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26 January 1978

## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 18, December 1977

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ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 77 p 3

[Text] The regular CPSU Central Committee Plenum was held on 13 December 1977.

The plenum heard reports submitted by Comrade N. K. Baybakov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and chairman of the USSR Gosplan "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1978," and Comrade V. F. Garbuzov, USSR Minister of Finance, "On the 1978 USSR State Budget and the Execution of the 1976 USSR State Budget."

The following comrades participated in the debates on the reports: A. P. Lyashko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; M. A. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Vladimirskaya Oblast CPSU Committee; G. A. Aliyev, first secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaydzhan Central Committee; M.-S. I. Umakhanov, first secretary of the Dagestanskaya Oblast CPSU Committee; B. F. Bratchenko, USSR Minister of Coal Industry; B. N. Yel'tsin, first secretary of the Sverdlovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee; M. P. Trunov, first secretary of the Belgorodskaya Oblast CPSU Committee; and I. G. Kebin, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

A major speech was delivered at the plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum adopted a corresponding decree on the problems discussed, published in the press.

This concluded the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

5003  
CSO: 1802

ON THE DRAFT 1978 STATE PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF  
THE USSR AND THE USSR STATE BUDGET

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 77 p 4-5

[CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree passed on 13 December 1977]

[Text] The drafts of the 1978 State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and USSR State Budget are approved in the main and shall be submitted for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasizes that the main task of all party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organizations is to insure not only the fulfillment but the over-fulfillment of the 1978 assignments by each labor collective, rayon, city, oblast, kray, and republic. This will be a new major contribution to the development of the economy and will be of great importance to the implementation of the Tenth Five-Year Plan as a whole.

Guided by the terms and conclusions expressed in the speech delivered at the plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the central committees of communist parties of union republics, the party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the party organizations, and the ministries and departments shall focus their attention on the practical solution of problems of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, rational utilization of the created economic potential, concentration of capital investments on the most important target projects, and timely installation of capital assets, all-round acceleration of scientific and technical progress and production intensification, growth of labor productivity, and intensified regimen of savings in the interest of the further upsurge of the prosperity of the Soviet people.

To this purpose the socialist competition among working people in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, and other sectors must be developed even further; particular attention must be paid to the maximal utilization of intra-economic reserves, to achieving highest possible results with

lowest possible outlays, applying progressive experience, disseminating the initiative of production innovators, displaying constant concern for improving quality indicators, and implementing the increased socialist obligations.

The CPSU Central Committee directs the attention to the fact that under contemporary conditions upgrading the organization and responsibility at all levels of party, state, and economic management, intensifying control over the implementation of planned assignments, and strengthening production and labor discipline further are of great importance.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses its firm belief that workers, kolkhoz members, specialists, and working people in all national and economic sectors of our homeland shall make 1978 a year of shock labor and achieve new successes in the implementation of the historical tasks formulated by the 25th CPSU Congress.

5003

CSO: 1802



## SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND WORK WITH CADRES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 77 pp 6-21

[Article by G. Romanov, CPSU Central Committee Politbureau member and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom]

[Text] Each stage in our country's life has its characteristic features. The problems resolved by the party members and by the multimillion strong Soviet people have become more complex with every passing congress and five-year plan. However, with each subsequent stage past experience has been invariably developed and concretized, increasing and multiplying the material and spiritual strength of the Soviet state.

The historical victories of the first socialist state on earth and the entire path of revolutionary accomplishment, from the storming of the Winter Palace to the present, were brought to light with exceptional depth in the reports submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, at the extraordinary seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, which passed the new Soviet Constitution, and the joint ceremonious session of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and RSFSR Supreme Soviet dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Imbued with optimism and most profound faith in the triumph of the Leninist ideas, the concepts and conclusions contained in these program documents have been confirmed by reality and by the entire course of the revolutionary renovation of the world. They triggered a warm spiritual response in the heart of every Soviet person, of every citizen of Leningrad.

The tremendous political, economic, and social gains of the Soviet system were codified in the outstanding document of our time--the new USSR Constitution. Its nationwide discussion and unanimous approval convincingly proved the tremendous vital strength of socialist democracy and the monolithic unity between party and people.

The Soviet people invariably link all their successes and achievements with the titanic activities of the Communist Party which embodies the mind, honor, and conscience of our epoch. The stipulation in the country's fundamental law to the effect that the CPSU is the leading and guiding force of our society and the nucleus of its political system and governmental and social organizations was accepted ubiquitously with profound satisfaction. In the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR constitution and the celebration of the October Revolution anniversary the party members and working people of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast reasserted their boundless loyalty to the party's cause, their total and unreserved approval of its Leninist course, and their unanimous support of the Leninist revolutionary and inspiring activities of the CPSU Central Committee and its politbureau headed by the tireless fighter for the triumph of communism Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

An atmosphere for truly creative work has been developed in the party and the country on the basis of the systematic implementation of the Leninist principles of party guidance. Its characteristic features--scientific approach, collectivity and efficiency, daily concern for the implementation of the key tasks in the development of the national economy and the steady upgrading of the material and cultural living standards of the people, and strengthening the international prestige of our homeland--have been firmly established in the activities of the CPSU Central Committee. They have opened extensive possibilities for the initiative of the local party organs.

Side by side with the party and the country the Leningrad party organization is marching along the paths of labor and construction. At all stages of the building of socialism the CPSU and the Soviet state have always given Lenin's city tremendous aid and support. Without them the production and scientific and technical potential which has always served the party's plans and the interests of the people would not have been created.

The letter of greetings of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers to the workers, engineers, technicians, men of science and culture, Soviet army and navy personnel, and all working people of Lenin's city on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Soviet system was welcomed with a feeling of tremendous gratitude. The people of Leningrad are answering the high assessment of their labor it contains by intensifying their socialist competition for the ahead of schedule fulfillment of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and for increasing their contribution to the implementation of the tasks formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress.

#### I.

The most important link in the political system of the developed socialist society is the Soviet state which was able to prove its strength and viability in severe trials. Appearing as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a result of the profound socioeconomic changes it

subsequently became a state of the whole people. At the same time the leading role of the working class is retained in society and the state, as it holds key positions in economic life and is making a decisive contribution to its development; this is the best organized class focusing within itself tremendous experience in resolving economic and social problems. Under the immediate influence of the Leninist party all social groups and strata in our society have converted to its ideological and political positions.

While guiding society, the CPSU pays daily attention to upgrading the role of scientific and technical cadres in the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism and improvement of social relations, and in the country's entire political and cultural life. Socialism was the first to discover previously unheard of possibilities for involving millions of working people in creative work and in the achievements of science and technology and cultural values. "In the past," V. I. Lenin said, "the entire human mind and genius worked only for the sake of giving all the benefits of technology and culture to some while depriving others of what they needed most--education and development. Now all miracles of technology and gains of culture have become national property. Henceforth the human mind and genius will never be converted into means of violence or exploitation" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 289).

Formulating the economic strategy of the developed socialist society, the CPSU stipulated as a task of historical importance the need organically to combine the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system. The enhanced role of science and its conversion into a most important production force led to a substantial increase in the significance of mental work in the realm of material output. The share of mental work in the creation of the overall social product is rising.

The expansion of the scale of the economy and its conversion to intensive development determined not only the quantitative but the qualitative growth of scientific and technical cadres and their increased responsibilities for the solution of the tasks formulated by the party. "In the life of a single generation," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the report "The Great October and the Progress of Mankind," "the Soviet country was saved totally and forever from the heavy yoke of illiteracy. The working people became active participants in cultural life and creators of spiritual values. A new socialist intelligentsia came out of the people, bringing fame to the homeland through outstanding achievements in science, technology, literature, and art."

The guiding and organizing activities of the CPSU are among the most important conditions for upgrading the social activeness of scientific and engineering and technical cadres and the fuller and more efficient utilization of their knowledge and experience. The party comprehensively supports the creative aspirations of the specialists and encourages the manifestation of their capabilities and initiatives.

Our ideological enemies distort the nature of the party's guidance of the intelligentsia, considering it as just about an "encroachment" on the freedom to create. They deliberately conceal the fact that, while remaining by nature a party of the working class, the CPSU is also the party of the entire people, rallying within its ranks the progressive segment of all detachments of working people. As was noted at its 25th Congress, the party stratum among economic specialists, teachers, physicians, and men of science, literature, and the arts has increased substantially. Today approximately one out of four or five of them is a party member.

Surrounded by the concern of the party and the state, the Soviet scientists and specialists have everything necessary for fruitful activities. This concern found its legal expression in the constitution which emphasizes that in accordance with the objectives of the building of communism, USSR citizens are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic creativity, supported by the extensive development of scientific research, inventions, and rationalizations, and the development of literature and the arts. The state creates the necessary material prerequisites to this effect, supports the voluntary societies and creative unions, insures the planned development of science and the training of scientific cadres, and organizes the practical utilization of scientific research in the national economy and other realms of life. The new constitutional stipulations will contribute to the further planned training of scientific and technical cadres and to raising their role at all sectors of economic and cultural construction in our country.

## II.

The tasks formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses of upgrading social production effectiveness are of prime importance to Leningrad where hundreds of industrial enterprises, scientific research institutes, planning and design organizations, and tens of institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and higher educational institutions are concentrated, employing a large number of highly skilled scientific and engineering and technical cadres.

The development of our domestic energy and precise machine building, shipbuilding, metallurgy, radio electronics, and instrument making, the pursuit of major theoretical and experimental research in physics, mathematics, chemistry, geology, and medicine, and work on the conquest of outer space and the world's oceans considerably depend on the activities of many of our enterprises and institutes.

In the final account, the level of technology and its volume of output have a substantial influence on the growth rates of labor productivity in a number of the country's leading economic sectors. That is why the oblast party organization considers as some of the main directions of its work the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, upgrading the effectiveness of scientific research, and the creative activeness and practical returns of scientists, engineering and technical workers, and all specialists.

Basic problems of development of science, technology, and production, and the activities of institutes and planning and design organizations are constantly analyzed by bureaus and plenums of the party's obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms, and the primary party organizations. The obkom plenums on upgrading the technical level and quality of output, the effectiveness of the work of scientific research institutes and design bureaus, and the growth of labor productivity left profound marks in the life of the oblast party organizations. A plenum held by the Leningrad party gorkom dealt with upgrading the role of engineering and technical personnel in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The party organizations are directing the efforts of scientists and specialists to the solution of the basic problems of the creation of new equipment and technologies, the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises, planning improvements, and the party organization of labor and management in production and science. Economic services and production mechanization and automation departments were set up by the enterprises. Plans for technical progress have become firmly established. A great deal has been done to develop and strengthen the experimental research and production base and insure the extensive use of network planning methods, computers, progressive design methods, and so on.

As everywhere else in the country, the last decade has played a particular role in the activities of the oblast party organization. It was precisely within that period that, implementing the party's economic strategy, the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms and the labor collectives did extensive work for the concentration and specialization of output, combining it with science, and creating production and scientific-production associations.

Presently we have over 150 associations which include over 520 enterprises and 120 scientific research institutes and design bureaus. As a rule, most associations have set up integrated centralized economic, technical, and other services. This has enabled them to eliminate duplication and parallelism in the work and to direct the attention of cadres to the solution of central production problems.

Reality convincingly proved the advantages of this form of organization of socialist output. Concentration and specialization radically changed the structure of industry. Suffice it to note that associations and the biggest enterprises account for over 80 percent of the industrial output of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast, and that the average volume of output per enterprise has increased from 9.3 to 20.2 million rubles. Favorable conditions have been created within the associations for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and for the effective work of the specialists for raising the level and quality of the developed equipment and for its serial mastering and production.

Thanks to related planning and single responsibility for the entire research-development-application cycle, the combination of work stages, the application of economic-mathematical methods at the various stages of development of new equipment, and the setting of complex brigades consisting of developers, technologists, and specialists in experimental and serial production, a reliable foundation is being laid for the acceleration of technical progress and upgrading production effectiveness. As early as the Ninth Five-Year Plan the movement for upgrading technical standards and the quality of new equipment, and for reducing the time for its development and mastering by 50 to 100 percent was born precisely in the associations.

This movement covered the collectives of all associations, and many scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and enterprises. Consequently, in the past ten years this enabled us to develop and master the production of over 5,000 models of contemporary machines, instruments, apparatus, means of automation, and high quality consumer goods, and practically double the volume of industrial output. Within that period goods worth over 2.5 billion rubles were sold above the plan, essentially as a result of higher labor productivity.

The overall capacity of steam, gas, and hydraulic turbines and other power equipment manufactured in the past 10 years by the Izhorskiy Zavod, Elektrosila, Metallicheskiy Zavod, and Elektroapparat Associations totaled about 90 million kilowatts. The serial production of power blocks of 500,000 and 800,000 kilowatts was mastered. On the eve of the October Revolution Anniversary the frame of a one-of-a-kind one million kilowatt nuclear reactor and a 1.2 million power kilowatt block were completed. The letter of greetings sent by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the power machine builders in connection with the ahead of schedule delivery of the equipment for priority nuclear, thermal, and hydroelectric power plants in the country properly crowned their labor victory.

Leningrad has been and remains one of the leading centers of domestic shipbuilding. In the past decade alone hundreds of vessels for different purposes were built at the wharfs of the Admiralty Association and the Baltiyskiy, imeni A. A. Zhdanov, and other plants. They include one-of-a-kind scientific research vessels named after cosmonauts Yuriy Gagarin, Vladimir Komarov, Vladislav Volkov, and Pavel Belyayev, and series of highly mechanized anchors and modern bulk freight carriers, including carriers with horizontal loading facilities. Along with the fishing base named after the noted Kirov Plant worker Hero of Socialist Labor Ye. I. Lebedev, soon the biggest ship of this type named after another outstanding Leningrad worker, Twice Hero of Socialist Labor A. V. Chuyev, will proudly fly the Soviet flag in the oceans.

The qualitative renovation of the country's fleet of ice-breakers is continuing. Following the Lenin, the first nuclear powered ice-breaker in the world, the Admiralty Association workers, Leningrad scientists, specialists, and the collective of the Baltiyskiy Plant built the Arktika, the most

powerful nuclear powered ice-breaker and, before the October Revolution Anniversary, successfully completed the testing of the Sibir', the latest nuclear powered ice-breaker soon to join the country's maritime fleet.

Other considerable contributions to the union's economy included the organization of the large serial production of Kirovets tractors, machine tools with digital programming, including particularly precise machine tools of the "processing center" type, photosetting equipment, and one of a kind instruments and apparatus not found anywhere else in the world. Well aware of the fact that the influence of Leningrad's scientific establishments and enterprises on social labor productivity and on saving material and manpower resources is determined, above all, by the technical characteristics and the volume of output, the party's obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms, and the collectives of the scientific organizations and associations ascribe particular importance to raising the unity power of the equipment, and to reducing its material intensiveness and operational and other costs.

For example, the tens of thousands of Kirovets tractors which will be manufactured this five-year plan will enable the country to reduce the need for tractor drivers by a minimum of 200,000 people. The serial production of 800,000 kilowatt hour blocks (rather than 200,000 and 300,000) will enable us to reduce by 50 percent the size of the servicing personnel per unit installed capacity and save annually 80,000 tons of conventional fuel. Conversion to the manufacturing of one million kilowatt nuclear reactors, compared with 450,000 kilowatt reactors, will lower the cost of produced electric power by 40 percent and free a large number of workers.

Four new 25,000 kilowatt capacity gas pumping units could replace ten older systems and save the national economy over 1.5 million rubles per year. The crew of the Krym-type super tanker designed in Leningrad, displacing over 150,000 tons is considerably smaller than that of 45,000 ton tankers produced in the 1960's. A single "machining center" type machine tool saves the work of five machinists. All this, in addition to the solution of purely technical problems, becomes particularly valuable in the conditions of the familiar shortage of manpower resources.

With a number of examples our country has brilliantly proved the advantages of the program-target approach to the implementation of major national economic tasks. They include the solution of problems of the utilization of nuclear power for peaceful purposes, the implementation of the space program, and the development of Siberia and the Far East. A number of new comprehensive problems will be resolved in the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

In this connection the oblast party organization ascribes particular importance to the dissemination of the initiative of 28 Leningrad associations, enterprises, organizations, and scientific research and design institutes, approved by the CPSU Central Committee. They signed a contract for creative cooperation in resolving the problems of creating on a high technical level, within a short time, and with minimal outlays, the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the biggest in the world. The creative cooperation among these collectives has already yielded results.

The first power unit was shipped to the banks of the Yenisey ahead of schedule. Retaining the old dimensions of turbines and generators, the Metallicheskiy Zavod and Elektrosila Associations will provide not 640,000 kilowatt capacities as planned, but 720,000 kilowatts; the powerful distribution systems of the Elektroapparat Association will be contained within a single small sized block; the use of new technology for shaped rolled copper at the Krasnyy Vyborzhets will make possible to reduce the weight of each of the ten generators produced by 200 tons. As a result of the progressive solutions reached by the institutes of the TsKTI [Central Committee for Heavy Industry] imeni I. I. Polzunov, of hydraulic engineering imeni Vedeneyev, and Lengidroyekt, the amount of metal and cement used in building the GES dam will be reduced by tens of thousands of tons.

Together with the Avtodizel Association in Yaroslavl', and the agricultural organs of Stavropol'skay Kray, and Saratovskaya, Tselinogradskaya, and other oblasts, the Kirovskiy Zavod Association formulated and is successfully implementing measures aimed at upgrading the power and a number of other technical and economic characteristics of the 300 horsepower Kirovets tractor. This has already earned the tractor the state Emblem of Quality. The Leningrad Nuclear Electric Power Plant imeni V. I. Lenin was designed and built on a complex basis, with the participation of the institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Once it has reached its full planned capacity of four million kilowatts it will be one of the biggest in the world.

The Leningrad scientific and production collectives participating in the building of the Baykal-Amur main line, the Kama Automotive Vehicles Plant, the Bratsk-Ust'-Ilim and Sayansk territorial-production complexes and the Volga-Don Atommasha, and the elaboration of problems related to the upsurge of agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR are successfully fulfilling their contracts for creative cooperation. Specialists of design organizations which are the general designers of many existing and newly developed industrial zones in various parts of the country are joining such projects ever more energetically.

The creative cooperation among design, construction, and complementing organizations has made possible the building of a number of projects in Leningrad on a high architectural level. Presently plans for one-of-a-kind installations for the protection of the city from floods are being drawn up with the participation of a number of a scientific research institutes and design bureaus.

To an ever greater extent the activities of production and scientific collectives and party organizations are characterized by a comprehensive approach. All party gorkoms and raykoms have created headquarters to coordinate the efforts of specialists in various sectors engaged in the solution of the same problems. The various departments of the CPSU Obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms review joint contracts and socialist pledges and maintain permanent control over them.



Another important circumstance is that whereas 10 years ago the practically entire increase in the volume of scientific research and development was achieved by increasing the number of associates of scientific research institutes and design bureaus, today such an increase is achieved by most associations, institutes, and bureaus without personnel increases. The oblast party organization considers the further strengthening of ties between scientific and production collectives and improvements in the planning and organization of research and development some of the most important instruments for increasing Leningrad's contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

### III.

The party's course of active application of intensive factors of economic development depends largely and, occasionally, to a decisive extent on the use of capital investments and productive capital. The party obkom is adamantly pursuing a line of concentration of capital investments and reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises in various sectors and of accelerating the installation and reaching of capacities.

In the past and current five-year plans the number of projects simultaneously under construction was reduced by 25 percent and the volume of capital investments per construction project was raised. Currently nearly 75 percent of the allocated funds go to the reconstruction of production capacities, insuring their faster returns. A radical reconstruction was accomplished considerably ahead of time and the planned capacity of major production facilities was reached at the Metallicheskiy Zavod, Svetlana, and Izhorskiy Zavod associations, the Rabochiy and imeni Nogin factories, and many other enterprises. The appearance on the oblast's map of enterprises such as the Kirovskiy Zavod Production Association, the Fosforit Association, and plans for petroleum refining, protein-vitamin concentrates, household chemical products, and many others made possible the practically total restructuring of big production areas such as Kirishi, Kingisepp, Sosnovyy Bor, Tikhvin, Kirovsk, and Svetogorsk.

One of the directions followed in the more effective utilization of capital investments was the creation of industrial zones and centers where enterprises of different sectors are concentrated. The advantages of this approach are manifested above all in fund savings.

As a whole, the capital labor ratio of Leningrad's industry has risen. The share of automated machines and progressive equipment of the active part of the productive capital has increased. Some 1,500 shops, production facilities, and sectors were comprehensively mechanized and automated; thousands of assembly and conveyor lines, and combined and specialized machine tools were installed and over 4,500 new technological processes were applied. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone the economic effect of such measures exceeded 500 million rubles.

The first party obkom plenum held after the 25th CPSU Congress profoundly analyzed problems of the further upgrading of the effectiveness with which productive capital is utilized. All units of the oblast party organization were involved in the solution of this problem. Problems of utilization of capital assets have been discussed by city and rayon party organizations, at a number of seminars and practical science conferences, and at party and workers meetings in labor collectives; solutions to such problems are included in the socialist pledges and comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of collectives. In this case scientists from the sectorial institutes and VUZ's have been involved in such work along with enterprise engineering and technical workers.

Particular attention is being paid to improving the socialist competition and to finding competition forms which would insure the increased contribution of every working person to the common project. Mass competition under the slogan of "The Five Day Assignment in Four Days!" is developing effectively with the help of the engineering and technical workers, based on the comprehensive plans for upgrading labor productivity at each work place. The movement was started by the collective of the Kirovskiy Zavod Association after the 24th CPSU Congress. The annual effect of the over-fulfillment of individual planned assignments is the equivalent of additionally hiring some 30,000 workers in industry.

The movements of multiple machine tool operators and for expanding servicing areas and mastering related operations have been developed extensively. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan existing practical experience made possible to extend the brigade form of labor and competition organization. The active participation of foremen, technologists, and heads of sectors and shops in the elaboration and implementation of plans for upgrading labor effectiveness has made possible to improve the organization of the overall production process. Over 32,000 brigades employing nearly 330,000 people are working on the same job. This has increased the measure of collective and individual responsibility for improving the utilization of the equipment, the quality of the work, the condition of the labor discipline, and the implementation of obligations. In the anniversary year over 300,000 workers in various sectors of industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, communications, and consumer services fulfilled ahead of schedule their assignments for the two years of the five-year plan.

The individual creative plans of scientists, designers, and technologists play an important role in resolving problems of technical progress and upgrading production effectiveness. Over 65 percent of the engineering and technical workers of machine building enterprises and shipyards are working on the basis of such plans. The practical returns of the scientific and technical councils of scientific research institutes, design bureaus, scientific and technical societies, rationalization and invention bureaus, public design and technological bureaus, and groups for economic analysis and scientific organization of labor have increased. The cooperation between workers and engineering and technical personnel makes possible to

find the shortest ways for the solution of technical and production problems and contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of comradely mutual aid and to the fullest implementation of the slogan "From High Quality Work of Each to High Effectiveness of Collective Labor!"

The great mobilizing work done by the CPSU obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms and the party committees and primary party organizations has noticeably improved the utilization of productive capital and to upgrading the shift coefficient. Thus, in over 30 big machine building associations the shift coefficient has exceeded the 1.4 level while capital returns in the past two years have risen 8.5 percent. Similar and higher results have been achieved by the collectives of a number of associations and enterprises of other specializing sectors. The consolidation of this trend and the struggle for all-round economy and rational utilization of material, manpower, and financial resources imbues today the efforts of all collectives focused on the ahead of schedule fulfillment of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

The effectiveness of the contemporary agrarian policy pursued by the CPSU can be seen in the development of agriculture in Leningrad Oblast. In the past two five-year plans the capital and power labor ratios of agriculture have risen substantially. The strengthening of the material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhoses was the decisive prerequisite for the accelerated increase in agricultural output.

Reality has entirely confirmed the timeliness of the measures stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Inter-Farm Cooperation and Agroindustrial Integration," adopted on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's initiative. Our oblast has set up successfully operating cost accounting production associations of sovkhoses, tens of big animal husbandry complexes, and poultry farms which account for nearly 90 percent of the production of milk, vegetables, eggs, and poultry meat. Land reclamation and greenhouse vegetable growing are taking place on a broad scale.

In the anniversary year our farmers supplied the state with over half a million tons of vegetables and potatoes, while the deliveries of animal husbandrymen will total 710,000 tons of milk, some 160,000 tons of meat, and 840 million eggs. This is the highest result ever reached by the oblast. However, new levels must be reached based on the task of upgrading further agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the Russian Federation. On the basis of an increased material and technical foundation, and using the advantages of intensified production specialization and concentration, the oblast's agricultural workers adopted an intensive counterplan calling for substantially increasing the planned figures and reaching by the end of the five-year plan the following volume of output: milk, one million tons; meat, 200,000 tons; eggs, no less than 1.5 billion per year.

This will mark yet another important step in achieving the objective: the maximal satisfaction of the needs of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast industrial cities for agricultural commodities produced within the oblast. The creation of a department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, imeni Lenin in Leningrad, assigned to work on topical theoretical and practical problems of developing agriculture and animal husbandry in the Nonchernozem farms, and the coordination of activities of all scientific agricultural institutions in the zone will make possible, as was recently indicated in the course of the discussions by the party obkom bureau of reports submitted by department heads, to insure a more qualified and scientifically substantiated approach to the implementation of the tasks set by the party.

#### IV.

The course toward the intensive development of all economic sectors has been adopted by the oblast party organization as its specific program for action. The struggle for its implementation is the core of all political and organizational work.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and of the stronger relations among the various economic units the "cost" of each decision made in the field of science and technology and production planning and management has risen sharply and is continuing to rise. High skills and political maturity of managerial and specialist cadres largely determine success with which any problem is resolved. "We need, we need a great deal," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "efficient members of our socialist system who would combine competence and initiative with deep party-mindedness and concern for the national interests."

The CPSU Obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms are always keeping an eye on the selection, placement, and training of scientific and technical cadres. They are adamantly upgrading the individual responsibility of leading workers for the implementation of the party's directives, the observance of state planning discipline, and the rational utilization of resources. The party organizations have the permanent task of looking for talented scientific and production organizers and insuring their promotion and growth. We are pleased to note that along with experienced cadres of the older generation of late a considerable number of young initiative-minded specialists and scientists trained in party, social, and economic activities, masters of modern management methods and work with people, have assumed the management of many big production and scientific collectives.

Under the influence of scientific achievements the production process today is developing dynamically. Profound changes are taking place in equipment and technology, and in the organization of labor and management. The consolidation of enterprises, production concentration, and the establishment of associations have created more favorable conditions for the all-round improvement of the activities of party organizations. A number of party

committees have been granted raykom privileges. The number of expanded party committees has increased. On the other hand, the creation of associations with powerful scientific research subunits opened new possibilities for increasing the creative returns of production organizers and engineering and technical workers in whose activities economic considerations and scientific analysis are assuming an ever greater share.

Implementing the party's Central Committee decrees "On the Work of the Irkutskaya Oblast CPSU Committee to Upgrade the Role of Engineering and Technical Workers in the Acceleration of Technical Progress and Oblast Enterprises and Construction Projects," "On the Participation of the Leading and Engineering and Technical Workers of the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant in the Ideological and Political Education of the Members of the Collective," and many others, the obkom, gorkoms, raykoms, and party organizations have done a great deal to help the production-technical intelligentsia to improve the organization of its work, relieve it from extraneous functions, strengthen the creative principle in its work, and upgrade its role in educational activities. The practice of the party committees firmly includes methods of working with scientific and technical cadres such as talks with and reports submitted by managers and specialists. All collectives have adopted a system for training a reserve of engineering and technical workers for future promotion. A list of leading cadres of all categories has been drawn up approved by the party's obkom, gorkom, and raykom bureaus.

In the course of their work with the scientific and technical cadres the party committees try to upgrade in this category of working people, as in all others, a feeling of responsibility for assignments, and a self-critical attitude toward their own activities. The need to intensify this work is dictated by the fact that there still are enterprises without substantiated plans for increasing production effectiveness and insuring the more rational utilization of capacities; there are scientific research institutes and planning and design organizations whose development level is behind contemporary requirements.

Frequently plans for enterprise construction and reconstruction call for the use of obsolete technology and equipment. Problems related to considerably reducing the number of workers, in auxiliary production facilities above all, are still being resolved too slowly. Occasionally the creation of associations is not accompanied by the implementation of basic structural changes. Essentially, this is merely a change in name only. Problems of the wages of engineering and technical workers in production and scientific subunits of associations have not been totally resolved. A number of organizations still do make poor use of an effective tool in the struggle for the effectiveness and quality of labor and production such as cost accounting; their bonus systems remain imperfect.

The elimination of such shortcomings and upgrading the role of economic levers enable us to make use of extensive possibilities. Bearing this in mind and working for the more rational utilization of engineering and

technical cadres, the party organizations ascribe great importance to their certification. This makes possible the more complete determination of the strong and weak points of the workers and encourages their growth. A system for upgrading the skills and level of economic knowledge of leading and engineering and technical cadres has been elaborated and, as a whole, is being successfully implemented in the special departments set up at 16 higher educational institutions in Leningrad and in sectorial centers for upgrading the skills of engineering and technical workers. Every year a considerable number of economic managers and specialists are retrained at courses organized by ministries and departments. This practice is supported by on-the-job training.

Of late differentiated training has been instituted for all secretaries of party committees, directors, chief engineers, chief economists, and specialists from a number of enterprise services in matters of computers, the use of automated production control systems, upgrading the effectiveness with which productive capital is utilized, and so on, with a view to insuring the more extensive training of managers in most important problems. Having exposed the serious shortcomings in the use of group technology which, as we know, enables us drastically to upgrade the organizational and technical level of output, the party obkom passed the decision to organize the training of the heads of the respective engineering subdivisions of metal processing enterprises.

Topic seminars for various categories of specialists, sponsored at the city's House of Scientific and Technical Propaganda, have proved their usefulness in terms of giving practical aid to engineering and technical cadres and disseminating progressive experience. Practical science conferences on organizing the activities of associations, use of equipment, mechanization of loading and unloading operations, and many others have been very useful. All enterprises have set up universities for economic and technical knowledge for middle level managers. Experience, problems, and unresolved aspects of upgrading the effectiveness of science and output are systematically covered in Leningrad's press and in television and radio broadcasts.

The conversion of agricultural production to an industrial base called for paying greater attention to upgrading the level of training, retraining, and raising the skills of agricultural managers and specialists. Whereas in 1970 47 percent of the head of agricultural enterprises were with higher education, today the figure has reached 62 percent. The majority of the other managers have secondary specialized training.

Systematic improvements in working and living conditions have made possible to reduce cadre turnover, including turnover among young specialists. Every year some 700 people are assigned to attend higher and secondary specialized agricultural schools; over 1,000 middle level managers and specialists are studying by correspondence. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Additional Measures to Stimulate the Transfer of

Agricultural Specialists to Work as Heads of Sections, Brigades, Livestock Farms, and Other Subdivisions of the Middle Production Level in Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes" was timely and topical. The party, soviet, and agricultural organs engaged in corresponding activities as a result of which this very next spring some 500 specialists will be assigned to various agricultural production sectors.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the importance of promoting to leading positions the most active and mature members of the working class. Today this becomes even more justifiable, said he, because the contemporary Soviet worker is not only the representative of the most progressive class in our society politically but, in terms of his cultural level, essentially resembles workers engaged in engineering and technical labor. The oblast party organization pays tireless attention to this matter. Many former Leningrad workers now head the biggest production associations, plants, design bureaus, and scientific research institutes. They continue to reinforce the cadres of leading party, soviet, and economic organs.

The party organizations ascribe great importance to upgrading the ideological and theoretical level of scientific and engineering and technical cadres. To this effect they make extensive use of the network for political and economic training, people's universities, lecture groups, and the political information system. With every passing year the number of specialists who increase their economic knowledge grows. The practice of giving political training to professors and teachers and branches of the night Marxism-Leninism University, set up by the party committees of the higher educational institutions is noteworthy.

The higher school plays an important role in training highly skilled cadres for the various national economic sectors. In the past decade the Leningrad VUZ's alone have trained some 400,000 specialists. Extensive work has been done here to convert to more advanced curricula and programs. The study of a number of new disciplines has been organized and the first class of instructors for the vocational-technical education system has graduated. All higher educational institutions operate on the basis of integrated plans for training and education work with students covering the entire training period. Departments of social professions have been established and ties with industrial enterprises are being strengthened. The party's influence on all aspects of the life of VUZ collectives has strengthened. This was helped by the familiar decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress on granting VUZ party organizations the right to control administrative activities.

Yet, some VUZ's do not equip their students with profound knowledge in the fields of economics and the organization of the contemporary production process, and with adequate skills for working with people. It is no secret that after graduation some alumni prefer to work within scientific research institutes and design bureaus, occasionally clearly overestimating their capacity for research.

Further improvements in the work of the higher school largely depend on the efficient and scientific planning of VUZ enrollment based on need and the future development of the various economic sectors. In some institutes there have been cases of a certain disparity between the training of specialists in one or another field and factual vacancies. Some graduates are issued so-called free diplomas. Meanwhile, Leningrad, Leningrad Oblast, and other parts of the country's northwest are short of diploma'd technologists, teachers of many subjects for secondary schools and vocational-technical schools, and personnel for the various city sectors and consumer services.

The system for training workers with secondary specialized education must be improved. Thus, the 99 technical schools located in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast are under the jurisdiction of 45 ministries and departments. This results in unjustified duplication, scattering of education cadres, and lack of uniform training programs. This delays the development of the material and technical base.

The accelerating pace of scientific and technical progress, the growing requirements regarding the level of specialized and general theoretical training of cadres, and the objective need for accurately matching labor resources with economic needs adamantly raise the question of improving further the system of specialist training such as to insure consistency and continuity in their training at secondary specialized and higher schools. A uniform program for acquiring a skill, ranging from worker to engineer, could play an important role in the solution of this problem. In our view, it should call for young people who successfully complete secondary specialized schools to continue their training in VUZ's specializing in similar fields. Taking into consideration the specialization of many Leningrad VUZ's and technical schools we already have the possibility for achieving such continuity by creating big school complexes for the training of technicians and engineers in shipbuilding, machine building, and the electronic and chemical industries, and education cadres.

The expediency of such an approach becomes even more obvious by the fact that we could include in such a program the third most important link--the vocational-technical education system. In recent years, thanks to the tireless concern of the party's Central Committee, this system has reached a qualitatively new level of development. This school year all Leningrad vocational-technical schools have entirely converted to offering secondary education to boys and girls and will train no less than 250,000 young workers within the next five years. In accordance with the recent CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Improvements in the Process of Training and Educating the Students within the Vocational-Technical Education System," prime attention is being paid to offering broad training to the workers and upgrading the responsibility of heads of vocational-technical schools, foremen, and educators for the solution of this problem.



The higher and secondary specialized schools, the vocational-technical education system, and the secondary general educational schools are links within a single chain and the approach to the solution of problems arising here should be the same as well. This also applies to improving further the method for vocational guidance of the youth and for upgrading the prestige of professions and skills which have a decisive influence on the progress of the economy and on the entire course of economic and cultural construction.

The Communist Party continues to pay tremendous attention to the raising of cadres and the molding of their practical and political qualities. Thanks to its concern, scientists and technical and engineering workers are offered extensive possibilities to master the Leninist style of work and science of management, master contemporary methods for production planning and organization, and actively participate in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the solution of all problems of the building of communism.

In his report "The Great October and the Progress of Mankind," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the pathos of our days is to implement fully the possibilities offered by developed socialism. In terms of the activities of the Leningrad party organization the implementation of a plan formulated in accordance with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions on the economic and social development of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast in the Tenth Five-Year Plan assumes essential significance. This is the first document in our practical work enabling us to insure a fully comprehensive approach to the solution of the problems.

Looking at the past ten years we shall see that it is precisely within that time that, after the Svetlana Association, not only enterprises but entire administrative rayons formulated the comprehensive development plans. In the course of time experience was gained, logically extended by the comprehensive plan adopted by the city and oblast. Now, as we know, the new USSR Constitution stipulates comprehensive economic and social development as one of the basic functions of union and autonomous republics.

The elaboration of the comprehensive plans of labor collectives, administrative rayons, and the city and the oblast as a whole is taking place with the most immediate and extensive participation of party and soviet organs, heads of enterprises and sectorial institutes, and a large number of scientists, engineering and technical workers, and specialists. This complex and comprehensive work is coordinated by the economic and social development council of the oblast party committee.

All this enables us to struggle for a more effective resolution of economic and social problems on a broad front. Both the plan itself and the adopted socialist pledges rely mainly on the further intensification of the role of quality factors in upgrading social production effectiveness. Work on its further concentration and specialization, for improving the organization of labor and management, and for accelerating the pace of reconstruction

will be continued. The people of Leningrad have pledged to raise the shift coefficient to the 1.5-1.6 level, over-fulfill by 10-15 percent the capital returns assignment, and develop and manufacture equipment for the most important priority projects in the country ahead of schedule and on a high technical level by mastering ahead of schedule new capacities, and through production mechanization and automation and the use of group methods and progressive technology.

Within the five year period production of turbines and generators, equipment for the nuclear power industry, and of ships for various purposes will be increased. Essentially new machines and equipment will be developed insuring a considerable growth of social labor productivity. This will include precision machine tools with digital programming, automated robot-manipulators, and new instruments, apparatus, and materials.

Reliance on economic levers and cost accounting is becoming one of the most important trends in the activities of the oblast party organization, the city and rayon party committees, and the production and scientific collectives. A number of leading collectives have launched the initiative to work two days in the third year of the five-year plan using saved electric power, fuel, metal, and cement: on the anniversary of the Leninist communist subbotnik and in honor of the first anniversary of the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution.

Specific targets have been stipulated at other most important sectors as well. In other words, the comprehensive plan for economic and social development has become a powerful mobilizing factor in the struggle for the effectiveness and quality of all work.

This is also confirmed by the already achieved results of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The five-year plan assignments on the growth of output and labor productivity are being exceeded. Since the start of the five-year plan above plan industrial output has exceeded 350 million rubles. Over 600 items have been awarded the Emblem of Quality. In the anniversary year alone over 500 prototypes of new equipment were developed. The agricultural workers are ending the year with good results.

The people of Leningrad welcomed the decisions of the December 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum which discussed the drafts of the 1978 USSR State Plan for Economic and Social Development and State Budget as a battle program for action. Guided by the Plenum decisions and the stipulations and conclusions contained in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Plenum speech, the party's obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms, and the primary party organizations are directing the attention to upgrading further the effectiveness and quality of the work, and to the more rational utilization of material, manpower, and financial resources. The communists consider it their task to insure not only the fulfillment but over-fulfillment of the 1978 assignments by each labor collective, thus laying a solid foundation for the successful implementation of the Tenth Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The Leningrad party organization and the working people of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast feel in the course of all their accomplishments and creative thoughts and in the solution of economic and social problems the constant concern and attention of the party's Leninist Central Committee, its Politbureau, and, presently, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. Loyal to the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the Soviet people, the party members and all people of Leningrad are fully resolved to dedicate their experience and energy to the implementation of the historical decisions of the 25th Congress of the great Leninist party which is confidently leading the Soviet state from victory to victory.

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## KAZAN'S PRIDE--THE UNIVERSITY

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[Article by V. Arkhipenko]

[Text] Every year a red strip appears between the columns of the pediment of Kazan' University on the eve of 16 December. Two huge figures painted in white are visible from afar. This year it is the figure "90." It was precisely 90 years ago, in 1887, on 4 December (Julian calendar) that students met in the university's assembly hall and openly formulated demands to the Tsarist government, prefacing them with statements on "the impossible nature of the conditions of Russian life in general and the life of students in particular . . ." The gathering met with a broad response throughout Russia and even abroad. Vladimir Ul'yanov, a young first year law student, was one of its active participants and organizers.

It was here, in the university, that began his path into the revolution which, 30 years later was crowned by the great victory of the Russian proletariat. It was here that was born the dream of overthrowing the autocracy and the entire exploiting system, a dream which, three decades later, became the insurmountable reality and the entire world heard the measured Leninist words:

"The workers and peasant revolution, the need for which was always mentioned by the Bolsheviks, has taken place."

### I.

Walking along the streets and squares of present-day Kazan', it is difficult to imagine the city the way it was 90 years ago. Yet, a great deal remains from that period--the fortress with its famous Syuyumbeki Tower, individual houses, cathedrals, and monuments. Fortunately, the houses where Vladimir Yul'anov lived with his family have remained--the house in which he was arrested for the first time, and another house where he stayed after his exile to Kokushkino, and which houses today the Leninist museum. The monumental building of the university within which the young revolutionary acquired his baptism under fire and which today proudly bears the name of its former student, looks precisely the way it did 90 years ago.

Transparencies inform those entering the city that it was in Kazan' that V. I. Lenin spent his young years. He appears in photographs, paintings, and statues exhibited in the city's museums. His best representation, perhaps, is a sculpture on the square facing the university. V. Tsigal' has depicted Vladimir Yul'anov in the student's double breasted jacket thrown over his shoulders, holding a book. It is a thick-set figure, and a willful face. The entire shape is one of control and resolve and the narrowed eyes are looking far ahead. The statue gives a feeling of courage and strength.

The artist has his own vision of the world and the image. He has the right to emphasize some features or even to exaggerate them. In this case, however, the sculptor has not exaggerated anything: this is the way 17 year old Vladimir Yul'anov, yesterday's highschool student, looked at his arrival in Kazan'. The recollections of relatives and friends depict him as a fully developed person. Initially, this may not seem quite usual.

Until the age of 16 Volodya Yul'anov lived in an environment of relative ease. Relations within the family were friendly and outside the home as well he always felt the sympathy of the people around him, still not suspecting that to many of them he was, at that time, above all the son of a person holding a high official position. It might have appeared that such a character, insufficiently tempered as yet would prove helpless in the face of serious trials. Yet, such trials descended upon him unexpectedly . . .

Before even recovering from his father's death, he received the terrible news of the fate of his favorite brother, hanged in jail by the Tsarist executioner. The unbearable burden of the irreparable losses fell on his young shoulders. Yet, this also proved that he was not at all one of those who could be defeated and forced to bend. A great deal has been written about Lenin's inflexible will. It was precisely then that it manifested itself in full.

He became his mother's support in her sorrow and her difficult life. The pain of the losses was increased by the pain and concern for the family which, as a result of material difficulties, felt the hostility of Simbirsk's provincial society. In its eyes the Yul'anovs were tainted forever: mother of a state criminal, and brothers and sisters of a state criminal . . . The until recently polite and courteous ladies and gentlemen now turned away when seeing the Yul'anovs and hastily crossed to the other side of the street. The hearts of the Simbirsk philistine officials were afraid to stain themselves by maintaining relations with the relatives of a terrorist who had decided to commit regicide.

It was perhaps precisely that time lived in Simbirsk after the death of his brother that strengthened in Lenin this infinite scorn he felt toward the loyal Russian liberals who feared more than anything else the suspicion that they may lack the flunkey feelings toward autocracy.

The 17 year old Vladimir left Simbirsk an entirely different person compared with only one year previously. He was effected not only by the trials but the profound thoughts on what to make with his life and his understanding

that the revolution can not be achieved by following his elder brother's path. The fact that it would be a path specifically leading to a revolution he considered unquestioned. This very decision which no one could shake also left its mark on his character. It was not simply a 17 year old adolescent who had gone to Kazan' but a collected, firm, and purposeful person, far older than his age.

His highschool classmates who entered the same university might have still been hesitating and thinking about one or another life alternative. He, however, clearly knew what to do. Nor was his choice influenced by the teachers' views. At the Simbirsk highschool he was advised to study philosophy. In Kazan' he was advised to enter the mathematics department. He, however, applied to the law school. His decision was clearly motivated. Yul'anov explained it as following to N. Veretennikov's twin brother: "The times are such that one must learn the law and political economy. At a different time I may have chosen to study something else . . ."

The times are such . . . subsequently Vladimir Il'ich was to describe the 1880's as a time of "unbridled and incredibly senseless and beastly reaction." The science of law and political economy . . . It was they that were to be used by the future revolutionary as means for the struggle against that same reaction and against the autocratic system. And it was only slightly one year later that he undertook to read K. Marx's "Das Kapital."

Thus, it was the law school. No competitive entrance examinations were needed because of the small enrollment. Furthermore, a brilliant certificate accompanied the application. However, not everything turned out to be simple. Yul'anov was asked to produce a character reference. This demand was based on an attitude Vladimir had become familiar with: "Ahah, the brother of the one who was executed . . ." However, the reference was so positive that the authorities did not dare to refuse him. However, for many years requests to continue with his education or travel abroad would lead to decisions recalling the fact that the petitioner is the brother of the executed Aleksandr Yul'anov and should be refused. Over 10 years had to pass for his own actions to make the police forget the guilt of the elder brother and lead a policeman to draw the significant conclusion that "today no one in the revolution is bigger than Yul'anov . . ."

On 13 August he became a university student. The classrooms contained long benches with desks, the walls lined with bookcases, and gas lamps hanging over head. There were professors in uniform and students wearing double-breasted jackets: silent during the lectures but then noisy and talkative in the halls, the smoking room, and the locker room. There were courses in the history of Roman law and Russian law, lectures in the English language, work in the library, and an absolutely mandatory course in theology four times a week. This was one side of the students' life. Soon after that, however, another one became apparent to Yul'anov: the dogmatism and official dryness of most lectures, respect for authority, searches by university inspectors, and removal of students who were members of countrymen's associations, or who were unable to pay their tuition fees . . .

Outside the university he discovered yet another aspect of student life but only because he was immediately allowed to enter circles of clandestine student circles and countrymen's associations. Here they read Nekrasov and Chernyshevskiy, Lavrov and Gertsen, Plekhanov and Marx, the journal CHERNYI PEREDEL and the newspaper NARODNAYA VOLYA. (Subsequently, speaking of that people, Vladimir Il'ich noted that "the struggle made us learn and read clandestine works following all directions . . ."). Here speeches were written, debates were held, pamphlets and proclamations were duplicated, and student demonstrations and actions were prepared. Vladimir Yul'anov was noted very quickly in this environment. As early as September he joined the Motovilov-Bogoraz circle in which the students studied the political economy according to Marx and read books by Russian revolutionary democrats, a circle described by the then director of the police department as "a circle following an extremely harmful direction." Vladimir Yul'anov actively joined the Samara-Simbirsk countrymen's association as well and was soon elected to the union council of clandestine countrymen's associations.

It was precisely that which defamed the young student in the eyes of the university and other authorities that raised his reputation highly among the revolutionary students: he was Aleksandr Yul'anov's brother!

However, to the amazement of many Vladimir expressed himself clearly and unequivocally against the methods of struggle in which Aleksandr believed.

The atmosphere in the clandestine student circles became more and more tense. The new university bylaws which suppressed university autonomy and strictly banned all student organizations, ranging from countrymen's associations to mutual aid groups, and which gave university inspectors police rights such as, for example, to send students to jail, were making themselves ever more obvious. To top it all an official document, the infamous "Memorandum on Cooks' Children"--blocked the access to highschool (and, therefore, to the university) to the offspring of the lower strata. This memorandum triggered a tremendous deal of indignation among the students' clandestine circles largely consisting precisely of children of the poor.

The circumstances worsened at the end of November: a letter arrived from Moscow describing the savage reprisals of the police in breaking up a student's demonstration. Two of the participants were killed. This was the straw that broke the camel's back. After stormy debates in the circles and countrymen's associations, a decision was passed for an open protest so that the students may voice their attitude toward the existing order.

In the morning of 4 December classes began as usual. Past 11 a.m. however, students began to gather in the hall and the smoking room. The long awaited signal was given toward noon and the participants in the meeting ran up to the assembly hall. Its doors, opening to both wings of the building, were locked. However, this no longer stopped the students. They broke the locks and rushed into the formal hall where, from his portrait, Emperor Alexander III looked sternly down on his "unreasonable" subjects.

The noisy crowd increased by the minute. Inspector Potapov, who flew into the room with threats, shamefully retreated after receiving a slap in the face. Students from the school of medicine came running from the clinic and the hospital. A big group came from the veterinary institute, having made its way through a police line. The meeting began.

It proceeded as planned. There were firey speeches. Petitions were read as well as "Appeals to Society." There was a disturbing discussion with the rector and the professors. Finally, after exhausting all his arguments, the rector passed on the order he had received: "Clear the hall immediately from students with the help of police and, if necessary, with the troops, with an entire battalion standing by with live ammunition."

It was this irrefutable argument that put an end to the meeting. In order to avoid bloodshed the students decided to leave. However, 99 of them (of a total of 256), threw their student cards on the pulpit. Vladimir Yul'anov was one of them.

Few details are known of Yul'anov's participation in the preparations for and holding of the meeting. Few witness testimonies shed some light. It would be worthwhile to consider them.

A. Skortsov, one of the participants in the meeting, states that Vladimir Yul'anov participated in the clandestine conference of representatives of countrymen's associations at which the text of the proclamations and petitions was discussed and the day of the action established.

There is testimony from the other side as well: ". . . Yul'anov Vladimir . . . created a suspicion two days before the meeting, that something bad was being planned: he spent some time in the smoking room talking with Zegrzhda, Ladygin, and others. He went home and came back bringing something as requested and, generally, whispering about something; on 4 December he rushed into the assembly hall with the first group and, together with Polyanskiy was the first to run along the hall of the second floor" (from the report of the trustee of the Kazan' school district).

We see, therefore, that the testimony is scant. However, it is sufficient to see how active Vladimir Yul'anov was in the events and the way he inspired others.

The consequences were not late in arriving. The very evening of 4 December the name Yul'anov was entered in the list of those expelled from the university and was marked by three crosses, identifying the most dangerous and active participants in the meeting. Later on, he was detained in his home on Novo Komissariatskiy Street where he resided with his family.

Following the 4 December meeting over 100 people were detained and far from all of them passed this "test." However, there were not doubts as far as Vladimir Yul'anov was concerned. People who study Lenin's biography are



amazed to this day by the words of a 17 year old adolescent answering the admonishments of the arresting police officer. We must assume that the policemen believed that his advice was sensible as he spoke of the senseless attempt to rebel, as he saw it: "You are against a wall!" The answer which followed was quick, precise, and cutting: "A wall yes, but rotten. Push and it falls down!"

There is a great deal of meaning in these few words. They express a firm position, polemic energy, and the confidence of youth.

Having made a decision, Vladimir Yul'anov no longer retreated. He took firmly the path of the professional revolutionary, a path which was incredibly hard, demanding the daily stress of efforts. Along this path he was to experience detention, questioning, exile, a semi-hungry existence as an emigre, treason, slander, loss of closest comrades, and the bitterness of defeats. He was to withstand all this honorably and nothing was to make him stoop. And, he would not hesitate when the time would come to assume the incredible burden of decisions affecting the destinies of millions. These decisions were to determine the victorious fate of the revolution.

He took his first step toward October 1917 in December 1887.

## II.

The sculpture of Vladimir Yul'anov stands on a vast square between the two university buildings: the old, with its classical pediment, in the Russian classical style, and the new, multi-storied, made of glass and granite, as though embodying the modern rationalist style. They represent yesterday and today. Actually, the face alone is left of the old building. Its laboratories contain powerful lasers and computers--the offspring of the scientific and technical revolution. Here as well, as in the new building, students are mastering the latest achievements of modern science.

This year, in one of its issues, LENINETTS, the university's newspaper, published a kind of summed up survey:

Kazan' Order of the Labor Red Banner State University imeni V. I. Yul'anov--  
Lenin.

Birthdate: 1804.

Average age of students: 20.

Nationality: international. The thousand-strong family of students has members of 39 nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Party Membership: 814 CPSU members and candidate members, and 6,900 Komsomol members.

Scientific Degrees and Titles: 97 doctors of sciences and professors; 510 docents and candidates of sciences. A total of 1,218 scientific associates.

Under the Soviet system Kazan' University developed as one of the biggest scientific centers in the country engaged in the study of many basic problems of the greatest theoretical and economic significance, directly applicable in modern production. It is also one of the biggest centers for the training of young specialists in 24 fields and 66 specialized subjects. A great deal of books and articles have been written on the various aspects of activities conducted at Kazan' university and a great deal accomplished here deserves serious discussion and detailed study. Allow me, however, to discuss merely one of the aspects--the life of the students themselves, the aspect of today's studentry profoundly linked with the life of previous student generations, including those students of long ago who, in that December day of 1887, addressed heated accusations against the deadening autocratic system.

Today's students are quite different from and can not resemble their distant predecessors. Their outlook, perception of the world, thoughts, and objectives are different. The character and thinking of these young men and women were molded under conditions totally different from those which existed at the end of the 19th Century. These young people have entered conscious life at a time of blossoming and power of their country powerfully marching on the path of social progress. They know the meaning of social inequality only from books and motion pictures.

The life of the modern students is rich and full. Lenin's legacy of "learning, learning, and learning" has been profoundly realized by them and they try to make full use of the very rich opportunities offered by the university.

The best among the best are given the title of Leninist scholarship students. Characteristically, they include many people who have come to the university from production work. Before becoming a student Farid Nasybullin served in the Soviet army. He then worked as electric fitter, and entered the preparatory department which is known by virtue of an old tradition as the workers' faculty. He is now attending the law school. He was elected member of the university's Komsomol committee and in the year of the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution was awarded the high honor of having his photograph taken aboard the legendary Avrova. Before entering Kazan' State University Sergey Volkov worked as a grinder; Gabdulakhat Minullin was an electrician; Liliya Yakovleva was a copyist; Tat'yana Zaytseva was a fitter; Rustem Ishmuratov was an airport technician; and Saniya Kurbanova was a supply worker.

The training of the young specialist in the VUZ is a multiple level process. The highest success is achieved when the graduate begins his career not only equipped with a certain amount of knowledge in his chosen scientific field

but having adequately mastered the science of Marxism-Leninism. Describing the basic trends of training and education work, M. T. Nuzhin, rector of Kazan' State University and a graduate of the university himself, says:

"The main task of the university collective is not simply to train highly skilled but, above all, ideologically mature specialists to whom the Leninist doctrine is both an outlook and a base for an active stand in life. The gaining of ideological convictions and the shaping of political maturity and an active communist morality are the key to the solution of all other problems related to the training of a specialist. In this case we assign the main role to the example of V. I. Yul'anov-Lenin's life and activities. The fact that the university was named after him, that he studied here, that he took the revolutionary path here, and that since 1924 he has been an honorary member of the scientific council of Kazan' State University fills all of us with a heightened feeling of responsibility."

. . . Lenin and Kazan' University. Ninety years ago, expelling the rebellious student who had attended the university less than four months, the then guardians of autocracy were firmly convinced that he will never find the path to its walls. However, they could not assume in the least that not so many years would pass and the all imbuing Leninist thought will return, leaving inerradicable marks in the hearts and minds of generations of students. Even before the revolution Lenin's works, studied clandestinely, helped many students to take the revolutionary path.

Incidentally, a rather curious fact should be mentioned. The university's library contains two books by Lenin which were officially part of the library in Tsarist times. They are "Razvitiye Kapitalizma v Rossii" [Development of Capitalism in Russia], published in 1899, and "Materializm i Empiriokrititsizm" [Materialism and Empiriocriticism], published in 1909. Both editions are of great historical value. After the revolution they were classified among the rare books and were practically not issued. Yet, even by then, judging by their condition, they had been extensively read. The loyalist university authorities overlooked the works of their former seditious student . . .

Today the university library has thousands of copies of Lenin's works and collections. Furthermore, most students have their own copies of Lenin's works which they study throughout their entire training course. This great ideological legacy is extensively used in the educational work done by the university under the slogan of "Let Us Live, Work, and Learn as Bequeathed by V. I. Lenin."

For all students university life begins in the halls of Lenin's Memorial. Here the atmosphere of the 1880's has been recreated carefully, bit by bit. Many exhibits have been gathered on the revolutionary struggle of the Kazan' students and on the participation in this struggle by Vladimir Yul'anov, first year law student. It is here, in the memorial, that the first seminars on CPSU history are held. It is here that Komsomol cards are solemnly presented and meetings are organized with party veterans and heroes of the civil and Great Patriotic Wars. Senior students act as guides

for visitors coming from the entire country and many parts of the world. Many people wish to visit the Leninist memorial which has been seen by over four million people so far.

Professors of the CPSU history chair conduct profound studies on the beginning of the revolutionary activities of the great leader of the working people the world over. R. I. Nafigov, head of the chair, is the author of the book "Pervyy Shag v Revolyutsiyu" [First Step in the Revolution], which describes in detail the Kazan' period in Valdimir Yul'anov's life and traces the lives of tens of his comrades in the student clandestine movement. A group of law school teachers wrote the book "Fakul'tet na Kotorom Uchilsya Lenin" [The Department in which Lenin Studied], which discusses extensively the students' meeting and the events of December 1887. It is with these books that today's students begin their acquaintanceship with Vladimir Yul'anov's young years. Many of them help the professors in their further research and develop their own topics in scientific circles. Every year Kazan' State University sponsors a competition of scientific works on the historical meeting written by students.

For over ten years the university has celebrated 16 December (4 December by the Julian calendar)--the anniversary of the Kazan' students' meeting. That day the best among the best are appointed to stand guard at Vladimir Yul'anov's monument at whose pedestal fresh flowers are brought from the very morning. In all classrooms all studies begin with the following words:

"Today is a solemn day for Kazan' State University . . ."

The teachers remind the students of the main events of the meeting. A traditional meeting is held in the assembly hall, the very same where the first meeting took place, after which under the solemn sounds of Tschaikovsky's Concerto No 1, a wreath is deposited at the monument.

This year marks the 90th anniversary of the meeting. The solemn meeting will be attended not only by Kazan' State University students but by representatives of other VUZ's, young production workers from enterprises, and, from the kolkhozes, the winners of a special republic wide competition for the right to participate in the ceremony. Two thousand Komsomol members will march in a torch parade along the streets of Kazan'.

The system of education based on the example of Lenin's life and activities is an effective means for upgrading the political and social activeness of the students and for strengthening their high moral qualities.

Two teachers are characteristic of the students in the 1970's: close involvement with the scientific research carried out by the chairs and high level socio-political activeness manifested not only within the university but outside as well.

Scientific research by students is an inseparable part of the training process. Engaging in it, the young men and women rely on the most modern scientific methods and use the latest equipment and instruments: computers, spectrometers, fluid chromatographs, electron microscopes, and lasers. The intellectual level of today's student and his creative potential enable him to work profoundly on problems and to participate fully in the scientific research conducted by the chairs. Many students' works would bring fame to a scientific research institute. Student Natasha Yemel'yanenko computed an ephemeris on the basis of which astronomers found the Du Toit I comet, lost over 30 years ago. Student B. Khafizov made a serious contribution to the modeling of mathematical thinking using the example of resolving school exercise problems (before him no one in our country had undertaken to resolve this problem). Studying unconnected topics student Marina Rumyantseva wrote brilliant works such as "The Noosphera and Environmental Protection" (an attempt at a philosophical and sociological analysis), and "Recreation of the Komsomol in the United States." Participating in the study of a promising petroleum bearing area in Siberia, student I. Gayneyev formulated profoundly substantiated recommendations for its further development.

We have mentioned here some of the best works. Yet, a great deal of extensive student research projects have been carried out at the university. This is quite convincingly proved by the fact that in the past five years the university has earned 70 awards at all-union competitions. Currently 4,680 students are engaged in scientific research in the various departments and, unquestionably, new accomplishments await many of these young men and women.

A characteristic feature of the modern students is their profound involvement in the life of their city, republic, and country.

At the Third Komsomol Congress Lenin reminded the young people of the fact that one could become a true communist only through work, together with the workers and peasants. This fully topical legacy is a manual of action for today's students as well. Thousands of ties link the young men and women to the collectives of enterprises, construction projects, and schools. They participate not only in schools assignments but in subbotniks, in helping kolkhozes they sponsor, in working at construction sites, and in struggling for the protection of the environment and the observance of public order.

. . . There is still snow on the ground while everywhere preparations are already under way for the summer labor semester. Selection for construction detachments is strict and demanding. A student who is failing in his studies or is passive in social work could not even dream of participating. Those selected for the detachments await additional training: future construction workers learn group work, members of the young lecturer's course prepare the text of their future speeches, and members of the agitation brigade rehearse their programs. The construction detachments are on their way the moment the second semester examinations end. The inexhaustible imagination of the students prompts most exotic names for their detachments.

Kazan' University has detachments named "Prometheus," "Edelweiss," "Formica," "Sibernatist," "Tensor," "Sail," "Vita," "Polsar," "Graviton," "Argonaut," "Algol," "Stormy Petrel." There are also all-girl detachments named "Mekhmatyanochka," "Orbital," and "Girls."

This year 1,100 students participated in the labor semester. They built the new university building, animal husbandry complexes, schools and house buildings. They worked on trains, at a cannery in Moldavia, and construction projects in Permskaya and Astrakhanskaya oblasts. They read lectures and performed concerts. They organized satellite camps for local school children and helped war and labor veterans and families of front line soldiers. They worked conscientiously, with youth energy and enthusiasm, and reported in the autumn that all assignments had been fulfilled honorably.

The activeness of the outlook of the boys and girls is developed and checked during their training in many ways. One of them (incidentally, a very effective one!) is participation in the people's units. The personnel of the Vakhitovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department have a warm opinion of their assistants from the operative Komsomol detachment. They regularly patrol rayon streets, work as voluntary personnel of the children's office, and disseminate legal knowledge.

A social organization such as the environmental protection service (SOP), which has been operating for the past eight years and is justifiably considered one of the best in the country, is also greatly contributing to the development of civic-mindedness. The SOP members engage in explanatory work among the population, sponsor the Raifskiy Reservation, publish articles in the section "Man and Nature" in the university's newspaper, conduct "Green Patrols," and sudden investigations and watches in forests and along rivers, protect Kazan's greenery, and mercilessly fight poachers. The fact that this struggle is quite serious is confirmed by the "trophies" of the SOP members--the poachers' confiscated weapons. They include seven guns, 24 axes, nets, harpoons, and explosives. All SOP members are people in love with nature, sharing a feeling of high responsibility for its preservation and purity, and an owner's approach to their work.

Another organization which has rallied many enthusiastic members is the international friendship club (KID), which has been in existence for the past six years. Last year it was awarded a diploma by the international students' association for its activities. The KID is engaged in numerous projects: it maintains steady contacts with foreign youth, sponsors meetings of solidarity with the fighters for political and social rights, holds evenings, talks, and debates, engages in extensive correspondence with members of the same generation in many foreign countries, collects donations for the Peace Fund, sponsors competitions for political posters, and many others. In the KID internationalism is converted into specific actions.

The annual "Snow Landings," which are part of the system of military-patriotic work, are of tremendous importance in holding an active position in life and developing high patriotic feelings among the students. No single social measure is as popular among the young men and women as this one. "Snow Landings" were originated 10 years ago, with the first all-union march along sites of revolutionary, combat, and labor glory of the Soviet people. Initially they were part of the set of military-sports measures. However, very soon afterwards the students undertook research projects and their marches acquired a clearly ideological trend.

On the initiative of the youngsters, slowly a study was undertaken of the history of all military formations set up during the Patriotic War on the territory of the Tatar Republic. Many military exploits were brought to light. Graves were found and the names of the dead were collected. Subbotniks were held to landscape monuments and firm links were established with hundreds of veterans. The students of the geography department alone traced 423 veterans of the Ninth Anti-Aircraft Brigade. The path of the snow landers, which began in Tatar villages and cities was extended to Moscow, Volgograd, Rostov, and Brest. This year it was also extended along the roads of the Polish People's Republic. The materials of such marches became the basis for many papers, graduation works, articles, and pamphlets.

The law school students who are studying the history of the Tatar workers and peasants militia, assumed the particular task of writing a collective book on its establishment and development. Geological students have undertaken to write the history of the Friendship Petroleum Pipeline crossing the Volga area. The landers are not only collecting data. In the course of their marches they present lectures and concerts and sponsor special evenings. Participation in the snow landings hardens the youngsters and molds their characters.

Here is the opinion of student Rustem Gaynetdinov who was a member of the marches: "There is one thing common to all snow landings: the landers are socially active people, people who react to everything in the world. They are people who have become accustomed to live not only for themselves and for the sake of their personal good, but to live for others, for their comrades, for totally unknown people, because they were there, in the war, even though not the war which occurred 30 years ago, but the war which has always been waged and is still being waged: war with sluggishness, falsehood, lies, and a meaningless life; a war between good and evil and between cruelty and humanity. No participant in such landings would ever desert."

These words express a clear civic position. They provide the best description of the feelings and views of most participants in the snow landings.

In the year of the 60th Anniversary of the Soviet system Kazan' University was awarded first place at the all-union rally of participants in marches to places of revolutionary, combat, and labor glory, based on the results of military-patriotic work. This is a high and fully deserved distinction.

The student years are a time of spiritual excitement, great energy, and extensive creativity. The life of the students is filled not only with studies and social work. In the evening the adolescents hurry to the libraries and sports halls, theaters, museums, circles, and performance rehearsals. The students are proud of the fact that their choir and Tatar choir were awarded the title of people's, while the very popular humor sketches theater of the department of history and philosophy was the laureate at the all-union festival.

Despite the incredible variety of students' interests there is an occupation in which literally everyone is involved: sports. Kazan' State University offers the possibility to participate in all sports. All VUZ's have facilities for track, gymnastics, volleyball, basketball, and skating. However, Kazan' University also has good rugby, weight lifting, and sambo-wrestling teams. Its summer hikes range from the Caspian Sea to the Kola Peninsula. It also offers sports still considered exotic such as cliff climbing, gliding, and wind surfing--surfing with a sail, a sport very rare in our country . . . .

A great deal was offered to the students of the 1970's--the experience and knowledge of excellent teachers, the priceless treasury of the libraries, the latest training equipment, and rich possibilities for spiritual and physical development and for the satisfaction of a great variety of interests. This is one of the clear manifestations of the principle contained in the Soviet Constitution: "The free development of each is a condition for the free development of all."

Vladimir Mayakovskiy's words are inscribed on one of the walls of the Lenin Memorial: "The university is Kazan's pride and its walls still maintain the loving memory of its great citizen."

Today's generation of Kazan's students as well have preserved this most proud memory. Every morning, going to class, young men and women meet on the square their fellow student Vladimir Yul'anov. It is as though the 17 year old adolescent has plunged in thought for a moment, stricken by an unexpected important thought as though a revelation of his distant future . . . .

Today's students compare their actions with this great life. It is their compass to the future.

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ALLIANCE BETWEEN KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 77 pp 32-58.

[Talk on Siberian scientists' accomplishments and plans sponsored by the editors of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] Socialism opened infinite opportunities for the development of science and placed it at the service of the people. The creation of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the results of its research and development, the close ties between scientific workers and industry and agriculture, and the successful training of highly skilled scientific cadres are vivid examples of this fact.

As reported in the press, the CPSU Central Committee considered the question "On the Activities of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the development of basic and applied scientific research, upgrading its effectiveness, and applying scientific achievements in the national economy and in cadre training." The decree notes that the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, with its institutes, branches, and experimental-production subdivisions, has become a major scientific center which is making a substantial contribution to the solution of the most important problems of the building of communism, formulated at the 25th Party Congress. It is engaged in important basic and applied research which contributes to the growth of the scientific and technical potential of the country and of the prestige of Soviet science. The party document sums up the acquired experience, and notes unresolved problems and some shortcomings.

The decree has drawn the attention of scientists throughout our country and of the broad circles of working people implementing through their activities the historical tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

A meeting was held at the editorial premises of KOMMUNIST with G. I. Marchuk, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, deputy chairmen academicians A. A. Trofimuk, and D. K. Belyayev, M. F. Zhukov, scientific secretary of the Siberian Department of the Academy of Sciences and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member I. I. Geytsi, deputy chief scientific secretary of the department and candidate of physical and mathematical sciences, and R. G. Yanovskiy, head of the science department of the Novosibirskaya Oblast CPSU committee. The guests described the accomplishments and plans of Siberian scientists. Following is a recording of the talk.

#### A Region of Great Science, by G. Marchuk

The 25th Communist Party Congress faced Soviet science with responsible assignments. This includes, above all, the further expansion and intensification of the study of the laws of nature and society, upgrading the contribution of science to the solution of topical problems of building the material and technical base of communism, and acceleration scientific and technical progress and the growth of production effectiveness.

To us, Siberian scientists, the strategy for economic development, according to which the appearance of the eastern parts of the country will radically change in the Tenth and Eleventh Five-Year Plans, is of vital importance. Whereas during the five-year plan USSR industrial output will achieve an overall growth of 35-39 percent, Siberian output will increase approximately 50 percent. The entire increase in petroleum extraction in the country, the overwhelming percentage of increased extraction of natural gas and aluminum, and a considerable share of the energy-intensive chemical, timber, and cellulose-paper industries will come from Siberia. It is here that the biggest national economic programs for the development of territorial-production complexes will be implemented.

The high pace of development of production forces and the new complex tasks of developing Siberia adamantly require deeper scientific and planning work on economic decisions. That is precisely why the scientific and technical potential in the eastern part of the country must be substantially increased.

The beginning of such increase was laid 20 years ago, with the USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Creation of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences" (18 May 1957). The construction of Akademgorodok, which was the "growth point" of the big regional center of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was undertaken 20 kilometers away from Novosibirsk, on the shore of the Ob Sea.

A noteworthy feature of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution is the transformation of science from "small," or strictly academic or university oriented, to "big," bearing in mind not only the unusually broadened scale of its "output," comparable today with industrial production, but the nature of its organization and management resembling those of a national economic sector. Its main features are the following:

The availability of the growing army of professional scientists and of overall personnel of specialists participating in research and development;

Increased outlays for scientific research (today accounting for a noteworthy part of the gross national product);

The use of ever more complex and expensive equipment;

The increased collective nature of scientific creativity;

The social division of labor in science in accordance with methods used and functions performed;

The increased role of state planning and financing of research development, and the broadening and strengthening of control over their effectiveness on the part of society;

The broadening of the geographic area covered by scientific centers.

All this is clearly illustrated by the example of the development of science in Siberia.

Actually, the creation of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department was not self-seeking: the struggle for the development of natural resources and for the powerful development of production forces in Siberia and the Far East needed decisive scientific intensification. The efficient utilization of resources, increased labor productivity, the creation of highly mechanized and automated plants, mines, and quarries, and the further upsurge of the prosperity and culture of the population are directly linked with the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the all-round energy-, power-, and machine-labor ratios based on the latest scientific and technical achievements. The government's decree stipulated that the basic task of the USSR AN SO [Academy of Sciences Siberian Department] will be the all-round development of theoretical and experimental research in the physical-technical, natural, and economic sciences aimed at resolving most important scientific problems and problems contributing to the successful development of the production forces of Siberia and the Far East.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department continues to influence directly the development not only of production forces but of education, training, and culture in the eastern parts of the country. It was a prerequisite for the appearance of the Far East and Ural Scientific Centers of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Siberian departments of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin and USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the expansion of the network of higher educational institutions.

What was the main principle on which the organization of the Siberian Department was based? It was comprehensiveness. Today not only practically all basic trends of the natural and social sciences are represented, but the necessary conditions are created for their interaction and interconnection as a result of which the various areas of knowledge reciprocally intensify and fructify each other, resolving complex problems which would have been beyond the possibilities of an individual institute or scientific direction.

The topics of theoretical and applied studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department are a structural part of the state plans. On the basis of the assignments issued by state organs the department is engaged in work on over 1,200 projects of great importance to the economy and scientific and technical progress of leading industrial sectors.

The constant aid of party and state organs, the attention of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the proper choice of topical scientific directions, the transfer to Siberia from the central parts of the country of major scientists, headed by academician M. A. Lavrent'yev and the enthusiasm and selfless work of the entire collective of the scientific center were decisive prerequisites in the shaping and development of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department. The construction organizations made an important contribution to faster creation of the material base for science in Siberia. The collective of Sibakademstroy contributed to particularly greatly to the creation of the Novosibirsk Scientific Center.

Today the Siberian Department is a widespread network of scientific centers rallying a number of specialized scientific institutions located in the big Siberian economic centers.

The most considerably developed was the Novosibirsk Scientific Center. Today it accounts for over one-half of the department's scientific potential. The attraction to Novosibirsk of outstanding scientists with their schools at the initial period, the establishment of institutes, the allocation of capital investments for the development of the material and technical base, and the elaborated system for cadre training determined the high pace of development and shaping of this scientific center which today is widely known throughout the country and abroad.

The center numbers 21 scientific research institutes, a state public scientific and technical library, a university, two Siberian design bureaus, an experimental plant, and an experimental farm specializing in biological studies. The center's institutes are doing research in practically all directions of contemporary science in the fields of the natural, technical, and social sciences. This has created extensive possibilities for the comprehensive development of science and for close cooperation among scientists in various fields.

The Novosibirsk scientists have achieved a number of major scientific results which are quite well known.

Novosibirsk is also the recognized center for training highly skilled cadres. Its high scientific prestige has also made it a center of international scientific cooperation. The experience acquired here is becoming today available to other scientific centers of the department--to Irkutsk, Yakutsk, Ulan-Ude, Karsnoyarsk, and Tomsk, whose scientific base has been considerably broadened in recent years and which have achieved a number of successes and have strengthened ties with industry and agriculture.

Today the Siberian Department successfully operates 50 scientific research and experimental design organizations. Some 35,000 people work in them and in the numerous research laboratories, subdivisions, and comprehensive permanent facilities engaged in magnetic-ionospheric, seismic, permafrost, biological geographic, and other projects. Over 3,000 of them are candidates of sciences, some 400 are doctors, and over 70 are academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The achievements of Siberian scientists in the fields of theoretical and applied mathematics became the base for the solution of a large number of practical important problems in the fields of hydrodynamics, geophysics, and atmospheric and oceanic physics.

Studies in the fields of theoretical and experimental physics conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department led to the creation of facilities for the study of the structure of the nucleus and the elaboration of one-of-a-kind spectroscopic instruments, stable lasers, and integrated systems and elements of electronic equipment. An extensive cycle of the projects was carried out in the field of automating scientific research. Achievements in combustion and explosion physics, mechanics of fluids and gases, low temperature plasma physics, and thermal physics led to the development of a new technology for metal welding, and development of plasma-chemical reactors, and goods and materials for new technologies.

Power industry scientists developed the foundations of the theory of big power systems and prospects for the development of the fuel-power balance of the country.

The basic research conducted by the chemical institutes of the USSR AN SO made possible the development of new effective catalytic agents for processes, highly productive apparatus for chemical technology, methods for deep cleaning of metals and materials, and means for the extraction of rare metals. A number of new chemical substances and compounds were obtained and studied, used in a number of industrial and agricultural sectors.

On the basis of the theory of control of hereditary characteristics in plants and animals, biologists from the Siberian Department introduced new strains of spring wheat, obtained sugar beet hybrids with increased sugar content, and developed a pure bred group of highly productive sheep. Scientific foundations were formulated for the utilization and reproduction of the timber resources of Western and Eastern Siberia, as well as methods for fighting dangerous forest pests, the Siberian moth in particular. The soils of big Siberian territories were mapped.

As a result of the study of the structure of the earth's crust and the upper earth's mantel, and of the history of their development and the laws governing their location, and the study of processes governing the formation of mineral deposits, the theoretical principles were developed for finding the main types of minerals. The basic directions to be followed in the search for petroleum and natural gas in the Paleozoic seams of Western and Eastern Siberia were determined. Recommendations were issued on upgrading the effectiveness of the discovery of various mineral deposits. The Irkutsk scientists charted a map of the seismic zoning of Siberia and provided an engineering-seismological assessment of the tracks of the Baykal-Amur main line. Studies were made of the surface and ground waters of Siberia and an extensive cycle of work was accomplished on the geography and geocryology of the area. New methods and equipment were developed for geophysical research of the earth's crust and the search for minerals.

The major basic results noted in the Central Committee decree and the materials of the commission are a prerequisite for the development of future equipment and technology as demanded by the party. The new effective forms of ties between academic science and production developed by the USSR AN SO and the system they developed insuring the development of basic and applied research, development, and practical utilization as a single process were positively assessed by the CPSU Central Committee.

Extensive work is being done to improve scientific management methods. They are based on program-target planning and financing.

The support provided by the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology, the RSFSR Council of Ministers and USSR Academy of Sciences helps in the organization of comprehensive programs for big problems. It is precisely such big projects that yield maximal returns for the development of science itself and creates solid foundations for applied research and utilization of essentially new ideas in the national

economy. The Siberian Department is participating in the implementation of 105 comprehensive programs on most important problems of scientific and technical progress in the national economy, coordinated by the State Committee for Science and Technology. The Siberian Department is working on yet another 15 coordination programs on major basic scientific problems with the participation of the 30 specialized department institutes.

Over the past seven years there has been not only a quantitative increase in the number of scientific research projects but a qualitative change in the projects as well: the problems have become far more complex, requiring not only the coordination and joint efforts of different institutes but the combination of such efforts with the scientific and technical potential of industrial sectors. Presently programmed long-term agreements have been concluded with four leading industrial ministries. These documents reflect not only directions of research and development and joint obligations but reciprocal interests as well. Their successful implementation is backed by proper financing, availability of equipment and materials in short supply, and so on, provided, essentially, by the ministries.

Science is a living, mobile, and growing organism requiring constant attention from the viewpoint of the consistency between its systems and constantly changing content. As our knowledge and socioeconomic progress expand the topics of the main directions of basic research must inevitably change in the course of time. Consequently, a certain flexibility and operativeness are needed in the planning and organization of scientific work.

In this sense the coordination plans of the department have proven an effective means for improving the scientific management system. The fact that they stipulate not only the development of scientific problems jointly by a number of institutes but also presume the creation of favorable prerequisites for the extensive practical utilization of new ideas and of the latest equipment and technology is very positive.

In the field of financing such plans we have adopted a new method for fund allocations: financing "without base control." What does this mean? It is a question of providing funds for specific research stages covering strictly determined periods of time, after which financing is stopped or reviewed. All funds allocated for specific purposes, when the new year's allocations are established, are excluded from the base accounts for the current year and are redistributed according to the specific conditions governing the implementation of coordinated projects during the planned year. This way the USSR AN SO Presidium has the possibility operatively to handle some specially allocated financial resources and secure the specific financing of major problems of great national economic importance without requesting additional budget allocations.

The planning and implementation of comprehensive programs requires a very effective interconnection among the individual stages of the work carried out by different institutes, daily control, and operative material-technical and production support. This is consistent with the requirements

of the 25th CPSU Congress and the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum which call for upgrading work effectiveness and quality in all areas of socially useful work.

Question: Any type of production management necessarily calls for control over its processes and results. How is this achieved in your specific conditions of the production of ideas?

In addition to conventional types of accounting, we have undertaken a comprehensive investigation of institutes. The Department Presidium appoints prestigious commissions consisting of leading USSR Academy of Sciences scientists and personnel from the academic management apparatus. Such commissions make a comprehensive study of the activities of institutes, study positive experience, and expose organizational and scientific-methodical errors and shortcomings not only in the work of one or another collective but within the system of its interaction and interconnection with other collectives and different services, departments, and administrations of the USSR AN SO Presidium.

Such investigations contribute to further planning improvements, to scientific research support, and to the search for new methods for the solution of major comprehensive scientific problems.

On the basis of the department's coordination plans, in addition to conventional accounting, the results of research work are annually reported by problem coordinators to the management of the USSR AN SO Presidium. This is followed by the earmarking of specific measures to insure further work and the necessary corrections to the plan are made.

Question. In its decree the Central Committee noted as a positive fact the successful solution of the problem of cadre training for scientific centers, higher educational institutions, industry, and agriculture in Siberia. How were you able to accomplish this?

Briefly stated, as follows: Thanks to the attraction to Novosibirsk of big scientists with their scientific schools at the initial period, the creation of the Novosibirsk State University and, on its basis, and on the basis of the Novosibirsk Scientific Research Institutes, the creation of an efficient cadre training system. As a result, a large detachment of doctors and candidates of sciences was trained within a compressed period of time.

Presently the scientific centers outside Novosibirsk have developed their own scientific cadres and material and technical facilities. Ever more frequently such centers sponsor all-union and international symposiums. This proves their increased prestige. It is indicative that in the last elections for members of the USSR Academy of Sciences scientists from such centers accounted for one-half of the new members.



Unquestionably, the network of Siberian scientific institutions will be steadily developing. The CPSU Central Committee emphasized in its decree that the steady growth of the scientific and technical potential of Siberia and the Far East must be based on the all-round acceleration of the development of production forces in the eastern parts of the country. The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium directs us, above all, toward strengthening the already existing institutes and their subdivisions without, naturally, underrating the significance of the new ones. The department has practical experience in the successful establishment of new scientific nuclei--departments and laboratories of institutes in Novosibirsk and other cities. In the future, when conditions develop in such nuclei, when cadres are trained and when the material and technical base strengthens and specific research directions crystalize, we shall consider the question of granting them the status of an academic institute.

Along with such successes we must admit that the possibilities of the institutions of the department and of Novosibirsk State University for training and upgrading the skills of scientific and teaching cadres in Siberia and the Far East and for the target training of research groups for sectorial scientific research institutes and enterprises are still not used to the fullest extent. The CPSU Central Committee decree focused our attention on this matter.

Question. What is being done to upgrade the effectiveness with which the scientific potential is utilized?

Each scientific collective must determine its efficient ratio between basic and applied research optimal in terms of its specific specialization. We try to achieve a profound internal interaction between theoretical and applied directions, since effective scientific progress and influence on the national economy would be impossible without it. In this area extensive work must be done by the USSR AN SO Presidium and the joint scientific councils of the department and scientific councils of all institutes.

The party has set major assignments in the field of the social sciences. The Central Committee expects of the department's scientists extensive studies and recommendations of a methodological nature on the development of the economy of the eastern parts of the country, the study and summation of the historical experience of the struggle for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism and communism in Siberia, and the field of ideological-political, labor, and moral education. That is why the scientific workers must intensify their studies of the philosophy and methodology of science, and on topical social and economic problems raised by the practice of the building of communism.

The Central Committee decree emphasizes the need to improve methods of management and administration, the creation of an atmosphere of collective work, and insuring favorable conditions for creative growth.

It was justifiably pointed out that the level of work of some of our institutes is still behind the stricter requirements. Some of them still engage in work on unpromising topics. This leads to the waste of scientific forces and means and lowers the quality of cadre training.

Our shortcomings and difficulties are in the focal point of attention of the party Aktivs of the scientific centers and the joint scientific councils and scientific councils of institutes.

I would like to emphasize particularly the role of the Novosibirskaya Oblast party organization. It is providing substantial help to the Novosibirsk Scientific Center in the development of creative relations with enterprises, scientific research institutes, and VUZ's in the city and the oblast. Problems of our interaction with them have been repeatedly discussed at party obkom plenums, party and economic aktivs, and practical science conferences. This has helped to strengthen relations between science and production and led to the appearance of a number of progressive methods for the practical utilization of our achievements in the national economy. Today we are confidently applying many of these methods in other department scientific centers.

Tens and hundreds of big and small problems arise in the course of daily life which can not be resolved only through the efforts of academic institutions without the support of leading party organs. The department's scientists highly value the attention of the oblast, kray, and city party organizations in Siberia who have always responded to our suggestions and needs.

The most important task of the department is to intensify the coordination of research conducted by the academic scientific institutions and the institutions of the Siberian departments of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, ministries, departments, and Siberian higher educational institutions.

Together with the institutes of the Siberian Department of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin and the Siberian branch of the Academy of Medical Sciences our scientists drafted a plan for coordination programs which will be considered and approved at joint sessions of the Presidiums of the three Siberian academies.

Agreement has been reached with the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education on holding in the immediate future of a special conference by the USSR AN SO, universities, and leading VUZ's in Siberia on problems of coordination of scientific research and cadre training.

The CPSU Central Committee decree pays particular attention to the further development of sectorial scientific research institutes and construction design bureaus located in Novosibirsk's Akademgorodok. The USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology has been asked to

cooperate with the USSR Academy of Sciences and other ministries and departments in the elaboration of a special regulation aimed at intensifying the role of the USSR AN SO in the choice of directions, planning, and assessing the effectiveness of scientific and technical developments.

Question. The mathematization of research and automation of experimentation based on modern instrument manufacturing and use of computers contribute to upgrading scientific labor effectiveness and quality. Do you make adequate use of such opportunities?

In recent years such opportunities have been held back by the department's inadequate material and technical base. It needs renovation and further development. Particular attention should be paid to providing scientific research with the latest instruments and automation. The possibilities of the academic institutes to insure the technical facilities they need are limited by the insufficient instrument manufacturing facilities. The system for scientific material and technical supplies must be improved as well.

The CPSU Central Committee responded positively to the suggestions of the USSR Academy of Sciences regarding the further development of the scientific and production base of the USSR AN SO, the consolidation of scientific cadres and auxiliary scientific personnel, the improvement of their housing and living conditions, and the development of networks of medical, treatment, and children's institutions, and commercial and consumer services enterprises. This is yet another manifestation of the concern of the CPSU Central Committee for the development of science in Siberia, for maintaining its cadre potential, and for improving the living conditions of scientific workers.

Question. The Central Committee decree states that the USSR AN SO Presidium pays insufficient attention to some of the department's scientific centers and branches. Could you describe the measures being taken in this direction?

The faster growth of the Novosibirsk Scientific Center at the initial stage of the department's development represented the implementation of the adopted principle of making it the base of scientific research and cadre training. Starting with the Ninth Five-Year Plan the construction of centers outside Novosibirsk has proceeded at a growing pace.

Even though not all problems of development of the material and socio-cultural base of the scientific centers were resolved in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, major changes were accomplished. The Central Committee decree enables us to earmark new possibilities for the further development of the entire department on the basis of the level reached and the new tasks related to the development of Siberia's science and economy.

We are doing everything possible to help the branches and scientific centers develop their production and material and technical base, strengthen cadres, and organize their interaction.

The Siberian Department Presidium is planning the creation of branches of the experimental plant in Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk, and organize in the branches and centers cells for the administration of the material and technical supplies, and a repair-construction administration. Greater attention will be paid to medical and consumer services and to the overall improvement of the infrastructure of the academic cities.

Along with increased allocations and funds for the centers outside Novosibirsk their mastery of positive experience in the organization and coordination of scientific research, and of methods for linking science with production and cadre training, acquired at the Novosibirsk Scientific Center, will be of major importance.

The time has come to set up in Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk branches of the Siberian Department. This will make the department's structure more homogeneous. It will facilitate the administration of the scientific institutions located in those cities and, particularly, the solution of scientific-organizational and economic problems, and will contribute to intensifying the influence of science on scientific and technical progress in these areas.

Question. What can you tell us of the problems of development of big economic rayons west of Novosibirsk?

The USSR AN SO scientists are participating in the formulation and elaboration of major projects for the development of these areas. However, this work must be energized.

Throughout its activities the Siberian Department has ascribed prime importance to the development of the Tyumen' petroleum and gas extraction complex. A number of our geologists, chemists, economists, mathematicians, permafrost experts, and geographers are engaged in this work. Several years ago a special session of the department's general assembly was dedicated to possibilities of the area. The minister of petroleum industry submitted a report to the USSR AN SO Presidium, formulating 11 major problems which substantially determined the intensive development of the extraction of petroleum and gas in Western Siberia. Together with the ministries and departments the Siberian Department formulated a comprehensive program for scientific research which is being successfully implemented.

The Siberian Department's scientists keep in sight Altayskiy Kray, which neighbors Novosibirskaya Oblast. In close contact with the geological organizations of Western Siberia, our geologists have determined the location of the principal minerals in the formations of the Gornyy Altay. The thorough study of the mercury deposits in the Altay led to the discovery of new deposits. The geochemists as well have done a great deal for the discovery of minerals in the Altay.

The work of Altay enterprises on the development of the Barnaul automated control system has become well known both domestically and abroad. This is a major success achieved by the department's scientists and the personnel of the Barnaul Radio Plant. Currently a new system (the Sigma Automated Control System) has been developed on the basis of the Barnaul ASU [Automated Control System] for third generation computers. It has already been accepted by the state commission as a possible solution and is being tested at three plants in Altayskiy Kray.

The range of problems linking the Siberian Department with Altayskiy Kray is steadily broadening. Our scientists are formulating suggestions for a comprehensive program of scientific research for the development of the kray on the basis of its natural resources and economic specialization.

Omsk recently became the second Siberian city with a population of one million. It is a big center of highly developed petrochemical industry and machine building. Our chemists maintain close links with Omsk enterprises. The first academic cell--a laboratory of the Institute of Petroleum Chemistry--was set up at one of them. On the basis of coordinated programs with sectorial ministries our institutes are engaged in extensive comprehensive studies at machine building enterprises.

The Novosibirsk scientists have maintained long and firm relations with miners and metallurgical workers of Kemerovskaya Oblast. It was precisely in the Kuzbas that the shield coal extraction system, which earned worldwide recognition, was applied on the basis of the ideas of N. A. Chinakal, our eldest scientist-miner and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member. A new technology for underground ore extraction--a joint project of the Mining Institute scientists and the specialists of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine--was a major success.

We have an economic laboratory and a department of the Institute of Inorganic Chemistry in Kemerovo. The conditions are ripe for establishing there a special laboratory of the Mining Institute. Basic research has been undertaken in Chita and Kyzyl. The scientific collectives are focusing their work essentially on the study of the potential resources of these promising areas.

Life is facing us with ever new problems demanding extensive research and the utilization of existing scientific facilities on a broader scale. Our great reserves are found in cooperative effort. We shall continue to formulate scientifically substantiated comprehensive programs which would not only link institutes affiliated with different research centers but would combine and involve the entire Siberian Department, involving most of our collectives in cooperated work. We are working in close contact with and under the guidance of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and in close cooperation with central institutes and academies of union republics. At the 25th Congress A. P. Aleksandrov, USSR Academy of Sciences president, named three as the most important nationwide programs: nuclear power industry,

agricultural intensification, and all-round utilization of computers in the national economy. Many collectives of the Siberian Department have become involved in work based on these programs.

The investigation of the department's activities by the CPSU Central Committee was a major test of the maturity of our collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee decree assigns even greater responsibilities to the Siberian scientists, workers, and engineering and technical personnel. We accepted this decree as a new impetus for further efforts in resolving the problems assigned to us by the party.

The Strategy of Scientific Offensive, by A. Trofimuk

I would like to emphasize that the Siberian Department is not a conventional department of the USSR Academy of Sciences: It not simply combines various scientific institutions by virtue of their territorial location. All of them together represent an integral entity based on continuing interaction. This could be illustrated by taking as an example the Joint Scientific Council for the Earth Sciences. Through the joint efforts of the many participating scientific institutes extensive regional programs are being implemented representing a complex of a variety of basic and applied research.

One of the main problems of particular importance to our country is the location and utilization of mineral resources. In this sense Siberia is an exceptional area. A great deal of resources discovered in its subsoil in the past 10 years strikes the imagination even though, apparently, this is only no more than a percentage of what the Siberian subsoil contains and what is as yet to be discovered. Therefore, one of the main tasks of our department is to give scientific support to the surveying, mastering, and utilization of Siberia's natural resources and the development of its production forces. The solution of this problem is closely linked with the creation of new very big territorial-production complexes.

The CPSU Central Committee decree notes that the pace of research and the comprehensive utilization of the natural resources in the eastern parts of the country are insufficient. The Central Committee indicated the need to upgrade the role of the scientific collectives of the Siberian Department in resolving the problems and in formulating recommendations related to the development of Siberia's production forces.

The Central Committee recommended that the department energize its participation in the elaboration of ways for the development of territorial-production complexes and the solution of problems related to the over all development of new areas in Siberia, and the search for rational means for the effective utilization of natural resources and for environmental protection.

The Siberian Department has acquired considerable scientific background in many of these problems. The long-term directions of the work have been formulated. Thus, a plan is being formulated for the development of scientific relations between the department's institutes and enterprises in Krasnoyarskiy Kray. In this connection scientific and technical cooperation with the Noril'sk Combine plays a particular role. The department's scientists provided forecasts on the possibilities for the development of the national economy of individual areas and sectors in Siberia. Economists are developing methods for modeling territorial-production complexes. Central problems of development of petroleum and gas extraction areas in Western Siberia, and of power industry complexes in the Angara-Yenisey region have been studied.

However, we ourselves realize that this is no longer adequate. The Central Committee's instructions mandate the intensification of our efforts in providing specific assistance in the establishment of Siberian territorial-industrial complexes.

In the future the raw material resources of Siberia and the Far East will play an ever growing role in the country's overall economic balance. The party calls for bringing industry closer to raw material resources. That is why the basic efforts of Siberia's geologists are focused on the elaboration of the theoretical foundations and rational methods for the search for mineral deposits within the boundaries of already established or planned territorial-production complexes, particularly in industrially developed areas. The geologists must provide substantial help to the sectorial organizations in the search for new petroleum and gas deposits, above all in the Paleozoic deposits of the southeastern part of Western Siberia.

Together with the organizations of the USSR Ministry of Geology, the department's geologists formulated a number of major hypotheses and scientific ideas on the structure of the earth's crust and the origin of minerals. Practical experience is confirming their accuracy. The result has been the discovery of new deposits of petroleum, gas, coal, phosphorous containing minerals, and ferrous, nonferrous, and rare metals.

The USSR AN SO Mining Institute has gained experience in optimizing existing and developing new technological solutions which insure better technical and economic indicators in the development of deposits.

Our chemical institutes face important tasks in developing and processing Siberian raw materials. Together with the institutes and enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the inorganic chemists are developing technological systems for the separation of substances based on the specific nature of Siberian mineral raw materials. Particular attention will be paid to methods for the extraction of precious metals from lean ores and industrial dumps. This means a factual increase of raw material reserves.

Together with the Institute of Geology and Geophysics and other institutes, the Institute of Physical and Chemical Foundations for the Processing of Mineral Raw Materials is elaborating the scientific foundations for new technologies for the comprehensive processing of Siberian ores. In particular, together with the Siberian Scientific Research Institute for Agricultural Chemization of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin, work is being done for the mechanic-chemical processing of phosphorous containing Siberian ores with a view to creating an acid-free method for the processing of apatites and phosphorites into chemical fertilizers.

Siberia, which already enjoys the reputation of a big petroleum extraction area in the country, will also become an important petrochemical area following the completion of the Tobol'sk and Tomsk petrochemical complexes and the development of the chemical enterprises in Angarsk, Omsk, and Kemerovo.

The department's most important task is the search for efficient means for the comprehensive utilization of natural resources and for environmental protection, above all in Siberia. The scientists must continue to develop a number of new technologies: technologies which are waste-free, closed cycle technologies, or technologies involving the extensive treatment of waste water and waste discarded by operating or newly building enterprises. Further studies must be made on establishing the scientific foundations for the preservation and rational utilization of the very rich Siberian timber resources, fauna and flora, as well as studies of the soil cover, permafrost, subsoil, and the earth's water and air covers.

Studies on the efficient location of new enterprises, settlements, and agroindustrial complexes have assumed great significance. Their objective is not only to insure the optimal utilization of resources but their preservation and reproduction as well.

In order to implement all this work effectively, we must create complex brigades of scientists from different institutes, councils, and commissions which would formulate long-term plans and research programs. The end objective of such plans should be the formulation of scientific recommendations for planning and state organs which would make possible to balance most rationally the development of production forces with social and environmental protection problems and would enable us promptly to formulate problems related to correcting future development plans in accordance with the factual situation and overall global prospects.

On the basis of the result of geological and geographic studies, regional economy specialists have elaborated long-term forecasts, programs, and suggestions related to the further development of Siberian production forces. This includes comprehensive programs for the development of petroleum resources in Western Siberia, the creation of the Kansk-Achinsk fuel-power complex, the further development of the Noril'sk ore-metallurgical combine, foundations for the development and location of production forces in the biggest autonomous republics--Yakutiya and Buryatiya--and proposals for



long-term plans for the development of Krasnoyarskiy Kray, the Sayano-Shushenskiy Industrial Rayon, and the Tuva ASSR, and the use of Tyumen' natural gas by the national economy.

Together with the party and soviet organs, and sectors and design institutions, the department's institutes conducted a series of big conferences and meetings on the future development of Siberia and the Extreme North. Many of the department's suggestions were approved by the directival organs and became structural parts of respective decrees.

Suggestions and recommendations on the development of the country's overall national economy and of Siberia through 1990 are being studied and summed up.

Scientific integration was clearly manifested in the report "Scientific Foundations of the Comprehensive Program for the Economic Development of the Baykal-Amur Main Line Zone." It was drafted by a commission of the USSR AN SO with the participation of over 20 institutes. It was studied by interested organs and establishments. Its formulation proved that a new quality level had been reached in the department's scientific developments and the high level of maturity reached by Siberian scientists.

In September 1975, with a view to the coordination of scientific research conducted by institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences related to the construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Line and the development of its adjacent territory, the USSR Academy of Sciences set up a scientific council on BAM [Baykal-Amur Main Line] problems, most of whose members are scientists from the Siberian Department. They focus their attention on the most important problems of this historical construction project and to the development of the continuous territory.

Another major problem facing the department is that of Baykal. Its study is headed by a scientific council.

Implementing the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Additional Measures for Insuring the Rational Utilization and Preservation of Natural Resources in the Baykal Lake Basin," dated 16 June 1971, 18 Siberian Department institutes are intensively and successfully resolving a large number of problems. A particularly great deal has been accomplished by the Limnology Institute, the Institute of the Earth's Crust, the Institute of Forests and Timber, and the Irkutsk Organic Chemistry Institute.

The department submitted data for a plan for a water preservation zone of Baykal Lake and formulated alternatives for the transfer of industrial effluent. The Baykal cellulose combine was given new methods for the treatment of effluent waters and the utilization of precipitations, adopted by the Ministry of Cellulose-Paper Industry and recommended for industrial testing.

The full scale studies carried out at Baykal Lake by the Limnology Institute and other organizations indicate that the pollution of Baykal waters by industrial effluents discarded by the Baykal cellulose combine and flowing along the Selenga Rivers have not been stopped. This can not fail to alarm the scientists.

G. Marchuk. Thanks to the fact that the leadership of the Siberian Department, Andrey Alekseyevich Trofimuk and his council, above all, have worked seriously on the protection of Lake Baykal, and thanks to the help given by the party's Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, a positive change has taken place in this matter over the past four years. However, many unresolved problems remain. A certain sluggishness in the thinking of a number of economic managers, whose views are unable to go beyond immediate concerns, has not been surmounted.

In the opinion of the USSR AN SO Presidium the major solution of the problem of preventing the pollution of Lake Baykal is found not only in not discarding in the lake even well treated sewage waters, which are nevertheless unacceptable to its organisms, but of totally preventing their draining into the lake. We believe that it would be most expedient to transfer the effluent of the Baykal cellulose combine to the Irkut River; the effluent of the Ulan-Ude should be discharged into the nearby waterless depressions while the Selenginsk cellulose cardboard combine should be converted to a closed water supply cycle.

Currently research has been intensified on the economic substantiation of the rational utilization of natural resources in the Baykal Basin, also based on the economic assessment of the department's suggestions. Preliminary reports have confirmed their practicality.

Vitality of Basic Developments, by D. Belyayev.

The general principles of scientific activities characteristic of the entire Siberian Department are implemented in its biology institutions as well, located in Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Ulan-Ude, and Yakutsk.

Modern biology is an exceptionally widespread network of various directions which study life and the laws governing its development, from the simplest subcellular formations to man; from individual organisms to most complex communities and, in the final account, to the biosphere as a whole.

The range of problems developed in our institutes is quite extensive and covers research in the fields of general and molecular genetics, molecular biology, theory of evolution and selection, and the study of the vegetal and soil resources and animal world of Siberia and the Far East.

Since it would be impossible to include all projects in a brief report, I shall mention some of them only.

What excites researchers in the field of molecular genetics? Above all, the molecular foundations governing heredity, and control of processes of heredity information and genome structure.

Characteristic of this direction, first of all, is the combining of methods of contemporary molecular biology with citological methods, including electron microscopy and the study of cellular ultrastructure; secondly, the focusing of such effort on the study of heredity apparatus of superior organisms. In their research the scientists rely in particular on the unique methods for ultramicrobiochemical research, created and developed by the Siberian Department. For example, a widely known instrument is the microspectrophotometer, used in the study of proteins and nucleic acids found in several cells or even a single cell. This instrument has been patented in many countries and the license for its manufacturing has been sold to a Swedish firm. Our country was the first in which some methods for the study of the nucleic acids of proteins and ferments on a microscale was mastered.

The combination of citological and molecular-biological methods made possible the study of programs for including genes in biochemical activities in the course of ontogenesis. It was established that some mutations violate the sequence of the inclusion of genes in time, which disturbs the overall development of the organism.

A method for obtaining initial monomers for the sythesis of genetic material was elaborated and applied in industrial production.

The capacity of specific ferments--nucleases--to disturb the synthesis of nucleic acids of viruses in the period when they are free from the protective protein cover in the cell was proved. This was the basis for a suggested method for suppressing the multiplication of viruses. Recommendations were formulated for the treatment of viral diseases in people and animals. Clinical tests proved the high effectiveness of nucleas is the struggle against a number of severe viral human diseases (keratites, encephalites, meningites, and viral skin damages). The production of preparations was allowed for extensive medical use. Their industrial production was organized.

The combination of new genetic methods for controlling hereditary variations --radiation and chemical mutagenesis, polyploidy, and heterosis, with long mastered methods for selection and hybridization, made possible a substantial development of the theory of controlling the shaping of plants.

As a result, we were able to prove the applicability of the principle of homologic variability to phenomena of induced mutagenesis, establish the role of the genotype in the reaction of strains to mutagenic influences, study the role of individual chromosomes in the development of one or another characteristic of cereals, determine the significance of the mitochondrial cellular apparatus in the development of plant winter resistance characteristics, formulate a mathematical theory for assessing their hereditary variability, and so on.

The practical outcome of this work was the development of a number of highly productive strains and hybrids of farm crops. Together with the Siberian branch of the All-Union Plant Growing Institute, we developed the highly productive non-flattening "Novosibirskaya-67" winter wheat strain which has become widespread in Novosibirskaya, Omskaya, Tyumenskaya, and Kurganskaya oblasts, and Altayskiy and Krasnoyarskiy krays. The new strain is distinguished by good baking qualities. However, the scientists are going beyond them. New and even more productive strains have been developed on the basis of this strong wheat.

They have also obtained highly productive forms of winter rye for fodder and grain as well as highly productive radiation soybean strains. Currently, all of them are undergoing state tests.

The Siberian geneticists were able to reconstruct the hereditary apparatus of wheat, replacing its chromosomes with new ones containing, for example, an important characteristic such as resistance to diseases. Chromosome engineering will enable us to intensify wheat selection in the immediate future.

Major theoretical results have been achieved as a result of work on the general theory of evolution, genetics, and the theory of animal selection. On the basis of experiments for the domestication of animals, for the first time a concept was formulated on the existence of a particular form of selection--a destabilizing selection which leads to a drastic increase in the pace of shape forming. Experimentally a unique result was achieved: The restructuring of the reproduction function of seasonally breeding animals (foxes) from single to double breeding during the year. For the first time the role of photoperiodism and of the systems of hormonal controls in the embryonic viability of mammals was revealed. The existence of a selection of different genotypes during the embryonic development period was proved.

Siberian Department biologists made a substantial contribution to the development of genetic-mathematical methods for determining hereditary and non-hereditary variability in populations of livestock, and of immunogenetic and ecological-genetic methods for evaluating animals for selection purposes. They have contributed to the theory of genetic control systems.

The main efforts of our biophysicists are focused on the theoretical elaboration and experimental modeling of ecological systems with differently closed cycles. They have undertaken the study of continuous mono- and polycultures of unicellular organisms. The short life span of their generations enable us experimentally to model processes whose duration in natural ecological systems is measured in terms of centuries.

Subsequently, this made possible the development of artificial ecological systems which would include man, with a closed matter cycle. For the first time a life supporting system controlled by the crew itself, and

closed in terms of water, air and, partially, food, was tested with a three-man team over six months. An assessment was made of the stability of human metabolism as a link within this complex ecological system. The possibility was proved of utilizing all basic forms of nitrogen released by man. It was established that the biochemical composition of plants grown under the conditions of an artificial ecological system is practically indistinct from plants growing in the open air.

The study of biospheric resources, and their protection and reproduction accounts for a great deal in the work of the Siberian Department's biologists.

Forestry scientists developed the scientific foundations for the utilization and reproduction of timber resources. The admissible norms of economic development of timber biocoenosis, insuring the natural reproduction of forests and the reservation of their environment-forming functions, were established. The limits and forms of admissible interference in timber biocoenoses were determined, enabling us to retain feedbacks in timber systems, insuring their restoration under the conditions of a rapidly expanding technical and chemical facilities available to forestry and the timber industry.

The studies made by the Siberian scientists have been highly rated by a number of ministries and departments. On their basis regulations for main timber felling in the forests of Eastern and Western Siberia, and a manual for timber restoration operations in Eastern Siberia were formulated and adopted for production use (approved by the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Forestry).

Yakutiya is a unique natural area in Siberia. Its animal and vegetable worlds are distinguished by a number of characteristics. Its natural complexes are exceptionally sensitive to the influence of human economic activities and can be restored with great difficulty. A study was made of Yakutian ecology of the most important fur bearing animals and of the number and dynamics of mammals and birds. Scientific foundations were formulated for the efficient exploitation, preservation, and reproduction of game animals.

Question. Could you describe the participation of biologists in the protection of Lake Baykal?

The comprehensive study of the forests and the hydroclimatic zoning of the basin of this lake, and the water preservation-protection and anti-erosion evaluations of the adjacent area enabled us to elaborate a system of measures aimed at the efficient utilization of timber resources in this area while preserving the natural complexes and insuring the reproduction of pure water. Admissible norms were formulated for the sequence and selectiveness of timber felling, mandatory replanting, banning timber felling on sharp slopes, and adopting measures for the fight against erosion

and forest fires. These recommendations were included in a state document on the procedure and system governing the utilization of water and other natural resources in the Baykal Basin.

As a result of the implementation of a comprehensive research program with the participation of academic, sectorial, and production organizations, the scientists formulated the future prospects for forestry industry in the various Siberian economic regions. Their results and recommendations were submitted to timber planning organizations for utilization.

Question. The elaboration of a regional farming system must be considered an important prerequisite for upgrading agricultural productivity. What are the department's biologists doing in this respect?

The main part of the system is the proper utilization of the complex and varied soil cover. A regional soil classification is being formulated on the basis of the integration of contemporary data on Western Siberian soils. It not only includes statistical parameters but takes into consideration the totality of phenomena determining soil evolution. This classification will be a basis for the elaboration of measures for the rational economic utilization and preservation of Siberia's tremendous land resources.

Let me note, in conclusion, that this five-year plan the Siberian Department's biologists will pay greater attention to the development of the basic problems particularly closely linked with most important national economic tasks: upgrading agricultural productivity, creating effective means to fight diseases, and the protection and rational utilization of natural resources. The solutions of these problems will require modern instruments and major improvements of the experimental facilities of institutes.

Forms of Relations between Academic Plans and the National Economy, by  
M. Zhukov

The most important objective of any scientific research, wherever it may take place--academic or sectorial institute, VUZ chair, or plant laboratory--is the search for ways and means for the solution of practical problems. Today we rate the strength of ties between science and production in terms of the direct production returns of developments we have introduced.

The USSR AN SO Presidium pays great attention to the industrial utilization of the results of completed scientific research projects and the broadening the area of their application. The department's institutes and special design bureaus are cooperating with over 320 enterprises throughout the country, primarily in Siberia.

An annual plan is formulated for the utilization in the national economy of the results of projects completed by the department's institutes. Over 100 such projects have been presented as proposals for utilization in the national economy and are sent to ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations. Suggestions of great importance to the national economy and of intersectorial significance are sent to the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology.

The USSR AN SO Presidium apparatus is constantly controlling the mastering and utilization of submitted suggestions. It maintains constant contacts with ministries and departments whose plans include the department's developments. It also maintains direct contacts with enterprises. We have succeeded in making over 70 percent of the department's suggestions utilized in the national economy.

Experience proves that the effect of the influence of science on the national economy is manifested maximally by the practical utilization of major scientific ideas which influence an entire sector. The utilization of specific and minor scientific results by individual enterprises, shops, or sectors turns out, as a rule, to be undereffective in the case of an entire sector, drawing away the forces of scientists, engineers, and production workers from the main tasks, and preventing the concentration of funds and resources on strategically important developments, even though the economic and technological consequences of such utilizations may be insignificant even on the scale of a single plant.

That is why, at the present stage, we particularly single out practical utilization based on the principle of "going to the sector." This presumes the joint efforts of academic institutions, sectorial scientific research institutes, and enterprises serving the interests of an industrial or agricultural sector in resolving major long-term problems. In this case implementation operations are carried out by the scientific institutions through close and active cooperation with enterprises and organizations training proper cadres, insuring their participation in application, and assuming the responsibility for the subsequent dissemination of new technological processes, equipment, and instruments among their sectorial enterprises.

A major aspect of application based on this principle is linked with the fact that the creation of modern technology and new types of equipment requires quite frequently intersectorial cooperation in both science and production.

The principle of "going to the sector" has been implemented in several most typical organizational forms.

Institute-enterprise-sector. The implementation of scientific and technical developments based on this system may be illustrated by several examples:

The USSR AN SO Mining Institute did joint work with the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine on the technical retooling of the production process at the Tashtagol Mine. The use of scientific developments and scientists' recommendations made possible to triple the speed of underground mining, reduce production costs by 50 percent, and create an essentially automated mining enterprise--the "mine of the future." The technology mastered at this mine was extended, by ministerial order, to other mines of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine and to other parts of the country.

The principle of the utilization of explosion energy for the monolithic blending of several metals and obtaining new construction materials, developed by the USSR AN SO Institute of Hydrodynamics, made possible to reduce the cost of producing extensive and scarce materials, and to blend metals and structures which could not be blended otherwise. The use of explosive energy in stamping and welding processes, initiated at the Novosibirsk Aviation Plant imeni V. P. Shkalov and the Gor'kiy Aviation Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, was subsequently extended to other aerospace industry plants and other sectors.

On the basis of the same principle the USSR AN SO elaborated, together with the Barnaul Radio Plant an automated production control system which was applied in industry. This system upgrades control effectiveness and is being applied by over 130 enterprises throughout the country with high economic results.

The USSR AN SO Institute of Citology and Genetics developed, together with scientists from the Siberian branch of the All-Union Institute for Plant Growing, the "Novosibirskaya-67" nonflattening spring wheat strain which has high yields and baking qualities and has been zoned for many oblasts of Western Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan.

The Krasnoyarsk Forest and Timber Institute of the USSR AN SO elaborated the scientific foundations for the rational utilization and reproduction of timber resources, and for the struggle against timber pests and forest fires. They were approved by the state organs as mandatory instructions issued to production enterprises.

Complex brigades of scientists and production workers. Each such brigade consists of members of scientific research and design organizations and plants engaged in the development of a specific problem. Their activities insure the interaction among specialists at all development stages. The composition of the brigades is approved by the management of the participating organizations and, as a rule, the ministry. The thus voluntarily organized brigade is given official rights.

This method proved its value at the Catalysis Institute. Today its scientists are participating in the work of over 20 complex brigades working on important chemical processes and reactors for the chemical and petrochemical industries.



I shall cite two examples. It took four years for an industrial reactor for oxidizing methanol into formaldehyde to progress from laboratory research to production. The work was done by a complex brigade of members of the USSR AN SO Institute of Catalysis, the GIPROPLAST Design Institute, and the Novosibirsk Chemical Plant.

Similarly, a shop for the production of vanadium catalyzers for the production of sulfuric acid, developed by the Institute for Catalysis was completed at the Voskresensk Chemical Combine. The annual economic savings achieved as a result of the increased intensiveness of the process with the new catalyzer will equal 7.8 million rubles for the shop alone.

#### Complex of Academic Institutes-Enterprise-Sector

The simultaneous joint work done by several institutes and design bureaus of the USSR AN SO together with big industrial enterprises such as the Novosibirsk Aerospace Plant imeni V. P. Schkalov and the Sibsels'mash, and the experiment on the complex application of scientific achievements in agricultural production at the Iskitimskiy and Medvedskiy sovkhoses in Novosibirskaya Oblast are examples of the successful creative cooperation between academic science and production. Such cooperation made possible to upgrade labor productivity and production quality at these enterprises.

The Siberian Department concluded similar contracts on long-term creative cooperation with a number of the biggest enterprises and sectorial scientific research institutes of Novosibirsk.

#### USSR AN SO--Sectorial Ministry.

Comprehensive long-term plans for scientific and technical cooperation, formulated and approved on a bilateral basis by the Siberian Department Presidium and the industrial ministries are a fruitful method for the utilization of scientific achievements in industry. The first scientific and technical program of this type was the long-term program for cooperation between the department and USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy.

The long-term cooperation program enables the ministry to engage in long-term planning of the amount of contractual work carried out by the department's institute. In turn, the institutes which are issued planning assignments based on such contracts have steady customers and do not have to seek new ones for each forthcoming planning period. The long-term cooperation program between the department and the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy offered new possibilities for insuring not only the optimal organization of basic and applied research but also to develop an effective method for planning and design development and application.

Currently the USSR AN SO is working on the basis of bilateral programs involving six ministries. These programs are aimed at the solution of important scientific and technical sectorial problems.

Intersectorial Cooperation among an Academic Institute, Sectorial Scientific Research Institutes and Enterprises, and a Sector. This makes possible to reduce development time not only by combining scientific research and experimental-design operations but also through parallel research coordinated among several departments. The experience in the serial production of a number of systems needed for the development of new instruments proved that their development and application periods are reduced from five-seven to two-three years. A reciprocal enrichment with scientific ideas takes place. The scientific and technical standard of industrial enterprises and sectorial scientific research institutes is increased while academic institutes are given access to a powerful production base.

The most characteristic example is the organization of intersectorial cooperation between the Institute of Automation and Electrometry and a number of Novosibirsk enterprises in developing a new type of memory system--an optical memory for computers of later generations.

The development of a system of sectorial scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and special design and technological bureaus with experimental production facilities of various USSR ministries and departments, created on the initiative of the Novosibirskaya Oblast party committee and the USSR AN SO Presidium, is a new method for the establishment of applied development basis.

Such institutions are being established for scientific and technical directions in which academic institutes have accumulated an extensive scientific background and which promise major economic returns.

The organization and financing of the work for the entire cycle ranging from a completed scientific and technical development to its application at sectorial enterprises are controlled by the specific ministry or department. The scientific management of the work of such scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and sectorial design and technical bureaus, as well as authorship supervision along the entire application cycle are provided by the USSR AN SO.

Such a scientific and technical complex which includes a number of academic institutes and is a variety of a scientific-production association offers the possibility for a broader scientific and technical and production orientation compared with such an association.

Therefore, the fact that the USSR AN SO is steadily oriented toward achieving results from its basic research creates prerequisites for the steady influx of new scientific ideas in the production process, opens possibilities for extensive scientific and technical cooperation, and substantially reduces the time for the industrial utilization of scientific and technical developments.

Question. What is the role of Novosibirsk industry in supporting science?

In recent years, Novosibirsk with its powerful industrial potential has become the base of the USSR AN SO for the application of scientific developments which are here tested and given a green light and could be extended to entire sectors in the future. Over 150 major developments by the department's scientists are in the various stages of application at Novosibirsk enterprises.

Reciprocal interest and the joint efforts of scientists and production workers in the solution of main problems make possible to organize a number of technological processes on an entirely different basis. Thus, the use of explosion welding and stamping enabled the Institute of Hydrodynamics to create together with specialists from the plant for electrothermal equipment crystalizers for electroslog smelting; a new technology was developed for the production of flexible electric power feeders and metal-ceramic bearings.

Based on a technology suggested by the Institute of Hydrodynamics, the Sibelektrotyazhamsh Plant is manufacturing on a serial basis bimetallic bearings for turbogenerators. The new technology not only reduced rejects by 300 percent but made possible considerably to reduce the service life of the unit between repairs. This represents millions of additional kilowatt hours of power. Such units are being supplied to the big electric power plants in the country--Toktogul'skaya, Vilyuyskaya, and Inguri.

Question. Could you tell us something of the contractual relations of the scientific institutions of the Siberian Department?

The conclusion of economic contracts is the most widespread method for the establishment of relations between the institutes of the USSR AN SO and the sectorial institutes and industrial enterprises.

The volume of contractual projects carried out by the institutions of the Siberian Department in the Ninth Five-Year Plan totalled 121 million rubles. Compared with the corresponding volume for 1966-1970 (45 million rubles) this represented an increase of over 2.5 times.

This form of relations between science and production is very promising and deserves all-round support and encouragement. However, despite the considerable potential possibilities, unfortunately, the interest of scientific research institutions in increasing their volume of contractual projects and upgrading the economic effectiveness of applied results remains limited.

The problem is that the funds which are received on the basis of economic contracts are planned as a source for the compensation of some of the expenditures of the scientific research establishments. According to the current regulations they can not use such funds to raise the wage fund for increasing their personnel or for awarding additional bonuses. According to the contract the significance of the developments used in production and their economic effectiveness are not considered in determining the value of the work.

Yet, these are precisely the factors considered determining in the further development of contractual work by scientific establishments.

Applying in industry effective scientific research developments, the client organizations earn profits which frequently is left entirely at their disposal regardless of the considerable participation of the developing scientific research institutes.

Taking such circumstances into consideration, the Siberian Department asked the USSR Council of Ministers to introduce on an experimental basis for a group of institutes a new system of economic incentive and material bonuses for the creation and development of new equipment and new technological processes. The suggestion was accepted and, accordingly, in March 1972 the Institute of Hydrodynamics, Institute of Mining, and Institute of Physics of Semiconductors were converted experimentally to the new system of economic incentive and bonuses. It was based on the principle of direct correlation between the economic incentive of the collective and of individual members of the academic institute and the economic effectiveness benefiting the national economy as a result of the application of scientific research developments.

In addition to the development fund the scientific research institutions were given the right to set up additional economic incentive funds such as a material incentive fund and a fund for socioeconomic measures and housing construction.

Assets for the establishment of such funds may be obtained from the following basic sources: withholdings from profits earned by industrial enterprises as a result of reduced production costs; withholdings from additional profits included in the wholesale prices of new commodities (in accordance with the existing procedure for the setting of wholesale prices for new goods manufactured for industrial and technical purposes); funds included in the cost of work whose economic effectiveness can not be determined, and the existing bonus fund for the creation and utilization of new equipment whose development is included in the plan of the scientific organization.

From 1972 to 1976, the period covered by the economic experiment, the volume of contractual work done by said institutes reached 2.3 million rubles or more than double the previous amount; in 1976 additional bonus funds for institute associates totalled 185,000 rubles; as a result of the additional sources the economic incentive funds almost doubled.

Therefore, the funds deposited into the economic incentive fund became a substantial additional source for bonuses to collectives of scientific institutions for the application of scientific research developments by industry. In May 1974 the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology instructed nine union ministries to include in their financial plans funds to be transferred to the institutes of the Siberian

Department which conclude contracts with the enterprises and organizations of such ministries. The experience acquired by the department during the economic experiment gives grounds for its positive assessment and extension to other institutes.

#### Cadres Are the Decisive Force, by I. Geytsi

Science and production are not abstract concepts. They represent, above all, specific individuals, and cadres possessing the necessary skills and resolving one or another theoretical or practical problem. Cadre quality determines scientific effectiveness and quality. Naturally, I do not intend to downgrade the significance of the organization of their work and the required material and social conditions. However, the cadre problem is a key problem among all other problems facing scientific and technical progress. The organization of the USSR AN SO began precisely with the solution of this problem. The selection of the proper cadres of scientists and engineers, the molding of new generations of specialists, and the training and education of the youth who are the source for the future reinforcement of the ranks of researchers, designers, technologists, and science and production organizers are all practical problems of "scientific construction."

In the period of the organization of the USSR AN SO extensive work was done to hire big scientists and highly skilled specialists from Moscow, Leningrad, and other scientific centers throughout the country. The activities of the department's scientific institutions contributed to the upsurge of the overall cultural and technical standards and to improving the training of cadres at the universities and other higher educational institutions of Siberia and the Far East.

Today the department's institutes almost never recruit candidates and doctors of sciences from other organizations. The personnel trained by their own forces are the main source for cadre reinforcements.

The Novosibirsk Scientific Center has created and is operating a planned system for training highly skilled scientific cadres for the scientific research institutes of the USSR AN SO, and the sectorial scientific research institutes and VUZ's of Siberia and Far East.

Whereas prior to the organization of the USSR AN SO only one corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences was permanently working in the Far East (in Tomsk), today the department has 24 full and 54 corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The high scientific level of research conducted by the academic institutes and the participation of the young people in the development of major and topical problems under the guidance of leading scientists have made possible to train in 20 years (1957-1977) 575 doctors and 4,194 candidates of sciences. Most of them have continued to work in Siberia after defending their dissertations.

The systematic certification of the personnel contributes to the strengthening of the scientific and technical potential of the scientific institutions of the USSR AN SO.

The general opinion of the leading department's scientific institutions is that such certification, if well organized, have a positive influence on the activities of the respective categories of the personnel, upgrading their responsibility for their assignments and, something equally important, contributing to improving the creative climate in the scientific collectives and, in the final account, to upgrading the effectiveness of the scientific research.

Postgraduate training offered by the scientific institutions of the USSR AN SO play an important role in the training of scientific cadres. Presently such work is being done by 1,105 graduate students, including 622 who are fully employed (in scientific and production work).

The institutes systematically control postgraduate studies. The strictness of the acceptance commissions and the annual certification of the students have been intensified. Scientific councils are paying greater attention to the training of graduate students. Lectures are being given to the graduate students and pamphlets are published on problems of general methodological nature, enabling them to master more rapidly scientific research methods and techniques.

Measures are being implemented to improve the quality structure of the scientific advisors. As a rule, they are doctors of sciences or candidates of sciences holding positions not below that of head of laboratory, sector, or department.

The structure of postgraduate studies has changed noticeably in recent years: admissions to fulltime postgraduate studies have been curtailed considerably and admissions of working postgraduate students have increased. Target postgraduate studies have been developed as well. Target postgraduate studies are offered to individuals who, as a rule, have undergone training in one or another of the department's institutes, in the course of which they have mastered the methods of scientific research and experimentation techniques, and studied the latest scientific achievements in their field. This has increased the number of graduate students who complete their studies successfully.

From the very beginning of the organization of the USSR AN SO its Presidium proceeded on the basis of the principle of the indivisibility between the training process in higher educational institutions and the direct participation of students in the scientific work of scientific research institutes. This offers extensive possibilities for the training and selection of talented young people capable of engaging in independent creative work. This principle has been most fully implemented at the Novosibirsk State University.

Its faculty includes 130 doctors of sciences, including 27 academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and over 400 candidates of sciences. This insures the high theoretical level of instruction, the possibility for the rapid organization and opening of new fields, and the steady improvement of curricula in accordance with the latest scientific achievements. Every year three-quarters of the general courses offered to first to third year students, and about 200 special courses and 100 seminars are conducted by people with related skills. The university has published for the students over 300 lecture courses representing the latest work of science on the respective subjects. The considerable cadre potential of the Novosibirsk Scientific Center makes possible thoroughly to select and renovate (if necessary) on an annual basis the personnel holding two positions, taking into consideration the quality and intensiveness of the training and education work with the students.

The territorial links between Novosibirsk University and Akademgorodok contributes to the maximal utilization of the material and cadre resources of academic institutes and makes possible organically link training with scientific research. Starting with the third year the training of the students in the basic disciplines takes place in the department's scientific research institutes. Their advisors are scientists working on topical scientific and technical problems.

The students' training programs include the most topical problems related to the development of promising scientific directions which are scheduled to play a decisive role in scientific and technical progress. In the forthcoming period the structure of the scientific cadres undergoing training will be substantially improved by expanding the training of specialists in promising scientific and technical areas.

The university has established and is successfully developing a specialized boarding school. Currently it is attended by about 400 adolescents. The specialized boarding school of Novosibirsk State University is a school of a new type. It consists of students selected through competitions held throughout Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. Instruction is based on special expanded programs and new methods similar to those used by the university. Lectures are read by academicians, professors, and docents; practical training is provided by scientific associates of the USSR AN SO and Novosibirsk State University instructors. All students undergo practical training at the scientific research institutes.

The school specializes in four areas: mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology. All students are given a general educational training with a heavy emphasis on physics and mathematics. This emphasis does not result in the least in a worsening of the study of other subjects or overloading, for the special selection of the students and the efficient training methods make possible the mastering of a far greater amount of data within the same time. The chemistry and biology programs are also broader compared with conventional schools. Mandatory class hours do not exceed 30 hours per week. This enables the students to attend school five days a week, giving them a second free day.

The comprehensive approach to cadre training has made possible to direct to Siberia and the Far East target scientific groups consisting of doctors, candidates of sciences, and university graduates who assume permanent positions in scientific establishments, higher educational institutions, and industrial enterprises. That is how the Computer Center in Krasnoyarsk, the Geological Institute in Ulan-Ude, and departments of the Institute of Inorganic Chemistry were organized in Kemerovo and Krasnoyarsk within a short time and personnel was recruited for the general science chairs in Khabarovsk and other centers. Every year some 700 graduates of Novosibirsk University become associates of academic and sectorial scientific research institutes, and teachers in Siberian and Far Eastern VUZ's.

The leading scientific associates of the institutes of the USSR AN SO located in Irkutsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk, Yakutsk, and Ulan-Ude are also engaged in extensive pedagogical work in the universities and VUZ's of their cities, guiding the training of cadres through postgraduate studies. Such interaction among department's institutes, VUZ's, and VUZ scientific research institutes enables the schools to make extensive use of the scientific potential and modern material and technical facilities of the academic institutes in training the scientific and education cadres.

The USSR AN SO Presidium and its apparatus consider as one of their main tasks their all-round assistance in the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee instructions on insuring the further development of cadre training for scientific research establishments and VUZ's in Siberia and the Far East, their proper deployment, the creation of an atmosphere of collective work and favorable conditions for creative growth, the enhancement of the responsibility of the scientists for the quality and effectiveness of scientific work, and the concentration of their efforts on the main and latest scientific and technical directions.

Such work is conducted in close cooperation with the management and party and social organizations of the department's establishments. In the immediate future a specific plan for measures to be adopted by the USSR AN SO will be adopted for the implementation of the assignments formulated by the CPSU Central Committee.

#### Increased Role of the Party's Management of Scientific and Technical Progress, by R. Yanovskiy

In the last decade the detachment of scientific intelligentsia and its significance in the life of the socialist society have increased more than ever before. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized the following at the 25th Party Congress: ". . . The role played by the Soviet intelligentsia in making the scientific and technical revolution, in upgrading people's culture, and in resolving all problems of the building of communism is quite considerable."



The size of the Siberian scientific intelligentsia has been increasing rapidly as well. Today the USSR AN SO has 35,000 workers representing 30 nationalities in our country; 18,000 of them are under 30 years of age. The drastic increase in the number of the qualitative growth of the intelligentsia under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress, and the creation of new scientific collectives called for improving the methods and style of ideological and educational work among scientists. The CPSU Central Committee is always directing us toward this aim. Starting with the Ninth Five-Year Plan it has become the rule of the party organizations of the Novosibirsk Scientific Center to formulate specific detailed programs for the implementation of the decisions of party congresses. They are the foundations of all the work done by the party organizations and committees of scientific institutions for the development of scientific research, for accelerating the utilization of scientific achievements by the national economy, and the ideological training of scientific collectives and their mobilization for the implementation of the party's tasks.

The party decisions are implemented along the line of the party organizations and, in the realm of planning and implementation of scientific research, along state lines. We could say that the main concern of the primary party organizations, the raykoms, the gorkoms, and the obkom is to intensify their influence on all aspects of life of the scientific research institutes, laboratories, and departments, to energize the activities of party members, and to strengthen and broaden the party aktiv and intensify its education through specific practical accomplishments in the implementation of party directives and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

This is achieved through a variety of means which include the study of local circumstances, the consideration of the activities of party organizations at the plenums and bureau sessions, practical science conferences, and joint meetings of party members of similar scientific institutions. Thus, after the 24th Party Congress, we held rayon and city party committee plenums with the following agenda: "On the Work of the Party Organizations for Upgrading the Effectiveness of Scientific Work and Accelerating the Application of the Achievements of the Biological Sciences in Agricultural Production"; "On the Course of the Implementation of the CPSU Central Committee Decree 'On Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and for Upgrading Their Role in the Building of Communism'"; and "The Tasks of the Party Organizations of the Chemical Institutes of the Siberian Department in Intensifying Scientific Research and Reducing the Time for Applying Scientific Achievements in Production." Other examples are party meetings of biologists representing party members of five biology institutes, and meetings of the party members of the five chemical institutes to discuss problems related to scientific and technical progress and the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The party organizations of the scientific establishments of the USSR AN SO formulate and resolve basic problems affecting the life of scientific collectives,

upgrading the skills of scientific associates, concentration of scientific efforts and material resources, quality of scientific research, and upgrading the individual responsibility of party members.

Implementing the decisions of the 24th Party Congress on strengthening the ties between science and production, in the past five-year plan the Siberian Department was the first to suggest a new effective method for the practical utilization of scientific achievements: long-term comprehensive cooperation between a number of academic institutes and big industrial enterprises. One of them was the Sibsels'mash Plant, in Novosibirsk, whose shops have applied and are continuing to apply the scientific developments of 13 institutes. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan Sibsels'mash increased its output 84 percent through higher labor productivity, fulfilling its five-year plan in 4.5 years.

The success of the plant's collective and the alliance of science with production were rated highly in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's greetings. Subsequently, this form of cooperation between academic institutions and big enterprises became widespread.

This experience is extensively used by other scientific centers as well. What was the reason for the success of the party organizations? Above all the coordinated comradesly creative work of the primary party organizations, the party raykom, the party city and oblast committees, and the broad party, Komsomol, and trade union aktivs. Problems of scientific and technical progress are discussed at plants and sovkhozes in the course of joint quarterly conferences of enterprise workers and scientists, at joint rayon party committee sessions, in the newspaper ZA NAUKU V SIBIRI, the newspaper of the Sibsels'mash Plant and of the aerospace plant imeni Schkalov and others. The trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the working and studying youth are actively participating in promoting such cooperation, each of them displaying their initiatives in this noble and necessary project.

The result has been an atmosphere of true enthusiasm, interest, and well wishingness, combined with high reciprocal strictness. Close familiarity with material production enriches the scientists and faces them with new problems. The experience acquired at many plants and agricultural enterprises indicates that combining organizational-party and ideological work with the practice and logic of scientific research and with requirements related to production development and scientific and technical progress is one of the most important principles in the party management of scientific collectives, insuring the all-round practical application of scientific and technical achievements and contributing to the development of the scientists themselves.

The achievements of biological science in agricultural production remains another most important trend in the work of the party organizations. Joint experiments are under way in plant genetics and selection at zonal seed growing stations of the institutes of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural

Sciences imeni Lenin. Extensive work has been developed in Iskitimskiy and Medvedskiy sovkhoses in Novosibirskaya Oblast. Thus, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan from a lagging and unprofitable sovkhos Iskitimskiy became a leading farm.

The comprehensive application of the achievements of science in these farms is yielding encouraging results. A partial list of the participation of the scientists from the Siberian Department in agricultural work includes the "Novosibirskaya-67" high yield spring wheat, winter fodder rye, corn, sugar beets, a new technology for the use of growth stimulators, and work with crossbred sheep and cattle.

Ways have been developed for joint work between scientists of the USSR AN SO and the Siberian Department of the All-Union Agricultural Academy imeni Lenin. Ties with practical work made possible to upgrade scientific effectiveness not through additional capital investments but on the basis of scientific farming. Today this is one of the main tasks as was emphasized at the 25th Party Congress.

The educational significance of socialist competition in scientific collectives is rising. It is a question of the obligation of scientists related to the practical utilization of scientific achievements, strengthening planning discipline, upgrading the responsibility of scientific collectives for scientific and technical progress, and combining the struggle for effective scientific work with the upbringing of the individual scientific worker.

The creative development of socialist competition in the scientific collectives brought to life to forms of ties between science and production: complex brigades of scientists and production workers, and parallel scientific research and experimental design projects.

The large scale programs for long-term cooperation with ministries and departments, and contracts for the comprehensive cooperation between institutes and plants and combines have proved their usefulness. The course of the competition among scientific collectives is extensively covered in the newspaper ZA NAUKU V SIBIRI, the wall press, and the radio and television.

The party organizations in the Siberian institutes found and developed methods for the dissemination of progressive experience such as science days, technical progress days, reviews of basic topics, instrument exhibits, and collective trips by scientists to enterprises and construction projects. The philosophical and political education of the scientific intelligentsia is improving and formalism in political training is being surmounted. The summing up and logical development of practical experience and the study of its social significance by the representatives of the natural and technical sciences and the social scientists is a most important task of the party organizations of scientific collectives. The party

organizations are struggling for upgrading the professional training of cadres and for extensive philosophical, political, and general culture so that every scientific worker becomes an active party fighter and propagandist for a communist outlook and a socialist way of life. The oblast party organization is dedicating all its forces to improving ideological and educational work in scientific collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on the activities of the USSR AN SO was to the Siberian party members a program manual for action for the further development of science and production for the good of our homeland. In the document the Central Committee emphasized that the steady growth of the scientific and technical potential of Siberia and the Far East should be aimed at the all-round acceleration of the development of production forces in the eastern parts of the country. The party organizations of scientific institutions are directing the efforts of the collectives to resolving the problems formulated by the CPSU Central Committee for the Siberian Department on the development of basic and applied scientific research, upgrading their effectiveness, applying scientific achievements in the national economy, and cadre training.

The directival instructions of the CPSU Central Committee to the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and ministries and departments are aimed at improving the organizational-legal foundations of the structure of the Siberian Department, and the intensification of its role in the choice of scientific directions, and in planning and assessing the effectiveness of scientific and technical developments. This offers the Siberian scientists new opportunities for further fruitful activities.

As we pointed out, the party's Central Committee gave a positive response to the suggestions of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the further development of the scientific-production base of its Siberian Department, the consolidation of scientific cadres and auxiliary scientific personnel, the improvement of their housing and living conditions, and the development of networks of medical, recovery, and children's institutions, and trade and consumer services enterprises.

The CPSU Central Committee decree directs the attention of ministries and departments to the need to adopt measures for the accelerated construction and completion of material and technical facilities of subordinate organizations in Novosibirsk's Akademgorodok together with the completion of housing and consumer services projects.

The Central Committee ordered the Novosibirskaya, Tomskaya, Irkutskaya, Buryatskaya, and Yakutskaya oblast party committees, and the Krasnoyarskiy Kray party committee to direct the activities of the party organizations of institutes, branches, and other subdivisions of the USSR AN SO to the further intensification of party influence in all scientific units, to pay constant attention to the cooperation among scientific and production

collectives, contributing to the reaching of a qualitatively new level of work, the more extensive involvement of trade union and Komosoml organizations and leading scientists in the education of the scientific youth in a spirit of Soviet patriotism, the molding of its Marxist-Leninist outlook, and insuring the further intensification of the dissemination of the achievements of Soviet science.

The party and the government may rest assured that the scientists of the USSR AN SO and all its collectives and party organizations will dedicate maximal efforts to implement the historical tasks set at the 25th CPSU Congress and will make a worthy contribution to the development of Soviet science and to the building of a communist society in our country.

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## IN THE TRADITIONS OF THE GREAT FELIKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 77 pp 59-68

[Article on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the VChK-KGB

[Text] The 60th anniversary of the founding of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle against the Counter-Revolution and Sabotage was celebrated on 20 December. Set up on V. I. Lenin's initiative, the VChk was a sharp and reliable weapon of the working class. Today its great traditions established by Feliks Dzerzhinskiy, the knight of the revolution, are sacredly protected and increased by the USSR state security organs.

The entire history of the VChK-KGB organs is inseparably linked with the history of the first socialist state in the world. Tempered in the severe clashes with the class enemy, they continue to serve loyally the Soviet people. They vigilantly watch over the interests of our socialist homeland. Their activities were justifiably highly assessed at the 25th CPSU Congress.

### I.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin emphasized that "a revolution is worth anything only if it can defend itself ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol. 37, p 122). It stemmed from the fact that after the victory of the proletarian revolution the overthrown exploiting classes can not disappear by themselves and that they will be opposing the socialist changes and will never voluntarily abandon the historical arena without trying everything possible in the struggle for the restoration for the capitalist system. Life confirmed the correctness of this Leninist indication. The past decades offer clear proof of the fact that all constructive activities of the Soviet people have taken place under circumstances of uninterrupted struggle against forces hostile to socialism, forces which have tried to strangle the Soviet system "in the cradle," wreck the building of socialism, and change to their advantage the course of historical confrontation between the two worldwide systems which began with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

To defend the revolution the Soviet state had to have proper organs and forces. The Red Army was created to provide the armed defense of the gains of the October Revolution. The Soviet militia was put in charge of socialist law and order. Yet, there remained a specific area of the class struggle in which the enemies of socialism acted with the help of secret subversive means, where espionage and terrorism were used, and where conspiracies and ideological subversive actions were being organized. It was precisely for the protection of the country from such subversion that the state security organs of the young Soviet republic were created.

The revolutionary violence implemented by the VChK and the other organs of the Soviet state by the will of the working people was an answer to counter-revolutionary violence. We know, for example, that after the October Revolution the Soviet government did not even close down most bourgeois newspapers. Many ministers of the provisional government were freed from detention. General Krasnov, who had fought the Soviets, was released on his word of honor. The military cadets who had participated in an anti-Soviet mutiny were amnestied. These facts confirm the true humaneness and generosity of the revolutionary masses who tried, above all, to undertake peaceful construction in the struggle against destruction and hunger, and the proper correlation of the methods of conviction and coercion applied by the Soviet system.

It was only after the overthrown exploiters developed a raging counter-offensive, relying on military intervention, and unleashed the civil war and involved the young republic in a net of reactionary conspiracies and mutinies, that the question of the need for the merciless suppression of the class enemy arose most urgently. "The bourgeoisie, the landowners, and the rich classes," wrote V. I. Lenin to F. E. Dzerzhinskiy on 7 (20) December 1917, "are making desperate efforts to undermine the revolution which must guarantee the interests of the workers, and toiling and exploited masses" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 35, p 156). He emphasized that under such circumstances extreme measures must be adopted in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and the saboteurs.

"The creation of the VChK," Dzerzhinskiy said, "was the answer to the organized opposition to the Soviet system on the part of bourgeois-landowning circles. White terrorism, sabotage, attempts to assassinate revolutionary leaders, opposition to Soviet construction, and attempts against the very existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat made the VChK the combat organ of the revolution . . ." The extraordinary rights which were given to it were of a force and temporary nature. However, they were a necessary step in the struggle against the subversive activities of the domestic and foreign counter-revolution and against its cruel and treacherous subversion-terrorist methods. However, even such emergency rights were exercised by the ChK strictly within the limits of the decrees of the Soviet system. It was not cruelty, as the anti-communists claim, but true proletarian humanism, and dedication to the defense of the interests of the revolution and socialism that distinguished and distinguish the activities of our state security organs. Everyone well knows that

even in the difficult period of the civil war, the moment the circumstances in the country improved, the exceptional punitive functions of the ChK were immediately restricted.

The party directed its most loyal sons--party members with experience in clandestine work, who had undergone the trials of the class struggle and who would actively promote the party's policy--to VChK work. Discussing the leadership of the security organs, Lenin emphasized that the VChK must be headed by a "good proletarian Jacobin," a person who would combine the qualities of loyalty to the party's cause, firmness, intolerance of the enemy, and crystal clean honesty. The party entrusted the position of VChK chairman to Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy, Lenin's loyal fellow worker in the revolutionary struggle and one of the outstanding of the great cohort of Bolsheviks-Leninists.

Tried party leaders such as V. R. Menzhinskiy, M. S. Uritskiy, Ya. Kh. Peters, M. Ya. Latsis, V. A. Avanesov, I. K. Ksenofontov, and many others were also assigned to the VChK. These Bolsheviks, trained in conspiratorial work, were the nucleus of the Chekist organs. Together with them young communists who had come from enterprises and the transportation system were mastering Chk work.

Quite soon the enemies of the proletariat realized that it had a reliable shield and that the punishing sword of the revolution struck accurately and unavoidably.

The defeat by the Chekists of the most dangerous counter-revolutionary centers are unfading pages in the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people for the Soviet system. Such major operations include the defeat of the counter-revolutionary organization headed by the sworn enemy of the Soviet system Savinko, sheltered abroad, and the liquidation of the espionage and subversion organizations of Moscow and Petrograd, linked with the white generals Yudenich, Denikin, Kaledin, and Kolchak. In the same period the Lockhart conspiracy was discovered and disarmed. It called for an armed coup d'etat, assassination of the revolutionary leaders, and disorganization of the work of industry and transportation. Armed gangs of anarchists were rendered harmless. A system was created for protecting the young Red Army from enemy attempts to set up clandestine anti-Soviet cells within the troops, gather information, corrupt the personnel, and spread panic in rumors.

The state security organs covered a great and glorious path of struggle and construction. Throughout all the stages of the establishment and development of the Soviet system, in their sector they did everything that was necessary to defend the gains of the October Revolution, and insure normal conditions for the building of a new socialist society. The Chekist organs were directly involved in the solution of most important national economic and social problems. As instructed by the party they made a substantial contribution to the rebuilding of industry and transportation, struggled against hunger and typhoid fever, and cared for abandoned children.



The infinite loyalty of the Chekists to the revolution and their loyal service to the cause of the working people earned them the infinite trust and profound respect of the Soviet people. Addressing a solemn meeting celebrating the fifth anniversary of the security organs, M. I. Kalinin, chairman of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, said that "in five years our ChK organs and all its members worked substantively and fruitfully, and I believe that today the workers and peasants are expressing their most profound gratitude to the ChK workers for their work."

The enemies of socialism reacted differently to the activities of the Soviet state security organs. They resorted to the most malicious slander and refined distortion of facts for the sake of defaming the VChK and weakening its ties with the masses. Incidentally, to this day one frequently hears similar lies expressed by "psychological warfare" specialists. The Soviet people as well as its real friends throughout the world are aware of the true class lining of claims of "atrocities" committed by VChK or KGB "intrigues." It is proper, in this connection, to recall Lenin's statement addressed to those who hated the Soviet system and fought it with all possible means: "Gentleman capitalists, Russian and foreign! We know that you will not like this institution. How could you! It was able to rebuff better than anyone else your intrigues under circumstances in which you were strangling us, when you were surrounding us with invasions, when you were building internal conspiracies and stopped at no crime to wreck our peaceful work . . . without such an institution the power of the working people can not exist as long as exploiters remain in the world . . ." ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 44 pp 327-328).

These Leninist words provide an exact answer to the question of why the enemies of socialism have always hated the Soviet security organs so bitterly. They show how highly the party has rated the activities of the Chekists and constitute a severe warning to those who, to this day, are trying to encroach on the historical gains of the Soviet people.

Today, when we look at the most complex circumstances under which the security organs of the young Soviet republic were forced to begin their activities, unwittingly the question arises: What has been the secret of their successes in the struggle against a strong, clever, and more experienced enemy? The main source of these successes is the daily guidance of the Bolshevik party and Lenin, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the Leninist strategy and tactic, based on a profound understanding of revolutionary laws, the ability creatively to apply them under specific historical conditions, and the effective support of the broadest possible toiling masses.

The accuracy of Lenin's instructions on the need to defend the gains of the revolution from the attempts of the overthrown exploiters and the domestic and foreign counter-revolution to restore the capitalist order was confirmed by the entire course of subsequent world history and, particularly, the experience of the socialist revolutions in a number of European, Asian, and Latin American countries. The experience of conversion

to socialism of different countries and peoples has introduced and will introduce other characteristic features and specific ways and means of the building of socialism. However, as confirmed by reality, the basic stipulation of Marxist-Leninist theory has retained its validity: "Socialism can be established only if the power of the working people is able to protect the revolution from any attack on the part of the class enemy (such attacks are inevitable both from within and, rather, from without)" (L. I. Brezhnev).

## II.

Characterizing the domestic and international circumstances which developed after the failure of the plans to overthrow the Soviet system by the force of arms, Lenin pointed out that this did not end the struggle of the enemies of socialism against the Soviet state but that it merely gave it a different form "in some respects even more severe and more dangerous" (see "Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 43, p 4). Naturally, the tasks of the state security organs changed consequently.

During the first five-year plans these organs were called upon to do everything possible to block the attempts of external and internal enemies to hinder socialist changes and wreck the party's course of industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture. Our Chekists deserve great credit for the fact that the imperialist intelligence agencies and the anti-Soviet elements failed to implement their criminal plans.

During the Great Patriotic War all activities of the state security organs were subordinated to the single common cause of defeating the aggressor. It was the border Chekists who were the first to confront the fascist hordes. They fought to death and recorded in the chronicles of the war unforgettable pages of courage and heroism. The people will remember forever the exploits of many legendary scouts who operated behind enemy lines. It would be also difficult to overrate the accomplishments of the Chekists in counter-intelligence. Relying on the broad toiling strata and through their dedicated struggle and against the aggressors, they wrecked the plans of fascist Germany and militaristic Japan for disorganizing the work in the Soviet rear and weaken our country's defense capability.

In the post-war years tremendous historical changes have taken place in the domestic and foreign political situation of the Soviet Union caused by the progress of socialism domestically and abroad.

A developed socialist society was built in the USSR as a result of adamant constructive toil of the people's masses under the leadership of the Communist Party. A new historical, social, and international community was created--the Soviet people. The social base of socialism has become stronger than ever before: our country has no classes or social groups whose interests do not coincide with those of the working class and of

the building of communism; the great creative force of the inviolable alliance among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and peoples intelligentsia has been revealed to the fullest extent.

The economic and defense power of the Soviet Union and its international prestige have risen immeasurably. Socialism has become an undefeatable world system. The banner raised by the October Revolution is today flying over three continents. The international communist and workers movements have been expanded further. The anti-imperialist national liberation movement of the peoples is growing and strengthening and the front of the fighters for peace and social progress is broadening.

As a result of these processes the ratio of forces in the world's arena has changed in favor of socialism. This proved to be a decisive prerequisite for a change in relations between socialist and capitalist countries from confrontation and cold war to detente and the ever broader assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Unquestionably, however, all such positive changes do not mean that the Soviet Union is now guaranteed against subversive imperialist activities.

Imperialism has not abandoned the hope of changing in its favor the course of the confrontation between the two worldwide socioeconomic systems. Today it can no longer rely on a successful solution of the "who-whom" problem through arms, even though it has not removed this item from the agenda. It is particularly relying on intelligence and subversive actions and on attempts to weaken the Soviet system from within.

Like the other socialist countries the Soviet Union must face the increased activeness of imperialist services, various anti-Soviet and nationalistic emigre centers, and sallies launched by hostile elements. In the past few years alone the state security organs have exposed and rendered harmless a number of spies and emissaries who have concealed their criminal actions behind diplomatic passports or other labels. Such facts are well known. They have been reported by the Soviet press. Also known are the provocative actions of intelligence and other special services of imperialist countries toward Soviet people who travel in capitalist countries on official matters, on the basis of cultural exchanges, or as tourists.

Today the range of "interests" of imperialist intelligence agencies has become broader than ever before. They try to collect greater information on the domestic political situation of the Soviet Union, its economic and defense potential, the latest achievements of Soviet science and technology, and the armed forces of the USSR. That is why the party calls for constantly upgrading political vigilance and strictly observing the norms which reliably obstruct enemy intrigues.

Ideological subversion plays a particular role in the arsenal of the enemies of socialism. It is a question of particular ways and means for affecting the minds of the people used by imperialism today. They are expressed, above all, in attempts by imperialist special services and various

foreign subversive centers grossly to interfere in the domestic affairs of our country, the shameless distortion of the objectives and nature of the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, casting aspersions on Soviet reality, and the effort to exaggerate individual shortcomings in our life and lead unstable people into the reactionary camp.

Such ways and means, characteristic of "psychological warfare," and planned by zealous anti-communists and anti-Soviets, are aimed at weakening the convictions of the Soviet people in the justice of our cause, impose upon them ideological and moral principles alien to the socialist way of life, and achieve political and social changes in Soviet society advantageous to the bourgeoisie.

Today not only the specialized services but entire institutes, powerful information media, and radio stations such as Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe where the most malicious enemies of socialism and peace have entrenched themselves, are engaged in subversive ideological activities. Essentially, a number of imperialist countries have raised ideological subversion to the level of state policy. Some try to emasculate and distort the nature of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki, and use some arbitrarily interpreted stipulations of this document as a "basis" for interfering in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries and for engaging in anti-communist and anti-Soviet demagoguery in the style of the cold war.

The ideological and political unity of the Soviet society is one of the main targets of subversive activities. The enemies of socialism are resorting to ideological subversion using demagogic blabberings about democracy and human rights and freedoms.

The Soviet people are legitimately proud of the fact that it was precisely the Great October Socialist Revolution that liberated man from exploitation. It was the first in universal history to raise in its entire magnitude the question of rights and freedoms. It provided the example of the only just and democratic solution of this most important problem of our time. "The interpretation of the concept of democracy and human rights, distorted and debased by the bourgeoisie and revisionist propaganda," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is countered by us with the fullest and most realistic sets of rights and obligations of the citizen of a socialist society. We put on the scale of history the reality of the epoch-making gains of the working people achieved thanks to the rule of the working class under the guidance of the Communist Party."

Under socialist conditions the very word "democracy" has assumed a real content, for the new system involves in fact, rather than in words, the toiling masses in the administration of governmental and social affairs, insuring the true freedom of the individual. The growing revolutionizing influence of factual socialism is also based on the fact that the socialist society abolishes all types of social and national oppression and exploitation. It liberates the working man from the fear of becoming unemployed

or lacking the means for existence. It gives him confidence in the fact that he can always obtain employment which will be paid in accordance with its quantity and quality. Socialism guarantees to the people education, housing, necessary medical aid, and security in their old age. Are these not the rights and freedoms for which the toiling masses are fighting capitalism even in the most developed western countries?!

The communists proceed from the fact that in a class society there neither exists nor could exist a "pure democracy" or "pure freedoms." Human rights and freedoms have always been based on the class nature of the state. "From the viewpoint of the proletariat," Lenin pointed out, "the question may be raised only as follows: Freedom from oppression for which class? Equality between which classes? Democracy based on private ownership or on the basis of the struggle for the abolishment of private ownership?, and so on" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 39, p 281).

No one will ever convince us that true democracy and the rights and freedoms of the citizens are compatible with the exploitation of man by man. No one will ever be able to prove that political equality could be achieved on the basis of social and economic inequality. In any capitalist society the amount of private ownership which determines the possibility for possessing material and spiritual wealth is the real "measure" of basic rights and freedoms. What kind of rights and freedoms of the exploited man could we speak about if he depends entirely on the will of the master in a most essential matter: his right to work and secure a decent life for himself and his family?!

The rights and freedoms enjoyed today by the working people today in the capitalist countries and the level of democracy which is allowed at a given stage of development in one or another bourgeois state have not been granted by capitalism in the least but have been extracted from it by the toiling masses in the course of lengthy and adamant struggle. In those countries communist and workers parties exist not thanks to the kindness of the bourgeois governments but by virtue of the fact that the right of such parties to engage in legal activities was gained by the working class whose interests they express, by virtue of the growing role of the toiling masses in social production and in social political life, and by virtue of the influence of the gains of the October Revolution, and of our socialist reality on universal social progress.

The enemies of socialism and the heads of clandestine anti-Soviet centers realize that they would be unable to achieve the desired results by acting only from the outside. That is why they feverishly search among the Soviet citizens possible promoters of their ideas. They rely particular hopes on the so-called "dissidents."

Naturally, the fact that there are some who "think differently" is no social problem whatever to our society. It is not forbidden in our country to "think differently" from the majority, and to assess critically

one or another aspect of social life. Yet, different actions are required should such so-called "differently thinking" people commit actions which violate the Soviet laws. Unfortunately, such people exist even though they amount to an insignificant handful of renegades. Looking at those defended by bourgeois propaganda, it would be easy to see that for years their list has consisted of no more than several tens of the same names. Naturally, we can not ignore the fact that imperialist propaganda is trying to turn people who "think differently" into its agents. We have more than adequate proof of this. Incidentally, circles which pretend to know nothing are also well aware of this.

The mechanism for molding the consciousness and activities of the "dissidents," adapted to serving subversive imperialist actions in the socialist countries, is well known. The foreign special services thoroughly encourage and instigate such renegades to engage in actions which harm the interests of the Soviet society and urge them on to violate its laws. Yet, whenever such illegal activities are firmly stopped, shouts are heard in the West of "suppressing" rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is high time to understand that the Soviet people have never granted anyone nor will ever do so the "right" to fight against their state, and against the socialist system.

### III.

The new USSR Constitution was enacted on the eve of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The results of all revolutionary-transforming activities of the Communist Party and of our people under the Soviet system are reflected in a concentrated manner in this outstanding political document. The constitution also offers a clear view of the future development of the Soviet society, socialist democracy, and the building of communism.

The fundamental law of the USSR clearly expresses the party's line of insuring the state security of our country. This question is considered in the constitution as a structural part of the function of defending the socialist fatherland, closely linked with the country's defense capability. This is natural, for the danger of subversive activities against the Soviet society stems presently from the outside, from imperialist intelligence agencies, and from various foreign anti-Soviet centers and other subversive organizations directly linked with the sallies of hostile elements. The Soviet state is implementing an integrated system of measures to insure its security interacting with military protection measures.

The state security organs operate within the framework of the constitution. This means that precisely in accordance with their range of competence as stipulated by the law they take measures to prevent and block criminal actions undertaken by enemy special services and their agents and other hostile elements. They stand guard over the constitutional rights and interests of the individual citizens and the interests of the entire Soviet people

In an effort to weaken the influence of the new USSR Constitution on the minds and hearts of millions of people in the capitalist countries, the enemies of socialism frequently resort to a hackneyed trick. They try to defame Soviet reality by endlessly "exaggerating" past violations of legal principles.

As we know, some years in the history of our state were darkened by unjustified repressions and violations of the principles of socialist democracy. These violations were related to the cult of personality and contradicted the very essence of the Soviet system and the entire political system of the socialist society. The CPSU condemned such practices openly and uncompromisingly and did extensive work for the assertion of the Leninist norms of party and state life. It established firm guarantees against violations of socialist law and of the right of Soviet citizens.

The Soviet laws protect the interests of the building of communism. They express the will of the people and are a reliable instrument for the state's leadership of society. Guaranteeing the citizens full rights and democratic freedoms, the USSR Constitution also makes it incumbent upon them sacredly to obey the laws, safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, and contribute to the strengthening of its power and prestige. Democracy and legality are inseparable. Article 39 contains the stipulation important from the viewpoint of safeguarding the security of the state to the effect that "the exercise of citizens' rights and freedoms should not harm the interests of society and the state or the rights of other citizens."

To the overwhelming majority of Soviet people a conscientious attitude toward their obligations and a feeling of high responsibility to society and the state have become a habit, a norm of behavior and a main feature of their socialist civic-mindedness. However, we must also take into consideration the fact that the awareness of social duty is still insufficiently developed in a certain part of the population, and that, urged on by ideological saboteurs or directly implementing assignments of imperialist special services, some individuals try to use the broad rights and freedoms granted the Soviet citizens to the detriment of the basic interests of the Soviet people, socialist law and order, and our homeland.

The Soviet law enforcement organs take such anti-people's elements strictly to task. Only individuals whose actions aimed at subverting or weakening the political, economic, and social system of the USSR and the foundations of the socialist society, considered by the Soviet laws as crimes, are criminally prosecuted. The efforts of the Soviet state and its security organs are directed, above all, toward preventing on time the growth of politically immature feelings displayed by individual citizens into criminal anti-governmental actions. The bourgeois propaganda slander that people who "think differently" are persecuted in the Soviet Union is totally groundless. There are no cases in the Soviet state of state coercion, not to speak of criminal punishment for a way of thinking or views even if they involve a negative attitude toward some aspects of our daily

activities. The strength and prestige of the USSR state security organs and the effectiveness of their activities are largely explained precisely by the fact that they act strictly within the confines of the law.

The Chekists are engaged in a difficult and tense struggle on a front where there is no armistice or respite. Their entire work is based on the requirements of the Communist Party stemming from international circumstances and the current stage of development of the Soviet society. Their successes are determined by the daily guidance provided by the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee, and the deep understanding displayed by the Chekist cadres of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the Soviet state and their ability creatively to apply revolutionary theory. This enables them to be properly oriented in the most complex happenstances of the class struggle, and to develop ways and means for blocking and preventing hostile actions consistent with the circumstances.

The confrontation with a treacherous and strong enemy demands of the Chekists high political and moral qualities and readiness to sacrifice life itself for the interests of the socialist fatherland. However, Chekist work is not only struggle against the class enemy. It is also related with the necessary persuasion and repersuasion of people who have fallen under foreign influence, who have erred and who have committed politically erroneous actions. The various qualities of the Chekist were well described by Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee Politbureau member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Committee for State Security: "Communist convictions and high professionalism, moral purity and loyalty to duty, constant vigilance and responsiveness, sensitiveness, faith in people, general culture and a developed feeling of civic responsibility: such was the way Dzerzhinskiy saw the Soviet Chekist and such is the way he is seen by the people today. That is how he is raised by the party, the Komsomol, and our entire socialist reality."

Together with the entire Soviet people the USSR state security organs covered the great 60 year path. Today they reliably protect the Soviet society from the subversive actions of imperialist intelligence and various types of foreign anti-Soviet centers and other hostile elements. As in the past, in all stages of the struggle for socialism the Soviet Chekists will dedicate their entire strength and zeal of their hearts to the party and to the triumph of the great ideas of communism.

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## BCP'S ECONOMIC POLICY IN ACTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 77 pp 69-78

[Article by Tano Tsolov, BCP Central Committee Politbureau member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic]

[Text] The period which has elapsed since the Eleventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party was noted by the purposeful and constructive toil of the party members and all working people for the implementation of its historical decisions. In terms of the essential and significant nature of the problems considered and the Marxist-Leninist depth and scale of their elaboration the Congress assumed one of the leading positions among the most important events in the period of the building of socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic, events which determined the rapid socioeconomic progress of the country. Continuing the party's general line, the Eleventh Congress developed and concretized a number of basic tasks earmarked in the BCP program. These tasks will be implemented in the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) which will be an important stage in the building of a developed socialist society in our country and the creation of prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism. Held immediately after the 25th CPSU Congress, the supreme forum of the Bulgarian communists took place under the slogan of "Two Congresses--One Objective!"

Answering the objective requirements of a qualitatively new approach to the solution of the problems of the country's further economic growth and social progress, the Eleventh Congress formulated as a strategic direction of the party's economic policy the all-round intensification of the national economy under the slogan of "Effectiveness and Quality and Quality and Effectiveness!" This policy was synthesized in the main socioeconomic task of the five-year plan: steadfast implementation of the party's line of the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people by insuring the dynamic and proportional development of the national economy, rapidly enhancing labor productivity, effectiveness, and quality which will be achieved as a result of the modernization, reconstruction, concentration, and accelerated utilization of scientific and technical

achievements, and through upgrading the socialist conscientiousness of the working people and asserting the socialist way of life. This task is being implemented under the conditions of the increased socialist integration.

The five-year plan slogan, which became possible thanks to the successful growth of production forces after the historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum, and which is the logical continuation of the April party line of the fastest possible socioeconomic progress of the country, was developed and concretized at the July 1976 Plenum. On the basis of the Leninist principles of economic management, the plenum directed the attention to the need for full mobilization of the tremendous possibilities inherent in the socialist system.

The implementation of the strategic course of the party's economic policy calls for the reconstruction of the work of cadres at all national economic levels. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized, "high effectiveness and high quality must become not merely a slogan, a phrase, but the basic objective whose achievement will require the mobilization of the forces, knowledge, and creativity of the workers, peasants, and people's intelligentsia, and all party, social, state, and economic managing organs and organizations."

The party's requirement is being implemented by millions of people. Under the leadership of the party organizations the labor collectives are becoming ever more actively involved in the competition for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of counterplans with a view to upgrading social labor productivity and economic intensification. This nationwide movement offers tremendous opportunities for the fullest possible utilization of internal reserves and achieving new successes in the building of socialism.

Our people are implementing the congress decisions under circumstances of a political and labor upsurge caused by two exceptionally important events: the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which coincided in time with the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, a constitution of worldwide significance, and the centennial of Bulgaria's liberation from five centuries of Ottoman yoke. These events are linked by the great Bulgarian-Russian, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. The 1877-1878 Russian-Turkish War brought about Bulgaria's liberation, strengthened Bulgarian-Russian friendship, and made it an inseparable feature of the Bulgarian national awareness. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Bulgarian communists and toiling people raised even higher the banner of these historically developed friendly relations which grew into love for the homeland of socialism and the heroic Soviet people. The victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, acquired with the decisive aid of the valorous Soviet army, was also a triumph of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and fraternity. That is precisely why both great anniversaries are celebrated by the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgarian people under the sign of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and all-round cooperation and rapprochement between the two fraternal parties, countries, and peoples.

The official visit which a party-governmental delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, paid to the USSR this year was of particular significance to the intensification of all-round Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation.

The talks held with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders, and the hospitality and warmth with which our delegation was welcomed everywhere developed into a vivid demonstration of the inviolable friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples, the unity and solidarity between the CPSU and the BCP, and the unbreakable Soviet-Bulgarian alliance and brotherhood based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and on the successfully pursued course by the two fraternal parties aimed at insuring the all-round rapprochement between the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, and between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples.

The award of the Hero of the Soviet Union title to Comrade Todor Zhivkov was accepted by the Bulgarian people as the high assessment of his outstanding contributions to the development of the fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, the strengthening of peace and socialism, and the many years of active participation in the world's communist and workers movements. Our people consider this award also as a recognition of the successes achieved by the BCP and the Bulgarian People's Republic in the building of socialism and the implementation of the ideas of the Great October Revolution on Bulgarian soil.

In the lapsed period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan our people achieved new labor accomplishments despite the severe weather conditions which effected agriculture and the natural calamities which could not fail to influence end results. This period was noted by definite achievements in the implementation of the tasks set by the Congress for the further development of the economy and for upgrading its effectiveness through improvements of the sectorial, intrasectorial, and territorial economic structures, the growth of industry at a faster pace, the improved variety of produced goods, and the granting of priority to the production of items requiring relatively lesser quantities of raw materials, materials, energy, and capital investments.

The task of insuring a high development pace, being implemented in accordance with the party's decisions, is based on the fact that our country must gradually reach the level of industrially developed countries and participate in the international division of labor as an equal partner.

The results obtained at the beginning of the five-year plan provide all the necessary reasons to assert that the five-year plan will be successfully fulfilled as a whole.

First, these results are expressed in an increased national income. In the course of the five-year plan it must rise 45 percent. This will be achieved mainly by upgrading social labor productivity. In 1976 the country's national income rose seven percent and the entire increase was the result of intensive factors.

Secondly, these are results characterizing the continuing process of building the material and production base of the mature socialist society. New productive capital was installed. This enabled us to raise the capital-labor ratio (which rose by over nine percent per individual employed in the production of material goods. In the first year of the five-year plan industrial output rose by over eight percent. The main attention was focused on resolving the energy-raw material problem, insuring the maximal utilization of the country's natural resources. The heavy industry sectors continued to develop at a faster pace compared with the fast growth of all national economic sectors. This is confirmed, in particular, in that the power industry, metallurgy, chemistry, and machine building accounted for over 50 percent of the entire industrial output.

Third, these are results confirming improvements in the industrial structure. A good start was taken by the electric power industry. Substantial progressive changes have been noted in its structure, changes which will be intensified in the future. Thus, along with the utilization of domestic coal resources, we shall develop the nuclear electric power industry whose share by 1980 will reach approximately 20 percent of the overall production of electric power.

In the first year of the five-year plan ferrous metallurgy output rose 13.1 percent. In accordance with worldwide trends, on the basis of specialization, cooperation, and integration within CEMA the variety and output of high quality steels and other items are improving.

The output of the machine building and metal processing industries rose 13 percent. The steady rise in the technical standard of these sectors is based on the utilization of the country's scientific potential and the extensive use of the achievements of the world's scientific and technical progress, above all that of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. The production of metal processing machine tools, and of transportation machine building is increasing. Ever more specialized systems of computers, communications, and means of automation are being delivered to the national economy. Measures are begin taken to surmount the lagging in heavy machine building.

Chemical industry developed on a highly dynamic basis. In 1976 it was fourth among the industrial sectors.

Fourth, these are results of the successful development of agriculture and of the food and light industries. Last year the agroindustrial and industrial-agrarian complexes obtained overall high yields of many basic crops in which our country holds a leading position. Greater attention

was paid to the development of animal husbandry. All this contributed to the fuller satisfaction of the needs of the people and resulted in greater exports.

Implementing the decisions of the Congress and the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum, extensive work is being done to intensify specialization and increase the concentration of output--one of the decisive factors in upgrading economic effectiveness.

Our country has already achieved substantial successes in this respect, particularly in the field of concentration and specialization of agriculture, and of the chemical, light, and food industries. Certain successes have been achieved also in organizing intrasectorial specialization as was the case in machine building. In nearly all economic branches some types and groups of commodities are produced at specialized enterprises and trusts.

However, specialization as it has been developed so far no longer meets contemporary requirements. The problem is that trusts and ministries try to develop capacities for satisfaction of their almost entire requirements without being sufficiently guided by the needs of the national economy which requires optimal serial production.

The party's Central Committee has taken measures so that from the very beginning of the five-year plan further production concentration and specialization be reorganized on a broad basis, not within the framework of individual trusts and ministries but on the scale of the entire national economy. Technological specialized production facilities ranging from the planning and designing of goods, the production of raw materials, semi-finished products, assemblies, parts, and semi-finished goods, to their assembly, packaging, and marketing, as well as the servicing and repair of goods in the course of their operation must be done by the respective enterprise areas regardless of their organizational affiliation. In this connection general plans were adopted for production concentration and specialization encompassing nearly all production areas in accordance with their specific characteristics.

All this is leading to increasing the serial nature of production at individual production levels on the basis of standardization, integration, and typification systems, enabling us flexibly to change the variety of end products based on market demand. Favorable prerequisites are being created for the extensive utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and for the most effective utilization of capital investments and funds for modernization and reconstruction. The possibilities provided for insuring total technological proportionality and for achieving maximal economic results in converting from one production level to another as well as in the entire national economy. This is one of the main objectives of the BCP's economic policy.

This essentially new approach will be of particular importance in developing concentration and specialization territorially. This matter was discussed at a plenum of the party's Central Committee which approved the basic direction for the further development and improvement of the territorial structure and building of settlements in the Bulgarian People's Republic. Their implementation by combining vertical with horizontal concentration and specialization will enable us successfully to develop urban construction systems and resolve territorial problems better.

The implementation of the strategic course of the Seventh Five-Year Plan requires the adoption of a new approach to the policy of investments with a view to considerably upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments. In 1980 about 50 percent of the capital assets must be either new or renovated.

The party is systematically implementing a policy of modernization and reconstruction of existing enterprises and plans. By the end of the five-year plan about 70 percent of all capital investments will be directed toward the modernization, reconstruction, and extraction of existing capacities. To this effect 67 percent of the investment funds allocated for the development of material output were used in the first year of the five-year plan. This enables us promptly to apply the most modern achievements of scientific and technical progress and combine most fully the results of worldwide scientific and technical progress with the advantages of the socialist system. New construction will take place only when the possibilities of modernizing, reconstructing, and expanding existing production capacities have been exhausted.

The concentration of construction by reducing the number of projects and reducing construction deadlines and deadlines for the installation of capital assets enhances the effectiveness of capital investments. Measures are being taken to improve designing through the utilization of a standard system of catalogues. This will accelerate the further industrialization of construction output.

Quality indicators have been placed in the center of economic and organizational work in resolving the problems of the five-year plan. The production of goods in demand domestically and internationally, with low production costs and high quality, as achieved by the leading countries in the world in their respective areas, and insuring a steady growth of production profitability and profits are the main requirements whose implementation is rallying the efforts of the labor collectives and the large army of scientific and technical cadres.

Lenin's view that labor productivity is the most important, the main feature for the victory of the new social system guides these entire activities. It is specifically embodied in the struggle for lowering labor intensiveness and insuring the better utilization of manpower resources through the installation of modern equipment and use of advanced technology, improving

the scientific organization of production, labor, and management, and upgrading the skills of the working people. Ever greater attention is being paid to big remaining reserves such as the full utilization of intra-shift work time, lowering manpower turnover, and strengthening the labor and technological disciplines.

One of the main factors in upgrading the results of social production is reducing outlays of raw materials, materials, and energy per unit of national income. In the five-year plan as a whole material outlays for the production of 100 leva's worth of national income will be reduced 7.8 percent. In this connection the designing and use of items, structures, and technologies reflecting the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress, and putting an end to the production of obsolete and unprofitable goods are of decisive significance. Replacing traditional materials with new and more effective ones, their comprehensive utilization and their fuller processing also play a major role. The use of scientific norms and standards governing the use of raw materials, materials, and energy holds an important position as well.

The fuller utilization of capital assets becomes particularly topical in our country. We must reach as rapidly as possible planned capacity. We must improve repairs, reduce intra-shift idling and upgrade the shift coefficient, reaching the six and seven day utilization of production capacities under the conditions of a five day work week.

The government adopted special target programs for reducing the size of the administrative apparatus, the proper deployment and utilization of manpower resources, the increased turnover of working capital, and the reduced volume of unfinished construction, thus contributing to the lowering of labor, material, and capital intensiveness.

We realize that the technical retooling of enterprises and the solution of the raw material and material problems will not be easy to achieve and that this will require the surmounting of subjective and objective difficulties, including difficulties created by international circumstances. That is why we are approaching the implementation of these tasks with a feeling of great party responsibility. The entire working class, toiling peasantry, and scientific and technical intelligentsia are participating in the struggle for the enhancement of the technical level of output, upgrading labor productivity, and saving materials and raw materials, under the leadership of the party and with the active participation of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and the fatherland front.

Progressive experience is being extensively disseminated at enterprises, agroindustrial complexes, and construction projects. Numerous initiatives have been launched by the working people in applying the experience of their Soviet comrades in all national economic sectors, the initiative of the working people of Plovdiv Okrug, who are struggling for the economical utilization of material resources, the initiative of the workers at the Nayden Kirov Plant in Ruse, who have decided to reach six and seven day

utilization of equipment under the conditions of a five day work week, the initiative of the workers of the chemical combine in Vidin to modernize and reconstruct capacities with the participation of the collective and without interrupting production, and many other initiatives are assuming the nature of national movements.

Extensive work is being done for the implementation of the Congress task of improving and upgrading the scientific level of management. The government passed specific measures on improving the structure of the management of individual economic complexes, and upgrading the role of planning, the credit-financial system, price setting, cost accounting, and material and moral incentive. The organization for the implementation of the plan for the socioeconomic development of the country in the Seventh Five-Year Plan is being improved. These changes within the social management system and the economic mechanism are aimed at contributing more fully to upgrading the effectiveness and quality of social production.

A substantial matter to which our party currently pays exceptional attention is improvements in the planned management of the economy and the socialist organization of labor. The timely solution of this problem will determine the further accelerated socioeconomic development of the country in the building of a mature socialist society. Taking into consideration the systematic implementation of the strategic task formulated at the Eleventh Party Congress--reaching high effectiveness and quality--the labor collectives of enterprises and engineering and technical cadres of sectorial and functional ministries and departments are intensifying their participation in finding reserves in the process of the elaboration of counterplans and insuring conditions for their implementation.

The implementation of the decisions of the Seventh BCP Congress on upgrading further the living standards of the people and combining the accelerated development of the economy with the steady growth of the people's prosperity is of major significance.

The comprehensive and fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, as earmarked in the national program adopted at the December 1972 BCP Central Committee Plenum is implemented essentially by improving the wage system and intensifying material incentive. In accordance with V. I. Lenin's instructions that socialism can be reached "not directly through enthusiasm but with the help of enthusiasm created by the Great Revolution, and through personal interest . . ." ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 44, p 151), the wage system is being improved. Standardized wage rates and tables of organization are being introduced. The wage level is being related far more closely than in the past with the real contribution of the individual in the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of economic tasks and the achievement of economic results.

One of the decisive factors for the implementation of the party's economic plans is Bulgaria's participation in the international socialist division of labor and, above all, the all-round cooperation and rapprochement with the Soviet Union and further expansion of foreign economic relations with the other countries throughout the world.



The development of Bulgaria as an organic and inseparable part of the socialist comity is a profoundly realized necessity. It is the cornerstone of our foreign economic policy and the main way for the development of our socioeconomic life. "Without the development and intensification of integration with the socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union," Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphaized, "the country's accelerated progress would be impossible."

We can not imagine the implementation of any major measure, whether improving the structure of public production or achieving concentration, specialization, modernization, or reconstruction, without cooperating with the socialist countries on a multilateral or bilateral basis.

Implementing the comprehensive program for socialist economic integration, we ascribe particular importance to joint planning activities, the coordination of national economic plans, the implementation of the coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures and the elaboration of long-term target programs of cooperation for the solution of major problems important both to the individual countries as well as to the entire socialist comity. The extensive use of such forms of cooperation proves that the ties among socialist countries are becoming ever closer and that their efforts are being coordinated and guided on a planned basis. An ever larger number of common elements are developing in their political, economic, and social life.

As a result of the coordination of the plan for the socioeconomic development of the Bulgarian People's Republic with the plans of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, a basic solution has been provided to the most important problems of the current five-year plan, including the problems of meeting Bulgaria's needs for raw materials, fuel, energy, machines, equipment, and consumer goods.

On the basis of production specialization and cooperation, which are structural parts of the expansion and intensification of the integration process, considerable reciprocal deliveries are taking place of lifting machinery, heavy investment equipment, goods produced by the metal processing industry, shipbuilding, electronics, household machine building, plastics, chemical stables, synthetic rubber, automobile tires, chemicals produced in small amounts, and other commodities.

This five-year plan the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries will continue to assist Bulgaria, on a mutually profitable basis, in building the material and technical foundations for socialism and increasing its industrial power. In accordance with the concluded agreements for 1976-1980 over 120 industrial enterprises and individual shops will be built, reconstructed, and modernized in our country with the technical assistance of the USSR.

Bulgaria will actively participate in the formulation of long-term target programs for cooperation with CEMA-member countries in the field of fuel and power resources and other types of raw materials, in agriculture, the food industry, machine building, and the production of consumer and transportation goods. The implementation of these programs will contribute to the most rational location of production forces within the country and to the more accurate and purposeful utilization of production resources for balancing the long-term development of all national economic sectors. Their implementation will require the combination of considerable material, financial, and manpower resources for the implementation of the investments policy in the respective areas.

The creation of the production-raw material and energy capacities on the territory of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is an important form of cooperation. Bulgaria's participation in such construction projects enables it to supply its national economy with energy and raw and other materials.

Thus, Bulgaria is participating in the building of the Ust'-Ilim Cellulose Combine, the Kiyembaye Asbestos Ore Concentration Combine, the Orenburg-Western border of the USSR gas pipeline, and the creation of capacities for the production of iron containing raw materials, individual types of ferral alloys, and other big projects on USSR territory such as the power transmission cable between Vinnitsa (USSR) and Albertirsa (Hungary). The agreement reached in the course of the coordination of plans on our country's participation in the creation of additional capacities for the extraction of petroleum in the Soviet Union is being implemented successfully. For the past ten years Bulgaria and the USSR are jointly developing the timber of the Komi ASSR. We are participating in a multilateral accord on building a plant for the production of nickel and cobalt output in Cuba. Bulgarian specialists are participating in the international geological expedition looking for minerals in the Mongolian People's Republic. Plans call for the joint construction of projects on a bilateral basis. Together with Romania we are building a machine building enterprise in the Ruse-Giurgiu area. The Nikopol-Turnu Magurele hydroengineering complex will be built on the Danube River.

Our country is participating in nearly all agreements on scientific and technical cooperation concluded on a multilateral basis and in the development of over 200 problems included in the coordinated plan for cooperation among CEMA-member countries in the field of scientific and technical research, and in the work of coordination centers, joint scientific collectives, laboratories, bureaus, institutes, scientific and production associations, and so on. This insures good opportunities for the concentration of our scientific potential in the solution of topical problems of Bulgarian scientific and technical development.

The fact that this five-year plan trade between our country and the other CEMA-member countries will be increased 61 percent is the summed up manifestation of growing cooperation and of the intensification of socialist economic integration.

The all-round cooperation and rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, and the development of socialist economic integration with the other CEMA-member countries are entirely consistent with the national interests of our people and the needs of the other fraternal countries. The unity of objectives and interests, and the use of various ways and means for the most effective implementation of integration measures within the comity offer ever more favorable conditions for the development of the country's potential and for the closer unification of efforts aimed at the comprehensive and long-term solution of most important and vital problems. As was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress, such cooperation and its further development lead, on the basis of reciprocal advantages and socialist internationalism, to strengthening the political, economic, and defense potential of our countries, and to the all-round progress of the socialist comity.

The achievements of socialist economic integration are yet another proof of the triumph of the life-bringing ideas of Leninism. All-round cooperation among the fraternal countries increases the strength and influence of socialism born under the star of the Great October Revolution.

In the 60th anniversary of this epoch-making and most important event of the 20th Century, again and again we bow to the great cause of the October Revolution. Again and again we consider the profound meaning of its transforming power. Again and again we give its historical due to Lenin's party, and to the CPSU Central Committee in the revolutionary reorganization of the contemporary world. This was vividly shown once again in the noteworthy speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev delivered at the joint ceremonious meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was also demonstrated in the brilliant speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, at the ceremonious meeting in Moscow, and in his Leningrad speech. It was demonstrated in the greeting speeches of the foreign guests. It was demonstrated in the feelings of the 123 delegations from 104 different countries which came to Moscow out of a feeling of solidarity with the Soviet Union, the awareness that the October Revolution belongs to all mankind, and the desire to follow the path of the October Revolution in accordance with the specific characteristics governing the development of their countries and nations.

The significance of the peace program, systematically and steadfastly implemented by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries is being revealed ever more extensively and clearly. The personal contribution made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general

secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, to this great cause is appearing ever more vividly. The peace program is the triumph of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. It is a necessary prerequisite for the manifestation of the advantages of socialism and of its growing attractiveness.

The foreign economic relations of our country are broadening under the beneficial influence of the peace program, steadily implemented by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and as a result of the improved international climate following the Helsinki Conference. The successes in the development of its national economy and its active participation in socialist economic integration strengthen Bulgaria's prestige as a worthy and desired partner of the developing countries and, particularly, the Balkan states, and in economic relations with industrially developed capitalist countries. The Eleventh BCP Congress noted that our policy toward the developed capitalist countries is aimed at asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence and developing cooperation on an equal and mutually profitable basis.

The Bulgarian people are enthusiastically working in the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, surmounting arising difficulties, and increasing the country's achievements. Under the leadership of the BCP and with the participation of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the trade unions, and the Komsomol, the nationwide labor and political upsurge is continuing and the mass participation of workers, cooperative farmers, and people's intelligentsia is developing in the socialist competition for the implementation of counterplans. All this is a guarantee of the fact that the decisions of the Eleventh Congress will be implemented and that the party's slogan of "Everything in the Name of Man, Everything for the Good of Man!" will be successfully fulfilled, and that, loyal to the legacy of its great son Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian People's Republic will take yet another decisive step toward building a developed socialist society and creating prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

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PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF THE DECISIONS OF THE ELEVENTH  
BCP CONGRESS

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[Article by Stoyan Mikhaylov, head of the BCP Central Committee Propaganda  
and Agitation Department]

[Text] The inflexible loyalty of the BCP to Marxism-Leninism and its ability successfully to apply this single international doctrine to the specific conditions of its country were vividly manifested in the work of the Eleventh BCP Congress which demonstrated a creative approach to the solution of the topical problems of building a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic. The scientific analysis contained in the Congress materials indicated, yet once again, that the building of socialism in Bulgaria is carried out on the basis of the common laws discovered by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and proved by the historical development of the first socialist country in the world--the Soviet Union--and by the other fraternal socialist countries.

Man was the focal point of attention in the proceedings and decisions of the Eleventh Congress: Man and educational problems; man as the objective of social development; and man as the creator of all material and spiritual goods. We could say with full justification that humanistic problems imbued the entire BCP Accountability Report submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The slogan of "Everything in the Name of Man, Everything for the Good of Man!" which embodies all party activities gained a new meaning and acquired new modern criteria. The program stipulation facing ideological work was concretized: to assist in the development of an ideologically convinced, morally firm, and socially active individual possessing a high awareness of duty and responsibility to the socialist society. The work of the Congress provided yet another convincing proof of the major and exceptionally important place which the ideological front occupies in the party's life and struggle, and the close attention and concern constantly displayed by the BCP for upgrading its combat capability.

The Bulgarian communist forum formulated a number of topical problems of ideological and educational activity and faced the workers on the ideological front with new responsible assignments.

Their prime duty was determined first of all: to contribute through all possible ways and means of work to the implementation of the socioeconomic program of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that the broader the scope of historical actions, and the greater the depth of revolutionary changes we wish to implement, the stronger must be the interest and conscientious attitude toward them on the part of the masses. The forthcoming profound quantitative and qualitative changes in the country's economy require the further upgrading of the socialist conscientiousness and the labor and socio-political activity of the working people. In accordance with the Congress decisions it is precisely in this direction that we must focus the efforts of the mass information and propaganda media, the mass political work of party and social organizations, the Marxist-Leninist training and economic systems, and the education of all our cadres, from top to bottom, and of our entire ideological front.

The purpose of all these activities is to insure the implementation of the strategic task of the Seventh Five-Year Plan as formulated at the Eleventh Congress: "Effectiveness and Quality and Quality and Effectiveness!" Ideological work helps the working people to become profoundly aware of the economic and political meaning and significance of this task, of the place and role of the labor collective, and their own responsibility and obligations in the course of its implementation. It mobilizes them to fight for the discovery and utilization of available reserves, and for using all factors contributing to the reaching of high effectiveness and high quality: all-round rapid scientific and technical progress, production concentration and modernization, improved organization of labor and management, improved labor, technological, and financial discipline, economizing on material values, better manpower utilization, and so on.

The party's propaganda and agitation activities play a major role. They help all cadres to master the new approach to economics and to consider the national economy as a single entity and take into consideration its interests with a view to achieving greatest possible results in making specific economic decisions.

The July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum, which earmarked an effective program for the implementation of the Leninist principles of socialist economic management, was of exceptional importance to the implementation of the Eleventh Congress decisions. It elaborated measures insuring high production effectiveness and a strict regimen of savings governing the utilization of labor, material, financial, and foreign exchange resources.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report to the Plenum substantiated the need for the immediate approach to the implementation of the party's economic policy. The adopted decisions carry a tremendous educational charge. Their implementation will require substantial changes in the awareness of the working people, in the leading cadres in particular, a further enhancement of the feeling of responsibility, increased exactingness toward themselves, criticism, and intolerance of negative phenomena.

In the course of insuring ideological support for economic tasks particularly serious attention is being paid to the quality indicators of economic plans, and to shaping a new attitude toward them consistent with the current stage of development of the country and the Congress stipulations. Today it is no longer sufficient to fulfill the plan for gross output or in its monetary expression which is occasionally achieved to the detriment of quality indicators. The further growth of intensification and of foreign economic exchange require most adamantly to give priority to quality indicators within the economic mechanism and in the awareness and motivations of all working people. To this effect it is important to develop mass and systematic explanatory work. We are trying to make quality indicators the main content of the socialist competition and the counterplans, to surmount existing elements of formalism in the competition, and to create all the necessary conditions for the application of new valuable initiatives suggested by leading workers.

Improving individual work with every working person is particularly important to improving ideological activities in the light of the Congress decisions. The party considers such work the most effective means for strengthening the daily close and confidential contacts with the people, the development of the socialist personality, and the upgrading of the individual's labor and social activeness.

The call for taking accurately and fully into consideration the educational and ideological aspects and consequences of all types of social activities and of any managerial decision was heard with new emphasis at the party forum. A special BCP Central Committee Politbureau decree was passed on these problems. Its positive influence is already being revealed in the growing exactingness displayed by the party organs and in the intolerance they display toward cases of technocracy and of underrating the ideological and political content of economic and administrative activities. Control over the work of cadres engaged in such work is being strengthened. The party is teaching them a political approach to the adoption and explanation of managerial decisions and is demanding their personal participation in mass political measures.

Having formulated the task of further production intensification, the Eleventh BCP Congress paid particular attention to the problem of new cadres. To our party, Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized, cadre training and increased qualification represent a strategic activity. In the Seventh Five-Year Plan we shall complete in its essence the conversion to universal

secondary education. This conversion applies not only to general educational institutions and schools but to ideological and education work as a whole, for the creation of material conditions for universal secondary education is not in itself an adequate guarantee of the fact that the population's cultural and educational level will rise rapidly. It is also necessary for the ideological front, with all its ways and means, to contribute to the molding of comprehensive and deep interests, to awaken the thirst for knowledge, promote the esthetic education of the people, and so on. Such a role in ideological activities is steadily rising also as a result of the increased leisure time as a result of the conversion to a five day work week which, last year, was extended to the non-production sphere as well.

In the forthcoming period the main objective of ideological work will remain the molding and development of the socialist personality. The entire efforts of our ideological front are focused, in the final account, on the education of the new man, on enriching the individual, and on insuring the further positive development of his views, convictions, and motivations and, consequently, actions. In his speech to the Party Congress, Comrade Zhivkov stated that "as a result of objective changes in society and in the party's educational work the socialist individual is the predominating type of individual in the country. Yet, the overall level of the people's culture remains insufficiently high. Some features of their moral appearance and behavior frequently conflict with the requirements of socialism." The ideological front faces a number of requirements in the light of this important conclusion.

We must steadily improve the Marxist-Leninist education and upbringing of the party members, and all working and young people. The need for the systematic study of the Marxist-Leninist theory is based on the following circumstances: first, in the building of mature socialism as well the molding of a scientific outlook does not develop spontaneously. It presumes the profound mastery of the principles and ideas of the great international doctrine. Secondly, the molding of ideological and moral firmness toward bourgeois, revisionist, or any other alien and hostile influence in the socialist individual would be impossible without sufficiently solid Marxist-Leninist knowledge and convictions. Finally, high principled-mindedness in social life, in relations among people, and in the struggle against negative phenomena can be achieved only on the basis of solid Marxist-Leninist training.

That is why, again and again we emphasize the significance of the class-party education and formulate the task of expanding and improving even further Marxist-Leninist training and sharply upgrading its effectiveness. The efforts of party organs, state institutions, mass information and propaganda media, and social organizations are directed toward the implementation of this task.



The Eleventh BCP Congress paid particular attention to youth education. The new and higher requirements facing the individual apply, above all, to the growing generation. Broadening the participation of young men and women in the building of socialism presumes improvements in the work of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, the energizing of the struggle against negative phenomena among the youth, and the creation of material facilities for the rich and useful utilization of the youth's leisure time.

One of the main problems in molding the socialist personality is that of patriotic and international education. The Eleventh Congress noted some new aspects which enrich the theoretical content and refine the practical direction of ideological work on this level. They are related to the fact that the objective processes developing in the life of the country and the world's socialist comity lead to qualitative changes in the content of both patriotism and internationalism.

Today our patriotism, as was noted at the congress, no longer represents simply love for homeland but love for the socialist homeland, for socialist Bulgaria, i.e., socialist patriotism which organically combines communist idea-mindedness and consequent internationalism. Internationalism as well has experienced and is continuing to experience qualitative changes. With the appearance of the revolutionary workers movement it assumed a specific proletarian class nature. After the victory of the Great October Revolution fraternal solidarity with the CPSU and the USSR became a characteristic feature of proletarian internationalism. Socialist internationalism arose with the appearance of the world socialist comity after World War Two, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, as an expression of the common interests of the working class and the peoples of countries with a socialist system.

The process of gradual interpenetration and growth between socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism began in Bulgaria with the conversion to the stage of building developed socialism. This process is manifested most vividly in our country in its attitude toward the Soviet Union. Profound respect and love for the CPSU and the USSR are becoming to an ever greater extent a characteristic national feature of our people.

The roots of this feeling could be traced to the history of relations between our countries. Currently Bulgaria is preparing to celebrate a noted anniversary--the centennial of its liberation from Turkish yoke. Again and again the Bulgarians express their profound gratitude to the fraternal Russian people who, through its blood, in the course of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, brought their national liberation. After the Great October Revolution Bulgarian-Russian friendship assumed a new class content. The victory of the socialist revolution in our country and the building of a new society are due to a decisive extent, to the essentially international ideas and accomplishments of the October Revolution. That is why, together with the Soviet people and with all progressive people on earth, in cities, villages, and labor collectives throughout the country, our people celebrated the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution as their great holiday.

Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is successfully strengthening in the new stage of development of relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR, a stage of all-round cooperation and rapprochement. The official visit which a party-government delegations of the Bulgarian People's Republic paid this year to the Soviet Union was of major importance to the intensification and expansion of friendly relations. The friendly meeting between Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and T. Zhivkov in the Crimea was another major contribution to the all-round cooperation between the two fraternal countries.

We are raising the working people of our country in a spirit of friendship with all socialist countries, in a spirit of solidarity with the international revolutionary movement and with the progressive and peace loving forces throughout the world. "The Bulgarian Communist Party," said Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the Eleventh Congress, "will continue systematically and steadily to strengthen the fraternal Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and friendship and cooperation with members of the socialist comity and with the communists and all progressive forces throughout the world. It shall continue to mold in all Bulgarian citizens a highly developed class-party, patriotic, and internationalist awareness as one of the most characteristic features of the socialist personality!"

The problems of the education of the socialist personality are closely linked with that of the socialist way of life to which the Congress paid particular attention.

The victory of the socialist social system in our country created conditions for the molding and further assertion of the socialist way of life, a way of life which is essentially different and incomparably richer and more humane than the capitalist way of life. The socialist way of life is related to deep changes in all realms of human activities. Its core, its distinguishing feature, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized, is socialist labor--the most important form of human activities. That is why it would be one-sided and profoundly erroneous to reduce the socialist way of life and its development merely to the ways, scale, and pace of satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people.

"Our society is a working society. It is growing and developing thanks to the joint, honest, and constructive toil of the people. Everything in this world--from bread to works of art--is the result of human hands. It is the duty and a matter of honor of every member of our society to contribute his toil to the toil of the people, so that everyone may have the right and the happiness of saying that this world is also mine!" Such was the stipulation of the Congress which must become the main content, the nucleus of the dissemination of the socialist way of life.

One of the main tasks of our ideological and educational work in the set of problems related to the further development of the socialist way of life is the strengthening of labor discipline. In the broad meaning of

the term discipline does not only mean to come and go on time but a socialist attitude toward labor. This means the conscientious implementation of all obligations. The desire to introduce useful new developments in the work and to upgrade its productivity. It means the display of high conscientiousness and of a critical and self-critical attitude toward one's own work and the work of one's fellow workers, penetration into the nature of any project, and elimination of the elements of formalism.

Developing in the people an attitude toward socialist property as the sacred and inviolable property of the people is equally important to the education of the people. Socialist property is the basis on which material and spiritual values are created and multiplied and new relations among people are built and developed. We must engage in an even more irreconcilable struggle against the theft of public property and against any encroachments of it. The fact that, unfortunately, such cases continue to exist means nothing but the appearance of a private ownership parasitical attitude which is incompatible with the principles and morality of the socialist society.

The Congress documents emphasize that at the stage of building mature socialism and with the gradual transition to communist distribution based on labor will remain the main distribution principle. This stipulation is directed against the feelings of consumerism and against the feelings of aspiration of some people to obtain from society more than they give to society, more than they factually deserve as a result of their work. The surmounting of such phenomena and upgrading the conscientiousness of the socialist individual face our ideological front with a number of topical problems some aspects of which were considered at the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The struggle with vestiges is also a struggle for the dissemination and assertion of socialist morality, a struggle for strengthening and developing the most valuable features of socialism, and a struggle for the spiritual growth of the socialist working people.

The way of life is not something frozen and established once and for all. It is steadily improving with the development of the socialist society, along with the profound positive changes which are taking place in the material situation of the people, in their environment, the socio-class structure, social relations, labor and recreation conditions, content and forms of communication, consumption of spiritual values, and so on. The noble and responsible mission of our ideological front is to insure all-round assistance in the accomplishment of such changes and, consequently, in the development of all the elements and features of the socialist way of life.

In this process, as was pointed out at the Eleventh Party Congress, literature and art, spiritual culture as a whole, and the mass information media play and will play an exceptionally important role. The artistic-creative intelligentsia, which is turning to an ever greater extent to contemporary problems. must steadily expand and intensify its links with the life of

the working people and create the type of works which, comprehensively and truthfully reflecting our socialist reality, will enrich the people ideologically and esthetically, and mold the socialist features of the spiritual world of the new man. Major problems of upgrading the ideological and, particularly, the professional-creative work standards face the mass information media as well. Bulgarian journalism must intensify and develop the critical principles of its activities to an even greater extent.

All the other units of our ideological front will contribute to the development of criticism and self-criticism. The development of the level of criticism and self-criticism, as was emphasized at the Congress, is a criterion of the maturity of the socialist society. It is an effective and necessary means for the prompt recognition of ripening problems, reassessing obsolete forms and mechanisms in social life, surmounting the old and encouraging the new, and struggling against deviations from socialist norms. The starting point in this connection is the concept formulated at the Congress that the criticism and self-criticism in the party organizations will be duplicated in the remaining realms of social life. Equally important is the stipulation that without the initiative, example, and all-round support on the part of the leading cadres no criticism and self-criticism would be possible.

Following the firm party tradition, the Eleventh BCP Congress paid great attention to the struggle against bourgeois ideological and revisionism. This was based on the conclusion drawn by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the Accountability Report: "The significance of the ideological struggle rises along with the establishment of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. Forced to accept the changed ratio of forces imperialism is seeking its revenge in the field of ideological struggle."

The ideological struggle is directed at exposing bourgeois ideology and propaganda, anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, and right-wing and "left-wing" deviations from Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, on the basis of the tremendous successes of existing socialism and the advantages of the socialist way of life, we are making our contribution to the dissemination of communist ideas throughout the world.

The most effective means in the struggle against the ideological enemy is the timely elaboration of topical problems of the building of socialism and of international development from the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism. This deprives bourgeois propaganda of its grounds and of the possibility to speculate on problems of social progress. It enables us to provide faster truthful information and our own interpretation of the new events and phenomena in social life.

The new USSR Constitution is of major importance to the ideological struggle and the education of the broad masses. It sums up and codifies the experience and achievements of existing socialism. The new Soviet Constitution is an irrefutable proof of the fact that the October Revolution was the

greatest event in the life of mankind. Liberating the people from the oppression of exploitation, it radically changed their social living conditions. It insured them true freedom and offered them real possibilities not only for the steady growth of their material prosperity but for the spiritual and moral blossoming of the individual. The principled stipulations of this most important document were welcomed by the Bulgarian people with tremendous interest and were considered as a vivid manifestation of the profoundly democratic nature of socialism.

Ideological cooperation among the fraternal parties of the socialist countries is an exceptionally important factor in the intensification of the ideological offensive and in upgrading the effectiveness of the struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionism. The conferences held by the secretaries of the central committees of fraternal parties on ideological and international problems in Moscow (1973), Prague (1975), Warsaw (1976), and Sofia (1977) provided a powerful impetus to the development of such cooperation.

A considerable share of the problems of ideological struggle is related to the assertion of the idea of peaceful coexistence. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was a major gain of the peace forces. As a result, above all, of the implementation of the peace program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress, this conference contributed to the creation of a new atmosphere in international relations. However, this does not eliminate the ideological struggle but, conversely, energizes it. In the new conditions as well the class objectives and nature of Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois ideologies remain firmly opposite and irreconcilable. "In the struggle between the two outlooks," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, "there could be no place for neutrality and compromise. This requires high political vigilance, active, operative, and convincing propaganda work, and prompt resistance to hostile ideological subversions."

Two main tasks stem from this. On the one hand, we must contribute to the further strengthening of peaceful coexistence and to turning it to an irreversible process. On the other hand, we must use the favorable circumstances for revealing even more completely the possibilities and advantages of socialism, and for the even broader dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas throughout the world.

In order for our ideological struggle to be effective it must be comprehensive. We must always keep in sight anti-communism, revisionism, anti-Sovietism, and reformism. We must skillfully expose the concealments and subversive steps of bourgeois ideology and propaganda. We must strengthen the unity of the world's socialist comity, of the international communist movement, and of all peace loving and democratic forces in the world.

The implementation of such responsible assignments calls for the steady improvement of the organization and guidance of the ideological front in our country. Problems of coordination and interaction and of the proper utilization of all ways and means for ideological influence become particularly topical. Furthermore, the important principle of party leadership of ideological activities such as the skillful conversion of common program objectives and tasks into specific objectives and tasks for a given labor collective and settlement, in accordance with its specific local conditions and characteristics, and precise consideration of socio-demographic and socio-psychological characteristics of different social groups and population strata assumes even greater importance.

All this calls for the detailed planning of ideological activities. Along with the current, short-term, and long-term plans, the BCP Central Committee February 1974 Plenum introduced a new method: the elaboration of target programs for big ideological campaigns. They are implemented throughout the country in connection with anniversaries and other important events. The programs specifically formulate the objectives and tasks of the campaigns, earmark the basic topics and their content, stipulate deadlines, and earmark the main measures and the ways and means for their implementation through interaction and reciprocal complementing. This new form of planning has proved to be exceptionally effective.

Operativeness and fast reaction is another exceptionally important requirement facing ideological work, its organization and management, and cadres. A major prerequisite for the organic unity between ideological work and life is the systematic and reliable feedback thanks to which the leading party organs are able to obtain promptly the required complete information on the results of varied ideological activities and initiatives as well as on the factual level of conscientiousness and activeness of the people, public opinion and moods, developing trends in mass awareness, and so on.

Empirical sociological studies are a reliable scientific tool. We are pleased with their great popularity and quite extensive use in our ideological practice and all party work. However, we must point out that their implementation is not always based on a solid scientific foundation. It suffers from amateurism and, in many cases, empirical sociological information is not sufficiently used in drawing practical conclusions and summations.

More than ever before our ideological front today feels the need for scientific analyses and substantiations. We need more precise knowledge of the laws governing the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of building a developed socialist society, and a fuller idea of the factors and criteria of its effectiveness and ways and means of ideological influence. We also need theoretical and applied work on problems of planning, organization, and management of ideological processes.

The measures currently taken to improve the system of scientific research units and institutes are aimed at orienting this system more specifically to the elaboration of theoretical problems and methods for ideological activity considered essential at a given stage. In 1975 by decision of the BCP Central Committee secretariat a center for the theory of management of ideological processes was set up at the BCP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management. The center is cooperating with Soviet scientific institutions and, above all, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. Its activities cover topical theoretical and methodological problems of ideological activities as a specific type of social practice.

Cadres play a tremendous role in upgrading the effectiveness of ideological work. Their ranks are growing. Their training and retraining are improving. However, here again substantial shortcomings exist. Their training system must be improved in accordance with contemporary requirements. It must become more flexible and comprehensive. We must improve the organizational structure and considerably enrich the content of the training. We shall focus on general theoretical and specialized training (in the respective fields) of ideological cadres, and on acquainting them with the topical problems of social development and party policies. At the same time, we shall see to it that the trainees master the foundations of the theory and methods of ideological influence, gain a certain amount of knowledge in the fields of sociology, psychology, and education, and become familiar with the most important laws governing the ideological process and the shaping of the mind.

Bulgaria's ideological front is monolithic and closely rallied around the party and its Central Committee. "With its irrefutable influence on the minds and hearts of the people and, particularly, on the young and growing generation," said Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the Eleventh BCP Congress, "it is making an invaluable contribution to the activities and struggle of the party for building a developed socialist society and the education of the new man." In close cooperation with the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the international communist movement, the Bulgarian ideological front is actively participating in the common struggle against bourgeois ideology and in the powerful offensive of communist ideas throughout the world.

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YEAR 1977; REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE

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[Article V. Nekrasov]

[Text] Yet another year in our life--1977, according to the accepted chronology--has come to an end: the 60th year of the new era inaugurated with the great October Socialist Revolution, the era of defeat of capitalism and revolutionary conversion to socialism on a worldwide scale, and to the establishment of a new type of civilization on earth. Under the influence of the Leninist ideas, the Great October Revolution, and the socialist system it created, the aspect of the world is changing ever more rapidly. Today the most important features of our time are determined by the practical implementation of the ideas of scientific communism.

Assessing the events of the past 12 months in terms of the decade, and singling out their main and vital features and ignoring the secondary and transitory aspects, we reach the main features characterizing 1977 as yet another year of the successful development of the Soviet Union and the socialist comity, and of the development of the world's revolutionary process.

"We were the first people on earth to create a developed socialist society. We are the first to build communism."

These words, full of legitimate pride, expressed from the rostrum in the Kremlin on 2 November, express in the best possible way the heroic spirit of the present. This past year will assume a special place in the history of the Soviet Union. In 1977 the ideas of the 25th CPSU Congress were being implemented in the daily accomplishments of millions of people. The new USSR Constitution was adopted, reflecting the results of all revolutionary-transforming activities of the Leninist party and the Soviet people following the victory of the October Revolution.

The main distinguishing features of the developed socialist society were offering full scope for the work for the laws of socialism and for revealing its advantages in all realms of social life, the organic integrity



and dynamism of the social system, its political stability, and an unbreakable internal unity. The content and nature of the characteristics of the society in which we live, brought to light in the most important political documents, offer convincing proofs of the historical correctness of all CPSU activities. They are a clear and accurate and practically tested scientific guideline of our development on the path to a gradual transition to communism.

To the Soviet people the main task of 1977 was the further implementation of the tremendous program for socioeconomic development adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress. As always the party and the government focused their main attention on the growth of the country's economic strength. Scientific and technical progress was an effective factor of economic construction. The latest production sectors developed at a faster pace and labor productivity rose steadily. The planned implementation of the task set at the 25th Congress of making the entire system of state administration and the economic mechanism consistent with modern requirements, raising it to a qualitatively new level, and upgrading its effectiveness continued.

Throughout the year the labor pulse beat of the country was dynamic and powerful. The captivating prospects formulated by the 25th Congress became the most important incentive for the creative activeness of the Soviet people. Our people greeted its constitution and the October Revolution Anniversary with new labor exploits. In honor of the outstanding events the collectives of industrial enterprises, construction projects, transportation, and agriculture assumed higher socialist pledges and discovered new possibilities. In 12 months the growth of industrial output equaled 5.8 percent, compared with 5.6 percent as planned. The assignments on the marketing of industrial commodities and the production of most of the most important commodities were over-fulfilled. This year, which was far from being the best in terms of weather conditions, 194 million tons of grain, about 15 million tons of meat, and 8.4 million tons of cotton were produced. In the first two years of the five-year plan real per capita income rose seven percent.

The celebration of the Great October Revolution Anniversary was an impressive review of our accomplishments and a new confirmation of the invincible vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and of the strength and vitality of the socialist system. This was a happy and profoundly meaningful holiday for the entire people and for every Soviet person. It also became a truly universal holiday for all the supporters of peace and progress on earth. Our friends and like-thinking people state today that the creative solution of contemporary problems can not be found without the revolutionary light shed by the October Revolution, without the experience of the October Revolution, and without everything that it contributed to the revolutionary reorganization of the world. The participation of the leaders of the socialist states and of communist and workers parties, of the leaders of the young independent countries, and the representatives of national liberation movements in the celebrations in the

Soviet Union, and their speeches convincingly prove that the ideas of the October Revolution inspire everywhere the fighters for the freedom and happiness of the working people.

The nationwide discussion of the draft of the constitution, which lasted almost four months, was the most vivid proof of Soviet democracy in action. Soviet society had never before had such a scope of popular activity. The discussion was extensive and free. It was practical and constructive. This was a time of tremendous influx of creative energy, a time of heated debates and interested discussions. It convincingly proved the high political maturity and scope of the social interests of the Soviet people.

As a result of the discussion the Soviet people gave their full approval to the draft of the constitution. They saw in it the proper reflection of their gains, expectations, and hopes, and the accurate definition of their rights and obligations. The discussion by the whole people made possible to improve the draft and introduce in it a number of useful supplements, refinements, and amendments. The new fundamental law of the USSR became the true result of the creativity of the broad toiling masses.

These important events in the life of the Soviet people were culminated by the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the draft of the constitution and the results of its nationwide discussion at the 4 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and his report "The Great October and the Progress of Mankind" at the solemn meeting held in the Kremlin on 2 November. The masterly analysis of the complex processes of social development, fundamental theoretical summations and political conclusions, and a spirit of true party mindedness and real humanism placed these speeches among the outstanding documents of creative Marxism-Leninism. The article by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "A Historical Landmark on the Path to Communism," carried out in the December of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, is a new contribution by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to the theory of scientific socialism.

Should anyone have needed additional proof of the close unity existing between the Soviet people and their Communist Party such proof was abundantly provided in 1977. The Soviet people link all their accomplishments with the Communist Party which sees the meaning of its existence as serving the people and fighting for their happiness. They warmly approve the all-round tireless activities of the Leninist CPSCU Central Committee and its Politbureau, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The struggle for the implementation of the tasks set at the 25th CPSU Congress, the discussion and adoption of the new USSR Constitution, and the preparations for the celebration and the celebration itself of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution rallied even more closely the Soviet people around the party and became yet another convincing proof of the fact that the party is honorably implementing its role as the political leader of the Soviet people. An important confirmation of the infinite trust which the Soviet people have in our party and its Central Committee, their understanding of the importance

of the growing leading role of the CPSU, and their deepest acknowledgment of the outstanding services of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev who is credited with considerable achievements in the development of the country and of strengthening the peace were expressed in the unanimous approval given by the Soviet people to the decisions of the highest organ of socialist democracy which elected him the head of the Soviet state.

Our country entered the 61st year of Soviet system full of confidence in their forces, optimistically assessing the prospects of their immediate and more distant future. "Never before has our country had such tremendous economic and scientific and technical potential," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on 2 November. "Never before has its defense capability been so strong and so reliable. Never before have we had such favorable possibilities to resolve problems for the sake of which, in the final account, the revolution was made: the upgrading of the prosperity of the masses, development of socialist democracy, and all-round development of the individual."

We are faced with a large number of new projects and lines to be reached. Having considered the draft 1978 state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR and its state budget, the December 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum directed the party members and all Soviet working people to implementation of the major assignments related to the fulfillment of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and the implementation of the historical stipulations of the 25th Party Congress. The decisions of the December Plenum became a specific program of action for our people in 1978. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev delivered a major speech at the Plenum.

The real socialism which exists or is being built by the members of the socialist comity has long become the example and hope of the working people the world over. Last year the fraternal socialist countries continued systematically and energetically to increase their economic potential and confidently to implement their plans for the building of socialism and communism.

Their unity rose even further and their individual progress and the progress of the entire comity continued to accelerate steadily.

Like the Soviet people, the fraternal peoples considered the October Revolution Anniversary as the biggest political event of 1977. The mass international socialist competition which was launched in honor of the October Revolution Anniversary on the initiative of the working people of the Krasnyy Chepel' Combine, in Budapest, became the most outstanding new manifestation of our unity. It was a factor for the successful implementation of the national economic plans of each of the fraternal countries and of the the development of their cooperation. It was a confirmation of the further strengthening of their moral and political consolidation.

The fact that essentially the tasks which face the fraternal countries in the areas of improving their political system are essentially identical determined their warm interest in the new Soviet Constitution. It was supported by the communist and workers parties and working people of these countries with enthusiasm, exactingness, and comradely and practical participation. The leaders of the members of the socialist comity emphasized the great importance of the constitution to defining their future development.

The economy of the members of our comity is continuing to develop confidently, insuring the reaching of new levels as earmarked by the regular congresses of the fraternal parties. For all members of CEMA 1977 was a year of further growth of the national income which averaged over 100 percent that of the developed capitalist countries. Increased industrial and agricultural output and volumen of reciprocal procurements continued without any slowdown.

The system of cooperation among socialist countries in planning, foreign trade, finance, and the scientific and technical revolution proved their viability completely. The 31st CEMA session (June 1977) was the next step in the development of this cooperation. It dealt with the specific implementation of the comprehensive program for the further intensification and improvement of cooperation and development of socialist economic integration.

The members of the socialist comity act in close unity in the international arena as well. Their coordinated actions are exerting an ever growing influence on the entire course of international life and are contributing to the successful strengthening of the positions of world socialism. The fact is being universally recognized that the socialist comity is putting on the balance of the fruitful cooperation among nations, their security, and universal peace its growing resources and the entire prestige of its highly humane foreign policy.

The creative application of Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of the building of socialism, and the combat experience of the international workers movement by the fraternal parties is the most important origin for all the accomplishments of the socialist comity. At the same time violations of the Marxist-Leninist course and proletarian internationalism can only become failures and trials experienced by the people. We are well familiar with the severe consequences which attempt to ignore the economic laws of socialism, the abandonment of friendship and solidarity with the socialist countries, and the rapprochement with reactionary forces in the world arena have brought to China. However, today's Peking leadership has failed draw proper conclusions from this. The platform of the Eleventh CCP Congress, held in August 1977, is Maoist. It is directed, above all, toward strengthening the positions of these leaders with the help of aggressive militarism and nationalism. The Congress failed to offer the Chinese people any kind of constructive socioeconomic program for the development of the country.

It did not reveal the desire to take it back to the path of scientific communism. Under the banner of fighting the consequences of the activities of the so-called "gang of four," purges affecting millions of people are continuing to take place in China.

This entire course is being pursued under slogans of instigation to war and to urging on the capitalist world against the world of socialism. Anti-Sovietism, converted into official ideology, has become the external expression of the reliance of the Chinese leaders on war.

Today the national-liberation movement has reached a complex and important stage. The most characteristic feature of the young national states--over 90 of which were formed on the ruins of colonial empires, is the intensive and complex struggle they are waging for eliminating the consequences of foreign rule and for strengthening their independence and developing their economies. The 1974-1975 economic crisis in the capitalist world painfully aggravated many of the problems facing the majority of developing countries. The developed capitalist states erected high customs barriers to protect their domestic markets. Meanwhile, the pressure of the monopolies on the markets of the former colonies intensified even further. The arms race which forces them to increase their military budgets is a heavy burden on the economies of the young states.

For quite some time the young states have tried to change such adverse circumstances and promote the establishment of a new economic order which would put an end to exploitation and discrimination in international economic relations. The "North-South" international conference, held in Paris, and attended by representatives of industrially developed capitalist countries and 19 developing states, ended in failure. As these 19 countries stated in their declaration, no agreement was reached on most proposals concerning structural changes in the international economic system and on a number of suggestions on the urgent solutions of the most acute problems facing the developing countries.

Studying the events of 1977 observers of international life can not fail to note the drastic energizing of imperialism, American imperialism above all, in Africa and the Middle East. The strategic objective of this policy is to weaken the unity of African and Arab countries, make them clash with each other, and undermine the positions of countries which have proclaimed their socialist orientation. The provocations against the People's Republic of Angola, Mozambique, and other countries which fail to obey the orders of overseas monopolies are an inseparable part of a strategy aimed at weakening the progressive forces in Africa. Under such circumstances the expansionist policy of the Somali government which is trying to remake the map of Africa, abrogated the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty with the Soviet Union, and is waging an undeclared war on the territory of neighboring Ethiopia, which proclaimed a course toward progressive socioeconomic changes, is essentially serving the forces related to international imperialism.

The situation in the Middle East remains complex. The advent to power in Israel in May 1977 of a group of extremist parties resulted in the adoption of even more rigid aggressive positions by Tel Aviv. The military provocations to which the present Israeli regime is resorting on the southern part of Lebanon, and the policy of "development" of seized Arab lands clearly prove its unwillingness to seek a truly durable and equitable settlement.

Relying on United States support, the Israeli ruling circles are trying to engage in talks with each of the Arab countries separately and impose upon each of them decisions suitable to Tel Aviv, and to prevent the Palestine Liberation Organization from participation in the talks. The visit to Israel by Egyptian President Sadat (19-21 November) proved that today's Egyptian leadership is inclined to make a separate deal with the Israeli rulers, thus undermining the united front of the Arab states in the struggle for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression. Yet, reality has proved repeatedly that a truly durable peace in this area could be reached only through the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, and respect for the right to independent and safe existence of the countries and peoples of this area, including the three million Palestinian Arabs.

In turn, throughout 1977 the Soviet Union has done and intends to do everything which depends on it to reach the type of settlement which would result in a lasting peace in the Middle East without harming the legitimate rights and interests of a single nation or state in the area. The Soviet government favors the fastest possible resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference which will contribute to such a settlement, involving the full participation of all interested parties.

The circumstance in South Africa--the largest colonial-racist area today--remains tense. Progressive world public opinion justifiably considers this reactionary nest a challenge to the ideals of human freedom and dignity. The racial and national oppression, the deprivation of millions of Africans of basic rights, and the cruel exploitation to which the African population is subjected in the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Namibia are gross violations of the United Nations principles and a crime against mankind. They trigger the anger and indignation of all progressive and truly democratic forces in the world. Benefiting from the factual support of American imperialism and its allies, the racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury, resorted throughout the past year to terror and repression against the native population in an attempt to extend their existence. They committed actions of armed aggression against neighboring countries thus creating yet another hotbed of international tension. On the other hand, the spontaneous discontent of the people's masses in South Africa has been channeled ever more purposefully into a conscious general anti-racist and anti-imperialist movement.

No imperialist or neocolonialist intrigue could eliminate the obvious fact that the conditions for the further development of the popular movements of national liberation and for the strengthening of the people's economic

autonomy are improving steadily. This movement is led by the young states which have chosen a socialist orientation and are systematically struggling for the strengthening of their political and economic independence. In December the first congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was held successfully. It passed a unanimous resolution approving the development of the country on a path leading to socialism. The congress created the party of the Angolan working class--the MPLA-Labor Party. As a whole, we could say that the national-liberation movement is merging ever more closely with the theory of scientific socialism. This creates additional prerequisites for the transition of states which have emerged from this movement toward changes of a socialist nature.

In 1977 the circumstances in the capitalist world were characterized by a feverish state of the economy, the absence of all confidence in the future, and the concerned expectation of new crisis upheavals. Emerging out of the cyclical crisis of 1974-1975, in 1977 the capitalist economy developed as sluggishly as in 1976. The growth of output averaged less than five percent per year and even though industrial output reached the volume of the period before the crisis there has been no hope for its substantial increase. Western experts describe the prospects as "modest," and "problematical."

A characteristic feature of the existing circumstances is a combination of an exceptionally high unemployment level (17 million people in November, according to official statistics which, as estimated by the ILO, means, together with the members of their families, as many as 40 million people in a calamitous situation) with a high inflationary rate (averaging about 10 percent and, in some countries, up to 15-20 percent per year). This is caused by the slow growth of consumer spending and the low level of capitalist investments caused by lack of confidence in the future. The high percentage of youth unemployment is indicative. It accounts for up to 40 percent of the overall number of unemployed.

The economic crisis and its consequences predetermined the continued political instability in practically all capitalist countries. Throughout the Western world, as the sociologists point out, a discontent with the functioning of the capitalist system is growing. The hopes of bourgeois political leaders that domestic problems would be eased as a result of the emergence out of the economic crisis have remained unjustified.

The scope of the crisis processes in the socio-political field is confirmed by the fact that in 1977 no single government in the biggest Western European countries was based on a real electoral majority. An aggravation of the political struggle was noted everywhere. The polarization of forces intensified. Old social conflicts deepened and new ones arose. The situation in countries ruled by social democratic parties during the crisis reflected the discontent of the broad population strata with the activities of the right wing leaders of these parties. Meanwhile, a trend of increased influence and prestige of democratic and progressive organizations, and of the broadening and strengthening of the positions of the parties of the working people was noted in Western Europe.

The reaction tried to counter this trend by energizing the activities of its supporters, including the extreme right-wing political parties and the terrorist extreme left-wing groups in the FRG and Italy which have been "mandated" to promote nervousness in public life and set the grounds for demands for the establishment of "strong" governments.

The recent economic crisis drastically intensified the uneven development of the main capitalist countries. The FRG and Japan rushed ahead at the expense of the weaker partners. Together with the United States today they constitute a sort of "triumvirate" of leading imperialist countries. Rivalry, occasionally developing into real commercial and financial warfare, was drastically aggravated in the economic relations among capitalist countries.

The interference of American imperialism in Western European affairs became more active in 1977. The uneven influence of the economic crisis on the United States and on Western Europe, whose positions turned out to be relatively weakened, was the objective prerequisite for this. The crisis contributed to the appearance of a more "obliging" attitude of the Western European bourgeoisie toward the hegemonistic aspirations of North American capital in Europe and of its increased aspiration toward international solidarity in the face of the upsurge of the class struggle of the working people and the increased influence of leftist forces.

The rule and hegemony of biggest capitalism, the military and political subordination of some countries to others, and the creation of the type of economic system within which a group of countries exploits another represents, essentially, the nature of capitalist type integration. This is precisely what is taking place today in relations among leading capitalist countries. As a result of the economic crisis the European Economic Community of nine countries is experiencing a difficult period. Characteristic of its members is a worsened condition of the balance of payments and foreign trade as a whole, and a broader gap in the economic development of the individual Common Market members.

In the increased difficulties encountered today by Western European capitalism, one of the ways chosen by its leaders consists of attempts to implement a plan for the political consolidation of Common Market countries. This is based on the creation of a so-called "European Parliament" whose representatives would be chosen through direct elections held in EEC member countries. The problems related to such elections planned for 1978 are far from resolved. However, the bourgeois political parties undertook the creation of international coalitions as early as 1977. Thus, an association describing itself as the "European Popular Party" is being organized in a number of countries on the basis of Christian Democratic and conservative parties. A "federation of liberal parties" and an "alliance of social democratic parties" have also appeared. The common objective of such associations, according to the French journal LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, is "to paralyze any attempt on the part of any left-wing government aimed at changing existing social structures."



The London meeting (7-8 May) of the heads of the seven biggest capitalist countries (United States, FRG, Japan, France, Great Britain, Canada, and Italy) was assigned an important role in the European policy of the new American administration in 1977. These countries have a total population in excess of 575 million and account for 84 percent of the industrial output and trade of the developed capitalist countries. The meeting was considered by its organizers a means for resolving the remaining socioeconomic problems created by the crisis.

In the final account, the expectations remained unfulfilled. The reality of the economic situation and the conflicts between the monopolies of the participating countries resulted in the fact that the essence of the discussions was reduced to attempts to coordinate measures aimed at surmounting protectionist trends in foreign trade created by the crisis phenomena. As Western observers pointed out, the participants in the meeting essentially acknowledged their inability to put an end to the economic crisis in the Western world.

As a result of the changed ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism, the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems are being asserted ever more firmly in international affairs as being the only realistic and sensible ones. The contribution to this historical accomplishment by the Soviet Union and the Leninist party is great and invaluable. Thanks to the Soviet policy of peace, through the joint efforts of the socialist countries a turn was achieved from cold war to detente and a danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe was put off. All this required a tremendous stress of forces and huge outlays. The CPSU and the Soviet state, and the party's Central Committee Politbureau, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, did a tremendous amount of work for the implementation of the peace program which improved the international climate and stimulated the development of equitable business cooperation among nations.

During 1977 the scale of the positive changes in international relations were repeatedly reasserted. Despite its entire complexity and contradictory nature the world's circumstance as a whole is characterized by the growth and strengthening of the process of detente. The policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity is having an ever deeper influence on relations among countries.

However, we must point out that in 1977 the pace of the most important talks on limiting the arms race clearly slowed down. The spirit of detente was countered by attempts to strengthen and broaden the military blocs. One after another some western circles launched noisy propaganda campaigns on the allegedly intensifying "military" threat created by the USSR, demanding ever more allocations for increasing armaments. The campaign against the socialist states under the farfetched pretext of the "defense of human rights" assumed an unrestrained nature. Meanwhile, the NATO arms race reached an unprecedented level. In 1977 overall military expenditures \$ 350 billion.

Washington, and the U.S. military-industrial complex, remain the epicenter of the whipped up arms race. In 1977 the U.S. military budget reached \$118 billion and its further growth in the immediate future has already been pledged. According to some estimates the sum total of military and related expenditures in the United States accounts to about 15 percent of the national income. The intensification of the military psychosis, threats, saber rattling, and declarations of the aspiration to gain military superiority became in 1977 the distinguishing feature of the political atmosphere in the American capital. The Pentagon's development of new types of mass destruction weapons and delivery means, such as the neutron bomb, the cruise missile, and so on, could not fail to create concern as well.

The North Atlantic Bloc remains one of the main instruments for increased tension. This was reasserted at the Ten-Eleven May meeting of the NATO Council in London held at the level of heads of governments and states. The directives to NATO countries formulated under Washington's pressure called for increasing the bloc's military expenditures by an average of three percent per year. The NATO staffs are drafting a long-term 25 year program for rearming the bloc's members and strengthening the nuclear forces in Western Europe.

Assessing the current situation in the world arena, in his speech "The Great October and the Progress of Mankind," L. I. Brezhnev said: "The present international situation seems to be at the crossroads. They may lead either to the growth of trust and cooperation or to increased reciprocal fears, suspicions, and stockpiling of arms--ways which, in the final account, lead either to a durable peace or, at best, to balancing on the brink of war. Detente offers the opportunity to choose the path of peace. The loss of this opportunity would be criminal. Today the most important, the most urgent task is to put an end to the arms race which is sweeping over the world."

Answering the false arguments of bourgeois politicians and propagandists concerning the "dangerous" growth of the "political and military potential of the Soviet Union," our country's leadership points out that the USSR is effectively concerned with its defense without, however, aspiring to military superiority over the other side, and that it is not trying to disturb the approximate balance of armed forces currently existing, for example, in Central Europe or between the USSR and the United States. Yet, it demands that no one else would try to disturb this balance in his favor. The Soviet Union is in favor of beginning to reduce the arms race, gradually lower the level of military confrontation and substantially lower and, subsequently, eliminate the threat of a nuclear war.

In 1977 the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity submitted a number of important proposals to the participants in the main international talks on restricting and terminating the arms race. They include proposals for total and universal bans of nuclear weapons tests, banning chemical weapons, banning the development and production of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, and others. The talks were

continued on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and on further limiting USSR and United States strategic armaments. The Warsaw Pact countries proposed that all countries participating in the European conference assume the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another. The question of concluding a universal treaty on the non-use of force in international relations was considered.

The entire peace loving public welcomed with great interest and attention the new Soviet proposals formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on 2 November: the reaching of an agreement on the simultaneous interruption by all countries of the production of nuclear weapons and, together with banning for a certain period all nuclear weapons tests a moratorium on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes be proclaimed. This important step on the part of the USSR was properly welcomed throughout the world as yet another manifestation of good will aimed at achieving real progress in restricting the nuclear arms race.

The socialist countries firmly believe that the problem of achieving radical changes in this area should be considered at a world disarmament conference--the broadest and most prestigious international forum which could make concern for universal disarmament a target of prime attention on the part of the highest governmental political leaders. Unfortunately, two nuclear powers--the United States and China--have not as yet changed their negative attitude toward this proposal. A special United Nations General Assembly will be held on disarmament in May-June 1978 to determine the main directions on which the world's community of countries will focus its prime efforts in this important project. The socialist countries would like to see the forthcoming meeting serve as a practical preparation for the successful holding of a world conference in the immediate future.

The stipulations of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe offer a solid foundation for the further normalizing of the international circumstances. The conference became the most important step in the process of improving the political atmosphere on the European continent and throughout the world. Despite the counteraction of the enemies of detente, the atmosphere in Europe has improved noticeably. Certain progress has been made in the development of political, economic, cultural, and other relations between European countries. The practice of consultations and contacts, including high level ones, has become more intensive. Tens of treaties and agreements have been concluded between Western and Eastern European countries.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries the Soviet Union is strictly observing and implementing the Helsinki Accords. Our country launched a number of large scale initiatives fully consistent with the spirit and the letter of the Final Act. The fact that the USSR was the first country to include in the text of its new constitution all ten basic principles of reciprocal relations among countries, agreed upon at the European conference, was an outstanding confirmation of the loyalty of the USSR to the Helsinki principles.

Last year, in an effort to hinder the further reorganization of international relations, the enemies of detente displayed particular zeal in organizing various types of slanderous campaigns against the USSR and the other socialist countries, deliberately distorting the provisions of the Final Act.

The preparations for and holding of the Belgrade meeting of representatives of the 35 countries which took part in the European conference were among the noteworthy events of the year. A platform for action aimed at strengthening military detente in Europe, formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on 21 October, was submitted by the Soviet delegation at the main stage of the meeting which opened in Belgrade in October. It calls for the conclusion of a treaty among the participants in the European conference pledging not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against others, an agreement not to accept new members in the military-political groups and alliances confronting each other in Europe, and some others. Proposals for cooperation on a European level in the fields of environmental protection, transportation, power industry, and a number of others have been submitted for consideration by the participants in the Belgrade meeting, dictated by concern for strengthening the security and cooperation among European countries. The constructive approach demonstrated by the socialist countries at the meeting in discussing the continental problems has gained substantial support. Yet, the normal proceeding at the meeting clearly does not suit the United States delegation which tried to turn it to discussions on "human rights violations," allegedly taking place in the socialist countries, and to avoid the discussion of serious problems of interest to the European peoples.

Characteristic of 1977 was the further development of the struggle of society for the materialization of detente and development of peaceful cooperation among nations and countries, and the growth in this struggle of the role of revolutionary and progressive movements, and their joint actions. The World Peace Congress (Moscow, January) and the World Assembly of Builders of a Durable Peace (Warsaw, May) were considerable events in socio-political life.

Bilateral relations between countries, and contacts between governmental leaders of different countries and, above all, talks and meetings among leaders who bear particular responsibility for their direct participation in detente are an exceptionally important area in which the policy of detente is implemented in practical terms.

The visit which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid to France on 20-22 June paid a particular role among the events of the year. This was the ninth Soviet-French summit meeting in the past 11 years. Today the policy of agreement and cooperation between the USSR and France is a permanent and beneficial factor in international life. The talks between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and V. Giscard d'Estaing, president of the French Republic, resulted in the signing of a document which will provide a tangible impulse both to bilateral cooperation as well as the further normalizing of circumstances not only on a European but a worldwide scale.

Our good neighborly relations of reciprocal understanding are strengthening with other countries belonging to a different social system as well. The Soviet Union continued to ascribe great importance to and develop cooperation with countries such as the FRG, Britain, Italy, and all big and small European countries. The fact that the program signed in Moscow on 18 May for Soviet-Finish trade-economic, industrial, and scientific and technical cooperation through 1990 makes it a considerable contribution to the implementation of the Final Act.

During most of the year Soviet-American year were in a certain state of stagnation. This was explained by the active efforts of rather powerful forces in the United States who tried, through concentrated pressure, to hinder progress in limiting the arms race and in improving relations with the socialist countries.

The position assumed by C. Vance, U.S. secretary of state, in the course of his March visit to Moscow, indicated that the administration in Washington was trying to secure for itself unilateral advantages in talks on the restriction of strategic armaments, abandoning the Vladivostok agreements concluded between L. I. Brezhnev and G. Ford. Naturally, such a position could not yield positive results. Then the decision was made in the American capital to undertake the development of the latest types of strategic weapons--the cruise missile and the neutron bomb.

In the final account, however, realism could not fail to triumph. The attempts to apply pressure on the Soviet Union and weaken the foundations of Soviet-American relations failed to yield the results expected by their initiators. In the course of the talks held in September in Washington between A. A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politbureau member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and President J. Carter and the secretary of state C. Vance, both countries expressed their desire for a constructive and stable development of relations between the two countries on the basis of existing agreements and accords. The need for active efforts aimed at finding mutually acceptable solutions to existing problems was emphasized. The intension was also expressed of continuing active talks to complete in the near future the work on new agreements on limiting strategic armaments. This provided a possibility for new positive changes in Soviet-American relations which are of such great importance to the general climate of international relations. Under such circumstances the position of the USSR is determined by the clear formula that Soviet-American relations must be built on a basis of equality, reciprocal advantage, and non-interference in reciprocal domestic affairs. "Life itself demands," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, "that long-term considerations dictated by concern for the peace be decisive in Soviet-American relations. This is the line we follow and this is what we expect in return."

As indicated by its entire foreign policy, the Soviet Union is striving to achieve a lasting peace and is doing everything possible to obtain this objective. Our country whose substantial constructive role in achieving international peace on the basis of peaceful coexistence is today universally

acknowledged, will continue to dedicate all necessary efforts for the process of detente, which is today the pivot of international developments, to become both truly universal and truly irreversible.

The working class is in the center of the contemporary epoch, determining its main content, main direction, and main characteristics. Presently the working class in almost all developed capitalist countries accounts for the majority of the active population. However, its numerical strength alone is not the decisive factor. To an even greater extent its role is determined by the fact that, as Lenin said, "It dominates the center and the nerve of the entire capitalist economic system," and that "economically and politically it expresses the true interests of the tremendous majority of the working people under capitalism" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 23). Organization, conscientiousness, and social prestige have raised the proletariat to the role of a decisive factor in today's historical process.

In the present circumstances, when state-monopoly capitalism is trying to shift to the people's masses the burden related to surmounting the consequences of the economic crisis, the working class and the non-proletarian toiling strata are intensifying their struggle against big capital with a view to maintaining their living standard and achieve new social and democratic gains. In this connection greater demands are being formulated for profound anti-monopoly change and truly democratic reforms. Ever new strata of the peasantry, the heterogeneous mass of so-called middle classes, and the working intelligentsia are joining the struggle--masses of people at different levels of class development, belonging to different social strata.

The growth of the communist parties and of their strength and prestige among the broad toiling circles indicate that the contemporary working class is making ever more firmly a choice in favor of scientific socialism. To the communist movement 1977 was a year saturated with big events and rich new opportunities. The ranks of the ruling communist and workers parties increased. Their prestige and influence among the toiling masses strengthened and so did their international positions. Frequently operating under complex circumstances and, in a number of countries, under circumstances marked by bans and terrorism, the communist parties of the developing countries did extensive work to rally the broad toiling strata for the anti-imperialist struggle, in support and defense of a democratic future, and in raising the level of the political awareness of the working people. In the developed capitalist countries the communist parties participated most actively in the anti-monopoly and anti-militarist struggle of the people's masses, combining parliamentary with non-parliamentary forms of struggle, and working to strengthen the prerequisites for the conversion of their countries to a truly democratic path of development leading to radical social shifts and changes.

The communist parties throughout the world were in the struggle for the strengthening of international peace, materialization of detente, and failure of imperialist aggressive plans and attempts. They proceeded from the fact

that a successful social struggle for the intensification and development of detente facilitates, in the final account, the creation and broadening of anti-monopoly coalitions, and that the struggle for strengthening the peace, the struggle for social progress, and the struggle for strengthening international cooperation among communists in all countries are organically interlinked. Frequently operating in the difficult circumstances of unrestrained anti-Soviet campaigns, the communist and workers parties of the non-socialist part of the world are doing a great deal to provide an accurate understanding of life in the Soviet Union and an objective study of the problems of the developed socialist society.

The 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was the biggest event of the year in the life of all fraternal parties. Marxists-Leninists throughout the world and their loyal friends and supporters as honored those days the first country of victorious socialism which took the great path of the building of communism. They honored Lenin's party which they consider an example to be emulated in defending and developing the revolutionary doctrine, successfully implementing the cause of the revolution, strengthening proletarian international solidarity, and fighting for the peaceful and happy future of mankind. To the communists the world over these celebrations became an important event in which they checked their ideological and political positions and their strategy and tactics with the compass of the October Revolution, the compass of Leninism. In turn, the Soviet communists and all Soviet people rated with satisfaction and deep gratitude the extensive ideological and political campaign launched in this connection by the fraternal parties, considering it a vivid manifestation of the traditional solidarity of our class brothers with the struggle of the Soviet people for socialism, communism, peace, and social progress throughout the world.

Life has proved to the communists that under contemporary conditions it is impossible to resolve practically the national tasks of the working class separately from the international context or international solidarity. The new conditions have strengthened, rather than weakened, the interconnection between the national and international aspects of the activities of each party and between its responsibility to its own people and working class and the international forces of progress. It is precisely the strengthening of proletarian internationalism that assumes today particular importance as one of the gravest sectors of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and opportunism.

The achievements and growing possibilities of the communist movement are triggering an ever more obvious alarm in the camp of the class enemy. The year of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution became a year of drastic aggravation of the ideological struggle between the two socioeconomic systems and antagonistic outlooks. Imperialism intensified its "psychological warfare" against the socialist countries. Today the ideological struggle is being fought on the most important problems effecting the basic interests of the working people and the entire nations, and the

destinies of mankind. All main areas of social life have become its arena. The ideological dispute between socialism and capitalism has assumed a more comprehensive nature than ever. The bourgeoisie has elected as the main weapon of its ideological and political struggle anti-communism and its core--anti-Sovietism--representing, under the present ratio of forces in the world the ruling concept of the imperialist camp of fighting existing socialism through "ideological erosion," and pitting the Soviet Union against the other socialist countries and the CPSU against the other detachments of the world's communist and workers movements.

All means are used--repressions and provocations, persecution of progressive people, and pressure through mass information media. The ideologues of the monopolies are trying to make the political parties of the working people abandon the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the class foundations of domestic policy, and to undermine the international unity of the working class. In 1977 the communist movement witnessed a number of attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie to wedge itself within the natural discussions of communist parties and to try to convert differences arising among them into disagreements, and disagreements into discord. Attempts are being made to divide the international communist movement by geographic zones and regions in order to force one or another party to review its principles and policies.

Under certain circumstances, in the case of some individual parties, such activities may be fraught with the danger of isolating the revolutionary forces of a given country from the world's revolutionary process and its main bulwark represented by the socialist states. A complaisant attitude toward imperialist intrigues could overcome the ability of a communist party effectively to struggle against capitalism and for social changes.

As confirmed by the experience of the October Revolution, tactics may be changed in the revolutionary activities of international communist movement and compromises may be reached for the sake of gaining new allies. However, the sacrificing of principles for the sake of tactical advantages has never brought anything other than defeat. One and a half years ago at their Berlin conference, the 29 communist and workers parties of Europe firmly proclaimed their rejection of any policy and outlook which would mean essentially the subordination of the working class to the capitalist system. With this decision they unequivocally proved their intention of waging a decisive struggle against subversive imperialist activities.

In the kaleidoscope of events which marked 1977 it is easy to see its outstanding feature compared with other years. The year of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the new Soviet Constitution, the year of new heights reached in the constructive toil of the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, and the year of the new accomplishments of the world's communist and workers movements and of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, and of successes in the struggle for the consolidation of the peace was, above all, a year of



new great victories of the eternally alive and developing Marxism-Leninism, full of creative strength. The successful practical accomplishments and creative revolutionary thinking of the CPSU and of the communists the world over represent a vital, inexhaustible, world-changing force, and a guarantee for the full triumph of this greatest historical social doctrine.

The gains of the October Revolution and the spiritual and material power of socialism are the most reliable guarantee for the further progress of mankind.

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TOPICAL MARXIST-LENINIST CRITICISM OF PSEUDO COMMUNISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 77 pp 103-114

[Article by G. Ostroumov]

[Text] "Merciless destruction;" "Radical and comprehensive destruction;" "Arousing popular rebellion;" "Poison, knife, noose, and so on. The revolution sanctifies them all equally. Thus, this is open season!;" "Proclaiming that physical work is mandatory for all;" "Either work or death;" "Produce for society as much as possible and consume as little as possible;" "Abandon these universities, academies, and schools...;" "Rejection of one's own life, thinking, and will;" "Unconditional self negation"...

Where does all this come from? Whose are these slogans and views? Many people will easily identify them as the Maoist credo of the "cultural revolution." Others will identify them just as accurately as manifestoes issued by the few yet odiously infamous supporters of the "Red Guards" among the "neoleftist" rebels in France, Italy, the FRG, Japan, Chile, Portugal, Spain...

However, something else is of interest. Over 100 years ago those were precisely the slogans sharply and justifiably condemned by K. Marx and F. Engels and the International Association of Workers. The authors and bearers of such slogans--the Bakuninists--preached and disseminated views combining anarchism and grossly equalitarian communism. They replaced with their sectarian programs and limited ideas the broad program and great aspirations of the world's working class. Assessing at the beginning of the 1870's the plans for the establishment of a future social system, promoted by M. Bakunin and his supporters in the International Alliance for Socialist Democracy, the founders of scientific communism wrote: "There will be everything: common dining halls and common dormitories, and assessors and offices regulating education, production, and consumption and, in a word, all social activities and, heading everything, there will be a supreme manager, a nameless and totally unknown 'committee.'" Marx and Engels described these ideas as "an excellent example of barracks communism" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 18, p 414).

Naturally, this is not a question of linguistic curios. Linguistic coincidences here conceal a similarity of mind and social foundations. Turning to the Marxist criticism of barracks communism and anarchism enables us to interpret more accurately and profoundly this similarity and understand its objective reasons. Naturally, neither the Maoists in China nor, even more so, their supporters among the "new left" in the West could be totally characterized merely as supporters of barracks communism and anarchism. The sources which feed the former and, particularly, the latter are more complex and varied. However, these varieties of reactionary pseudo communism are quite indicative and essential in understanding the ideological, political, and social nature of the forces and figures which are adamantly continuing to use ultra-radical methods to influence the masses, relying on their gravitating toward revolution, social justice, and equality.

Barracks communism developed in the history of social thinking as one of the currents of social utopianism, characteristically reflecting the social expectations of the "pre-proletariat" which led to the formation of the proletariat, as characterized by Engels (See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 39, p 399) which suffered both the ills of obsolete feudalism and developing capitalism. This current was distinguished from other utopian-communist views by the excessive exaggeration of the role of violence, coercion, and reduction of the reasons for social injustice exclusively to the stubborn will, decadence, and lack of restraint of the rich. It was characterized by an inclination for petty and strict regulation of all aspects of social and private life. More than the other socio-utopian currents, the barracks-communist way of thinking reflected the lack of clear lines separating the developing proletariat from the paupers, the lumpen proletariat, and the other declassed social strata whose concepts of justice were essentially reduced to the strict equalizing of all people in the utilization of material goods and to the general mandatory nature of asceticism.

Initially, the strict barracks-communist system with its strict postulates seems to be the opposite of the anarchic demand for absolute freedom. However, a more careful consideration shows this opposite to be essentially superficial, concealing a general essentially petit bourgeois social nature. Either absolute freedom or barracks regulation of all social and personal life: such is the false alternative inherent, in the words of V. I. Lenin, to the mentality of the "derailed intellectual or pauper but not of the proletariat" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 5, p 378).

Comprehensively characterizing the historical significance of social utopianism and properly assessing the achievements of pre-Marxist communist thinking, Marx and Engels nevertheless exposed its class meaning and unavoidable limitations. As to barracks communism, it was decidedly rejected by the founders of Marxism who mocked its primitive and extreme reactionary nature. "It is self-evident," K. Marx wrote, "that utopianism which, prior to the appearance of materialistic-critical socialism, carried within itself the latter in nuce (embryonically--the editors), now operates as post festum (back number--the editors) and could be just as stupid, base and essentially reactionary" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 34, p 235).

Why is it that to this day some people are most adamantly trying to present as "true" Marxism-Leninism, one way or another linked with scientific communism, something either similar to barracks communism or literally identical to it?

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Naturally, the most common and simple answer is found, above all, in the fact that the ruling exploiting classes have always been, particularly now, interested in various ways for compromising communism. They provide their own interpretation of the social content and scale of the necessary revolutionary violence, and of the difficulties and errors committed in the struggle for building a classless society.

The opponents of communism find it very advantageous to identify scientific communism with totalitarianism and the preaching of all destructive and suppressive violence. This is a particularly distinguishing feature not only of pseudo-philosophical but of malicious "doctrines" of anti-communists such as the infamous Professor L. Kolakovskiy and other similar detractors of the new system. This is also characteristic of the more respectable opponents of communism who claim high objectivity and a position of so to say "above the class conflict." Thus, in his apostolic message "Octogesima Adveniens," Pope Paul VI warned believers sympathizing with Marxism and socialism of the danger of ignoring "the totalitarian type society" to which, allegedly, leads the Marxist approach to the solution of topical social progress. Some of the most "dynamic" defenders of capitalism, acknowledging the crisis of political ideas and orders dominating the bourgeois world, tend to convince themselves and others that the communist ideas have developed a compromising reality such as the total suppression of faith in man, the promotion of a police state, and others.

Naturally, substituting facts, concepts, and ideas, the authors of such "summations" tend to present as reality that which meets the interests of the class they serve, including myths which yield political, ideological, and other dividends. However, it would be simplistic to consider that such ideas of communism, most frequently cultivated by the big bourgeoisie in power, are no more than a propaganda fabrication.

Identifying socialism with barracks communism is used for the purpose of discrediting it totally. It is precisely barracks communism that, for a number of reasons, is used to achieve this objective. The anti-communists find it most advantageous to present such a surrogate as a revolutionary scientific theory and as a consequent practical system. In fact, it is the spokesmen of barracks communism that present themselves as the most "revolutionary" spokesmen and defenders of the interests of the world's proletariat and of all exploited people. In order to inspire trust in their own plans for the organization of a social system and give them a solid theoretical appearance, they publicly refer to the alleged link between these plans and the Marxist scientific conclusions. In the past a similar approach

was adopted by the Bakuninists regarding the "Communist Party Manifesto," proclaiming it the "theoretical development of our basic concepts," while, at the same time, discrediting Marxism. Today their followers act similarly in interpreting the works of Lenin and other Marxist theoretical documents.

The supporters of barracks-communist views interpret the strength of the international working class their own way. Bakunin himself, summoning the liberal League for Peace and Freedom, whose soul and one of the leaders he was, concluded an alliance with the First International and acknowledged that the league could become important only by opposing the alliance of the oppressors with "an alliance of the peoples, an alliance of the workers...We could become somebody only by becoming the sincere and true representatives of millions of workers." However, he did not consider a factual conversion to the positions of the working class. On the contrary, he tried to ascribe to the working class and "indoctrinate it" in alien ideas proclaimed in its behalf. This was noted by Engels particularly by taking Spain as an example where, in the sections founded by the Bakuninists, specific anarchic doctrines were preached as being the doctrine of the International. Marx and Engels had to fight a lengthy, adamant, and sharp ideological and political struggle against the group of leaders of the mentioned Alliance which penetrated the ranks of the International Organization of the Working Class and tried to seize its leadership or, in the case of failure, to disorganize it. Characteristically, as defined by Marx and Engels, the Alliance was a "society which, hiding behind most extreme anarchism, directed its strikes not against existing governments but against the revolutionaries who rejected its dogmas and leadership" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 18, p 329).

This leads to the important conclusion that extreme anarchism could be a shield behind which attempts are made to achieve objectives distinct from those officially proclaimed. Its supporters hope to assume the role of most firm revolutionaries with its help and to lead and assume control over broad social groups and strata.

The historical mission of the working class substantiated by Marxism as the leader of the world's revolutionary process and of the struggle for the elimination of all exploitation and for the building of a communist society does not automatically become self-evident to all and equally accepted by all working people and exploited social strata. The path to its total acknowledgement and adoption is influenced by a number of circumstances and, above all, the maturity of socioeconomic conditions and the immediate practical experience of the masses themselves. Yet, for objective (role in social production in a given country and the international division of labor, time and place conditions, and so on) and subjective (characteristics of spiritual culture, social, national, and professional mentality, differences in educational level, and so on) reasons this experience differs among the different countries, classes, and strata.

Some and, sometimes, considerable segments of the non-proletarian classes and strata, depending on the place and the time, suffering from the exploitation and oppression of big capitalism, above all the ruined petty

owners, the declassed elements, and the related proletarian strata, could become the social ground for the ideas of barracks communism under certain conditions and to a greater or lesser extent, intertwined with such pauperizing concepts such as all-destructive mutiny, absolute equality among individuals, universal asceticism, and so on.

One century ago the extreme revolutionary phraseology of the Bakuninists met with the sympathy of the declassed strata who filled the ranks of the proletariat and were periodically fired by mutinous feelings in an effort to oppose big capital. The organizations of the Bakuninists' Alliance created in Europe sunk their roots mainly in the social grounds of then economically backward countries such as Spain and Italy. The latter particularly impressed Bakunin, for, as he believed, it had "that which was lacking in other countries: a curious and energetic youth, entirely derailed, without possibilities for a career, seeing no solution...It is now plunging headlong into revolutionary socialism and adopting our entire program, the program of the Alliance."

The declassé elements, the despairing youth, and a carefully selected small percentage of "initiated" workers are the cadres with which the Alliance leaders made their conspiracies and provoked mutinies and uprisings promoting the "program of unskilled people of all countries," while, essentially, challenging and weakening the leading role of the working class in the world's revolutionary process.

In the last hundred years the socioeconomic and ideological-political factors which influence the possibility for reviving such currents in social awareness and political practice have not disappeared. In some respects they have even multiplied. This is related, above all, to the qualitatively new conditions of the struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism in the world's arena, the aggravation of class contradictions in the non-socialist world, and the fact that new huge population masses in the developing countries are joining the sociopolitical struggle.

With the increased social polarization in the capitalist society and the broadening of the economic, technical, and cultural gap between the developed capitalist countries and the countries economically dependent on them, along with an overall trend toward increased awareness and organization of the international working class and the strengthening of the world's socialist comity, the impatience and, occasionally, the despair grows among the petit bourgeois and semi-proletarian strata entire generations among which have been destined never to reach "higher" or even "middle" class status. This is largely typical of economically backward countries where, as Lenin noted, "there appear particularly frequently people, groups, and currents distinguished by the type of contradictory, weak, and hesitating attitude toward socialism (either "passionate love" or base treason) inherent in any petite bourgeoisie" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 20, p 306).

In this connection debunking the illusion that, eliminating the foundations of the old exploiting system, the socialist revolution would thus automatically bring to an end all difficulties and problems in the course of further social developments plays a specific role.

All this determines the possibility for an evolution on the part of the petit bourgeois ideologues who consider or proclaim themselves supporters of scientific communism toward a concealed opposition and even open hostility toward the world's communist movement and the comity of socialist countries, under the banner of the "true" and extreme revolutionary communism which, in fact, is pseudo communism. A very essential fact here is the appeal to the spontaneous rather than scientifically backed bitter and confused feelings of protest against clear social inequities and the economic, political, and cultural oppression of the ruling classes. They excite less the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist aspirations of the exploited masses than the uncontrolled-anarchic prejudices inherent in the petty owners and the lumpen-proletariat who identify any kind of authority with restriction of freedom and authoritarianism, any order and discipline with bureaucracy, and so on.

Petit bourgeois nationalism may also become favorable grounds for the various modifications of barracks communism and equalitarianism, particularly in underdeveloped predominantly agricultural countries. "...The more backward a country is," Lenin wrote, "the stronger are its petty agricultural output, patriarchal system, and remoteness which inevitably lead toward particularly strong and durable most profound petit bourgeois prejudices such as national egotism and national narrow-mindedness" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 168). National narrow-mindedness and national egotism leave a profound mark on social concepts and ideals. Largely characteristic of the petit bourgeois and petty ownership circles is a concept of class and socioeconomic differences and contradictions above all in terms of national and racial aspects. This type of social thinking could lead to the fundamentally false pitting of the "rich north" against the "poor south," the "world city" against the "world village," the "bourgeoisified West" against the "revolutionary East," and "one or two superpowers" against the rest of the world.

2

The barracks communism trend of thought, as history shows, is not an accidental phenomenon in the least. However, the study of the social reasons, grounds, atmosphere, and situation favoring barracks communism has nothing in common with its justification and acceptance of its fatal inevitability.

Unlike various types of sectarians, the Marxist-Leninists do not believe all petty owners, the petite bourgeoisie, and the urban and rural strata sliding toward bankruptcy to constitute a homogeneous reactionary mass. Under certain circumstances the petty owner, the petit bourgeois, and the pauper could adopt a way of thinking and acting consistent with the objective requirements of the developing and strengthening of the revolutionary process headed by the working class and its party. One of the important prerequisites for this is the exposure of the theoretical groundlessness and practical harmfulness of the views, methods, and concepts characteristic of barracks communism. This is particularly important in the light of the fact that, in an effort to present themselves as left-wingers, its supporters, both past and present, have never abandoned their secret and open, indirect and direct, and silent

and official alliances both with right-wing forces (including the extreme right) as well as with liberal and middle-of-the-way sociopolitical forces.

Because of the reasons already mentioned no supporter of barracks communism describes it officially as such. In practical terms it cannot be achieved in its "pure form" because of its contradictory and utopian nature. Furthermore, the more persistently it is applied the more it deviates from scientific communism even though a number of the latter's concepts are officially acknowledged. Nevertheless, there exist a number of quite definite and clear symptoms which enable us to single out this radicalist trend of social thinking and political activity. What are they?

The conceptual and philosophical foundations of barracks communism have a clear subjective-idealistic aspect. Its supporters exaggerate the role of violence in history and consider the history of society as a substance which could be molded arbitrarily, as a kind of background and a field for voluntaristic activity. This leads to the rejection of objective laws governing social life. This was particularly clear in Bakunin's case. He ascribed the state a supernatural force, considering it as one of the main reasons for the existence of private ownership. Yet, he also assumed that one could "decree" the abolishment of the state. Essentially, such a neglect of objective laws may be found behind the famous slogan that "politics is a command force."

The most clearly idealistic and voluntaristic nature of the conceptual foundations of barracks communism may be found in its attitude toward the people's masses. Those who tried to pursue toward the masses a "shaking up policy" or else treat the masses as pawns in a chess game or consider them a "clean sheet of paper" on which "various patterns" could be drawn willingly engage in loud and extravagant praise of the masses and democratic rhetoric. In this case again the motivations of the manipulator are unimportant, whether they are based on the desire to benefit the masses, satisfy his own ambition, or both. Something else is important here from the philosophical viewpoint: the desire to subordinate objective reality to subjectivistic concepts.

In the political sphere such reactionary-utopian aspirations turn into a sort of double bookkeeping: the proclamation of some with the factual pursuit of other concealed objectives substantially and radically different from the objectives and ideals of the international working class which are labeled the subjectivistic ambitious aspirations of a narrow group of ideologues and politicians. Thus, the proclaimed struggle against "authoritarianism" in the International Associations of Workers concealed the struggle to seize the power within it; anarchic revolutionary slogans concealed a Machiavellian plan to control the working class, as Marx and Engels stated.

Such double bookkeeping largely explains the obvious gap between official objectives and practiced methods. However, the gap disappears when we take into consideration the true, i.e., the secret and thoroughly concealed objectives of the leaders of barracks communism. It was no accident that Bakunin himself likened his followers to the Jesuits. Characterizing the



activities of the Alliance, Marx and Engels wrote: "For the sake of achieving its objectives this society stops at nothing, at no treachery; lies, slander, threats, and sneaky attacks are all equally characteristic of it" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 18, p 329). Therefore, the "Alliance anarchy is implemented through the practices of the inquisition" (ibid, p 365).

The most indicative features of the political activeness of the supporters of barracks communism are provocations and adventurism. Even one hundred years ago they called for "not leaving one stone on top of another in the contemporary order to things...Initially throughout Europe and then in the rest of the world." Such appeals could be heard to this day with certain modifications of an even more sinister nature. The sensational adventures of S. Nechayev, the Bakuninist agent in Russia, who murdered the student I. Ivanov, and the detention of dozens of progressive young people by the tsarist security service could be reduced to an insignificant event compared with the broad adventures of the contemporary supporters of barracks communism.

For the sake of achieving their ambitious political objectives the supporters of barracks communism are inclined to make extensive use of methods for ordering the masses. Such methods are alien to the Marxists-Leninists. Thus, sharply condemning Trotsky for his wish to "tighten the screw" and "shake up the trade unions," Lenin pointed out that Trotsky was supporting "not the best but the worst of military experience," and "the worst in the experience of the worst elements among the military: bureaucracy and swaggering" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 221).

Pursuing their objectives, the authors of the program for the liberation of the "unskilled workers of all countries" are willing to doom to "total disaster" all revolutionaries who refuse to be the puppets of a small group of "initiated."

The Marxists-Leninists, the true leaders of the world's working class, have always categorically rejected such objectives and means. Still topical in this connection is the assessment made by Lenin of the supporters of "urging on" the revolution by waging war against world imperialism. Addressing in 1918 the Moscow Soviet deputies, Vladimir Il'ich cautioned: "Be aware of the fact that anyone who would call upon you now to engage in an active armed open struggle against international predatory imperialism would be committing an act of treason to the people. He would be acting consciously or subconsciously as a provocateur and a servant of one or another handful of imperialists. Anyone who opposes the tactic we have followed of late, even though calling himself the most "leftist" and even extreme leftist communist would be a poor revolutionary or I may even say not a revolutionary at all" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, pp 234-235).

True, unlike their ideological predecessors who frequently displayed extraordinary personal courage on the revolutionary barricades\* the pseudo-

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\* Naturally, it is no accident that the plan for propaganda through monuments, approved by Lenin at the dawn of the Soviet system, called for a monument to M. A. Bakunin as well.

Marxist inspirers of the "extreme revolutionaries" of the last third of the twentieth century resemble far more the international provocateurs who hoped to avoid the storms and tempests in the silence of their offices while intensively urging others on.

Facing, again and again, the permanent failure of their reactionary-utopian social projects, the authors of such projects try to shift their annoyance from their own entirely natural failures above all to those who systematically defend the scientific principles governing the building of the new system of domestic and international relations. The antagonism of militant pseudo Marxists reveals the extreme destructiveness of their activities and their harmfulness to the dissemination of a climate of fruitful cooperation and reciprocal trust among peoples and countries on earth. The modern "extreme revolutionaries" who, only yesterday, proclaimed their readiness to sacrifice to their objectives one-half of mankind, are today actively working, together with the open reactionaries, to wreck detente, arguing that a new world war is inevitable while "chaos" in the international arena is something "good and not bad."

In its economic views barracks communism has not greatly progressed from one century ago: its credo has remained essentially the same: "Produce for society as much as possible and consume as little as possible."

The principle of distribution according to labor, considered as bourgeois until recently, is acknowledged in a very curtailed fashion. It is only the destructive pressure of suppressed objective laws that forces the introduction of elements of material incentive more in words than in fact. As a whole, the trend toward equalization remains predominant.

Yet, equalization in consumption has nothing in common with communism. It is a copy of the ascetic and equalizing communism described by Marx in the 1840's: "This communism which totally rejects the individual is merely the consistent manifestation of private ownership in its negative aspect...All private property as such feels, at least toward wealthier private property, jealousy and the desire for equalization" stemming "from the concept of a certain minimum. It is guided by a certain limited measure. The fact that such an elimination of private property is not in the least the true development of such property may be seen precisely in the abstract rejection of the entire world of culture and civilization and a return to the unnatural...simplicity of the poor, coarse man without means, a man who has not only failed to rise above the level of private ownership but has not even reached it yet" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 42, pp 114-115).

Assessing the Trotskyite concept of combining shock labor with equalization in consumption, V. I. Lenin pointed out the inadmissibility of a gap between consumption and production. "This is total theoretical confusion," he wrote. "This is entirely wrong. Shock work is privilege and privilege without consumption is nothing. If I am so privileged as to be given an eighth of a pound of bread I would rather not be awarded such a privilege. Privilege in shock work means privilege in consumption as well. Without it shock work is

a dream, a cloud. Yet, we are materialists" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 212).

Understandably, circumstances may arise in the course of building socialism in which we must quite deliberately engage in sacrifices, limit consumption, increase administrative measures, and reduce the realm of economic incentives. Such was the case in Soviet Russia during the period of "war communism." Substantiating the policy of "war communism" of that period, Lenin pointed out that "it was forced by the war and the destruction. It neither was nor could be a policy consistent with the economic tasks of the proletariat" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 220).

The social and psychological roots of the economic terms of equalization are the extreme revolutionism of the petty owner going bankrupt. "The petit bourgeois revolutionary," Lenin pointed out, "typically fails to notice that it is insufficient for socialism to wreck, break, and so on. This may be sufficient for the petty owner who is mad at the big owner. However, the proletarian revolutionary would never commit such an error" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 294).

Yet, what is the specific, the practical meaning of the ascetic-equalizing ideas regardless of their seemingly obvious economic absurdity? Whom do they benefit, what is their purpose? To find the answer to this question we should again turn to Marx's and Engel's criticism of Bakunin's type of barracks communism. The hostility of the Bakuninists not only toward the bourgeois but the revolutionary state of the working class was explained by the founders of Marxism as follows: "...As long as the working class will have its representative organs Messrs. Bakunin and Nechayev...will be unable to become the owners of the social wealth and harvest the fruits of the lofty ambitious aspiration which they so eagerly try to promote in others: to work a lot in order to consume little!" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 18, p 415). Therefore, the practical purpose of the economic doctrine of barracks communism is to use non-economic means for depriving the people's masses of the results of their toil, leaving them a bare minimum and channel everything else toward the ambitious objectives benefiting a small group of makers of the destinies of the crowd.

This is the purpose of the cult of ignorance, narrow mindedness, and obscurantism which has replaced just about all culture. Here again we are amazed by the similarity and even frank coincidence between the ideas of barracks communism of one century ago and of the present.

"We must not teach the people but incite them to rebellion." Such was the concept of the supporters of barracks communism in the 19th century, directed less against bourgeois governments than the "revolutionaries-governmentalists," and the systematic supporters of the creation of representative organs of the working class, and against the promotion of scientific-revolutionary awareness among the masses.

"The rebellion is right." This was the latest word of the "Great Helmsman" who encouraged the rebels of the 1960's and 1970's to break down schools and

universities, persecute teachers and professors, and, in the final account, discredit Marxism-Leninism--the greatest international gain of all contemporary human culture. "The reading of many books," the idol "instructed" the rebels, "will not make you an emperor." What about the writings of the "emperor" himself? This too was taken into account. Bakunin himself had recommended that only a few of his own appeals be read. The youth was instructed "to abandon academies, universities, and schools."

Reality is forcing some of the heirs of the "Helmsman" to oppose the total rejection of all science which has reached a level of absurdity. Yet, the heirs continue to promote his legacies, discouraging the masses from the study of the theory and practice of the international communist movement, and the factual processes of building a new world by the members of the socialist comity. In the eyes of the supporters of barracks communism the ideal "serious member of society" is one who has "killed within himself all curiosity and persecutes it mercilessly in anyone else." This is no accident: the dulling, if not the total deadening of all curiosity leads to ignorance. "Here thinking and science are strictly banned to the young people as worldly occupations which could make them question the all-destructive orthodoxy. Anyone who might persist in his theoretical heresy or undertake the vulgar criticism of the dogmas of universal amorphousness is threatened with the holy inquisition." Such was the picture presented and condemned by Marx and Engels (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 18, p 398) of the cultivation of political half-knowledge with the help of which the only scientific class-party approach to social life is replaced by blind faith in the sacredness of the "Helmsman" and his dogmas, while scientific communism is replaced with barracks communism.

3

Such are, in their most general features, some of the characteristics which help to diagnose the barracks communism way of thinking and living. This is no simple task. As an extremely reactionary radical variety of social utopianism, modern pseudo communism is not any particular legitimate phase of social development. It cannot entirely replace all levels and realms of the social organism--base and superstructural--without triggering a catastrophe, a shock. In real life barracks principles, under the conditions we mentioned, could be applied in a type of social structure whose working class is relatively weak and in which the foundations of socialism are merely being laid.

Naturally, this is not to say that such foundations are compatible with barracks communism. It is precisely the opposite! They clash and reject it. The rejection is most decisive in the realm of economics. This is precisely the reason for the economic, ideological, and political upheavals experienced by a society stricken by pseudo communism. We should point out that such features may become interwoven with others, particularly with right-wing opportunistic violations of scientific communism. Such is the case, for example, when the left-wing rejection of objective economic laws leads, essentially, to the adoption of some right-wing revisionist concepts of the

possibility for a spontaneous development of the production process uncontrolled by a single national plan.

Such combinations could be used for a new "revised and expanded" edition of barracks communism in order to claim a separation between the doctrine and the most scandalous excesses related to it which would repel the broadest possible circles of world public opinion. The purpose of the tactical changes is to strengthen the barracks system and broaden the reduced circle of its supporters and allies throughout the world even through the method of establishing confidential relations with obvious enemies of communism.

There is a characteristic sort of "reciprocal amnesty" which is occasionally reciprocally granted by the supporters of Maoism and of so-called "humane socialism" who are zealously attacking the new system existing in the fraternal socialist countries. Such alliances are indicative of the theoretical and political face of the Maoist and of some liberal socialists.

Interacting and intertwining with other "left-wing" and right-wing, liberal, conservative, bourgeois, and pre-bourgeois non-Marxist theories, the ideas, views, and concepts of barracks communism, nevertheless, represent a relatively autonomous ideological and political current distinguished by its specific characteristics. Having essentially nothing in common with scientific communism, the views of barracks communism are its own caricature.

Encountering it today, the working class is dealing essentially with the same type of hostile radical movement which was sharply opposed by the founders of Marxism themselves. In our time, however, under substantially different conditions, the problem of counteracting barracks communism has assumed a newly topical nature: ideologues and politicians have appeared who are trying to promote it as a state organization and extend it to international and intergovernmental relations.

The criticism of the views and stipulations of barracks communism, vitally needed by the working class, is aimed at defending and strengthening the positions of scientific communism and factual socialism, rather than weakening and undermining them. It is precisely this scientific depth and party-mindedness that is the basic distinction separating Marxist-Leninist criticism of barracks communism from its criticism on the right. The works written by Marx and Engels between 1871 and 1873 include passages whose expository nature is superior to the pictures of barracks communism depicted by its bourgeois critics. The Marxist-Leninist criticism of the anti-humanistic stipulations of barracks communism is a substantiation of the historical need for the leading role of the working class and its party, and for strengthening and improving socialist statehood, democratic order and legality, conscious discipline, and organization in all realms of the new society.

Turning to the problems of barracks communism, we must distinguish between the ideologues who promote it and the social strata and groups of working people who have yielded or could yield to its influence. The ability of the

revolutionary party of the working class, of the communists, to approach the masses and lead them to real, to scientific socialism and communism will greatly determine the speed and success with which the respective strata and groups will be freed from such influence. It was no accident that Lenin spoke so passionately of the need for the communists to develop the ability to do so, the ability "to guide not only their own party but these masses as well, in the course of their campaign and conversion to a new position" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 78). In the final years of his life Lenin did not weaken in the least his attention to the struggle against right-wing opportunism and adamantly struggled against the "left-wing disease."

The study of the history of the struggle waged by the Marxist classics against the "extreme revolutionaries" most clearly shows that the ideas and methods of the modern heirs of the latter were far from being as original and fresh as claimed. History mercilessly proves the unpromising and fatal nature of such ideas and methods. However, our look at history is not reduced in the least to a flat statement such as "All this is long gone..." Life mercilessly faces the supporters of pseudo communism with the need to revise somewhat their ideological and political arsenal. Willy-nilly they must react to the inevitably changing circumstances. This is related to the noted differentiation, sometimes obvious and quite drastic, found in the camp of the supporters of Maoism in China and, to an even greater extent, on the outside. Some continue to justify the past and to predict a new "cultural revolution." Others display a critical attitude toward it while others again even tend to reject it. They call for intensifying and "improving" terrorism and "internationalizing" Maoism. They accuse one another of treason while some of them tend to adopt the hippy attitude. Perhaps, however, the fact that some recent "rebels" are showing the desire to think and critically to look at their own experience of the past may be symptomatic. Such people do not appear hopeless, particularly should we be able to help them in taking the difficult and important step without which no full political maturity exists, a step from the sober interpretation of personal experience to the proper understanding of historical experience. Such an experience totally opposes pseudo communism and favors scientific communism.

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GENERAL COURSE OF THE CPSU

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 77 pp 115-120

[Review by V. Gorshkov, doctor of historical sciences, M. Iskrov, doctor of historical sciences, and V. Poznyak, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Ukrainy v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S'yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The Communist Party of the Ukraine in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and Central Committee Plenums]. In two vols. Vol 1, 1918-1941. Kiev, Politizdat Ukrainy, 1976, 1062 pages. Vol 2, 1941-1976. Kiev, Politizdat Ukrainy, 1977, 1083 pages. Editors: V. I. Yurchuk (editor-in-chief), Yu. N. Yel'chenko, G. K. Kryuchkov, V. N. Mazur, P. K. Musiyenko, and F. M. Rudich]

[Text] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, created by the great Lenin, covered a glorious path of struggle and victories. It was the inspirer and organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution--the main event of the twentieth century which laid the beginning of the epoch of transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism. The building of a developed socialist society and its legislative consolidation in the constitution of the first socialist state of the whole people are the outstanding results of the 60-years-long path covered by the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU.

The universal-historical significance of the experience of the CPSU was profoundly revealed in the party's Central Committee accountability report to its 25th Congress, in the report "The Great October and the Progress of Mankind," delivered on 2 November 1977 by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and in the speeches by the representatives of communist and workers' parties and national-liberation movements. The party considers the past as the richest reservoir of experience, and as the material for thinking and critical study of its own decisions and actions. The documents of its congresses, conferences, and Central Committee plenums are the treasury of the experience of the Leninist Party. They show, in a summed-up fashion, the tremendous theoretical and practical activities of the CPSU in developing the new social system and reflect with exhaustive fullness its eternal life.

The tremendous role of the party organizations of union republics as the most important links of the Leninist Party, bearing the main responsibility for the implementation of party policy locally, was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress. The activities of republic communist parties and their experience in varied theoretical, political, ideological, and organizational work has been reflected with equal fullness in the decisions of their congresses, conferences, and plenums.

All this shows the exceptional importance of the publication of documents of party congresses, conferences, and plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and of its component communist parties in the fraternal Soviet republics.

In 1976-1977 the Institute of Party History of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee--a branch of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the Ukrainian SSR Politizdat published the third two-volume edition of resolutions and decisions of congresses and conferences of the KPU [Communist Party of the Ukraine] and of the plenums of its Central Committee.

The first volume covers material from July 1918 to May 1941; the second covers the period from June 1941 to 1976. This includes documents of the 25th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress. In addition to the resolutions of all KPU congresses and conferences, it contains the most important documents of Central Committee plenums, including over 200 documents systematically classified for the first time. This has considerably enriched the historical base for the study of the history of the Ukrainian party organization.

All documents contained in the two-volume work reflecting the activities of the KPU in the various historical periods are imbued with loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the all-party interests, and the spirit of dedicated service to the working class and the entire Soviet people. Guided by V. I. Lenin and the Leninist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian party organization made a worthy contribution to strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, defending the gains of the October Revolution, and the building of socialism and communism. It grew into a "big and great detachment of communists in our entire country" (L. I. Brezhnev).

1

The Communist Party of the Ukraine was created in connection with the founding of the Ukrainian SSR and was developed on the basis of the Leninist theoretical, organizational, and tactical principles, on the basis of the organizations of the RKP(b) which operated on the republic's territory. Its First Congress was held in July 1918, under exceptionally complex conditions. The congress resolution called for "the unification of the party communist organizations of the Ukraine into a Communist Party of the Ukraine, autonomous in terms of local matters, with its Central Committee and its congresses but part of the single Russian Communist Party, subordinate in matters of program general congresses of the Russian Communist Party and to



the Russian Communist Party Central Committee on general political matters" (Vol 1, p 24).

This and other documents included in the collection clearly prove the high understanding which the Ukrainian communists had of their international duty and organic affiliation with the single Leninist Party.

The founding of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and of the other Soviet republics as structural parts of the RKP(b) was codified by the resolution passed at its Eighth Congress. It marked a new stage in the life of our party and was an outstanding contribution to the theory and practice of party construction in a multinational country.

The collection's documents reveal the active internationalist efforts of the Communist Party of the Ukraine to strengthen the friendship between the Ukrainian people with the Russian people and the other fraternal peoples of the young socialist state, and to develop and enrich the forms of cooperation between Soviet Ukraine, the RSFSR, and the other Soviet republics. The party members of the Ukrainian SSR were steadily guided by Lenin's instruction that only "with the single action of the Russian and Ukrainian proletariat would a free Ukraine be possible. Without such unity there could be no question of it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 24, p 128).

The decisions of the First Congress of the KP(b)U on the need to struggle "for the revolutionary unification of the Ukraine with Russia on the basis of proletarian centralism" (p 21) was imbued with the spirit of Lenin's instructions, and so were the resolutions passed at the Fourth Conference of the KP(b)U which emphasized that all attempts to weaken the alliance between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR "are essentially counterrevolutionary and directed against the very power of the workers and peasants" (p 70), and the resolutions passed at all subsequent congresses and conferences of the KP(b)U.

The total ideological, political, and organizational defeat of the bourgeois-nationalistic counterrevolution during the civil war was the historical achievement of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks and the triumph of the class solidarity of the working people. The documents in the collection confirmed the contribution made by the Ukrainian republic party organization to our party's solution of a problem of historical importance to the destiny of the Soviet peoples: the founding of the USSR. Headed by the communists, the Ukrainian workers and peasants warmly supported this Leninist idea. Emphasizing the universal-historical significance of the founding of the USSR "on the basis of total equality, and the good will of workers and peasants of all separate union republics" (p 273), the Seventh Conference of the KP(b)U Conference (April 1923) noted that "Today the Soviet Union is the only part of the world in which national hostility and struggle have been dealt a mortal blow, where national oppression has been eliminated, and where an atmosphere of reciprocal trust has been created and foundations laid for a fraternal alliance among the toiling masses of all nationalities" (ibid).

The founding of the Soviet Union multinational state on Lenin's initiative and under his guidance was of decisive importance to the successful building of socialism in our country, the blossoming and rapprochement among socialist nations, and the appearance of a new historical community--the Soviet people. The documents and factual data cited in the collection prove convincingly and clearly the tremendous vital importance of the fraternal unification of the Soviet peoples to the Ukrainian working people.

From the moment of its founding the KPU became the inflexible support of the Central Committee of the RKP(b) in the struggle for the party's general line and unity within its ranks, and against Trotskyites, "left-wing" and right-wing opportunists, and various bourgeois national deviationists. The republic's communists warmly approved and systematically implemented the decision of the Tenth RKP(b) Congress on insuring the party's unity. Loyalty to Leninism and the political vigilance and principled-mindedness of the Ukrainian communists doomed to failure within the ranks of the KP(b)U of the capitulationist encroachments of the Trotskyites, of the "new opposition," and of the Trotsky-Zinov'yev bloc. After unanimously approving the resolution of the 13th RKP(b) Conference "On the Results of the Discussion and on the Petit Bourgeois Deviation in the Party," the Eighth Conference of the KP(b)U (May 1924) noted that "The struggle against all petit bourgeois deviations in the party and the strengthening of party unity on the basis of a firm party line based on Leninism is the most important task of the KP(b)U Central Committee in the forthcoming period" (p 290). Summing up the results of the struggle against Trotskyism, the 11th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress (June 1930) noted the following: "Marching in the leading ranks of the VKP(b), the KP(b)U defeated Trotskyism which, in the very blossoming of its existence, was unable to develop in the Ukraine any kind of organization or even any type of noticeable nucleus" (p 698).

The republic's communists adopted a principled and a decisive position in the struggle against the right-wing deviation within the party. Under the leadership of the VKP(b) Central Committee they launched a systematic and irreconcilable struggle against right-wing deviationism as the main danger in the period of socialist offensive along the entire front, considering victory in this struggle a decisive prerequisite for the implementation of the party's Leninist course. The leaders of the right-wing deviation were condemned at the April 1929 joint plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the KP(b)U for their capitulationist positions and unprincipled behavior, and appealed to the joint plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission with the request to remove them from leading party positions. The plenum noted that "Successful progress on the path to the building of socialism in town and country is possible only with the decisive surmounting within our own ranks of the confusions and deviations and, above all and particularly of the right-wing opportunistic deviation..." (p 590).

The collection's documents revealed the systematically internationalist position taken by the Ukrainian Communist Party in the implementation of the Leninist national policy and its intolerance of any manifestation whatever of

nationalism. Exposing the dangerous activities of the national deviationists, the 10th Congress of the KP(b)U (November 1927) emphasized that under the pretext of taking into consideration national characteristics they ignored the objective laws governing the socialist development of the Soviet republics and came closer to the Trotskyites. They opposed the possibility to build socialism in the USSR, friendship among the peoples, and proletarian internationalism. The 11th Congress of the KP(b)U noted the ideological defeat of nationalistic deviations in the party (see pp 697-698).

By exposing Trotskyism, right-wing deviationism, and nationalism, the CPSU inflicted a major ideological and political defeat to opportunism in the world's communist movement before the war. It defended Leninism, the Leninist theory of the party, and the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution.

The documents and materials of the congresses and conferences of the Ukrainian Communist Party and of its Central Committee plenums show its firm implementation of the Leninist principles of party construction. The development of intra-party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, systematic implementation of the principle of collective leadership, mastering the Leninist style of work, and improving organizational-party and ideological activities insured the participation of the broad party masses in the solution of all problems of social life in the republic, and to upgrading the combat capability of each party organization. A total of 15 congresses of the Ukrainian Communist Party were held between 1918 and 1941 (between 1920 and 1924 the fourth to the eighth party conferences had the status of congresses). The congresses dealt with the most important problems of party, state, economic, and cultural construction in the republic.

The steady growth of party ranks, reflecting the increased prestige of the party, and the strengthening of its ties with the working class and the broad toiling masses, is a legitimate development of the CPSU based on its class and revolutionary nature. This law has been fully manifested in the development of the Ukrainian Communist Party. The collection cites impressive data: whereas the delegates to the First Congress of the KP(b)U represented 4,364 party members, on the eve of the Great Patriotic War the republic's party organization had 636,914 party members and candidate members. Its ranks included the best representatives of the working class of the Donbas, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozh'ye, rich in revolutionary traditions, the Black Sea sailors, workers in the socialist fields, and Soviet intelligentsia. The influx of the best forces of the republic's working people into the ranks of the KP(b)U proves that the Ukrainian party organization is systematically implementing the Leninist Party policy expressing the basic interests of the people.

The participation of the Ukrainian communists in the implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of communism in the USSR is confirmed by a considerable number of documents included in the collection.

The Ukrainian communists, working class, and toiling peasantry enthusiastically supported the Leninist course taken by the Communist Party to the country's

industrialization and agricultural collectivization. The documents of the leading organs of the republic's Communist Party concretized the task of establishing a heavy industry and increasing its share in the Ukrainian national economy, earmarked practical measures for the implementation of socialist changes in the countryside, and provided a comprehensive analysis of economic problems. The party organizations which concentrated their organizational and mass-political work on insuring the successful implementation of the first five-year plans focused their attention on production rationalization, upgrading labor productivity, economy, accelerated building of plants for agricultural equipment, organizing the sponsorship of the working class over villages, and the development of the political and labor discipline of the working people of town and country.

The party awakened in the working people tremendous creative energy. The collection's documents include appeals and practical measures aimed at the development of the socialist competition: "...For 100 percent implementation of the economic plan, for labor discipline, for high socialist labor productivity, for better quality of output, and for low production cost!" (p 656). At that time many valuable initiatives launched by workers and kolkhoz members appeared in the Ukraine and spread throughout the country: the Stakhanovite movement, the 500 movement, and many others. Enriched with new experience, to this day they are of very great importance.

The documents contained in the collection also show the work of the party members for the implementation of the cultural revolution in the republic, the development of public education, literature, and the arts, the creation of cadres of the new Soviet intelligentsia, and the exposure of the Ukrainian toiling masses to the treasuries of Russian and world culture and the culture of all Soviet peoples. As the 10th Congress of the KP(b)U emphasized, "Having found in the fraternal union of Soviet republics free from capitalism...the Communist Party created a guarantee for upgrading, shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples, the cultural standard of the Ukrainian people and for insuring the all-round development of Ukrainian culture not through struggle and hatred among nations but on the basis of the international foundations of cultural cooperation..." (p 530). Under the guidance of the party organizations, in the prewar years illiteracy was eliminated, the network of schools, VUZ's, and technical schools was expanded successfully, a widespread network of cultural and educational institutions was being created, and the culture of the Ukrainian people was developed, socialist in content and national in form.

As a result of the implementation of Lenin's legacy--the successful fulfillment of the plans for the country's industrialization, agricultural collectivization, and the cultural revolution--by the middle of the 1930's socialism had been essentially built in the USSR. Within the family of fraternal Soviet nations the Ukraine became a republic with powerful industry, cooperated agriculture, and highly developed socialist culture.

The collection's second volume opens with documents concerning the activities of the Communist Party of the Ukraine during one of the most complex periods in the life of the Soviet state--the time of the Great Patriotic War. In the course of a lengthy and most fierce and difficult of all wars ever experienced by our homeland, a war which was the biggest conflict between socialism and the shock forces of world imperialism, the Soviet people accomplished an exploit unparalleled in the history of mankind. They were not only able to defend their freedom and independence but to make a decisive contribution to the salvation of universal civilization from the fascist barbarians.

Together with all the other peoples of our country, the Ukrainian people rose to the defense of the socialist fatherland and the great gains of the October Revolution. Under the wise leadership of the Leninist Party the working people of Soviet Ukraine honorably withstood the severe trials. Headed by the communists, they displayed boundless loyalty to the cause of socialism, courage, heroism, and inflexible moral and ideological firmness.

Guided by the specific program for the mobilization of the working people to resist the enemy, formulated by the VKP(b) Central Committee and its Politburo, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the leading state organs of the republic, and the clandestine KP(b)U Central Committee, established on 2 October 1942 to lead the partisan movement and the underground, and all party members carrying out important party assignments, did tremendous political and organizational work. The strict and militarily brief documents included in the collection are appeals and decrees issued by the higher leading organs of the republic aimed at developing active operations against the occupying forces. They contain specific measures implemented by the republic's party organization for the development of the guerrilla movement, and the intensification of ideological work on the territory temporarily occupied by the enemy and, in the course of its liberation by the Soviet Army, for the creation of party organizations and the development of their activities in the liberated areas, the organization of the work of local soviets, and the implementation of economic restoration operations. These materials, most of which published for the first time, recreate the complex and tense atmosphere of the thunderous war years which demanded of the party and its local organizations infinite control and organization, and the high art of heading the struggle of the people for victory on the front and the rear.

The trials experienced by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War reasserted the truth that the freedom and independence of the Ukraine, as of the other Soviet republics, was possible only within the family of fraternal Soviet peoples united within the great and indestructible USSR. The 16th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress, held in January 1949, which summed up the activities of the republic's party organizations in the war and in the first post-war years, noted with satisfaction that "the alliance between the Ukrainian people and the great Russian and the other fraternal peoples of the

Soviet Union represents such a powerful force which the fascists were unable to surmount and which no other enemies of our people will ever surmount" (Vol 2, p 259).

The powerful life-bringing strength of the Leninist friendship among the peoples, clearly manifested at all stages in the development of the Soviet state, helped the Ukrainian working people rapidly to restore the national economy destroyed by the enemy, rebuild thousands of cities and villages from the ashes and the ruins and, in subsequent years, reach the peaks of economic and spiritual progress.

The documents contained in the second volume show the broadest possible range of political and organizational work carried out by the Ukrainian party organization. The resolutions and decrees passed at all post-war congresses of the Ukrainian Communist Party and Central Committee plenums vividly reflect the selfless creative toil of the republic's workers, kolkhoz members, and intelligentsia who, within a single united rank, together with all working people of our multinational homeland, under the leadership of the CPSU, systematically fought for the implementation of the national economic plans and for the building of developed socialism.

The party members and all working people in the republic accepted the decisions of all-party congresses and CPSU Central Committee decrees, many of which analyzed the work of the Ukrainian party organizations and contained important and basic stipulations concerning its further improvement, as a combat program for action. The documents reflecting the aspiration and resolve of the Ukrainian party members firmly to follow the Leninist general party course, earmark specific organizational-political measures aimed at the mobilization of material and labor resources, the energizing of intra-party life, upgrading the level of political and educational work among the masses, implementation of cadre policy, and intensification of the party's leadership of state organs and public organizations.

The October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum was an event of historical importance in the party's life. Its decisions marked the strengthening and further development of the party's course toward the intensification and expansion of intra-party democracy, the strict observance of the Leninist norms and principles of party and state life, and the assertion of the Leninist style of work and methods of leadership. Having firmly condemned manifestations of subjectivism which hindered the development of the Soviet society, the plenum proved the monolithic unity of the party and its Leninist principle-mindedness and political maturity. Together with our entire party the historical decisions of the plenum were unanimously approved by its Ukrainian republic organization. The republic's Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, held in November 1964, firmly emphasized in its resolution that "The steadfast observance of the Leninist principles, and the creative improvement, on their basis, of the organizational forms, style, and methods of party leadership are a guarantee and a mandatory condition for the successful implementation of the great program for the building of communism in our country" (p 836).

Documents of the last decade account for a great part of the second volume. The decisions passed at KP(b)U congresses and Central Committee plenums during that period offer a clear idea of the profound processes characterizing the further development and strengthening of the mature socialist society, the tremendous scope of economic and cultural construction, and the solution of sociopolitical problems in the entire country, including the Ukrainian SSR.

Guided by the decisions of the March and September 1965 CPSU Central Committee plenums on surmounting the lag in agriculture, strengthening its economy, improving industrial management, improving planning, increasing economic incentive for industrial output, and upgrading the material interest of working people in town and country in the result of their labor, and implementing the great program for the country's economic development, under the guidance of the party organization the republic's working people achieved considerable successes in increasing industrial and agricultural output and expanding the capacities of the building industry.

The economy of the Ukrainian SSR is an inseparable component of the single national economic complex of the Soviet state. It developed dynamically and stably and, in some indicators, even above the planned pace. In the past 10 years productive capital in the republic's national economy doubled. Over 500 big modern industrial enterprises were completed. Some 34 billion rubles were invested in agricultural development--over twice the amount invested in all previous years under the Soviet system. The wages of workers and employees rose 40 percent while that of kolkhoz members rose 60 percent. Social consumption funds more than doubled. Major successes were achieved also in the development of science and in all cultural construction sectors.

All this was backed by the tremendous organizational and ideological work of the Ukrainian party organization and its leading organs. Steadfastly implementing the party's decisions, and following the example of the CPSU Central Committee, which is giving the example of a Leninist profoundly scientific approach to the solution of all problems, its leading organs are adamantly improving their organizational and political arsenal. The documents in the collection depict the way the Ukrainian Communist Party, using the most effective ways, means, and methods for work among the masses, has worked to upgrade their labor and political activeness.

The decisions of the plenums of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, particularly on major problems such as further improvements in organizational work and control of execution of party and governmental decrees (November 1966), improving party information (March 1968), upgrading the militancy of primary party organizations (June 1971), improving the choice, placement, and education of cadres (April 1973), on the results of the exchange of party documents (May 1975), and others, confirm the ever-greater intensification of scientific management methods and the practical utilization of the comprehensive systems approach to the study and solution of problems and the implementation of all tasks. The study of the documents shows that the style of work of the

party committees is characterized to an ever-greater extent by the ability to make a profound study of the processes of social life, assess achievements critically, see further developments, single out main priority problems, and resolve them through methods inherent in party organs.

Characteristic of the Ukrainian Communist Party, as of the entire CPSU, is an atmosphere of trust in and respect for cadres combined with principled exactingness toward them. This creates all possibilities for the manifestation of their abilities, fruitful work, and systematic observance of the principles of collective leadership in the activities of all organs and their managers. The measures to strengthen the leadership of the republic's party organization, adopted at the May 1972 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, played an important role in the establishment of such circumstances (see p 977).

The documents issued in recent years confirm that the Ukrainian Communist Party and its Central Committee are particularly concerned with further improvements of ideological work, insuring its aggressive, specific, and purposeful nature, and intensifying the class, patriotic, and international education of the working people.

The collection ends with documents of the 25th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party which was an important event in the life of the republic's party members and all working people. It took place under circumstances marked by high political and labor upsurge created by the preparations for the 25th CPSU Congress and under the sign of the implementation of the historical plans with which the entire Soviet people live and work today. The resolution of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine provides a profound analysis of the work of the republic's party organizations, emphasizing that its main result is insuring the implementation of the basic political and socioeconomic tasks set by the 24th CPSU Congress.

At their congress the Ukrainian party members formulated the specific tasks of development of all national economic sectors in the republic for the immediate future, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the increased effectiveness of industrial and agricultural output, and improvements in the quality of the work. Its documents provide a profound and comprehensive substantiation of the basic directions of organizational-party and ideological work aimed at implementing the tasks of economic and sociopolitical development, the molding of the new man, the all-round development of the individual, and the improvement of the socialist way of life.

Drafting and, together with the republic's Politizdat, publishing this two-volume collection of documents, the KPU Central Committee Institute of Party History has completed a major and useful project. We would like to see in subsequent editions of the collection auxiliary reference indicators and, as an appendix, the most important decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and of the all-party conferences in the Ukraine.



The publication of this work is an important event in the ideological and political life of the republic. Published on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and on the eve of the anniversary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, it represents an excellent gift in honor of these great anniversaries. It will contribute to the further upsurge of all organizational and ideological work of the republic's party organization. Under developed socialist conditions, with the steady growth of the guiding and leading role of the CPSU, it becomes more necessary to study the ideological and theoretical heritage of the Leninist Party. The work will become a handbook for the party cadres and for anyone engaged in scientific and agitation-propaganda and educational work, and a textbook for the profound study of the history of the Communist Party of the Ukraine--one of the great combat detachments of the great Leninist Party.

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