50 percent of the coal mined in the Donbass is used by the railroads. Why not create a great combine consisting of a number of railroads, the Donbass, and Yugostal'? The same would be applied to other rayons.

This is the only way, for only the consumer could become a true manager, and the transportation system is the state consumer.

In such a case, transportation, fuel and metal would develop as a single block and Soviet industry would blossom...

Should the Central Committee approve such a line, a great deal of work will naturally have to be done on the formulation of specific plans and the choice of personnel.

My suggestions:

1. Prohibit fuel and metal price increases, and adopt urgent measures to lower their production costs and prices. Exceptions to be made by the Politburo on an individual basis.
2. Allocate stocks in the warehouses of state trusts assigned to agriculture but unsold because of high prices, on credit and at lower prices set by the Council for Labor and Defense.

3. Instruct Comrade Dzerzhinskiy to formulate a specific plan for the economic combining of transportation, fuel, and metal, for... the consideration of the Politburo.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

9. From the Note to V. I. Mezhlauk

2 December 1923

The struggle against the high cost of living, i.e., against mismanagement and the poor organization of labor, production, and distribution, must become one of our basic tasks not only in transportation, but in the entire national economy. Should we consider this to be a matter for the VSNKh we would lose the campaign and perish. It cannot cope with this task, for its machinery is no longer in its own hands. You must plunge entirely into this work, rallying around yourself (Transplan and Board Bureau) a nucleus of people with knowledge and will, capable of working in this arena without surrounding themselves with a bureaucratic apparatus...

We must inspire and train our UTsD<sup>g</sup> and see that they undertake the solution of such problems, to which end they must receive meaningful and specific letters periodically.

I did not like your first letter. It was too general, not very meaningful and not very concrete. I did not sign it.

One of our highly skilled economists should be instructed to redraft this first letter and include in it the data acquired by the Rykov Commission (I could provide you with the full data), the history of our struggle for fuel (materials of the Politburo commission), and the beginnings of our struggle for metal, presenting our idea and will to fight as a directive to all senior workers in transportation and party members, as well as specialists.

The directive is as follows:

1. We can and must rebuild the economy with our own forces and means, without expecting foreign capital, which will come when we become strong ourselves.
2. Main reasons for the insufficient economic upsurge:
  - a. Poor organization of production, labor, and distribution;
  - b. mismanagement;
  - c. work without a plan for the future and without regard for the needs and means of the entire national economy, as well as without coordination with other economic sectors and the country's defense;
  - d. parochialism and departmentalism -- our main enemy; forgetting the fact that through one's economic work, one is building or destroying the Great State of the Workers, with every step taken;
  - e. failure to satisfy the needs of the country because of an insufficient volume of output;
  - f. a totally unsuitable production organization...



3. The struggle for the stabilization of the chervonets means a reduction in expenditures and an increase in income and work without losses in transportation, and industrial profitability with lower commodity prices.

4. The role of transportation workers in this struggle. Our interests accompany those of the state of the workers closely. The struggle against the high cost of procurement items and manpower and for the development of freight turnover is a struggle for the development of the entire national economy.

5. In order to achieve this task, and in order to have the moral right to undertake the resolution of this tremendous problem, we must above all launch such a struggle within our own organization, not concealing mismanagement and shortcomings, but conversely, exposing them and combating them publicly. Such a public acknowledgment is a prerequisite for success in the struggle.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

10. Note to Z. B. Katsnel'son<sup>7</sup>

5 February 1924

The most acute and basic problem facing the Soviet system now is the struggle against high costs and to insure real wages and increase them in accordance with the upsurge in productivity and the lowering of the costs of goods. In this connection, we must above all be aware of the real worker's budget and how it is influenced by the chervonets rate, as well as what the actual items consumed by a worker's family are. To this end, we could organize a survey, in Moscow above all, and subsequently in the other more important centers. In the various key production sectors and in different parts of the city, we could find a number of workers' families who would record their daily budget with complete accuracy, i.e., entering all their income and all their expenditures -- how much they paid for a given item and how much they received. Could you undertake the organization of this project?

In addition, what can you do with regard to the following assignments?

1. Check how the budget index published in Moscow (and in other centers) is drafted, which markets and stores are used, and how the prices of the budget selection items are obtained. Determine where such items are sold at a lower price, by how much, and why. Check prices at cooperatives, separately for each item.
2. Find the difference between wholesale and retail prices and study this difference.
3. Struggle against malicious intermediaries and for the lowering of retail prices.

4. Provide a list of merchants satisfied with a modest profit.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

11. From A Letter to the Central and Local Economic Organs

5 June 1924

Issue No 198 of EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN' dated 1 June 1924 carries an article by Comrade Reyngol'd<sup>8</sup> entitled "Wage and Labor Productivity"... The estimate of the average wage does not take into account all overhead expenditures, such as withholdings for social security, cultural needs, and other funds; estimates of the average labor productivity are based on the overall gross output, converted into prewar rubles and at prewar prices, divided by the number of participants in the production process. Figures with references to the TsKK Commission published in EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN' in an editorial, even though it was signed by Comrade Reyngol'd, could play a fatal role in terms of the country's industry and whole economy. Anyone reading these figures must reach the conclusion that, if they are accurate, we have achieved such high labor productivity that already, given the present condition of our industry, there is a firm foundation for an immediate wage raise. Yet any economic manager familiar with the case knows that this is not so. This is confirmed by the tremendous wage indebtedness which still exists in such basic industrial sectors as the metallurgical industry and Donugol', and the difficulties in meeting railroad payrolls, even though the wages of railroad workers are at less than 50 percent of the prewar level and are lower than in other sectors. Such general and average figures reached in desk chairs should be checked against life, in specific cases, for each trust and plant, and only then could we derive conclusions consistent with the actual situation and the interests of industry and the workers. The figures quoted by Comrade Reyngol'd are refuted by plant data. The following are several examples of data I have obtained directly from the trusts (naturally, such data must also be checked closely, now that this question has arisen in its full dimensions)<sup>h</sup>.... Nor do such estimates take into account the wage overhead used basically to improve the life of the workers to an extent which was nonexistent before the war, when the workers had to meet such expenditures out of their own earnings.

The figures I have mentioned and the resulting conclusion are closer to the actual situation for the following general reasons as well: compared with the prewar situation, our work day has been shortened by 20-30 percent, and our holidays and paid vacations are that much more than before the war. More time off is allowed pregnant women and the work day for women heading families and those working in enterprises harmful to the health, and that for adolescents, is shorter. Let us add the tremendous amount of work done below capacity at enterprises, which substantially lowers worker productivity, and the increased number of auxiliary workers and employees as compared with production workers. Suffice it to compare such data with the 75 percent monthly productivity, and we see quite clearly that this figure is the result of statistical juggling.

All economic managers must undertake the thorough study of these problems, determining all the basic data for their own enterprises and sending it to me as soon as possible, for submission to the TsKK Commission, which must resolve this problem once and for all...

In conclusion, I would like to draw your attention to the full importance of this problem and of your assignment. You must establish the facts so that we can earmark and adopt the proper line with regard to the wage policy and upgrading productivity. The only base for a wage level is the results of the work, and this level cannot be raised without increasing productivity unless we destroy and disrupt the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, in other words, unless we go back to the old produce assessments... Our state industry and the Soviet state itself can strengthen and exist only under two conditions: reducing costs and increasing output, by improving the organization of labor and production, and increasing labor productivity per participant in the entire production and distribution process. This is the only source for the further increase in wages.

Along with the data requested, please send me your suggestions on how to upgrade such productivity without asking the state for additional subsidies and loans for which it has no funds.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

12. Note to the GEU and the TsUGProm<sup>i</sup>

14 June 1924

Today the wage commission of the TsKK asked me to submit a report within 3 weeks (to clear this deadline both with the Gosplan and the AUCCTU) on measures to increase labor productivity (gross and individual output). This assignment turned out to be a tremendous one, and too broad. It is necessary to formulate the problem itself on the basis of a study of the present condition of output, industry, and funds, with a breakdown by sector or even smaller divisions, earmarking both the measures and the method for organizing and resolving this problem. We must develop the organizational aspect as well -- the duties of plant managements, trust boards, the VSNKh, factory and plant committees, trade unions, RKI, and others, as well as their interconnection and the participation of the broad working masses in this project.

I ask the GEU to undertake the formulation of the plan for this work, involving in it VSNKh organs (including Glavmetall, Glavelektro, and Glavvoyenprom) of the GEU and the TsUGProm, and to coordinate the results of their work.

Could you give me a deadline for a preliminary report?

F. Dzerzhinskiy

13. Note to V. N. Mantsev<sup>9</sup> at the GEU

10 July 1924

The debate launched in the press on "labor productivity and wages" is of tremendous practical and principled significance. Its outcome will determine whether or not the entire country will jointly undertake to upgrade labor productivity, i.e., to strengthen and create a base for the solution of all other problems. The responsibility for the organization of output and labor falls entirely to us, the VSNKh. This makes it incumbent upon us to be firm and to gain prestige and trust and the awareness that we are right by providing true guidance for the organization of output and labor and through theoretical work.

The GEU must earmark a program and plan for such leadership. I suggest that a conference be held on 18 July, Friday, at seven in the evening, at which the GEU would submit a draft plan and elaborate on the possibilities, the volume and content of the task itself...

The theses in such a report must be cleared with me ahead of time. The conclusions must specify the responsibilities of the entire industrial hierarchy, from top to bottom. One of the measures should be the planning of a congress of practical workers and specialists to resolve technical and organizational problems. Here at the VSNKh, without relieving anyone of his responsibilities, we should assign some one of the organs (or create an organ) the coordination and observation of the implementation of measures.

Theoretical work should be your task as well. In this connection, we must above all provide a scientific formulation of the problem of labor productivity -- general and individual -- and labor intensiveness; their role and reasons determining them; productivity and intensiveness with an 8, 10, and 12-hour work day; productivity and intensiveness yardsticks; productivity, intensiveness, and wage level increase; economic and social base for the wage level in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet state; added value and prices; the role of "socially necessary" labor in our country.

I would ask you, above all, to draft material for articles on the following subject: labor productivity -- general and individual -- and intensiveness.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

14. Note to the Politburo of the RKP(b) Central Committee

17 December 1924

On the subject of point 7 on the agenda for the 18 December session.

Being unable to attend the Politburo session in person, I request that the following be announced:

I petition for the publication of the Central Committee memorandum on upgrading labor productivity. This memorandum was cleared by the commissions of the Central Committee and the TsKK with all organs involved (AUCCTU, VSNKh, and the People's Commissariat of Labor), and drafted on the instructions of the Politburo.

The purely business nature of the memorandum is fully consistent with the present stage of the campaign -- not agitation any longer, but work on implementation. Without the participation and guidance of the guberniya committees, this stage of this campaign may in some areas degenerate into endless arguments among local "politicians".... both on the part of economic managers and professionalists. The guberniya committees must be issued entirely clear directives in this connection by the Central Committee. Should the Politburo believe, for any reason, that the Central Committee should not issue memoranda with technical instructions (I repeat that in this campaign, technical instructions will entirely determine success), such memoranda should be issued under the signatures of the VSNKh, the AUCCTU, and the People's Commissariat of Labor, and the Central Committee should distribute them to all guberniya committees to guide the campaign. If the guberniya committees fail to receive very specific instructions from the Central Committee, in one form or another, three-quarters of the campaign will fail.<sup>10</sup>

F. Dzerzhinskiy

15. Note to Z. B. Katsnel'son

4 January 1925

I do not agree with the idea of a hypercentralized conference. If we set up headquarters in the local areas against the will of the local authorities, this will only harm the cause and prevent the workers from doing successful work. How is it that the conference fails to understand this simple truth? Such bureaucratic centralism has long been bankrupt. The work will not succeed without the support, aid, and friendly attitude of the local authorities. For this reason, I am annulling the conference's decree. We must develop the type of procedure in which our decisions are coordinated with the local areas and local authorities in this matter as well.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

16. Letter to M. K. Vladimirov<sup>11</sup>

4 January 1925

The enclosed letter from Zalomov is of tremendous interest. It reminds us that it is impossible to resolve the peasant problem without expanding industry, which would absorb our excess rural population. It is clear that with technological improvements in agriculture, the percentage of

surplus rural population will increase, and if our industry is unable to absorb this percentage, a political crisis will go on ripening. If such is the case, is our budget properly structured if we expand it at the expense of nonproduction outlays -- for education, the army, the courts, and so on, and curtail the share allocated for the development of industry? Should not all of us at the VSNKh press our demands for the expansion of output? Would it not be expedient to spend millions to organize the production of machinery which would lower the costs for all output and enable us to increase it? Considering the tremendous pace of our development, output is inadequate and fails to measure up either to the purchasing power of the population or the need to use the manpower available. We have no outlet for this population other than the expansion of industry...

F. Dzerzhinskiy

17. From the Note To GEU Chief A. N. Dolgov<sup>12</sup>

25 January 1925

The problem of standardization should be raised from its amateurish level and be given the kind of scope capable of restoring our industry and our entire national economy. To achieve this, we must set up a Higher Council for Standardization (similar, for example, to the Metric Commission) under the STO [Council of Labor and Defense], with the right to promulgate mandatory decrees. Its membership should be quite large, including our representatives and representatives of the Gosplan, the AUCCTU, or the People's Commissariat of Labor, the RKI, and the main consumers involved, such as the People's Commissariat for Land, the NKPS, the NKPTel',<sup>3</sup> Tsentrosoyuz, and others, so that we, together with the Gosplan, the AUCCTU, and the RKI, will be in the majority, while its management (chairman and deputy) should be entirely ours (VSNKh). Such a Higher Council would be based on the departmental standardization bureaus, and would have a small work bureau itself. Public opinion should be prepared for this. The initiative must lie with us, which would insure our management of the project. It would be quite desirable to raise this question at one of the sessions of the VSNKh Presidium attended by representatives of trusts and plant directors (no more than 200 people), at which a report should be submitted on the full importance and potential of this matter in a soviet system precisely, in the rebuilding of our entire life and industry, at a time when all nations within the USSR are seeking new ways, and when we are not faced with obstacles created by the private ownership of capital goods.

I would like to ask you to present such a report, giving it not a narrowly technical, but rather a broad social nature, indicating all the possibilities for standardization, in order to win everyone's support. We would then print such a report in pamphlet form and distribute hundreds of thousands of copies. Standardization would make a major change in economic life and would enhance the people's prosperity incredibly, without need of vast advance funds...

F. Dzerzhinskiy

18. Note to V. V. Kuybyshev

27 January 1925

Unfortunately, it was not until today that I had an opportunity to study your plan for a central standardization bureau at the RKI SovNOT<sup>k</sup>. Meanwhile I had formulated a plan somewhat different from yours. I believe that we must set up a Higher Standardization Council under the STO, with the right to issue mandatory decrees to all state establishments. Nothing could be accomplished without such an authoritative organ. Standardization should and could be the most powerful, and even the only means -- given our shortage of funds -- of upgrading our industry to the level of the country's needs. Such a Higher Council would rely on the departmental standardization organs. The VSNKh, the RKI, and the AUCCTU (or People's Commissariat of Labor) must have a majority in the Higher Council, rather than the consumers. Within this majority, the VSNKh should dominate, for only the possibility of having direct control over equipment and production can insure success.

I believe that the RKI could not claim to play such a role. Its institute or central bureau should be a scientific rather than an executive organ.

How will it be? The Gosplan also demands priority and supreme rights. Opinions are divided. The problem is a very important one.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

19. Note to Gurevich and Zammel<sup>13</sup>

14 February 1925

On the subject of Comrade Zammel's theses.

These theses do not provide a general formulation of the problem of "foreign trade monopoly," the attitude of the VSNKh, or a study of its content. Without this, it is impossible to state convincingly that the monopoly forms supported by the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade have become "obsolete." The forms must be based on the objective (content), time, and space.

We must firmly and quite extensively and exhaustively develop the idea that foreign trade monopoly is organically linked with the Soviet economy and state in their advance toward communism, surrounded by capitalist countries, and that such a monopoly is demanded by the interests of our industry as well.

We must bear in mind that the foreign trade monopoly will remain Krasin's monopoly (foreign trade), i.e., a monopoly by a department, and not the state, until we have firmly mastered the importance of the monopoly and convinced the party and the state that we can and will watch over such a

state monopoly. This is the whole crux of the matter. We must struggle for this premise and for trust in ourselves.

We are being defeated not by Krasin, but by mistrust of us in such matters. This is the first thing we must work on.

Therefore, the theses should promote criticism of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, in that it is not promoting a trade monopoly, but is directly suppressing it, enriching some unknown entity without satisfying the needs of the country.

The theses should be structured entirely differently.

I agree in general with the conclusions, which must be more concretely elaborated, however.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

20. From the Note to V. I. Mezhlauk

8 March 1925

We must now choose materials for a report on the metallurgical industry for the April party conference. In all likelihood, we shall have to submit a written report as well. Furthermore, specific proposals must be formulated also.

I believe that the following topics should be covered:

Financial-production plan, program, and execution, by sector and key trusts, including the GUVP<sup>1</sup> and Aviatrest.

Long-range plan.

Artisan industry.

Market capacity and need (state industry, transportation, and a broad market, including the rural market).

Prices and production costs.

Sale and resale prices.

Trade apparatus.

Labor problems: number of workers, labor productivity, wages, social insurance, housing, and others.

Fixed capital problems: percentage of load and utilization; need for technological retooling and improvements.



Imports and exports, now and in the future.

Potential for reducing production costs and competing with foreign countries.

Technical forces: hiring foreign engineers and workers, and sending ours abroad.

Technical aid from abroad.

Electrification of the metallurgical industry.

Our ore reserves and their future, and need for same.

Reducing the cost of our reproduction of capital assets in other industrial and economic sectors.

Future NKPS needs for metal and metal goods.

Organizational problems.

Conclusions and suggestions.

I am writing down these topics as I go along. A plan must be drawn up. Once it is formulated, submit it to me. We must hurry, for very little time is left.

The GUVP must absolutely be included.

Naturally, the report must be based on and linked with the needs of the entire national economy, agriculture above all.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

21. From the Note to A. N. Dolgov

25 June 1925

By next Wednesday, we must draw up a memorandum with our specific suggestions on the matter of the Higher Technical Educational Institutions and Technical Schools, as well as the whole of vocational-technical education. To this end we should recruit Comrades Gorbunov and Ramzin, among others.<sup>14</sup> It would be good to do this work together with the People's Commissariat of Land.

What is needed above all is to substantiate the need for the establishment of organic daily links between vocational-technical education and production, from top to bottom, which is possible only if such training is undertaken by us, leaving the overall management to the People's Commissariat of Education...

F. Dzerzhinskiy

22. Note to Zh. L. Taner-Tanenbaum<sup>15</sup>

28 October 1925

In my view, your report should be rewritten in the form of an article and published. Furthermore, your instructions on standardization should be given a practical implementation. I must say that in reading about our potential in this regard and about our reality, I feel seasick. All of us are masters of speech, sight, and understanding. However, we are totally unsuited for doing and acting. We must strive for practical implementation at all costs, guided precisely by those who can see and understand. This means you, who are enthusiastic about your work, above all. Our section on rationalization and the standardization bureau must be supported. A standardization committee has already been established under the STO. It must be led along the proper path, must submit proposals, must insist, and must supervise their practical implementation, asking for public support through the press, insulting, exposing, praising, and so on. Our task today is to engage in practical work. Everyone who can think and who possesses initiative must seek ways for implementing his thoughts in practice. Your report contains a mass of suggestions. Seek ways to implement them.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

23. Letter to S. F. Redens<sup>16</sup>

29 October 1925

Once again I have written an apostolic message. This time, however, it is indeed somewhat "apostolic," and I am not quite sure what to do with it, or whether it is necessary at all. However, I become irritated when I see that we frequently do not have the initiative. Will such a message help? Would I be contaminating all our chiefs with the desire to fight for the VSNKh? My deepest conviction is that nothing will happen if someone does something for us, if the initiative is not in our hands, and if the various apparatus and their leaders are not imbued with patriotism for their assigned cause. Therefore, I become irritated when I see that someone else is pattering around with matters assigned to us. This is the best proof that we are worthless and that things will not improve, for one must not put on performances, but rather work day after day, having been given every facility for organizing the work. Show this to Mantsev, Pyatakov, and Mezhlauk, and decide what to do with my "apostolic" sermon.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

24. Note to V. V. Kuybyshev

22 November 1925

I believe that in terms of rationalization, organizational centralism is dangerous, and that here those who are interested, those who must implement

this rationalization, should evidence the greatest possible initiative. The success of rationalization depends on two elements: 1. technical means; and 2. the initiative and level of the people. Here agitation and certain organizational prescriptions (systems) could hardly help. Textbooks, detailed descriptions of production abroad, blueprints, models, the organization of a model plant (based on Ford's model); assigning people for training abroad, and so on, would be more important. Therefore, I think that it would be best to delete the parts I have underlined from the thesis. I believe that it would be better to restructure the architectonics of this thesis in such a way as to point out at the beginning that the rationalization will occur to the extent that each organ is imbued with this idea and seeks the means, and, at the end, the fact that the task of the TsKK-RKI is to support, to issue instructions, and so on, for which purpose a party-soviet leadership center must be set up under the TsKK-RKI.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

25. Note to V. V. Kuybyshev

2 December 1925

Reading the part of the thesis on "work on rationalization," it is only now that I have realized that you are discussing only the rationalization of administrative machinery (state and economic) rather than production-technical rationalization. If I understand correctly, I fully agree with this formulation, for the rationalization of production technology (Fordism and others) should be the basic function of the production associations themselves and of their managements (VSNKh, NKPS, and others). In such a case, however, this should be clearly stated. Otherwise, confusion and misunderstanding may result. In fact, your theses speak of rationalization departments and organization bureaus at plants. But such are being established by us precisely to rationalize production technology. If I am wrong, and you mean all kinds of rationalization, we disagree profoundly. I believe that the greatest misfortune which could befall us, leading to the total bureaucratization of our entire governmental and economic apparatus, would be the creation of operative functional departments which could tie the hands and feet of the economic organs. Little by little, their potential for work and to take responsibility for their assignments would be eliminated. Thus the VSNKh and its subordinate organs (trusts and syndicates) can exist and work only if they constantly coordinate their work with and receive directives from the People's Commissariats of Education (skills), Internal Trade (trade), Foreign Trade (exports-imports), Finances (finances), Labor (labor), and so on and so forth. On the whole, the VSNKh is being eliminated. Everyone works for it, and it is falling ill thanks to such supervision. Should this occur in connection with technological rationalization, it would reduce it to a state of total helplessness and lack of responsibility.

As to "control of execution and formulation of problems," if the TsKK-RKI is given the authority to introduce new forms of administration (as the "organizer" of such forms) without clearing them with the respective economic organs, here again friction would result.

On the question of the prosecution: I am opposed to having a prosecutor in the TsKK. This is a very dangerous idea. Errors in prosecution will not thereby be corrected, while the responsibility for them would fall to the TsKK. Furthermore, the TsKK would become a direct organ of the official authority, with all its attributes -- detention, jails, and so on.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

26. Note to Senior Workers At the VSNKh and the Sovnarkhozes  
of All Union Republics

6 February 1926

All of you have received my address to the party's Central Committee Politburo. Naturally, it is we, the economic managers, who bear the responsibility for the situation with wages and labor productivity. Without our agreement and proper opposition, we would not have gone so far. My note (comparing the number of workers in May and December) makes it entirely clear that an unnecessary number of workers has been hired, in excess of all plans, in precisely the same way as the wage level has exceeded all plans, while productivity has become such that we are threatened with the failure of all our plans and with production organization related to the delayed payment of wages, the impossibility of undertaking our own necessary capital projects, and the reduction of the credit base. Trusts showing profits should not forget that if such profits are eroded and reduced, and if accumulations in industry itself are curtailed, there will be no funds for retooling, or for long-term and short-term credit. The threatened reduction in current accounts in the banks and the consequences thereof, and the rapid reduction of loans by banks to industry, are signals pointing to this danger.

In connection with this situation, I appeal to all managers in our industry to cope with these problems most thoughtfully and energetically, and to earmark and adopt measures for the upgrading of productivity, making it consistent with the wage level, reducing all overhead, and lowering production costs. I entrust the management and supervision of this work in the center to the labor savings department.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

27. From the Letter to S. S. Lobov<sup>17</sup>

28 February 1926

You are entirely correct in drawing attention to the alienation of our economists who are party members in Moscow from the party organization and party work, and this is followed by the alienation of the party organization and its work from the sovnarkhozes (both of the USSR and the RSFSR) and the economic work of our trusts...

The same alienation exists where the central committees of trade unions are concerned. It has an explanation, but no justification. It has led to a massive lack of coordination and matters would have been vastly better in all respects if this alienation had been overcome.

As a new man here, it would be best for you to take up this matter.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

28. Note to G. A. Rusanov<sup>18</sup> on the Commission on Overhead Expenses

28 February 1926

Please submit your work plan to me.

Main tasks:

1. Make every manager (and collective) do what falls to him in his position, and see to it that others do that which he himself cannot, resulting in unnecessary expenditures, or things he can see and note within his range of vision.
2. Prevent the development of the opinion that this struggle should be waged by special commissions, rather than by each manager and ordinary organ. Commissions are needed only for help and supervision and for planning.
3. Organize information on overhead expenditures which could be reduced. Request the assistance of the TURGOVO-PROMYSHLENNAYA GAZETA, which must become the main organ in this campaign.
4. Organize publicity for the campaign.
5. Give the campaign a strictly businesslike nature, with the least possible prattling and a description of the successes achieved in terms of rubles and kopecks, rather than general statements.
6. Formulate a list of overhead expense items and problems, sending it to the pertinent authorities so that they can work with it and formulate instructions for trusts, local areas, and so on. Supervise the drafting of such instructions.
7. Establish contact with the RKI-TsKK and the auditing commissions, so that the data they have available can be fully used.
8. Pay particular attention to the struggle along the following lines:
  - a. Publicity, announcements, issuing reports, and all kinds of publications;

- b. Personnel and duplication in the work, irresponsibility; assignments; missions; commissions and meetings;
- c. Repairs, circumstances, transportation facilities;
- d. Accountability (a flow of demands and tugs from all sides);
- e. Wage overhead expenditures;
- f. Plant expenditures for transportation;
- g. Trade overhead expenditures. Unnecessary units, and so on.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

29. Notes to I. Ye. Gershenzon<sup>19</sup>

6 March 1926

On studying newly received books and journals, please submit notes on those whose publication would not be necessary, as well as the names of economic organizations (along the VSNKh line) which make unnecessary announcements or engage in unnecessary advertising, and send them to me.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

30. From the Letter to V. N. Mantsev

9 March 1926

I had a talk today with A. I. (Rykov) on a campaign to reduce the retail prices of both industrial and agricultural commodities and the appeal to the lower strata to join in this struggle and find the proper methods.

A. I. requested materials, agreeing essentially with this method.

Please urgently select such materials.

The basic purpose of the materials should be the following: the commodity goes through 1. an excessive number of links between producer and consumer; 2. it takes a long time; 3. too many people are being supported by trade; 4. this becomes excessively expensive and consequently, the consumer receives only part of the commodity. Industry (with the workers), the peasants, and the state as a whole suffer from this (the exchange rate of the chervonets and insufficient accumulations for increasing capital assets). Ways must be found to reduce the cost of trade by the consumer, at the bottom, and by the state and state industry, at the top.

Provide figures and tables: 1. general gaps between wholesale and retail, for the peasants, industry, and the workers;

2. Individual gaps, for purposes of individual examples -- metal and grain prices in the countryside. The prices which workers in Ivanovo-Voznesensk pay for bread and manufactured goods. Prices which the Central Asian peasant pays for grain and cotton, and so on. Give the most striking examples;
3. Markups of industrial commodities along the entire chain of cooperative, state, and other trade, from the factory to the peasant consumer;
4. Same for agricultural commodities reaching the worker (wherever bread is expensive);
5. Examples of the number of links in the commercial chain and the personnel serving in each of the links...

Please collect data showing our weak spots without any fig leaves. In this case average figures are unsuitable. The picture presented must be most specific.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

31. Note to Glavmetall

20 June 1926

Yugostal' launched an excellent initiative. What was Glavmetall's answer?

What, specifically, have you done and what are you doing to insure the maximal reduction of all accountability and references, and defense against requirements of all kinds coming from trusts and plants? One must take a given trust and go from the plant through the trust to Glavmetall and the VSNKh (TsOS, financial-economic department, and so on), determining who needs what accountability, while all the rest should be eliminated. One must be personally acquainted with the details, instead of reading poods of reports and information.

Report on what you are doing and who is in charge of this. Relieve yourselves, the trusts, and the plants, of unnecessary accountability. This not only creates a potential for saving funds, but makes it possible to engage in real work.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

32. Letter to Khor'kov (Moscow Guberniya Internal Trade)

24 June 1926

Please send me the materials available to you on the following matters (for Moscow):

1. Dynamics and condition of retail prices and wholesale-retail price gaps in state, private, and cooperative trade.
2. Dynamics and condition of the role of state, private, and cooperative retail trade, based on sale and wholesale prices.
3. Ibid, for wholesale trade.
4. Shortcomings in the commodity hauling network -- duplication, cumbersome, high cost, location of stores and warehouses in the rayons.
5. Shortcomings within trade itself -- labor productivity, behavior toward customers, working hours.
6. Existence and expediency of representatives of all sorts.
7. Concentration in Moscow of unnecessary organs and of all kinds of speculators and middlemen, and measures for the struggle against them.
8. Private commercial capital. Methods and rates of accumulation. Methods for their control and the success thereof.
9. What measures have been earmarked in Moscow to lower prices and streamline trade and the commodity hauling system, and to clear speculators and unnecessary organs and operations out of Moscow?
10. What type of work is being done in the field of trade for the purpose of economizing?

F. Dzerzhinskiy

33. From the Letter to A. M. Ginzburg<sup>20</sup>

8 July 1926

Our report to the STO (on structure and work) contains nothing, either in the report or in the suggestions, on the local and republic industries and our reciprocal relations...

The explanatory note should list only the measures we plan to strengthen local industry. Furthermore, we must formulate as theses our position and suggestions on relations between the USSR VSNKh and republics and oblasts, and their relations with the local areas on problems of planning and current ties, based on the fact (this must be formulated precisely) that the USSR Constitution, acknowledging the USSR VSNKh as a directive organ, and taking as its basis the unity of economic policy on industry, insured that unity with a mandatory policy applicable to all leading state industry organs. The theses should point out that from the viewpoint of economic unity, the division of industry into all-union, republic, and local categories offers substantial advantages in terms of the technique of



management based on the administrative-political system of the Soviet Union, but one cannot achieve economic unity on the basis of the self-satisfaction of each of these subdivisions. These divisions are arbitrary. Therefore, in the formulation and implementation of the plans, there must be the kind of link between the work of the VSNKh and the republics and their organs which will insure a unity of line, policy and plan. Hence the organizational conclusions regarding reciprocal relations and our suggestions concerning the role of the main administrations of the various sectors lacking administrative rights with regard to non-all-union industry, as well as on the procedure governing state financing. The republics must be refused the right to redistribute these funds (state financing, or funds from the USSR budget and the plan) among the various sectors; this can be done only within the sector limits, without the right to redistribute funds allocated for new construction...

Since our report to the STO has been postponed for at least a week, there is without any question time to provide the information and the theses and to discuss them. In no case is it necessary to write a report. Please inform me of the date on which I can expect the table and the first draft of the theses.

F. Dzerzhinskiy

#### Notes

1. V. I. Mezhlauk -- manager of affairs and member of the NKPS Collegium, and subsequently, member of the USSR VSNKh Presidium and deputy chairman of the Glavmetall Board, USSR VSNKh.
2. L. P. Serebryakov -- then secretary of the RKP(b) Central Committee; A. B. Khalatov -- member of the NKPS Collegium; N. N. Zimin -- senior NKPS worker.
3. I. A. Grunin -- member of the NKPS Collegium.
4. Dzerzhinskiy had in mind the RKP(b) Central Committee decision raising the wages of railroad workers by 50 percent as of 1 January 1924.
5. A. A. Andreyev -- then chairman of the Central Council of the Trade Union of Railway Men.
6. M. L. Rukhimovich -- chairman of the Board of the State Coal Industry in the Donbass (UGKP).
7. Z. B. Katsnel'son -- then chief of the Administrative-Financial Administration, USSR VSNKh.
8. I. I. Reyngol'd -- chief of the budget administration, USSR People's Commissariat of Finance.

9. V. N. Mantsev -- member, USSR VSNKh Presidium, chairman of the GEU Collegium, USSR VSNKh.
10. At Dzerzhinskiy's suggestion, a memorandum entitled "On Practical Measures To Upgrade Labor Productivity" was adopted and was issued on behalf of the AUCCTU, the VSNKh, and the People's Commissariat of Labor in TURGOVO-PROMYSHLENNAYA GAZETA on 4 January 1925.
11. M. K. Vladimiro -- deputy chairman, USSR VSNKh.
12. A. N. Dolgov -- member, USSR VSNKh Presidium.
13. Gurevich and Zammel' -- members of the foreign department of the USSR VSNKh.
14. N. P. Gorbunov -- in charge of affairs, USSR Sovnarkom; L. K. Ramzin -- director of the All-Union Thermoengineering Institute.
15. Zh. L. Taner-Tanenbaum -- senior worker of the USSR VSNKh.
16. S. F. Redens -- scientific secretary to the chairman of the USSR VSNKh.
17. S. S. Lobov -- chairman of the RSFSR VSNKh Presidium and member of the USSR VSNKh Presidium.
18. G. A. Rusanov -- chief of the Administrative-Financial Administration, USSR VSNKh.
19. I. Ye. Gershenzon -- chief of the Central Labor Norming Bureau, USSR VSNKh.
20. A. M. Ginzburg -- deputy chairman of the Collegium of the Main Economic Administration, USSR VSNKh.

#### FOOTNOTES

- a. TsU -- Administration of NKPS Affairs; TsA -- NKPS Administration of Administrative Affairs.
- b. FKK -- Financial-Control Committee.
- c. Chervonets -- name of the monetary unit under which bank notes were issued by the USSR Gosbank as of October 1922, with gold backing equal to a prerevolutionary 10-ruble coin. Due to the rapid depreciation of the Soviet currency in circulation at that time, the credit operations of the Gosbank and the main operations of enterprises and organizations began to be computed in chervontsy; the ruble was one-tenth of a chervonets.
- d. TsP -- deputy people's commissar of railroads; TsCh -- member of the NKPS Collegium.

- e. GUT -- Main Fuel Administration, USSR VSNKh.
- f. Dzerzhinskiy further cites specific data on the work of the Transport-kopi Society.
- g. UTsD -- representative of the People's Commissariat of Railroads to the railroad.
- h. Dzerzhinskiy further cites data for trusts and individual production sectors.
- i. GEU -- Main Economic Administration of the USSR VSNKh; TsUGProm -- Central Administration of State Industry, USSR VSNKh.
- j. NKPTel' -- People's Commissariat of Posts and Telegraph.
- k. SovNOT -- Council for the Scientific Organization of Labor.
- l. GUVF -- Main Administration of War Industry, USSR VSNKh.

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RESPONSIBLE TASKS OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL OF THE HIGHER SCHOOL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 77 pp 123-128

[Review by G. Aref'yeva, doctor of philosophical sciences, A. Bogomolov, doctor of philosophical sciences, I. Pantskhava, doctor of philosophical sciences, and B. Pakhomov, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the journal FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI]

[Text] The materials of the 25th party congress, the speeches by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and a number of party documents face Soviet Marxist-Leninist science, philosophy in particular, with major and responsible tasks. The need for a comprehensive approach to the solution of topical theoretical problems of Marxism-Leninism, the increased importance of problems related to the communist education of the youth, the conceptual and methodological training of young specialists under the conditions of building a communist society, the developing scientific and technical revolution, and the intensified ideological struggle increase the social role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and raise new requirements concerning the level of scientific research and the teaching of philosophy in VUZ's. Hence the important role which the journal FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, published as part of the series of "Higher School Scientific Reports," is understandable. The duty of the journal is to reflect the results of scientific research on topical philosophical problems of our time conducted by scientists in the country's VUZ's and, at the same time, to act as the organizer and coordinator of this work. The specific nature of the journal requires that it provide substantial theoretical and methodical aid to a large number of workers in higher educational institutions so that they may improve their scientific, teaching, and educational work.

Of late all of the journal's activities have taken place under the sign of the 25th Leninist party congress and the preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The journal published a number of meaningful articles in the section "Toward the 25th CPSU Congress," in which the results of the research and organizational work of Soviet philosophers in several big scientific centers were summed up (in the universities of Sverdlovsk, Kiev, and Leningrad); it described the course of the implementation of the

CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the Work at the Moscow Higher Technical Schools imeni N. E. Bauman and Saratov State University imeni N. G. Chernyshevskiy on Upgrading the Ideological and Theoretical Level of Teaching the Social Sciences" (1974), and covered topical theoretical problems of the developed socialist society. Thus, the publication of the article "Methodological Problems of the Study of the Socialist Way of Life" (No 6, 1975) was quite timely. It justifiably noted that "a knowledge of the laws governing the socialist way of life is necessary for purposes of effective planning and management of processes of social life in all its manifestations" (p 3).

The question of molding and upgrading requirements, covered in the article "Spiritual Needs and Activities of the Individual" (No 1, 1976) is of great importance to the theory of the socialist way of life. Its author emphasizes the basic importance of the views expressed by K. Marx and F. Engels to the effect that "naturally, one or another organization of material life depends, each time, on already developed needs, while the triggering of such needs as well as their satisfaction constitute the historical process" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 71). The development of a harmonious system of needs, their intensification and energizing, and the molding of lofty spiritual requirements become important components in the molding of the new man, of the builder of the communist society.

The discussion of topical theoretical problems of social development, such as detente and ideological struggle, socialist way of life and work quality, and so on, was continued after the congress as well. In the article "The 25th CPSU Congress and Problems of Socialist Way of Life and Quality of Labor" (No 5, 1976) the journal analyzes the objective law of the profound interconnection between the socialist way of life and the nature of the work of the broad toiling masses.

In the article "The 25th CPSU Congress and Topical Problems of Moral Education" (No 6, 1976) the journal discusses important problems of educational activities under developed socialist conditions and, above all, the development of a communist attitude toward labor. Under circumstances marked by the aggravation of the ideological struggle, acknowledging the growth of the material prosperity of the Soviet people, our ideological opponents rely on the energizing of a petit bourgeois, "consumer" mentality which, in their view, would conceal the final objective of the activities of the Soviet people--the building of a communist society. "The proper organization of educational work among the working people and the consideration of its complex nature, as well as the combination of ideological-political, labor, and moral aspects of such activities," the article states, "are a reliable protection from the petit bourgeois and other recurrences of bourgeois morality. The hopes of our enemies for a 'moral erosion' of the Soviet society are doomed to failure" (p 8).

Noting the particular role played by the social sciences in the shaping of a communist morality, high idea-mindedness, and loyalty to the party cause, the journal published a number of meaningful articles discussing the basic

tasks facing the philosophy departments of VUZ's in the light of the congress decisions: "The 25th CPSU Congress and Philosophical Problems of Social Development" (No 3, 1976); "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of Social Science Departments" (No 4, 1976); and "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Ways to Upgrade the Quality and Effectiveness of the Teaching of Philosophy" (No 3, 1976).

The interaction among social, natural, and technical sciences is becoming ever-more energetic under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. The role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in the development of all scientific knowledge is intensified. At the same time, there is an accelerated differentiation of social sciences. The amount of new data demanding a general philosophical-sociological interpretation is growing rapidly. Therefore, the further elaboration of the categorial apparatus of historical materialism is a necessary prerequisite for the solution of many practical problems related to the building of communism.

Even though in recent years the journal has published a number of generalizing studies such as "The Social Sciences as a System of Knowledge" (No 4, 1975), and "The Contemporary Condition and Trends of Development of the Knowledge of Society" (No 1, 1975), and having analyzed some basic categories of historical materialism (such as the socioeconomic system, social activities and practices, social relations, politics, culture, communications, and many others), nevertheless it should be pointed out that less has been done in this direction than is dictated by contemporary requirements concerning the development of theory. Thus, the journal has published almost no study of problems related to the mechanisms of social action. Among all the categories disclosing this mechanism the journal has covered in sufficient detail one only--the category of requirements.

The journal should cover more effectively and substantively topics such as the theory of historical progress, the characteristics of the development of society today, the dialectics of production forces and production relations under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, and the dialectics of international relations.

Greater exactingness should be displayed toward the theoretical level, substantiation of conclusions, and stylistic precision in articles dealing with problems of historical materialism. Such thoughts are triggered, for example, by the article "Importance of the 'Socioeconomic System' Category in the Analysis of the Socioeconomic Social System" (No 3, 1976) in which it is claimed without an adequate special analysis that a society with a multi-structure economy could not be classified with any given socioeconomic system. Soviet Russia at the beginning of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism is cited as an example. Yet, the methodological significance of the concept of the socioeconomic system is manifested most emphatically precisely under the conditions of a multiple structure and precisely in the transitional stages of social development. In this case, however, society should be considered not in its static but its dynamic condition, in a state of directed motion, as required by dialectical

materialism. In the note "The Concept of 'Private Life'" (No 3, 1976) abstract and unjustifiably significant considerations dealing with trite matters to which the author tries to ascribe a philosophical significance replace a substantive theoretical analysis.

The journal should increase the number of articles dealing with the methodology for a study of social phenomena. We believe that together with the study of their dialectics, the elaboration of gnoseological problems of the social sciences should become one of the main topics in the section on historical materialism. Unquestionably, the study of the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics which provide brilliant examples of the methodology of social study and the summation of the results of studies in the fields of the individual social sciences such as history, political economy, jurisprudence, and so on, should be the main directions to be followed in this complex work.

The categories, principles, and laws of dialectical materialism represent conceptual foundations of the entire structure of Marxist-Leninist philosophy as an outlook, as a general theory, and as a method for the study and reorganization of the world by man. The theoretical elaboration of these categories, principles, and laws is part of the area of basic scientific research in philosophy. In this connection, in our view, the serious attention which the journal pays to the study of the categories of contradictions, content and form, subject and object, and system and structure, in their theoretical and methodological significance, is fully justified. Here a systems approach is properly considered as the application and development of certain aspects of the categorial apparatus of dialectical materialism (No 3, 1976, p 69).

In the light of the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress the methodological significance of the comprehensive systemic approach under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and the building of communism would be difficult to overestimate. The development of the socialist society as a planned and scientifically guided one dictates ever-more urgently the need for a further development of methods for the comprehensive solution of problems of the scientific, economic, social, and cultural development of the country and its different areas. The study of the categories of management, manageability and self-organization on the level of the general dialectical principles is closely linked with such problems (see no 4, 1976). The elaboration of such categories on the basis of a broad summation of the basic principles of sciences such as cybernetics and biology, naturally, is a contribution to the philosophical analysis of the problems of organization and management. Yet, it would be inconceivable without the mastering and interpretation in specific contemporary materials of the entire wealth of the ideas of dialectical materialism or without the use of the priceless experience in its application by K. Marx and V. I. Lenin to the study of systems of social relations. This side of the question deserves a more thorough interpretation.

The attention which the journal pays to problems of dialectics, closely linked with specific problems related to the development of the science and practice of the building of communism is entirely legitimate. However, the scientific and technical revolution currently developing and the tasks raised by social progress formulate, in turn, new requirements to the level of the theoretical interpretation of dialectical principles, laws, and categories. The time has come to engage in new, deeper studies of its categories and principles, for the solution of many methodological and conceptual problems frequently formulate new problems of the correlation between the objective and the subjective, necessity and accident, causality and determinism, quantity, quality, measure, contradiction as a source of development, negation and continuity, and so on.

Unfortunately, the percentage of articles published on such basic problems of the theory of dialectical materialism remains low. This circumstance reflects a certain enthusiasm for "applied" philosophical research noted in recent years. However, the journal should not resemble a mirror reflecting an existing situation. Its task is to direct its philosophic activity to the study of long-range basic problems of dialectic theory. We believe that more profound work on the general theory of development of material systems based on the latest data of the natural and social sciences is particularly important today.

The further study of the laws governing the enrichment of scientific knowledge becomes particularly topical in the course of the revolution in the natural sciences in the 20th century and of the scientific and technical revolution which followed it. The journal carried a number of articles in which topical problems related to the development of theoretical knowledge were considered on a contemporary level: Qualitative changes, changes of methodological systems in the course of scientific revolutions, comparability of concepts and of alternating theories, criteria for making a choice among competing theories, content and role of the principle of conformity, status of verifiable statements in science, role of formalized knowledge, and other important problems.

Problems of dialectical logic are an important topic treated in the articles. Unfortunately, their long discussion (not only in FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI) has not as yet resulted in the desired rapprochement among viewpoints on a number of problems. This applies above all to the correlation between formal and dialectical logic, and objective and subjective contradictions in knowledge. It is particularly important in the interpretation of such problems to develop a conscious aspiration in the authors toward the elaboration of a unified scientific position and surmount a certain one-sidedness inherent in every specialist. For example, the article "On the Characterization of Dialectical Contradictions of Knowledge (based on K. Marx's economic works of the 1850's-1860's)," carried in issue No 1 for 1976, which discusses the correlation between subjective and objective dialectics, accurately emphasizes that knowledge contradictions are not the same as the objective contradictions of studied reality. However, the fact is omitted that far from all knowledge contradictions are purely subjective ones. Marx's works indicate that



contradictions in the theoretical definitions of subjects represent a reflection of objective contradictions. They provide a thorough analysis of the fact that knowledge contradictions (in particular the illusions and errors of bourgeois political economy) are based on objective social contradictions, i.e., on contradictions within the object of the study.

Taking the journal's specific nature into consideration, the results of the discussion of controversial problems should be summed up more frequently. Naturally, loose formulations and contradictory views on clearly uncontroversial matters should not be allowed. Unfortunately, such errors may be found in some of the articles.

The journal deals with philosophical problems of the contemporary natural sciences in close connection with problems of dialectics, logic, and the theory of knowledge. Noteworthy, in particular, is the thorough study of the principled struggle related to conceptual and methodological problems in modern biology.

The journal discusses problems of space and time, philosophical problems of quantum mechanics, the profound link existing between the theoretical foundations of cybernetics and the principles of dialectics, and other problems.

Articles on central problems of VUZ's curricula of dialectical and historical materialism, published in the section "Aid to Teachers of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy" deserve a positive rating. Written as surveys with detailed references to the basic works of Marxist-Leninist classics and original contemporary publications by Soviet and foreign Marxist philosophers, such articles are useful not only to teachers but to students, graduate students, and participants in philosophy seminars, for they provide a substantive introduction to one or another central problem, describe the contemporary condition of its development, and single out controversial and unresolved matters. As a rule, the authors include highly skilled specialists in the respective areas. The topics quite thoroughly developed in the journal include the theory of forms and methods of contemporary scientific knowledge, basic stipulations of the Marxist-Leninist theory of truth, content and methodological role of information categories, complex problems of the correlation between language and thought, the social functions of science, social progress, interrelationship between individual and society, and so on. Unfortunately, less attention is being paid to the main problems of the course on historical materialism. Theoretical problems related to teaching methods, and the organization of educational work in VUZ's have not as yet been assigned the proper role they should play in the philosophy journal for higher schools.

In recent years the journal has greatly increased its attention to criticism of the latest trends in bourgeois philosophy. The substantive article entitled "Philosophy of Crisis" (No 3, 1976) considers the main features of contemporary bourgeois philosophy, properly noting not only the fact that it is a historically doomed philosophy, in the sense that it is unable to

surmount its own crisis (see p 114) but also the extent of the "adaptation abilities" of contemporary idealism. "...State-monopoly capitalism," the article states, "possesses considerable possibilities to exert an ideological influence on the masses and possibilities for ideological maneuvering which influence the position of philosophy as well" (p 114).

The past 20 years have been characterized by a serious crisis in neopositivism. The article "Philosophical Positivism Under Contemporary Conditions" (No 1, 1973) analyzes the new situation which has developed in the bourgeois "philosophy of science." The article traces these changes against a wide background of social and scientific problems insoluble from the viewpoint of neopositivism. The complex and topical problem of interrelationships, and the "diffusion of ideas" in bourgeois philosophy is resolved in the article "Neopositivism and Existentialism (On the Question of their Interrelationship)" (No 6, 1974). The journal aptly criticizes the new trends in scientific methodology in the capitalist countries such as structuralism (Nos 2 and 4, 1974), and the science concepts of K. Popper (No 3, 1976) and T. Kuhn (No 4, 1976). True, occasionally we come across inaccuracies. Thus, it would be difficult to agree with the fact that "Kuhn is a 'realist' (i.e., materialist)," whose views are simply "not free from a certain influence of pragmatic-positivistic concepts of science" (No 4, 1976, p 113). Nevertheless, Kuhn's "realism" is far removed from consistent materialism and his ties with the idealistic concepts in bourgeois science are far broader. The new topics are discussed in the article "'Scientific Materialism' and the Psychophysiological Problem" (No 6, 1975; No 2, 1977) which deal extensively with the nature of a concept quite widespread in philosophical thinking in the United States, Britain, and some other countries: The "theory of the identical nature" of the mental and the physiological (physical).

Also quite thoroughly discussed in the journal are other currents in the contemporary bourgeois philosophy, irrationalism in particular. The question of the nature of existentialism is discussed in the article "The Problem of 'Surmounting' Man in German Existentialism" (No 3, 1974). The polemical articles "Socio-Political Aspects of Contemporary Bourgeois Philosophical Anthropology" (No 6, 1974), "S. Hook's Naturalistic Pragmatism" (No 5, 1975), and others are ideologically sharp. The idealistic philosophy of hermeneutics is subjected to a thorough analysis in the article "Hermeneutics: Its Method and Claims (Critical Essay)" (No 6, 1976).

Nevertheless, let us make a few wishes in this respect. First of all, the criticism of the religious trends in bourgeois ideology, precisely in terms of philosophical concepts, is clearly insufficient. Secondly, we would like to see in the journal more articles dealing with the interconnections and interaction among contemporary idealistic schools and trends showing the common grounds of their social and philosophical natures. In this area essentially nothing may be found other than the article "Neopositivism and Existentialism" we mentioned.

The journal reflects problems on the historical-philosophical level in accordance with the significance which they have in the course in Marxist-

Leninist philosophy and the role they play in the studies of our teachers in higher educational institutions. Recently a number of articles have discussed Hegel (see Nos 3, 4, and 5, 1974; Nos 1 and 4, 1975); Kant (Nos 2, 5, and 6, 1974; No 3, 1976), and Feuerbach (No 2, 1975). There have also been works on Pythagorus, El Farabi, (Okkama), P. Bayle, and N. Mallebranche. The interaction between western European and Russian philosophy is discussed in the articles "Schelling and Russian Philosophy in the First Half of the 19th Century" (No 4, 1975), and "'All Religion Is Based on the Alienation of the Spirit...'" (Ludwig Feuerbach in the pages of 'Domestic Notes' of the 1840's)" (No 3, 1974). The discussion of some aspects of T. G. Shevchenko's ideological heritage, initiated in the article "On the Question of T. G. Shevchenko's Outlook" was useful (even though somewhat long-winded) (No 6, 1973, continued in Nos 2 and 4 for 1976). The journal is continuing to publish relatively unknown or so far untranslated works by foreign or domestic philosophers: Cicero (No 2, 1974), Leibnitz and Locke (No 5, 1974, No 5, 1975); Bruno (No 3, 1976); Hegel (No 4, 1974); M. A. (Fonvizin) (No 6, 1975), and others.

The study of the history of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is a major course in theoretical thinking. It would be difficult to upgrade the scientific level of research and improve the teaching of philosophy in higher schools without its creative interpretation. Let us note that in recent years research in this area has declined not only in this journal.

The articles "Evolution in Marx's View on the Problem of Alienation" and "Some Methods for Logical Analysis Used in Marx's 'Das Kapital' (against the attacks by bourgeois 'theoreticians' on Marx's methodology)," published in No 4, 1974, and "On the Centennial of the 'Critique of the Gotha Program' by K. Marx" (No 5, 1975) are of interest. However, few such articles have been published. The situation improved somewhat in 1976. The question nevertheless arises: Is it expedient to publish articles on the history of Marxist-Leninist philosophy essentially on the eve of anniversaries? The editors should consider this matter. Naturally, the ideas of the Marxist-Leninist classics imbue all the articles carried by the journal. Nevertheless, the systematic interpretation of the historical development of Marxist philosophy is important.

Similar considerations arise on the subject of the criticism of contemporary revisionism in the journal. Naturally, revisionist and reformist concepts are exposed in most articles dealing with problems related to the distortion of Marxism by contemporary revisionists. Suffice it to refer to the series of materials on "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Science of Philosophy" in which great attention is paid to criticizing our ideological opponents. However, special articles on the subject are needed as well in which problems of criticizing revisionism could be formulated and resolved comprehensively and more thoroughly than is possible in articles where such problems are nevertheless secondary. Also expedient would be broad surveys of the entire front of the struggle against contemporary revisionism. Examples of such work are found in the articles "On the Attacks Launched by Extreme Left-Wingers Against the Philosophical Foundations of Leninism" (No 1, 1974),

"The 'Practice' Category, Bourgeois Marxology, and Revisionism," and "The Nature of 'Reideologization' in Modern Social Democracy" (No 1, 1975).

The achievements of Marxist philosophy abroad are extensively covered by the journal. The journal systematically publishes reviews of philosophical journals of the members of the socialist comity, and articles by scientists from those countries and by progressive authors in capitalist countries. The section "Marxist Philosophy and Sociology Abroad" provides operative and detailed information on the most topical themes, works, and interesting authors.

Invariably the attention of the readers is drawn to surveys of scientific life and reviews of books on philosophy. In 1975 alone, the journal noted the publication of more than 70 monographs, collected works, and collections by Soviet authors.

Under contemporary conditions governed by the blossoming of socialist science and the development of the scientific and technical revolution, the flood of demand for scientific publications is growing tempestuously. In our view, the journal has found a successful method for the solution of this problem by introducing, several years ago, the section "News, Notes, and Letters," which provides a brief description of basic results of research. Such a genre of scientific publications has made it possible for the journal to present a larger number of authors without increasing its size, and to reduce excess information substantially, as well as to single out the new elements contained in the materials published more accurately.

We must also assess properly the serious work done by the journal with a wide circle of authors and correspondents among the teachers in the country's VUZ's, including young specialists, as well as with voluntary scientific consultants and reviewers, who are giving the editors substantial aid in preparing materials for publication. Incidentally, let us note that nearly all the basic work done by the journal is done on a voluntary basis.

Despite the inevitable disparities in the level and content of the materials published by the journal, they are characterized by a close connection between the problems under discussion and reality, contemporary science, practice, and criticism of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and sociology.

The realistic nature of the problems discussed and their links with life and with our times, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, represent a prerequisite for a truly scientific and creative approach to the development of any science. This is the essence of Marxist-Leninist dialectics as a method of thinking. The merit of the journal lies in the fact that this requirement has become its strategic line in the choice and preparation of the materials it publishes.

The topical nature and party principle-mindedness of most of its articles make us confident that this philosophical journal for the higher schools will fulfill its responsible assignments honorably in the light of the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, and will make its contribution to the

discussion of the ideas in the draft of the USSR constitution and in summing up the results of the scientific research and ideological work done by Soviet philosophers on the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

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