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## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 13, September 1978

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IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 3-5

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered the results of the friendly meetings held in July-August 1978 in Crimea between L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, on the one hand, and G. Khusak, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee general secretary and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic president, E. Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, J. Kadar, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, E. Gierek, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, N. Ceausescu, Socialist Republic of Romania president, T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and Bulgarian People's Republic State Council chairman, and Yu. Tsedenbal, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the presidium of the people's great Hural, on the other. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo expresses its full approval of the work done by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and considers that the talks held are of great importance to the further development of the fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the CPSU and the Soviet state, on the one hand, and the communist parties and the peoples of the members of the socialist comity, on the other.

The Crimean meetings convincingly proved that the implementation of the constructive plans earmarked at the congresses of communist and workers parties of the fraternal countries is accompanied by the broadening of relations among socialist countries in all most important areas of social life--politics, economics, and ideology. The agreements reached in the Crimea provide a new impetus to the coordination of actions for the immediate and more distant future. In particular, they will help to draft the forthcoming five-year plans of the members of the socialist comity and their implementation through further ever more extensive production cooperation and specialization in order to ensure the most effective development of the economy of each of the countries and the further strengthening of the world socialist system as a whole.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo highly values the fact that in the course of the Crimean meetings a profound study was made of the contemporary international situation and that, in its light, a conclusion was reached on the need for further active efforts on the part of the socialist states and for their interaction in the interest of strengthening and intensifying detente as the leading trend of international life.

Recent events and, above all, the decisions reached at the Washington NATO session on a further substantial increase in armaments, followed by the passage by the American Congress of a record military budget, most clearly indicate the true objectives of the organizers of the stir in the West on the subject of an imaginary "military threat" presented by the socialist states. It is a question of creating a kind of propaganda screen to conceal an imperialist policy which goes against the expectations of the peoples who demand a lasting peace and an end to the arms race. Yet, such a camouflage will mislead no one.

The systematic attempts on the part of the United States and some other NATO countries to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist states, hiding behind hypocritical campaigns on imaginary "violations of human rights" in the socialist countries are also having an adverse effect on relations among countries belonging to different social systems. Such attempts constitute gross violations of the universally accepted norms of international law, and violations of the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo emphasizes the serious danger to the cause of peace and socialism of the actions of today's Chinese leadership. Pursuing a great power hegemonistic course, Peking is openly relying on the heating of international tension. It is using all possible means to undermine the positions of the socialist comity and of the revolutionary and liberation forces of our time. In an effort to gain access to NATO's military arsenals, the Chinese rulers are proclaiming in all possible ways their hostility to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and favoring an unrestrained arms race. What makes this policy even more dangerous is that it is supported by the most reactionary circles in the imperialist countries.

Already now the Chinese leadership is not shying at direct expansionist actions. This is confirmed by the gross chauvinistic pressure which China is applying on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, its instigation of military provocations of Cambodia against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and Peking's claims over neighboring country's territories.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo reasserts the inviolable solidarity between our party, Soviet state, and all Soviet people and the heroic Vietnamese people who are firmly defending their territorial integrity, independence, and right to build socialism in their country without external obstacles, threats, and pressure.



The CPSU Central Committee Politburo states that in the current more complex international circumstances as well, guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union, together with its friends and allies, intends adamantly to promote the intensification of detente, the broadening of peaceful mutually profitable cooperation among countries and, above all, the termination of the arms race and conversion to disarmament.

The major problems related to the termination of the arms race are already being discussed. It is important for the work already accomplished in the course of such talks not to be misguided but ground by substantial results. This applies, in particular, to the Soviet-American talks on limiting strategic offensive armaments, and the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo deems that under contemporary conditions it is adamantly necessary to counter most firmly any step which could undermine the detente process and turn international development back to cold-war times. More than ever before today we must strictly adhere to the principles of non-interference in domestic affairs of other countries, respect the rights of all nations to freedom and independence, and increase efforts to promote their peaceful cooperation the possibilities for which were clearly stipulated in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United Nations resolutions, and other international documents.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo expresses its satisfaction by the fact that in the course of the Crimean meetings the importance of the further development of cooperation among fraternal countries on the inviolable foundations of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and the coordination of their actions in the interest of the confident advancement of the cause of peace and social progress were reasserted. The Crimean talks held between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of the fraternal parties and states mark an important step in the further strengthening of the socialist comity, the intensification of all-round cooperation among fraternal parties, countries, and nations in the building of socialism and communism, and the creation of favorable conditions for the formulation of new steps in the development of this cooperation.

The CPSU Central Committee passed a number of decrees on specific problems of implementation of the bilateral agreements reached in the course of the friendly meetings in the Crimea.

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## ALL-CONQUERING STRENGTH OF COMMUNIST IDEAS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 6-19

[Unattributed review of the book "Aktual'nyye Voprosy Ideologicheskoy Raboty KPSS" [Topical Problems of CPSU Ideological Work] by L. I. Brezhnev. In two volumes. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, Vol 1, 631 pages; Vol 2, 606 pages]

[Text] The role and significance of the CPSU's ideological work is determined by the scale of the historic tasks which the people are tackling in the course of building socialism and communism and in the struggle for lasting peace and social progress. V. I. Lenin wrote: "The greater the scale and breadth of historical actions, the greater the number of people who participate in these actions and, conversely, the more profound the transformation that we want to produce, the more it is necessary to generate interest in, and a conscious attitude toward, this transformation and to convince more and more millions and tens of millions of this necessity" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, p 140). These days this instruction given by the great leader is especially topical: The radical revolutionary transformations of the present demand maximum activation of the masses and their further involvement in conscious historical creativity.

Unprecedentedly complex and important tasks now face our society. Be it a question of the creation of the material and technical base of communism, the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system of economic management, or the completion of the restructuring of all social relationships in line with collectivist principles, the improvement of the socialist way of life or the comprehensive, harmonious development of the new man possessing a communist world outlook and displaying a creative attitude toward labor, a patriot and internationalist--all these tasks are of worldwide-historic significance, and all of them can be solved successfully only with the active, organized and purposeful participation of the broadest toiling strata under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The scientific validity of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy, the undivided support of the masses for this policy, and the inviolable unity of the party and people are the source of all our victories, this is the

guarantee of our successes in the future. And this too determines the significance of that tremendous ideological work being performed by Lenin's party. The topical questions of this work at the present stage are examined comprehensively and in depth in the two-volume collection of reports, speeches, utterances, articles and greetings messages of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The book covers the period 1964-1978 when Soviet society took a fundamentally important step in its development, achieved a high level of socialist maturity, and emerged at new heights in communist progress. Important changes also took place during those years in the international arena, raising, in novel form, questions of the ideological struggle against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, against militarism and imperialist reaction, and against right and "left" opportunism. The party, as evidenced by the contents of this collective, always provided a lucid, scientifically substantiated, Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the phenomena of social life, and ideologically and politically armed the Soviet people reliably and in good time.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works sum up and generalize the tremendous experience of the party's ideological work, analyze its forms and methods, and point out ways for the further enhancement of its effectiveness.

#### I.

The success of the CPSU's ideological work in the period under examination--success expressed in the fulfillment of the scheduled plans for the development of the country's economy and culture and in the upsurge in the working people's labor and political activeness--was predetermined to a considerable extent by the constant attention which the party paid to the creative solution of the fundamental problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. The party proceeded from the premise that "at the present stage of the country's development, the requirement for the further creative elaboration of theory does not diminish but, on the contrary, becomes even greater" (Vol 2, p 167). This has made it possible to insure the substantial forward progression of Marxist-Leninist thought which has been expressed above all in the creation of the teaching about developed socialist society as a logical stage of the shaping of a communist socioeconomic formation. We rightly rank the teaching about developed socialism with other fundamental tenets of scientific communism.

Attentively and comprehensively analyzing the processes of the economic, socio-political and spiritual development of socialist society and generalizing the experience of the creative activity of the masses, the CPSU came to the conclusion that "victorious socialism must pass through definite stages of maturation, and that only a developed socialist society provides the opportunity to embark on building communism. However, as we now know," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stresses, "the development and improvement of socialism is a task no less complex and no less crucial than the creation of its foundations (Vol 2, p 364) and developed socialism itself is a "relatively long stage of development along the path from capitalism to communism"

(Vol 2, p 366). Defining the patterns, distinctive features and historical place of a developed socialist society constitutes one of the theoretical foundations of the CPSU's contemporary political line.

For the organization of the party's ideological work, a scientific analysis of developed socialism is important in many respects. Above all a profound and accurate knowledge of the specific nature of the tasks confronting society is, in itself, a powerful factor for enhancing people's labor and socio-political initiative, provides them with reliable points of reference in their daily practical activity, and enhances and organizes their energy and will. Socialism is a creation of the masses themselves, Lenin observed; when applied to developed socialism this proposition is doubly true. In order independently and consciously to solve the pressing tasks of a developed socialist society which is gradually growing, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, into a communist society, the masses must be armed with a scientific knowledge of its distinctive features and of those of its advantages which are to be fully brought to light and utilized. This knowledge makes the historical optimism inherent in Soviet people firmer and more valid, and it provides them with a weapon in the struggle against hostile propaganda which has grown unprecedentedly more active in recent years. Moreover, the teaching about developed socialism helps to draw up a precise strategy for all ideological work and to focus efforts along its main and decisive salients, and also to correctly coordinate the activity of all the state organs and public organizations which insure the growth of society's education and culture and which are responsible for communist education.

The description of developed socialism occupies an appreciable place in the book. Its features are analyzed in a particularly wide-ranging manner in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches connected with the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution and with the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. At this stage, the book notes, full scope is provided for the operation of the laws of socialism and for the revelation of its advantages in all spheres of social life. The organic integrity and dynamism of the social system, its political stability, and its indestructible inner unity are becoming obvious; the growing rapprochement of all classes and social groups, nations and nationalities of the country which is taking place with the working class playing the leading role has resulted in the fact that a new historical community of people--the united Soviet people--has taken shape, possessing a culture which is national in form but internationalist in spirit, and a socialist way of life. All these features of mature socialism, just like the process of the completion of the restructuring of all social relations on a collectivistic basis, determine the main directions of the CPSU's contemporary ideological work. Thus, the rapprochement among nations and national cultures poses in a new way the tasks of nurturing Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, while the growth of the social homogeneity of society makes new demands for the shaping of the class consciousness of people, especially the rising generation.

In material production and the economy, the main task of this stage of social development is the creation of the material and technical base of communism. The central element of the ideological backup for the successful solution of the set of tasks connected with this is now the mass struggle which has been launched under the party's leadership for enhancing the efficiency and quality of all work. The determining features of ideological activity in this direction are depicted in depth in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the 25th CPSU Congress and in his speech at the Central Committee October 1976 Plenum.

The results of the Ninth and first half of the Tenth five-year plans confirm how correctly and accurately the party's economic line and the methods of implementing it were outlined. The socialist planned economy is developing at a high pace, dynamically and stably, and the Soviet people have taken an important step in the implementation of the long-term socioeconomic program outlined by the party.

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the economic strategy which it drew up have become the chief points of reference for the socialist competition of the whole people. "Both its forms and its content," the book notes, "are now in many ways novel, and they accord with the level of the country's development and with the requirements of our future. The watchword of those participating in competition is now not simply to do more, but to do it even better and more economically" (Vol 2, pp 101-102). It is no accident that in recent years those initiatives of the working people who rely on a knowledge of economics and on the accumulated advanced experience of production and labor organization are coming increasingly to the fore in competition and are serving as an expression of the economic and organizational creativity of the masses (the Shchekino Method, brigade self-financing, unregulated teams, competition among related-skill workers along the production chain, movements with the mottoes "not a single laggard here!" and "our workers' guarantee for the five-year plan of quality!" and so forth). Such initiatives demonstrate the considerable growth of the political, moral, intellectual and professional potential of the working people and promote the revelation, deep within the masses, of the inexhaustible resources of creative energy inherent in socialism.

At the same time the qualitatively new level of socialist competition makes heightened demands both of its organizational and its ideological-moral aspects, and for the creation of a genuinely creative atmosphere in all elements of our social life and in each labor collective. The organization of competition at the contemporary stage, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, is a "complex matter that permits no stereotyping. Good undertakings and good initiatives need not only praise but constant concrete support. No useful undertaking must be allowed to die away. That is how the party formulates the question" (Vol 2, p 277).

The party teaches us to approach in a Leninist fashion the solution of the tasks of scientific and technical progress and beyond all this to perceive primarily man and his interests and requirements, his needs and aspirations,

his various particular opportunities for satisfying his material and spiritual needs. His various particular conditions of life as a worker with a family, it deems it essential to take into consideration his spiritual and psychological frame of mind. It is precisely "where it is a question of millions of people, of the conditions of their life, labor, and daily round," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reminded us in his report at the CPSU Central Committee July 1978 Plenum, "that the most serious policy starts for communists and it is precisely there that the main line of their organizational and ideological-political work runs" (Vol 2, p 585).

The creation of the most favorable prerequisites possible for the flourishing of the individual and the improvement of the socialist way of life also naturally imply the further development of the whole system of social relationships. In this connection the party's consistent course toward the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy, which has been given most vivid expression in the 1977 constitution unanimously approved by the Soviet people, is of fundamental importance. The CPSU's organizational and ideological-political work also consists of further galvanizing the activity of labor collectives and mass associations of the working people and enlisting as great a number as possible of the members of society in active participation in the running of the state, production and all public affairs. Socialism is not built by decrees "from above," it is the result of the living creativity of the multimillion-strong masses, and our entire practice convincingly confirms this Leninist idea. "At the stage of mature socialism and under conditions of a state of the whole people," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev observes in his article "A Historic Stage on the Path Toward Communism," "the increasingly broad and active participation of the working masses in the running of the country's life has become firmly established as the central salient of Soviet society's political development" (Vol 2, p 430). It is precisely in this direction that the party's organizational and ideological-political work is oriented by the propositions formulated in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book, whether it be a question of the development of democracy in production collectives, the tasks and forms of activity of the socialist state of the whole people, of the trade unions, Komsomol or other public organizations, or else, for example, the development of criticism and self-criticism.

The development and deepening of socialist democracy is inextricably linked with the strengthening of conscious, comradely discipline, with the enhancement of the responsibility of every citizen for affairs in the collective and in society and with the establishment in every element of our social life of an atmosphere of benevolence, respect and mutual exactingness--an atmosphere in which every honest citizen lives better and works better. Our democracy is suffused with the spirit of humanism and a high degree of morality and is humane in its content and in the nature of the way of life which it is called upon to organize and improve. For this reason the two-volume work--particularly in its examination of questions relating to the development of socialist democracy--pays so much attention to problems of instilling communist morality, initiative and consciousness and insuring that everyone has an active life stance and lofty civic responsibility.

The party's line toward a resolute upsurge of political and legal standards is of vital importance to ideological work. This applies to the activity of state organs and social organizations, the daily life of the popular masses and the consciousness and behavior of every Soviet citizen. The surmounting of the former alienation of working people from the state--the socialist state at the modern stage having fully displayed itself as a state of the whole people--the improvement of socialist democracy and the growth of the political and legal standards of the masses leads unswervingly to the implementation of Lenin's brilliant prediction that "the need to observe the uncomplicated basic rules of all human communal life will very soon become a habit" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 102). Of course, this means "very soon" on the scale of world history; the practical implementation of such a task requires, however, persistent, intensive efforts by the party, state and all leading forces of society and a further raise of the consciousness and level of organization of Soviet people and the instilling in all USSR citizens of the ability to make correct use of their unprecedentedly broad rights and freedoms and honestly to fulfill their social duties.

The party sets the task of instilling in every member of society a scientific world outlook, profound ideological conviction and lofty ethical principles. "Every society," the book says, "has worked out its own system of moral norms and demands. Our society places above all things such personal qualities as devotion to the cause of communism and an uncompromising attitude toward its enemies, conscientiousness, intolerance of parasitism and fraternal solidarity with working people of all countries" (Vol 1, p 208). Being concerned with man and the individual, the Soviet education system does its best to encourage individual creative abilities and people's healthy inclinations. It "levels" them in one thing alone--it provides scientific views of the world and of man's place in it, instills moral purity and raises an individual who will not tolerate any manifestations of oppression, social parasitism, injustice, cruelty and lies or vestiges of private ownership.

It is particularly important to insure a class education for young people who do not possess their own political experience and to instill ideological conviction and communist morality in them. As the book repeatedly notes, this requires the joint efforts of educational establishments, labor collectives, the public and the family. Remarkable children and young men and women are being raised in our country. The party and the people have confidence in them and count on them and, at the same time, try to help them to achieve political maturity more quickly. The revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and people play a big role in the education of the younger generation. "We must pass on to young people, to every young man and woman, all the best elements of the new society's accumulated moral experience and, at the same time, persistently get rid of everything that hampers life and work. We still encounter--not infrequently, unfortunately--manifestations of egotism, acquisitiveness and a consumerist attitude toward life. And it would be wrong to underestimate the danger of these negative phenomena" (Vol 2, p 22).

The consolidation of communist moral principles and norms is impossible without a constant and persistent struggle against anti-social manifestations, spiritual poverty and violations of labor discipline and socialist law and order. A class and genuinely party approach to ideological work demands that negative phenomena and remnants of the past be regarded as antitheses of our ethics, as phenomena which contradict the very essence of Soviet society and express a content--bourgeois or petit bourgeois--alien to socialism. This is the way the question is posed in the material in the two-volume work. In such fundamentally important documents as the Central Committee reports to the 23rd, 24th, and 25th CPSU congresses. "In the struggle against these phenomena," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "maximum use must be made of the opinion of the labor collective, critical articles in the press, methods of persuasion and the force of the law--of all means at our disposal" (Vol 2, p 173).

The majesty of the creative tasks which are being solved by developed socialist society lies also, in our view, in the fact that at this stage the vestiges of habits and customs that are alien to socialism are to be finally overcome and eradicated. This is an indispensable condition for the absolute victory of Marxist-Leninist ideology and communist morality in the hearts and minds not only of the majority of the members of our society, as is happening right now, but of every socially active and conscious person, of all Soviet people.

Under modern conditions the party's ideological work and party leadership of the development of social consciousness as a whole are a very important factor in successful communist building. Concern for the future permeates Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's words on the enhancement of the role and significance of communist education and the formation of the new man. "In all spheres of the life and development of our society an ever increasing role will be played by the level of consciousness, culture and civic responsibility of the Soviet people. One of the paramount tasks is to instill in man a striving for high social goals, ideological conviction and a truly creative attitude toward labor. This is a very important front of the struggle for communism, and the course of economic building and the social and political development of the country will increasingly depend on our victories on this front" (Vol 2, p 396).

## II

A prominent place in the anthology is taken up by issues of foreign policy and international relations. That is perfectly natural. Today the close link between the vital interests of tens and hundreds of millions of people and processes on a worldwide, general historical scale is being increasingly clearly revealed: The course of rivalry between the two opposed socioeconomic systems, the prevention of nuclear conflicts, the establishment of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with different social systems and, finally, the development of the world revolutionary processes and all its currents, and the further intensification of the socialist community



and the successes of the fraternal communist and workers parties. International problems have become a subject of mass interest and an important factor in shaping broad public opinion and a correspondingly keen and uncompromising ideological struggle. Under these conditions "the duty of all party organizations, all ideological institutions and all communists must be constant concern for the ideological tempering of every Soviet person, for the intensification of the implacable offensive struggle against bourgeois ideology" (Vol 1, p 181), and against the intrigues of imperialist and revisionist propaganda, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The two-volume work reflects the enormous consistent struggle of our party and Soviet state headed by the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally for the assertion in the world arena of the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation, for detente in relations among states and for the restructuring of all international relations on the basis of just democratic principles. The prevention of a world thermonuclear war and the curbing of the ruinous arms race is one of the most urgent problems of the present day on whose successful solution the solution of other creative tasks facing mankind and all the world's peoples depends. A persistent struggle for stable peace, detente, the pursuit of a peace-loving Leninist foreign policy aimed at rallying all forces struggling for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress, and the tireless exposure of the intrigues of the enemies of peace, the enemies of the freedom of the peoples, the anthology's materials attest, is the subject of the constant concern, thoughts and daily practical efforts of the general secretary of our party's Central Committee and head of the Soviet state.

A profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the complexities and contradictions of the present era shows that there is an opportunity for avoiding a thermonuclear catastrophe by rallying all peace-loving and progressive forces of the planet and isolating and exposing anticommunism--consequently not by abandoning the ideological struggle, as our opponents are seeking, but by defending still more extensively and consistently the interests of peace and man's social progress. "Since states with different social systems exist or, to be more precise, coexist on earth," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted, "then the difference in views, ideas and ideologies inherent in these systems are consequently preserved and they can not be liquidated by any agreements. Yet, in our time it is senseless and dangerous to attempt to insure victory for particular ideas or a particular ideology with the aid of force, with the aid of arms. The ideological struggle must not develop into 'psychological warfare' and must not be used as a means of intervention in the internal affairs of states and peoples or lead to political and military confrontation.

"Otherwise this ideological dispute could end in catastrophe in which, together with millions of people, their concepts could also, so to speak, perish" (Vol 2, p 323).

We believe in the force and vitality of Marxist-Leninist ideas and our humane ideals, in the force of the example of real socialism which implements these ideas and ideals in practice, showing the peoples of all continents the path to a bright future. The truth about socialism and its historical experience and prospects are our best weapon in the ideological struggle. "The way of life born of socialism has become the possession not only of Soviet people but of the working people of the socialist comity. In the really established socialist way of life the peoples of the world see the ideal of which mankind's best minds have dreamed, for which millions of working people have struggled and continue to struggle" (Vol 2, p 295). Behind these words lie life itself and real facts, and the struggle of the masses and many generations of workers for freedom and happiness.

One of the decisive factors of world development insuring peace and cooperation among the peoples is the community of socialist states. The socio-economic and cultural flourishing of the fraternal countries, their strengthening unity and coordinated foreign policy and the practice established in recent years of coordinating ideological activity--all this substantially undermines the political and ideological potential of the enemies of socialism and limits the aggressive aspirations of imperialism, neocolonialism and militarism. "The socialist community," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "is the most reliable bulwark of the forces of freedom and progress throughout the world. It is for precisely this reason that imperialist reaction tries so desperately to discredit it. Through ideological penetration and the use of economic levers the bourgeois world is persistently but unsuccessfully trying to shake our unity and attempting to undermine the pillars of socialism in one or another fraternal country. The traitors to the cause of socialism are besmirching our community and are trying to distort the nature of our mutual relations and our common policy" (Vol 2, pp 137-138). Malicious anti-Sovietism, the preaching of nationalism, monstrous acts of ideological subversion and direct slander--nothing is scorned by the enemies of socialism in whose front ranks march the apologists of the U.S. military-industrial complex, NATO ringleaders, and the clique of Maoists which is jeopardizing the Chinese people's revolutionary gains.

The anthology's materials also give a precise, profoundly scientific political assessment of anti-Sovietism, mass propaganda of which is now being carried out by all possible enemies of scientific communism and real socialism. With the aid of lies and falsification they are seeking to undermine trust in the homeland of the Great October Revolution, the Soviet Union, and its present domestic and foreign policy, and to discredit Soviet experience--the first and richest historical experience of building a new society--and to split the socialist community and world communist and workers movement and encourage new attacks by right and "left" revisionists against revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and the principles of proletarian internationalism. It was precisely with anti-Sovietism that the agents of imperialism and counterrevolution began their anti-socialist actions in Czechoslovakia in 1967-1968. It was precisely the Peking leaders' anti-Sovietism which revealed their true essence as accomplices of imperialism,

militarists and chauvinists and allies of the most reactionary regimes in the world. In all other cases anti-Soviet sentiments or statements reveal either political instability or lack of principles--if we are not talking about overt anticommunists--or of a fully developed readiness to repudiate revolutionary ideas.

In our era loyalty to Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism is the most accurate sign of unity of revolutionary word and deed. "Experience shows," the book stresses, "that deviation from the principles of internationalism and attempts to pit the interests of individual detachments of our movement against the common tasks of the revolutionary struggle and manifestations of national narrowness inevitably weaken the communists' positions in the face of the class enemy" (Vol 1, p 152), Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works reflect the indestructible link between the CPSU's internationalist foreign policy line and the education of all Soviet people in the spirit of Lenin's nationalities policy on the basis of the great socioeconomic and cultural achievements of the united multinational Soviet people, in the spirit of implacability toward any manifestations of social and national oppression and inequality.

The very close interconnection between foreign policy, the ideological struggle and specific tasks of ideological education work is also shown in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book in the examination of other questions. The question of human "rights" exaggerated in recent years by imperialist and revisionist propaganda can serve as an example here. We have no reason to avoid a discussion of such questions, the book emphasizes, for socialist reality gives us irrefutable factual arguments in this ideological dispute. The supremacy of socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy was graphically demonstrated once again in the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR's new fundamental law and in the entire content of the Soviet Constitution. "We counterpose to the interpretation of the concepts of democracy and human rights distorted and trivialized by bourgeois and revisionist propaganda the fullest and most real set of rights and duties of the citizen of the socialist society. We place in the scales of history the truly epoch-making achievements of the working people attained thanks to the power of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party" (Vol 2, p 312). In the struggle against our ideological opponents it is important to unite more closely and organically the greatness of our revolutionary principles, the irrefutable scientific logic of Marxist-Leninist analysis of topical problems, and the living factual truth. The material in the two-volume work displays a remarkable example of just such an approach.

The effectiveness of the struggle against bourgeois ideology and its allies is achieved by the CPSU thanks to ideological consistency and loyalty to the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory. "The theoretical heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, "is the greatest resource of our party and the entire world communist movement. It may rightly be said that the strongest, most outstanding feature of the entire historical activity of our party is the creative development of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and its organic union with the revolutionary practice of the working class and all working masses" (Vol 1, p 52).

Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, reliance on historical experience which is constantly being accumulated and generalized, tireless creative consideration of the historical past and present-day phenomena and processes, uncompromising criticism of attempts to revise Marxist-Leninist theory or turn it into a lifeless system is what insures the success of Lenin's party in pursuing its domestic and foreign policy and in leading the building of the new society and the working people's communist education.

### III.

Communist education is profoundly scientific not only in terms of the essence of the ideas, principles, norms, ideals, and political and theoretical arguments with which the party arms the Soviet people. Communist education itself is also built on the basis of science. The entire content of the two-volume work convincingly confirms that in the period under review the CPSU has carried out ideological work on the firm basis of the unity between theory and practice, seeking the constant improvement of its ideological-theoretical standard and practical efficiency and perfecting its forms and methods.

The new level of social awareness of the Soviet people, characterized by the mass study of Marxist-Leninist theory, accords of necessity with the new stage of maturity of the socialist system. "Now, as well, at the new stage on which the party is embarking," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev observed at the 25th CPSU Congress, "it is important, without allowing attention to wane as regards enlisting increasingly broad masses of communists and non-party people into party training, to display special concern about the content of this work and about raising its theoretical standard" (Vol 2, p 169).

The party Central Committee report to the 25th Congress and other material in the anthology point out the main directions of the further creative elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory and single out top-priority problems for the theory and practice of building communism, for the improvement of the CPSU's ideological work and, in particular, for the improvement of the system of party training and the Marxist-Leninist education of communists and non-party people. The book rejects the erroneous notion "that ideological work is a matter solely for specialists in this field of party activity. Such a view contradicts the traditions of the party and narrows the front of its ideological influence. Ideological work is a matter for all our party and for all communists. We must always remember that ideological influence on the masses and the high effectiveness of all agitation and propaganda work is directly dependent on the strength of the personal example set by members of the party and by leaders" (Vol 1, p 58).

In the anthology's materials the propositions about the leading role of the communist and the significance of his example and personal responsibility for the party's cause are comprehensively developed. "Communists have no privileges except one: To give more to the common cause than others and to struggle and labor better than others for the triumph of the common cause.

Communists have no special rights except one: To be always out ahead where the going is toughest" (Vol 1, pp 158-159). This idea recurs throughout the book. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the CPSU Central Committee July 1978 Plenum laid stress on the fact that each communist must set an example of selfless labor and be a skillful organizer and a disseminator of advanced experience who is wholeheartedly concerned about the common cause and about the creation of an atmosphere of harmonious, selfless and creative work by the collective, and be irreconcilable toward all shortcomings, and everything that retards our progress.

When examining questions of cadres, their selection, deployment and education, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev repeatedly stresses the particularly high responsibility of the members of the party to whom it entrusts the leadership of any particular sector of party, state, economic or social work. It is possible to cite the concrete and creative elaboration of the Leninist principles of cadre policy and questions of the scientific training and retraining of cadres, the development in them of a feeling of what is novel, and the constant verification of the execution of adopted decisions among the achievements of the party's collective thought in the period covered by the contents of the two-volume work.

Great attention is paid in the book to the enhancement of the role of the primary party organizations operating in the midst of the masses and directly insuring the solution of practical tasks of building communism. The standard of the labor and socio-political activeness of Soviet people and the success of the activity of labor collectives--the basic cells of our society--including the success of communist education, depend on the purposefulness and militancy of primary party organizations.

The active and purposeful participation of all communists in organizational and ideological-political work constitutes the most important condition for the further growth of the effectiveness of all ideological activity of the party and a condition for the successful implementation of the comprehensive approach to the organization of the whole matter--an approach which has justified itself through experience, has become widespread in the practice of party organizations and was generalized at the 25th CPSU Congress. The essence of this approach consists, as is known, of insuring the close unity of ideological-political labor, and moral education, taking into account the distinctive features of the various groups of working people (see Vol 2, p 169). It is a question not simply of bringing together and combining the three different directions of ideological-educational work but of transforming this work into an organically integral process, of establishing very close and interdependent links between political education and the development of a communist attitude toward labor, and of the purposeful enhancement of the socio-political and labor activity of Soviet people. It is precisely this interconnection which insures the formation of a profound ideological conviction, the inseparable unity of word and deed, the active life stance of a person, and his high morality manifested in actions, work for the good of society and the struggle for society's interests.

L. I. Brezhnev's works describe the need to organically combine ideological-educational work with the implementation of organizational and economic measures. The party has never divorced education from practice and has never transformed it into the bald bandying of words, but has tirelessly translated into practice the principles of the dialectical-materialist teaching about man and his education in the course of the active revolutionary transformation of reality. The implementation of such a transformation and the education of the broad masses participating in it are interconnected and interdependent processes. The success of ideological work is measured not in terms of the number of measures but by results which can be assessed in practical terms. "It is necessary," the book stressed, "to judge the standard of work of party organizations and the standard of ideological work above all from how production targets are met, from how labor productivity increases, from the state of labor discipline, and from how irreconcilably the struggle against all manifestations of disorganization and slackness is waged. It is necessary to be guided constantly by Lenin's instructions that communist education does not and can not exist outside conscious labor and social activity" (Vol 1, p 190).

It is no accident that at precisely the same time the party has brought into the focus of attention the comprehensive approach to the matter of education and the task of improving the socialist way of life; communist education is properly effective when it is combined with the constant improvement of the conditions of people's labor and everyday life and with the enhancement of their level of organization and of their active, conscious and independently active participation in completing the creation of all aspects of the tenor of life inherent in mature socialism.

The very close interconnection between strictly educational and practical tasks is revealed particularly graphically in the course of the party's pursuit of very important political campaigns. The experience of these campaigns is analyzed in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book in quite substantial detail. Such, for instance, was the campaign for the discussion by all the people of the draft constitution of the USSR during which the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist teaching on the socialist state and developed socialism was organically combined with the solution of a tremendous number of practical questions of economic and cultural building put forward by the working people themselves. The scale of the discussion was unprecedented: More than 140 million persons participated in it so that, in essence, the Soviet people as a whole were the authors of the new fundamental law. Many effective and creative initiatives and undertakings were engendered and implemented on the threshold of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was marked by the mass labor heroism of the Soviet people.

Another extremely important aspect of our campaigns is the maximal updating of the very rich historical experience accumulated by the party and people and the intensification of the educational role of their revolutionary, combat and labor traditions. These traditions are "the pride of our entire nation and our source of strength and creative inspiration in the struggle for communism" (Vol 2, p 386).

The material in the two-volume work shows convincingly that the CPSU's ideological work, like all its policy, is built on the unified principles of Marxism-Leninism and is imbued with loyalty to an aim which is common to all generations of revolutionaries--the aim of building a classless, communist society. Hence stems the organic continuity of the party's theoretical, political, organizational and educational activity, the profound adherence to historical method in the book and the close attention to historical experience. In particular, it is not fortuitous that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's memoirs "Malaya Zemlya" and "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] are included in the two-volume work. These memoirs present the experience of party-political work at difficult periods which proved to be turning points for the country in a closely bound up manner with the objective historical conditions of those years, the distinctive features of the tasks being solved by the party and people and their heroic achievements. "Vozrozhdeniye" plainly indicates the tremendous significance of historical experience for the present day. "Taking advantage of this opportunity," Leonid Il'ich writes, "I should like to stress the very close interconnection between the country's past, the road we have traveled, and the setting of new tasks. Year by year the scope of our plans and the scale and complexity of problems are increasing, and it is necessary to solve them at a new level and in a novel way. It is necessary here to take into account the very rich practice of building socialism and the historical experience of the party and the people's masses" (Vol 2, p 501). It is necessary, consequently, to organize matters in such a way that nothing valuable is forgotten. "We take the past as a very rich reservoir of experience, as material for reflection, for critical analysis of our own decisions and actions," the book says. "We derive from the past inspiration for current and future work" (Vol 2, p 289).

The very history of our struggle for socialism too is vitally important as a factor of tremendous educational influence. It teaches how to overcome difficulties and not to opt out in the face of obstacles. It teaches loyalty to Leninism, to the creative, innovatory approach to the solution of the most complex tasks. It teaches respect for the heroic feat of the older generations which managed to blaze the trail toward socialism and communism for the first time in history. Assessing critically the experience of the past and drawing conclusions from failures, the party teaches how to focus attention on the main, principal questions which have been posed and which have been successfully solved in the course of a long heroic struggle rich in experience.

The study, assessment and assimilation of the tremendous historical experience of the party and people are especially important in that certain moments in our past are being subjected to embittered attack by anticommunists and anti-Soviets who do not hesitate to deliberately distort historical truth. "The standard method of contemporary anticommunist propaganda attempting to discredit the Soviet system," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote in his article "A Historical Stage on the Path Toward Communism," "is, as is known, to allude to the illegal repressions and violations of the principles of democracy and socialist legality which occurred during the years of the personality cult. Here, of course, they prefer to keep quiet about the fact that

it was precisely the CPSU that openly and uncompromisingly condemned this practice which was allowed to go on in defiance of constitutional principles, carried out much work for the firm establishment of Leninist norms of party and state life, and created firm guarantees against abuses of power and violations of citizen's rights" (Vol 2, p 436).

The historical experience of the party and Soviet people is not at all some chain of continuous trials and errors as our enemies attempt to present the matter. No, it is the bold, innovative experience of creating the world's first society free of all forms of exploitation and oppression, a society which has overcome class and national antagonisms and the misfortunes of the masses. It is the experience of creating a new civilization which implements in practice the noblest and loftiest humanist ideals. It is, moreover, the experience of "putting right" all the mechanisms of social development, experience based on Marxist-Leninist science, the creativity of the masses, and a critical attitude toward shortcomings, the experience of constantly improving social relationships and the system of administration and self-management, experience of the constant improvement of the ideological-moral atmosphere permeated by historical optimism and a spirit of collectivism.

One of the fundamental conditions for the success of the party's organizational and ideological-political activity is the consistent implementation of a Leninist style in the work of the CPSU Central Committee and of the party committees at all levels under the leadership of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, that outstanding political leader of our time. The Leninist style is a creative style alien to subjectivism and imbued with a scientific approach to all social processes. It presupposes high exactingness toward oneself and toward others, rules out complacency, and opposes any manifestations of bureaucratism and formalism.

The requirements of the Leninist style apply wholly and completely to ideological work and to its content, forms and methods. "Manifestations of callousness and formalism," the book notes, "are particularly intolerable here. It is time for all workers on the ideological front to finish with the practice--still existing in certain places--of the mechanical, thoughtless repetition of truisms, and to do away with verbal twaddle. It is time to make it a rule that we talk to people in simple and intelligible language and that when we write, we invest each phrase with living thought and sentiments. This is also a question of quality and efficiency in an important sector of building communism--the education of the new person" (Vol 2, p 570).

Fervent party-mindedness, profound optimism, attention to the working man and concern for him permeate the treatment in the two-volume work of all other important and topical problems of the improvement of ideological work under contemporary conditions. These are questions of the role of literature and art in the shaping of the new person, the tasks of the mass media and propaganda, the variety of links between various trends of communist



education, the practice of building communism and the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy, the growing significance--including that of education--of Lenin's ideological legacy and the heroic feat of his life, which was devoted wholly to the cause of the party, the cause of the working class, the cause of communism.

It is precisely boundless devotion to Leninism, its revolutionary principles and its creative spirit that constitutes the core of the CPSU's ideological-political activity and determines the content of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works.

At the dawn of Soviet system V. I. Lenin wrote: "The reason for our victories is the fact that our party and Soviet system address their instructions for the next difficulty or task that is to be tackled directly to the working masses; the ability to explain to the masses why it is necessary to put every effort now into one, and now into another, aspect of Soviet work at any particular moment; the ability to arouse the energy, heroism and enthusiasm of the masses, concentrating revolutionarily intensive efforts on the next, very important task" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch," Vol 39, p 305). The unity of the party and the working masses, bequeathed by the leader, is now stronger than ever. Today the "task of the party organizations is to constantly strengthen the links between the party and the people and to know how to mobilize the masses for the practical implementation of our program--the program of building a communist society in our country, the program of the struggle for peace and friendship among peoples" (Vol 1, p 616).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book provides the party's ideological cadres and all communists and Soviet people with a knowledge of the aims and distinctive features of the CPSU's ideological activity under contemporary conditions. It teaches a correct and creative attitude toward the very rich legacy of Marxist-Leninist science and toward the invaluable historical experience of the party and people. It formulates clearly and precisely the tasks of practical work and sets an example of a profoundly party-minded approach to each of these tasks and of a Leninist style in solving them.

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## CONTEMPORANEITY AS SEEN BY COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 20-31

[Unattributed review of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA on the occasion of its 20th anniversary]

[Text] The first issue of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA came out 20 years ago. The decision to issue this international publication was adopted at the Prague Conference of representatives of 20 communist and workers parties.

The content of nearly 5,000 articles, surveys, reports, debates, and other materials carried by the journal over the past 20 years could be briefly yet quite accurately described as contemporaneity as seen by communists. The journal has reflected all major and, in general, significant events and phenomena in the international arena and the national life of individual countries, and all substantial changes and turns in the contemporary development of the class struggle in its economic, political, and ideological aspects. However, this does not represent in the least a chronicle of the times, recorded by impartial chroniclers. On the contrary, the parties cooperating to the journal express in it the views, assessments, interests, aspirations, strategic ideas, and plans of the builders of socialism and communism and of the revolutionary working class, and the fighters for national independence, democracy, and the liberation of all mankind from imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation. The position taken by the journal toward all problems and phenomena of social life and the revolutionary movement, considered in it, is determined by communist conviction and party-mindedness in the noblest and deepest meaning of the term.

That is why it would be inadequate to say that the journal reflects the course of world events extensively and fully. Let us particularly emphasize that it gives its readers the possibility not to lose their way in the tempestuous stream. It helps them to formulate accurate theoretical guidelines in assessing the most complex and conflicting situations which abound in our epoch, the world's situation, and the internal life of societies torn by class conflicts.

The 20 years of the journal's existence coincide with a period of outstanding successes by revolutionary forces and major and essential changes in the socio-political aspect of the world. The contributors to the journal, writing on behalf of their parties, note that the victories and accomplishments of socialism play a fundamental role in determining the ways of contemporary history. Through their constructive activities the people of the socialist states achieved tremendous results. Their assessment would require more than merely quantitative indicators. The quality characteristics which enable us to determine the new and higher development stages of factual socialism assume most important significance.

Articles by heads of communist and workers parties or members of the socialist committee profoundly interpret the new processes and trends in the development of socialism, reflecting the growth of its economic effectiveness, advancements of its political system, and further development of its democracy. In one of his articles written for the periodical, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, emphasizes the historical significance of the fact that "today developed socialism has been built in the USSR, i.e., a level and stage of maturity has been reached by the new society at which the sum total of social relations is being restructured on the basis of the internal collectivistic principles inherent in socialism" (No 12, 1977, p 5).

The journal provides a most authoritative study of the achievements and problems of the building of socialism in the other fraternal countries. "In our country," writes Comrade Janos Kadar, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, "we have all reasons to look at the future with confidence, for the power of the working class is firm, the economy is developing dynamically, and we can rely on economic cooperation with the socialist countries. . . . Laying and strengthening the foundations of the new society, our country has entered the period of the building of socialism on its own base" (No 1, 1977, pp 11-12). "We have made considerable progress in the struggle for the victory of a socialist awareness," notes Comrade Gustav Husak, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee general secretary and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. "The influence of socialist ideas and of Marxist-Leninist ideology has intensified in our society. The features of the socialist way of life are being manifested ever more vividly" (No 6, 1976, p 8).

The point is that the enemies of existing socialism circulate conjectures that the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries are guided in their policies by "systems unrelated to life," and are trying to squeeze social progress inside "identical patterns." Hence the conclusion that, allegedly, the experience of factual socialism has no value to the revolutionary forces fighting for socialist change in other countries.

The materials published in the periodical convincingly refute such fabrications. On the basis of the scientific study of the building of socialism, the journal shows the dialectical correlation and interaction between the

international-universal and the national-specific in the struggle for the embodiment of the ideals of socialism and communism. In this connection Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, states that, ". . . the ability to see the specifics of the manifestations of the general laws in the course of the revolutionary struggle and the building of the new society is of prime importance from the viewpoint of the elaboration by the party of a flexible strategy and tactic and an effective program for practical action. However, the existence of special features inherent in one or another country or group of countries does not eliminate in any case the common laws governing the revolutionary process and the building of socialism" (No 10, 1977, p 8).

In a number of issues the contributors have turned to the experience of the USSR--the first socialist country--emphasizing its universal-historical significance, and analyzing the variety of its tried ways and means for the reorganization of social life. Thus, Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic People's Great Hural Presidium notes, that elaborating the strategy and tactic of non-capitalist development, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party relied on the experience whose most important and essential features "are of universally significant nature, retaining their value and topical nature to this day. . . . Proceeding on the basis of these common features and general laws of socialism, our party has also continued to use them in accordance with the national and historical characteristics of our country" (No 8, 1977, p 5).

The international importance of the successes of socialism is a permanent journal topic. A number of basic directions may be singled out in its comprehensive interpretation. One of them is the study of the various aspects of the development of socialist internationalism, of the growing political, economic, and ideological cooperation among fraternal countries and peoples. Articles showing the leading role of socialism in the contemporary world revolutionary process and the objective significance of its gains for the international working class and all liberation, anti-imperialists and democratic forces in the world, is another direction. Yet another is that of articles and other materials describing the influence of socialism on world developments as a whole, which has grown over the past decades more than ever. "Capitalism is yielding to it one position after another in economic competition and in the battle for the minds and hearts of the people," writes Comrade William Kashtan, Communist Party of Canada secretary general. "The fight has not ended yet. However, anyone with a feeling of historical perspective can clearly see that socialism has entered the world forever, and it is precisely it that shapes today the fate of mankind" (No 1, 1978, p 47).

This collective international communist journal began publication at a time when the itineraries of international politics were burdened by the snowdrifts of the cold-war. From its very first issue the journal launched an active propaganda in favor of the policy of peace and the reorganization of

the entire system of international relations on the basis of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The communist and workers parties extensively used this joint publication to take to the broadest possible international public the scientific and Marxist-Leninist understanding of the problems of war and peace under contemporary conditions, dispel ideas of the fatal inevitability of a worldwide military catastrophe, and point out effective ways and means of struggle against aggressive imperialist plans. With unabated energy the journal has continued this extensive work to mobilize peace-loving forces in recent years as well, when many positive changes have occurred in world politics.

Analyzing the basic changes in the world which made detente a political reality of today, the journal's contributors convincingly proved that the fundamental base for the successful struggle for the elimination of the threat of war and for a general improvement of international conditions has been, and remains, the growing power of the socialist comity which ensures the steady change in the world's balance of forces in favor of socialism. They also emphasize the outstanding importance of the initiative-minded and dynamic policy of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, aimed at the factual exercise of the right of mankind to live under conditions of inviolable peace. Comrade Edward Gierek, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, notes the tremendous role which the foreign political ideas and suggestions formulated by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses play in the overall peaceful strategy of socialism. He writes: "Relying on this program, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are engaged in active and consistent efforts aimed at the reorganization of international relations in such a way as to create proper structures and means for the solution of urgent global, continental, regional, multilateral and bilateral problems" (No 6, 1978, p 4).

The communist and workers' parties extensively use the journal to inform more extensively the world's public of the central problems whose solution determines the further improvement of international life. It is natural, therefore, that problems of strengthening anti-imperialist solidarity among peace-loving forces, and the struggle for adding military to political detente, for active and specific steps leading to universal disarmament, and for a decisive blocking of militaristic trends toward the development of ever new types of lethal weapons, including particularly dangerous ones such as the neutron bomb, are being discussed ever more comprehensively and thoroughly.

Noting that the peoples of the world and their progressive forces, with the leading role of the members of the socialist comity, have been able to achieve great successes in improving the political climate on our planet, the journal's contributors, nevertheless, invariably speak out against feelings of tolerance and complacency. A number of articles emphasize that any stop, any kind of passive attitude in the complex efforts aimed at the peaceful reorganization of international relations are equivalent to turning back. Today, writes Comrade Erich Honecker, SUD Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, "we can not claim as yet that the process of improvement of international relations has already become irreversible. Hotbeds of tension, fraught with dangerous outbreaks, remain in the world. The danger of a new world war has not been eliminated yet.

Forces hostile to detente and peace are currently galvanizing their actions aimed against the policy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament. They are trying to wreck detente and turn matters back to the cold-war. Therefore, further efforts will be necessary to make peace, once and for all, the natural way of life of the nations" (No 7, 1977, p 7).

The long and systematic efforts of the journal to disseminate and popularize the noble ideas of lasting, democratic, and just peace are highly rated by the broad international circles. One of the manifestations of this appreciation was the honor diploma which the Presidium of the World Council for Peace awarded the journal in 1977.

The very name of this collective publication of the communist and workers' parties emphasizes that the struggle for peace is treated in it not in an abstract passivistic manner but as inseparably linked with the tasks and prospects of the socialist reorganization of society. Peace and socialism are indivisible. Peace on earth will be the stronger the more impressive the achievements of the new social system become and the more significant are the successes of the fighters against capitalist power in the non-socialist part of the world. Conversely, however, the possibilities for the acceleration of social progress in the socialist countries also increase and the conditions governing the successful struggle of the revolutionary forces in the capitalist world become more favorable as international life is cleansed from military conflicts, explosive hotbeds, and imperialist coercion and dictate.

The presentation of this dialectics of peace, socialism, and revolution is one of the major theoretical tasks in modern Marxist-Leninist thought. Many of the journal's issues have made a substantial contribution to its solution. The topics of peace and coexistence, writes Comrade Rodney Arismendi, Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee first secretary, are considered by the communists "in connection with the entire gamut of problems of socialism, national liberation, and democracy. The struggle for democracy, the development of the revolutionary process in all its forms, the victory of the communist parties and their allies, the assumption of power in individual countries, replacing monopoly and aggressive governments, of governments holding progressive positions, the national-liberation revolutions and, furthermore, the defeats of neocolonialism, the development of some countries along a non-capitalist way, the assumption of power by revolutionary democrats, occasionally with a socialist orientation, and so on, are all factors contributing to the peaceful circumstances in the international arena as well as factors of peaceful coexistence and peace the world over" (No 1, 1976, p 8).

Contemporaneity has greatly changed the objective conditions for the revolutionary socio-political activity of the working people and the people's masses. These conditions, naturally, include an aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, unparalleled in depth and scale.

In 1958, in its first issue, the journal wrote of the crisis which had then hit the capitalist economy. At that time bourgeois economists, monopoly ideologues, and their political representatives claimed that the capitalist

economic system would regain its health soon and predicted its rosy future. The Marxist-Leninist assessment of the situation looked differently as presented by PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA: "The facts prove that, the hopes and forced optimistic statements of the leaders of the capitalist world notwithstanding, today's crisis phenomena have far from exhausted themselves. . . ." (No 1, 1958, p 46).

Today it would be easy to answer the question of who was right. The total dislocation of the capitalist monetary system, the unprecedented development of inflation, the dramatic situation involving energy resources, multimillion-strong unemployment, the steady growth of social tension, and the absence of political ability are the features of capitalism in the 1970's.

The materials carried by the journal contain a strict scientific analysis of today's capitalist reality. They indicate both the gravity of the contradictions tearing it apart and the still considerable political, economic, and military resources at the disposal of imperialism enabling it to extend the existence of a historically obsolete bourgeois system.

This analysis is a good antidote to both the socio-political time serving in reformist currents, and leftwing deviations fed by superficial and mangy "rrrevolutionarism." Such a study leads us to conclusions related not only to current events but long-term trends.

We could confidently say that the Marxist-Leninists writing in the journal are as right concerning their forecasts for the future as they were in the past while assessing the overall prospects of world capitalism. In this connection the conclusions concerning socio-political trends in the principal imperialist citadel drawn by Comrade Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general, are of unquestionable interest. "Naturally," he writes, "making ever more extensive use of control and regulatory levers, state-monopoly capitalism will try to tighten up even more strongly within its clutches life in the United States. There will be even more talk of 'planning.' Yet, capitalism will remain loyal to its anarchic nature. . . . Any temporary solution to a given problem will bring about new contradictions. Such 'solutions' would help to delay crises but only at the cost of increasing their future inevitability." Such conditions, the author goes on to say, will objectively trigger and stimulate ever more widespread popular opposition movements; the process of crystalization of the anti-monopoly coalition will continue; the militant spirit will rise and the movement of rank and file workers will strengthen; supporters of the class struggle, rather than class cooperation, will become the dominant force in the trade union movement; the struggle for the elimination of racism will be intensified. "This is a prediction of which even the most refined bourgeois historians and futurologists are aware!" (No 4, 1976, p 18).

Describing the successes of the national-liberation movement, in one of its initial issues the journal noted as revolutionary phenomena of the time "the growth of the crisis of the colonial imperialist system into a breakdown.

of the system and the conversion of a number of former colonies into independent states. . . ." (No 3, 1958, p 4). Such was reality then. The "year of Africa" had not come yet. The big battles for the destruction of remaining colonial empires were yet to be fought. The nonalignment movement was only taking its first steps. Today materials published on the processes occurring in the zone of the national-liberation struggle deal with entirely different realities. The journal's contributors are trying to interpret the political, economic, and social significance of the almost completed liquidation of the system of direct colonial rule. They proceed from the fact that the victories of the forces of national liberation apply in their totality, in the words of Comrade Peter Keyneman, Communist Party of Sri Lanka Central Committee secretary general, "to the turns in world development of global scale, international repercussion, and role and place in contemporary history. . . ." (No 3, 1978, p 10).

The articles in the journal extensively present the views of the fraternal parties on the tasks of the further struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. They discuss the characteristics of the various stages of the national-democratic revolution. Attention is drawn to the fact that under the conditions of the political emancipation of former colonies and semi-colonies and the development of the struggle for their economic independence, to an ever greater extent the national revolutions are assuming a social meaning. The authors who speak for the parties operating in the zone of the national-liberation struggle emphasize that for their peoples the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries is a guarantee for the successful solution of the complex problems of social and economic progress.

The journal's life has been a life of broadening the ranks and growth of the political influence of the international communist movement. The materials published convincingly prove that in our epoch this movement has reached the type of impact on the social life of the world never before approached by a political or ideological current. The possibilities for communist influence on the national and world developments and on the course of the class struggle have increased immeasurably. Many contributors have pointed out that today the communist positions are of prime importance also in the solution of problems related to the sensible utilization of natural resources on the planet, its food potential, the utilization in the interest of the people's masses of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the protection of the environment and, in a word, all global contemporary problems.

However, it is natural for the communists who set as their objective the reorganization of the world on a new social basis would focus their main attention--in the journal as well--on problems related to the ways and means which would make the implementation of this task possible. They consider as the most important among them the development and strengthening of the organized political vanguard of the international working class, i.e., of its communist parties, and the further improvement of their strategies and tactics.



Time works for socialism, for the revolutionaries, and for the communists. Pointing out this ever more obvious fact, the journal's contributors, nevertheless, pose reformist concepts to the effect that the political vanguard of the working class should only wait for capitalism to yield voluntarily its position to the new social system. On the contrary, they invariably emphasize the need to develop the ever more active, dedicated, and purposeful efforts of the communist parties, aimed at the realization of the tremendous revolutionary opportunities of our epoch. The topics covered by the journal in this connection are exceptionally vast and comprehensive. They include, among others, important problems such as the ways and means of revolutionary unification under the leadership of the working class of the heterogeneous social and political forces, and the unbreakable interconnection between the struggle for democracy and socialism, and the dialectical interaction between the national and the international in the contemporary revolutionary process.

The study of reference and information material carried by the journal on the history, composition, organizational structure, programs, and basic forms of activity of communist and workers' parties throughout the world makes it possible to draw an impressive picture of the tremendous scope of our movement, of many common features and of certain characteristics in their life and work under conditions prevailing in the different countries. The communists' views of their own practices, problems of party construction, and strengthening relations with the masses are topics on which the journal always promotes an extensive and meaningful discussion. Articles summing up the ideas and decisions of congresses held by fraternal parties are always read with interest.

The journal has a special section on such materials entitled "Party Experience." It is self-evident, however, that the experience of the parties contributing to the journal is manifested, one way or another, in all its issues. Today this experience is exceptionally rich. It is the experience of the building of socialism and of the struggle for the interests of the working people, for the mobilization of revolutionary forces, the experience in leading the masses in the class battles and fights for national freedom and democracy. The parties publishing the journal ascribe particular importance to making the material published contribute to the broad familiarization with such comprehensive experience and its interpretation and summation. The contributors point out that along with the unique specific features determined by local conditions, common features are always displayed in the activities of each party, based on the laws governing the revolutionary struggle for the socialist reorganization of the world. Also noteworthy is the fact that life steadily enriches and renovates the objective socio-political and economic circumstances of the individual countries and throughout the world, so that the communists must master in Leninist and creative way such changes in both theory and practice.

Such considerations determine the content of a number of issues whose contributors try to single out what is natural and internationally significant and useful to their parties from international revolutionary practice.

Particular attention is paid to the experience of the Great October Revolution. It is emphasized that the universal-historical victory of the working class and the toiling masses of Russia, headed by the Bolshevik Party, embodied the basic laws of the Socialist Revolution, practically confirming the conclusions of the scientific analysis provided by V. I. Lenin.

The published material indicates that, bourgeois propaganda conjectures notwithstanding, the Marxist-Leninists do not equate in the least the attentive study of the experience of the fraternal parties and the automative duplication of prescribed models.

At the same time, the journal proves the ability of communists not only to refine their use and enrich their practice by interpreting the experience of victorious revolutionary movements, but draw the necessary conclusions from defeats against which the revolutionaries are not ensured in their difficult struggle. On this level we must point out the great importance of the series of articles "On the Lessons from the Chilean Events." In the concluding article, Comrade Louis Corvalan, Communist Party of Chile secretary general, notes in particular, that, "we must learn from our errors. Like the other parties within the popular unity movement, our party has already learned many lessons. The study has not been completed yet. It is continuing and further lessons must be drawn and systematized. The Chilean people and working class are learning and will continue to learn while mastering this experience as well as the experience of other parties and peoples, the experience of struggle and revolutionary theory" (No 1, 1978, p 26).

Describing the methodology of the creative approach taken by the communists to problems and tasks of revolutionary struggle, the contributors emphasize that this approach equally excludes the routine and dogmatic reverence of abstract systems as well as any neglect of truths established through the theories of scientific socialism and communism. "We are convinced, and the entire experience in the struggle for socialism in the 20th Century strengthens our conviction," writes Rene Urbani, chairman of the Luxembourg Communist Party, "that under contemporary conditions revolutionary creativity, whether theoretical or practical, is impossible if developed in ways other than on the basis of the founding scientific ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. . . . If it is a question of the revolutionary creativity of the communists and, consequently, if the immediate interests of the working class become the criterion for assessments and judgments, we are deeply convinced that such creativity outside Marxism-Leninism and separately from it would inevitably turn either into utopian dreams or a retreat from revolutionary positions" (No 4, 1978, p 10).

The maturity, political independence, and wealth of experience of each party, the abundance of new and latest problems of the revolutionary process, and a coincidence of basic interests and aspirations lead to the growth of common needs for international cooperation, reciprocal information among all fraternal parties, the exchange of views, and constructive comradely discussions.

International scientific conferences, symposiums, seminars, scientific research groups, and other methods for the exchange of views, sponsored by the journal on the initiative and active cooperation of its publishing parties, have become true laboratories for the collective study of topical contemporary problems. They enable us, within a practical and creative comradely atmosphere, to compare viewpoints, determine their coincidence and differences, and earmark common approaches to the solution of specific problems. Over the past 20 years more than 100 such discussions have been sponsored. Following are some of their topics: "The Communist Movement and the World's Revolutionary Process," "The Communists is the Struggle for the Unity of Democratic and Anti-Imperialist Forces," "The Ideological Struggle," "The Interaction of the Three Revolutionary Flows under the Conditions of Detente," "Peace and the Disarmament Problem," "Economic and Political Dialectics in the Period of the Struggle for the Revolutionary Reorganization of Society," "The Communists at the Enterprise," and "Contemporary Problems of Socialist Democracy and Prospects for its Development."

The scope and significance of such discussions are confirmed, for example, by the fact that the participants in the international theoretical science conference on "The Great October and the Contemporary World" (1977) represented 66 communist and workers' parties and 10 revolutionary-democratic and national-liberation parties and organizations.

Collectivity in the work of the journal, and cooperation among fraternal parties in its publication are one of the manifestations of the international solidarity of the communists. They contribute to the further strengthening of unity within the communist movement. The topic of proletarian internationalism and its significance to the international working class and the activities of each party is systematically covered in the periodical. It is noted that proletarian internationalism has its live dynamics. A number of articles study the process of its development, enrichment, and improvement today, when the power of socialism, the main offspring of the international working class, has grown immeasurably, and when the social base of the struggle for a new social system has expanded sharply. It is also emphasized, however, that the Marxist-Leninist understanding of proletarian internationalism does not allow interpretation in which the significance of its consistently class oriented foundations and principles may be glossed over.

The fraternal parties consider the journal an important means for ideological and educational work by communists among the masses. Comrade Luigi Longo, chairman of the Italian Communist Party, has expressed, for example, the wish that the periodical would reflect more fully the struggle waged by the communists and its complexities. In his views this would help "the new generations of fighters who, unquestionably, possess also new outstanding qualities, to be raised on the basis of the very rich experience acquired by the older generations, on the basis of its creative mastery and interpretation in terms of current conditions and, together with this, in the spirit of the heroic traditions of our movement" (No 4, 1976, p 12).

The journal has published a number of articles, stylistically energetic and substantive, criticizing the latest currents of bourgeois ideology and firmly rebuffing anti-communist and anti-Soviet concepts and fabrications. Particularly noteworthy in this respect, for example, is the article by Comrade Ezekias Papaionnou, secretary general of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, emphasizing that "to an ever greater extent anti-Sovietism is being used as a means with which it is hoped to influence not only the position of the Soviet Union (even though the bourgeoisie has not abandoned such illusions) but the attitude toward it on the part of communist and other democratic political organizations in the non-socialist world" (No 2, 1978, p 17).

Through the collective works of authors representing communist parties of socialist and non-socialist countries, the journal has developed a good tradition of militant and aggressive polemic against the reactionary ideas of the open opponents of the working class and socialism and kinds of ideological concepts in which concessions to bourgeois class interests are made willy-nilly. Materials proving that current imperialist propaganda is extensively using "socialist" and "revolutionary" terminology, willingly taking up and disseminating all kinds of doctrines in which the scientific theory of socialism is replaced by prescriptions for its arbitrary "modelling," or else in which the complex and responsible cause of the revolution is reduced to a set of provocative leftwing-adventuristic slogans, are of great importance. The reader is given a clear idea as to why the monopoly ideologues willingly support all concepts of national or regional "separate" socialism, and even themselves help to garb them in ringing ideological-political formulas. In a similar way the journal describes the meaning of imperialism's interest in encouraging the ideological efforts of pseudo-revolutionaries who preach Trotskiyite, Maoist, and simliar dogmas.

PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA is a journal defined by the fraternal parties as their theoretical and information publication. Therefore, the role which information plays in it is entirely "equal to" purely theoretical material. Bearing in mind the ideological impact of the journal on its audience, the effect here is achieved precisely through the organic combination of arguments with facts and the interpretation of the realities of social life. Exceptionally important in this respect are the systematically published articles, interviews, reports, and reference data describing the accomplishments and problems of existing socialism and the constructive social creativity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. To millions of people who are seeking their way and place in the most complex circumstances of the class and ideological and political confrontation in various parts of the world, such information provided by the journal offers the most convincing and effective arguments in favor of socialism.

The communists are convinced that the truth about socialism is their strongest ideological and political weapon. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev profoundly expressed this thought in the journal: "The more the people will know about

the achievements of socialism, the more clearly they will conceive the scale and complexity of the problems it has had to resolve and has been successfully doing so, the more convinced will become the supporters of the new social system, and the stronger will be the political and ideological positions of world socialism and of all Marxist-Leninist parties--the leading forces in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy, and social progress" (No 12, 1977, p 10).

The growing role of the journal in the ideological struggle is confirmed by the fact that the bourgeois mass information organs are referring to and arguing with it ever more frequently. It is no longer a rare phenomenon when, short of other arguments, imperialist propaganda simply resorts to gross slander in an effort to discredit the journal with stupid conjectures. Several years ago, for example, a number of Western European newspapers reprinted some of the materials carried by the journal entitled by the bourgeois masters of provocation as "Moscow's Secret Instructions." Quite recently THE NEW YORK TIMES classified the journal as a . . . center for terrorist training. Such fabrications arise not because of the ignorance of the authors. They hope to heat up the circulating myths of imperialist propaganda to the effect that the communist parties are acting "according to the Kremlin's directives," and that it is precisely PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA that is the "center" and "tool" for controlling the strategy and tactics of the contemporary communist movement.

The journal's practices themselves are the living refutation of such fabrications. Its entire work is based on a consistently collective foundation, with the strict observance of equality and mutual respect for the viewpoints and positions held by all cooperating parties. It is obvious that this in itself would exclude any kind of "directival nature" of the materials published. The journal's operational norms are the norms of relations among parties established within the contemporary international communist movement whose unity is developing not on a formal but a principled base and is determined not "by instructions from the center," but by the common basic revolutionary interests and socialist ideals of the working class.

The work of the journal as a whole is guided by periodical conferences of representatives of communist and workers' parties. The last such regular conference, held in Prague in April 1977, was attended by delegations of 75 fraternal parties. They held a businesslike discussion of all basic aspects of the journal's activities and expressed their recommendations and wishes for the future.

The communist and workers' parties throughout the world highly value their joint international publication. This is openly stated in a number of party documents. It is indicated by the increased number of parties permanently represented in the journal's editorial council: Twenty years ago there were 20. Today there are 57. This is equally confirmed by the fact that the fraternal parties have extensively used the journal to express their views and positions. Noted leaders of the international communist and workers' movements and outstanding communist party leaders regularly contribute to the journal.

Interest in the journal and in contributing to it is growing among non-communist revolutionary parties and organizations as well. Ever more frequently its contributors include leaders of revolutionary-democratic and liberation movements.

The CPSU ascribes great importance to the journal. It enjoys the constant attention of our party's Central Committee and its Politburo. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's articles published in the periodical are a major contribution to the collective work of the fraternal parties for the development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory. They have also considerably contributed to upgrading the international prestige of the journal. Articles by CPSU Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members, CPSU Central Committee secretaries, and noted Soviet party and state leaders, carried by the journal, invariably trigger broad international responses.

The May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Politburo decree "On the Results of the Conference of Communists and Workers' Parties which Discussed the Work of the Journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA" states: "It is the view of the CPSU Central Committee that the publication of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA serves the struggle for the objectives shared by all communists--peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. In the Soviet Union the journal plays a significant role as a means for informing the communists and the country's public at large of the activities of the communist movement and in helping the international education of the working people."

PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA has gained a truly worldwide readership and assumed a noted position in the international ideological struggle. Its monthly circulation has passed the half million figure and is continuing to grow. Whereas at its beginning the journal was published in 22 countries and 19 languages, today it has 57 national editions and is printed in 34 languages. It has regular subscribers and steady readers in 145 countries. These figures show the growing worldwide interest in the theory and practice of scientific communism and the ideology of the vanguard revolutionary movement of our time.

Answering the spiritual requirements of the time, the journal is developing the Marxist-Leninist views on the most important conceptual problems affecting mankind. Convincingly and persuasively it is defending the scientific principles and methodology of revolutionary theory. The 20 years which have passed since the publication of its first issue have proved that the initiative of the sponsoring parties was correct and useful to the entire communist movement and all revolutionary forces in the world. The journal has earned extensive recognition as the only international communist edition of its kind, and as an effective means for expressing the collective theoretical thinking of the fraternal parties and the worldwide propaganda of the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

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## CENTRAL PARTY TASK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 32-42

[Article by P. Grishkyavichus, Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee first secretary]

[Text] The problems of molding the new man--the conscious and active builder of communism--play an important role in the work of the party organizations for the implementation of the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. Characteristic of USSR citizens are high idea-mindedness, boundless faith in the justice of the party's cause, and loyalty to the socialist homeland. At the same time, the solution of the problems formulated at the congress demands of the party organizations tireless work for the even more systematic development in the Soviet people of a Marxist-Leninist awareness, communist attitude toward labor, and high morality. Relying on the best available experience, this requires the further steady enhancement of the level of all educational work.

Every party member remembers the statement by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the congress: "The practice of the party organizations indicates to us the way to upgrade its effectiveness. It is a comprehensive approach to the organization of the entire matter of education, i.e., of ensuring close unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral education, taking into consideration the characteristics of the various groups of working people."

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's books "Malaya Zemlya" and "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] constitute an invaluable guide in the solution of the most important national economic, ideological, and moral problems. They help us to improve the style and methods of party work and teach us how to organize it skillfully and make it highly effective.

The comprehensive solution of problems of ideological and moral education is the main way which could ensure most successfully the further purposeful molding of the Soviet person as an all-round educated and communist-trained individual, actively participating in constructive toil. This is convincingly

confirmed by the experience of the Orsk City Party Organization, a profound analysis of which is found in our party's Central Committee decree "On the Implementation by the Orsk City Party Committee of the Comprehensive Solution of Problems of Ideological and Educational Work." The assessments, conclusions, and recommendations contained in this decree and the tasks it formulates are a clear long-term program for each party organization.

The essential importance of further efforts in this direction was emphasized at the all-union practical science conference on "Problems of the Comprehensive Implementation of the Tasks of Communist Education in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," held in Moscow in 1977. In his greeting to the conference participants Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the development in every Soviet person of high idea-mindedness, culture, communist attitude toward labor, moral purity, and physical perfection, and the shaping of an active life stance is the main task of the party, Soviet state, and all public organizations.

Following the 25th CPSU Congress, the Lithuanian Party Organization began to pay greater attention in the course of its ideological and educational work to enabling every person to develop as an integral individual, organically combining Marxist-Leninist convictions with creative efforts and practical struggle for the implementation of our plans.

The nationwide discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution, and the adoption of this outstanding document which embodied the historical gains of the socialist society and the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, became a major step in improving ideological and educational work in the republic as throughout the country. These events triggered in the party members and all working people a political upsurge and a powerful influx of strength in the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 25th Congress.

By the time of the October anniversary over 4,000 brigades, sectors, and shops, and about 112,000 workers had fulfilled their personal assignments for the first two years; 121 brigades and over 5,000 workers had coped with their assignments for three or four years of the five-year plan. Good work was done by workers in agriculture as well who fulfilled their assignments for sales to the state of grain, potatoes, vegetables, and animal husbandry products.

Today the republic party organization is building its work in accordance with the high requirements formulated at the December 1977 and July 1978 CPSU Central Committee plenums. It directs the efforts of the party members and all working people to the successful implementation of the major and complex tasks earmarked in the 1978 state plan for the economic and social development of the republic, the development of the socialist competition for its fulfillment and overfulfillment, and the intensification of the struggle for upgrading production effectiveness and work quality.



The results of the first six months prove that the republic's working people are successfully implementing their obligations. The semi-annual plan for sales of industrial output was fulfilled 102.3 percent. Above plan sales totalled 78.8 million rubles. Compared with the same period in 1977, the volume of output rose 6.5 percent (rather than 4.1 percent as planned). In the course of this entire period the growth rates of output were considerably higher than in 1977.

The rural working people are selflessly struggling for the fulfillment of their obligations. Compared with the same period in 1977, in the first half of the year kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and interfarm enterprises increased their output of animal husbandry products. The republic fulfilled its purchase plan as follows: Cattle and poultry (live weight), 107 percent; milk, 102 percent; and eggs, 115 percent. Fodder procurements are being successfully carried out, and full preparations were made for the harvesting of the new crop.

The republic's party organizations are seeing to it that, as guided by the CPSU Central Committee, man, his needs and possibilities, and his ability to play the role of an active builder of the new society, always remain in the center of attention in the solution of economic problems. They pay steady attention to improving the working, living, and recreation conditions of the Soviet people. This has been reflected, in particular, in the practice of planning the socioeconomic development of labor collectives, rayons, and cities. Creatively using the valuable experience acquired by the party organizations of Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of union republics, the Lithuanian party members are striving to make their efforts for the satisfaction of the vital needs of the working people and their material and spiritual requirements ever more systematic and purposeful. We link with the development and implementation of socioeconomic planning the further strengthening of labor collectives, the development of cities and rayons, and the establishment within them of favorable conditions for highly productive toil and for the spiritual growth of the people.

Already now the increased level of socioeconomic planning, ranging from the individual collective to the level of a rayon or entire city, and its improvement in accordance with the territorial and sectorial principles governing the development of production forces, are contributing to the creation of new prerequisites for raising the effectiveness of ideological and educational measures and promoting the all-round development of the individual. Party committees, economic organs, and the republic coordination council for socioeconomic planning are working along this line.

Directing the efforts of gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations toward the pursuit of a comprehensive approach to ideological and educational work, the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee is relying on already available experience. This experience convincingly proves that the best results are achieved wherever thanks to the influence of party and other social organizations the understanding of the individual of the policy of the Leninist party becomes systematically deeper, his belief in the rightness

of communist ideals is strengthened, and the aspiration to work selflessly for the sake of their implementation is increased; best results are achieved where a conscientious attitude toward public duty is actively molded while unity of word and action becomes a daily behavioral norm; where purposeful work is being conducted to develop in all members of the collective the need for specific socially useful work as a means for the manifestation and development of the talents of the individual is conducted simultaneously. It is particularly important that this approach ensures the organic unity of the basic directions of the educational process, a unity which plays a decisive role in molding an active life stance as a moral foundation of the personality of the Soviet man.

Naturally, a profound link among all directions of ideological and educational work does not mean that the specific characteristics of each one of them are ignored. On the contrary, only the attentive consideration of the possibilities of each of the components of communist education and their all-round utilization could guarantee the necessary end results--success in molding an overall harmoniously developed personality.

The practice of party work convinces us daily of the need, above all, to pay the necessary attention to ideological and political education based on the Marxist-Leninist upbringing of communists and non-party people. Implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Tasks of Party Education in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," the republic has done considerable work to involve the various categories of working people in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory, party documents, and topical problems of communist construction. The overall number of students at all levels of political and economic training exceeds 600,000; this is double the number at the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The number of non-party people studying Marxist-Leninist theory has increased noticeably.

Great attention is paid to upgrading the theoretical and methodological standard of classes and the connection between problems studied and practical activities of collectives. In this respect the all-round and profound study of the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress, party Central Committee decrees, the USSR Constitution, the documents of the solemn session dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, and the vivid and profoundly meaningful addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and his works on topical problems of scientific communism is of great importance.

Labor training, whose significance and meaning have been frequently emphasized in party documents, is being closely connected with the efforts to upgrade the ideological and political standard of party and non-party members. A great deal of positive experience has already been acquired in molding in the Soviet people the conscious need for socially useful labor. In this connection the party organizations use the extensive educational opportunities of socialist competition. Today over 90 percent of all working people in the republic are competing. About one-half of them are members of the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. The initiative of the

leading workers in the country who have pledged to fulfill the assignments for the first three years of the five-year plan by 7 October 1978--the first anniversary of the new USSR Constitution--is becoming ever more widespread. It is noteworthy that, as a powerful means for the development of public production, the competition is asserting itself to an ever greater extent as a school for the ideological and moral training of the working people, and as a wide field for the practical implementation of the norms of the Soviet way of life and for the elaboration of an active life stance in the people.

"To develop in a person aspiration toward lofty social objectives, ideological convictions, and a truly creative attitude toward labor," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is one of the most urgent tasks." Improving the organization and content of socialist competition, the party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations specifically contribute to the reaching of this most important objective.

Positive experience has been acquired by the party organization of the Vil'nyus Furniture Combine. Here all workers, shops, and brigades are participating in the competition. The absolute majority of workers have taken individual pledges while the students of economic courses have drawn up individual creative plans. In their creative plans the engineering and technical workers are including not only production tasks but specific forms of participation in ideological-political education and in molding the spiritual aspect of the young workers.

Here, summing up the competition results, the work of every member of the collective in upgrading the level of vocational skills, and the labor and technological discipline of the competitors are taken into consideration along with their social activity and behavior in society. A popular competition in the collective is based on skills. It involves workers and engineering and technical personnel; another popular competition is for the title of "best master-educator." The movement for a communist attitude toward labor is spreading. The ranks of rationalizers and inventors are growing. In 1976 the combine's collective was awarded the title of high standard enterprise, a title which it is justifying honorably.

Many brigades at the Kaunas Radio Plant, the Drobe Production Association, the Ekranas Panevezhi Plant, the Shyaulyay Televisions Plant, and the Vil'nyus Plant for Radio Parts, supporting the movement of "Workers' Guarantee for a Quality Five-Year Plan!" earmarked specific levels to be reached in improving production quality and measures aimed at reaching them. The method of the leading workers of Moscow's Dinamo Plant is actively contributing to upgrading responsibility not only for one's own sector but for the work of the comrades. Over 40,000 piece rate workers in the republic are competing on the basis of this method and the growth rates of labor productivity have exceeded sectorial averages wherever applied.

The Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee and gorkoms and raykoms are always working to raise the level and effectiveness of the socialist competition. Particular attention is paid to factually involving in this work all units within the national economy and all means of ideological influence.

In this respect the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Covering Problems of the Socialist Competition in the Press of the Lithuanian SSR" plays an important guiding role. The conclusions, recommendations, and requirements it contains have become a program for the activities of the collectives of editor's offices of newspapers, journals, and the television and radio, and of every journalist. The implementation of the long-term plans based on them is having a positive impact on the development of the socialist competition. We see it as our task, above all, while comprehensive intensifying our work, actively to appraise the role of the press in the implementation of the high socialist pledges taken for 1978 and for the entire 10th Five-Year Plan.

Today the socialist competition has become a prestigious and effective factor in molding in the working people the feeling of belonging to a unified multinational family of Soviet people, and of feelings of Soviet patriotism. The competition between the working people of Lithuania and Belorussia is a good example of this fact. Fruitful competition is waged among power industry and construction workers, collectives of enterprises in the machine building, chemical, light, and food industries, and among workers in agriculture, science, and culture. Today there is no field of activity not applying the leading experience available to one or another republic. Experience is systematically shared, including in the fields of education and by the party organizations. The republic's party members consider the strengthening of fraternal relations between the working people of Lithuania and Belorussia one of the forms of the international unification of the Soviet peoples and will do everything possible to develop these relations further.

"Asserting in the minds of the working people, the young generation above all, the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, pride in the Soviet state and our homeland, and readiness to take up the defense of the gains of socialism has been, and remains, one of the most important party tasks," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th Congress. The topical problems of such activities are always kept in the center of attention by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the entire republic party organization. Work methods have become more varied. Today mass hikes by young people to places of revolutionary, combat, and labor glory of the Soviet people, meetings with party and labor veterans, topic evenings, movie festivals dedicated to the Leninist friendship among the peoples and the fraternal Soviet republics, and similar measures have already become traditional.

In the course of last, anniversary, year this work gained a new meaning. The days dedicated to our republic at the Exhibit of Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR, in Moscow, the republic students' song and

dance festival, and many other measures left good memories in the people. The first all-union festival of amateur performances, dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, met with particularly broad response. Over 210,000 amateurs participated in its republic round. The all-union festival of folk ensembles, held in Lithuania, was most impressive. It developed into a vivid manifestation of the friendship among Soviet peoples and of the successes achieved by multi-national socialist culture.

The party organizations pay particular attention to the systematic and profoundly substantiated dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory of national relations, the all-round and active revelation of the vital force of the party's national policy, and to upgrading political vigilance toward vestiges of bourgeois nationalism. This is achieved through the extensive use of the possibilities offered by the political education system, lectures, mass information and propaganda media, and cultural institutions. We shall continue comprehensively to support the militancy of the party organizations and their efforts to strengthen the feelings of friendship and fraternity with the peoples of our country and the members of the socialist comity, and the struggle against all manifestations of an alien way of life and hostile ideology.

Problems of assertion of communist morality play an important role in the sum total of ideological and educational efforts of the party organizations. In September 1976 the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee held a plenum at which the tasks of the republic's party organization on intensifying moral education in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress were discussed. The study of the level of moral maturity of the various population strata and groups, and the study of the practical experience of the party organizations to upgrade it made it possible to formulate the question of creating within the republic an all-embracing long-term moral education program and earmark specific needs for its implementation.

The plenum's work took place under the sign of the practical implementation of the comprehensive approach to the organization of all education, bearing in mind one of the essential links within this single process. A number of positive results are already apparent. The development in the working people of feelings of civic duty and responsibility to society and the state, of profound understanding of the unity of rights and obligations of the citizens of our country, and reciprocal responsiveness and high exactingness is conducted more systematically and consistently. More work is being done to mold sensible material human needs on the basis of the extensive promotion of the Soviet way of life. At the same time, recurrences of private ownership mentality and acquisitiveness are being substantively rebuffed organically combined with means of persuasion and coercion. A more decisive struggle is being waged against drunkenness and hooliganism and other violations of communist moral norms.

We ascribe great importance to upgrading the educational role of the family, the school, and the labor collective, and to increasing the ideological and moral influence of tutors. Thus, extensive work is being done to

improve the party's guidance of public education. Of late, particularly in the course of the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the party gorkoms and raykoms have begun to consider more profoundly the topical problems in this area, taking into consideration the task of achieving universal secondary education and improving the educational process in the schools.

As a rule, party gorkom and raykom secretaries present basic reports at the August teachers' conferences. At the end of each school year the party committees analyze on the spot the activities of leading school cadres and take measures to improve their quality structure. During winter and spring vacations city and rayon meetings of school party members are held to discuss problems of their vanguard role in the life of education collectives. Every year two- or three-day republic seminars are held for secretaries of primary party organizations of general educational schools, technical schools, and technical-vocational schools. Here the best practical experience of school party members is studied. Important measures in the field of the training and upbringing of the growing generation were earmarked at the June 1978 Fourth Congress of Teachers in the Lithuanian SSR. All this contributes to the molding of an educated, ideologically and politically tempered, socially active, and morally mature young generation.

The indicators of the training of working youth have improved substantially. Between 1971 and 1977 91,000 working people in the republic acquired secondary education, or considerably more than in the 20 previous years. Today one out of three graduates of secondary general educational schools is a production worker. A real practical possibility has been developed in the course of the 10th Five-Year Plan for all working youth to attend night school.

These and other results were summed up at the plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee which discussed the further strengthening of the party's leadership of public education in the republic in the light of the requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress. At the same time, the plenum earmarked long-term means for intensifying the party's influence on school youth training and upbringing. It studied particularly carefully the activities of party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations aimed at improving the quality structure of teachers, the creative utilization of the educational opportunities offered by the training process, and all factors determining the shaping of an active life stance among the students.

New higher requirements concerning work with student youth are contained in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving further the Education and Upbringing of Students of General Educational Schools and Training Them for Work." The systematic implementation of this document will, unquestionably, have a fruitful influence on the training of the young generation for active participation in the life of developed socialist society.

Bearing in mind that the requirement of a comprehensive approach to ideological and educational work is met most fully within the labor collective, the republic communists are displaying great concern for this primary nucleus of our society. The party organizations are building their work in accordance with the specific conditions governing the activities of collectives, and the characteristics of their moral and psychological climate. Characteristic in this respect is the experience of the party organization of the Alitus Refrigerators Plant. Here a great deal is being done so that every worker could compare his individual labor contribution against the activities of the entire collective and the working people employed at other enterprises. The collective is properly informed on the course of production affairs and on the collection and summation of problems, suggestions, and critical remarks submitted by the workers. The party committee attentively sees to it that they result in the adoption of corresponding measures. All this has intensified the interest of the workers in enterprise affairs, strengthened comradely mutual aid and discipline, and enhanced labor productivity and quality. The plant's party organization is trying to create better conditions for every person to be able to display his creative capabilities and initiatives.

Naturally, all labor collectives have their characteristics. However, in any among them it is precisely the comprehensive approach to educational work, in accordance with such characteristics, that determines success.

The party organization of the Leninskiy Put' Kolkhoz, Ukmergskiy Rayon, is building its activities in such a way as to combine the ideological and educational efforts of economic organs, public organizations, managers, specialists, and ideological workers. It has become a tradition for conferences of the party organization aktiv to discuss matters of molding in the kolkhoz members a scientific outlook, upgrading social and labor activeness, and promoting the best character features inherent in the Soviet person. The kolkhoz party organization, board, and trade union and Komsomol organizations formulate a comprehensive plan containing specific educational measures to be implemented at each sector and organization.

Today violations of public order in the collective have been virtually eliminated. The rural vocational-technical schools resolved the problem of training cadres in mass skills. The prestige of leading workers and of agricultural work has risen. Thanks to this, for a number of years the kolkhoz has emerged as the winner of the socialist competition within its economic group of republic farms. The attraction of the people for spiritual values and high moral examples has been intensified considerably.

The experience in ideological and educational work in this kolkhoz and other labor collectives proves the great importance of problems of coordinating the activities of soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs and of various establishments and organizations, and of combining their efforts for the joint solution of problems arising in the course of the molding of the new person. Furthermore, practical experience has indicated that such

coordination is most effective when it is oriented toward clearly formulated education objectives, takes into consideration the living conditions of the people, and is aimed at covering one and all through steady ideological influence, combining propaganda and agitation with involving the working people in active constructive efforts for the good of society.

Studying the practice of ideological-moral education, we see yet another proof of the importance of combining collective with individual work methods. Experience shows that wherever mass political work is closely linked with selective influence on those who need it more, the ideological influence as well becomes stronger.

Bearing in mind the great influence of leading cadres on the molding of the spiritual aspect of individuals, the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee and the party gorkoms and raykoms are always concerned with upgrading their role as organizers and educators of the masses. Thus, implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Participation of Management and Engineering and Technical Workers of the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant in the Ideological-Political Education of the Members of the Collective," the Leninskiy Rayon Party Committee in Vil'nyus took agreed steps to upgrade the ideological and theoretical standards of production leaders and to intensify their participation in educational work. Here, thanks to a purposeful approach, a permanent system for upgrading the ideological-political standard of management and engineering and technical personnel has been developed. It calls for attending the Marxism-Leninism University, theoretical, methodological, and problem seminars, information conferences on most important political and economic problems, and practical science and method conferences. The interest of managers and specialists in ideological and political work and in establishing a healthy and creative atmosphere in the collectives has increased considerably. The absolute majority of the managing personnel in the rayon are propagandists, political informants, and lecturers for the Knowledge Society.

Let us cite as examples of active participation in the ideological-moral education of labor collectives in the rayon A. Chyuplinskis, general director of the Vil'nyus Sigma Production Association, L. Ugyanskis, director of the Pyargale Order of the Labor Red Banner Confectionery Factory, A. Didzhyulis, director of the Order of the Honor Badge Heating Equipment Plant imeni 50-letiyе SSSR, L. Korol'kovas, director of the scientific research institute of electrography, and others. Systematic meetings with associates outside work, and awareness of their needs, views, and moods are contributing to the development of the managers themselves and to the enhancement of their authority.

Many managers see it as their vocation to use all possibilities for developing practical and comradely reciprocal understanding with the collective, being with the collective with their minds and hearts, and leading them. This is pleasing. Unquestionably, however, the party organizations must see to it, in the future as well, that every manager operatively reacts to the



remarks and suggestions of the working people and be responsive to their needs. It is the daily duty of the party member decisively to eliminate red tape, conservatism, suppression of criticism, and other faults in the activities of some leading workers.

The party committees dedicate a great deal of attention and efforts to the further improvement of moral political agitation. This year over 80,000 political informants and agitators, most of whom work energetically and ably, are spreading the party's word among the masses in the republic. Yet, as the discussion by the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee of the activities of the Panevezhis City Party Committee on upgrading the role of moral political agitation in the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress indicated, a great deal remains to be accomplished for the work of agitators and political informants to be always systematic and specific and have a clear direction. As a result of the improved selection of people to work in this important sector of ideological education and of their training, the situation is gradually improving. We are concerned with the words of every political informant and agitator always to contribute properly to the unification of the collective for the sake of achieving common objectives and positive changes in their moral-psychological climate.

A number of complex problems arise in the course of molding the new person. In this connection we must ensure an even broader participation in education work of skilled ideological personnel. Implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Selection and Education of Ideological Cadres by the Belorussian Party Organization," the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee passed and implemented a number of measures which are actively contributing to upgrading their theoretical standard and professional skills.

Special departments for ideological workers have been set up at Marxism-Leninism universities and schools for the party aktiv. A great deal of attention is paid to the organization of practical science conferences and seminars so that the knowledge gained may be skillfully used in ideological-political work in the collective. All full-time ideological workers of party committees are regularly upgrading their skills by attending courses offered by the Leningrad and Vil'nyus higher party schools. With a view to studying progressive experience, they have been offered opportunities to visit the labor collectives and study their work on the spot.

A number of propagandists are actively participating in the movement entitled "A Five-Year Plan of Effectiveness and Quality for the Propagandist." They help their students to study the experience of leading workers, innovational initiatives, the economic substantiation of socialist pledges, and the practical application of rationalization suggestions. They are successfully using the method of issuing practical assignments.

Practical experience has indicated that success in mobilizing the working people to fulfill the five-year plan tasks, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, and the upgrading of the civic and political maturity of labor

collectives greatly depend on the level of theoretical and professional training of the ideological aktiv and the effectiveness of its work. That is why in the future as well the party organization in the republic will improve the selection, professional training, and ideological and theoretical tempering of all ideological cadres.

The implementation of the comprehensive approach to the molding of the new person requires the further strengthening of organizational principles.

For quite some time the republic has engaged in current and long-term planning of ideological work. Today, relying on acquired experience, we are striving for the plans to stipulated the comprehensive solution of problems of communist education, closely linked with the purposeful use of all means for spiritual influence in accordance with the specific characteristics of social and professional population groups and conditions governing their labor activities, way of life, and recreation. This is stipulated in five-year plan adopted by the republic's communist party Central Committee on the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, and the plan for the fulfillment of the tasks set by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the course of his trip to Siberia and the Far East and his speeches at the ceremonies in Minsk. This is also stipulated in the respective plans of party gorkoms and raykoms, ministries, departments, and labor collectives.

In this connection the party committees pay particular attention to the systematic control of the effectiveness of educational measures. They study shortcomings and, if necessary, make the necessary corrections to the education process. For example, in the course of the preparations for the discussion of the tasks of party organizations aimed at improving the moral-psychological climate in labor collectives, held at the plenum of the Panevezhskiy Rayon Party Committee, a big group of party members and non-party people was surveyed. The activities of many managers and their ideological and moral influence on those around them were studied attentively. This made it possible to assess the situation on an objective and principled basis, earmark specific measures aimed at upgrading the party's influence in the collectives, and to enhance the role of economic cadres in educational work.

A creative and scientific approach to the solution of topical problems of economic construction and communist education is characteristic of many party committees. The results of this approach are manifested in the upgraded labor and political activity of the working people, of production standards, and of labor productivity and quality. They effectively influence the molding of an active life stance in every person.

"Not only production but relations among people, their way of life, culture, mentality, and awareness are subjects of the party's constant attention," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the July 1978 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. After discussing the results of the July Plenum, along with measures aimed at upgrading the effectiveness of agricultural production, the

Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee Plenum earmarked ways to improve the work and life standards of rural workers and social relations.

We consider as an important task for the principles of unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral education be efficiently embodied in the activities of each unit and primary party organization. The Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee and the gorkoms and raykoms will continue to promote the understanding that communist education everywhere is a single process which includes the purposeful utilization of all factors of social life and for the spiritual world of every person to be considered as a totality, a dynamic integrity of political, social, and cultural ideals, motivations, and actions related to the struggle for the implementation of the plans for building a communist society.

This year we shall celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian Communist Party and of the first proletarian revolution in Lithuania as a result of which, on 16 December 1918, a Soviet system was proclaimed in our area. The republic's working people are welcoming this anniversary with great successes achieved within the fraternal united family of peoples of the USSR guided by the CPSU. These achievements vividly confirm the triumph of the great Leninist ideals, the inviolable ideological-political and social unity of the Soviet people rallied around the CPSU, and their readiness successfully to implement the great tasks of the building of communism.

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## COMPONENTS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

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[Article by G. Marchuk, USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president and chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department]

[Text] The increased role of science and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress are an objective trend in the contemporary stage of communist construction. Today virtually all of the country's labor resources have been drawn to the realm of public production. Intensification is replacing the extensive way of economic development. This could be effectively accomplished only with the extensive utilization of achievements of science and through its revolutionizing influence on the pace of scientific and technical progress. The national economy needs ideas and developments contributing to success in all its fields, and in education and culture. It is no accident, therefore, that our party formulated the task of actively and purposefully converting science into a direct productive force. In order to develop this thesis we must follow the entire chain of scientific and technical progress, from the birth of a basic idea to its implementation in material production.

The purpose of basic research is to provide knowledge of the laws governing nature and society, the development of science itself, and the substantiation of its logical elaborations and hypotheses. In the course of the continuing process of knowledge some lines of research are intensified and broadened. Others wither away leaving bits of experience important in the development of new scientific trends. Discovering new facts, summing up information on the surrounding world, and using the ideas and methods of related or sometimes quite disparate scientific fields, the scientists include in their abstract structures and new concepts objective data and legitimate relations among objects and phenomena and among their different sides.

It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of basic research, for it is precisely such research that is having an ever more active influence on radical changes in economics, equipment, and technology. Thus, a most important trend of contemporary scientific and technical progress was

developed at the junction of algebra and logic, on the one hand, and electronics on the other: The computer which, today, is playing a tremendous role in human activities. Modern physics brought about an understanding of the structure of the atomic nucleus and, in the final account, the development of an entire industrial sector related to the building of powerful atomic electric power plants whose role is steadily growing in the overall energy balance. The study of heredity provided an impetus for the development of genetics. On the basis of its achievements today we are already creating new strains of grain crops through the purposeful change of plant genetic characteristics. For example, radiation mutagenesis led to the creation of a new high-yielding wheat strain, "Novosibirskaya-67," extensively applied in Western Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan. This is merely the beginning. An even more important problem is awaiting its solution: The selection of plants with desired characteristics, based on controlled mutagenesis.

The constant attention which the Communist Party and Soviet state pay to problems of planning the theoretical and experimental research and to the creation of a material and technical base consistent with modern scientific problems, as well as the formulation of comprehensive programs for basic research are guarantees for the steady intensification of scientific potential and its effective utilization in the interests of society.

As a rule, any substantial result achieved through basic research stimulates the elaboration of comprehensive applied science programs, directly aimed at the implementation of major national economic projects and the creation of new equipment and technological prototypes which change the nature of the production process in one or another economic sector.

Fulfilling the assignment of the party and the government, in the post-war period our scientists, designers, and workers elaborated several major plans. One of them, of great importance to our country, was astronautics, pioneered by the Soviet Union. The solution of its problems required a tremendous set of most complex studies in the fields of aerodynamics, theory of optimal control, radioelectronics, science of materials, chemistry, physics of space around the earth, biophysics, and medicine. In a word, the ideas contained in practically all directions in the natural sciences were focused within this program. S. P. Korolev, the outstanding Soviet scientist and engineer, was appointed head of the program. The objectives set to the big collectives encouraged the development of many new directions in basic research, ranging from the problem of flight dynamics to the theory of clashing against a meteorite. The characteristic features of the socialist social system capable of mobilizing within a short time large groups of people for the solution of most important scientific and technical problems, and ensuring the successful implementation of such projects, ranging from research to construction with blueprints, were vividly manifested in the course of reaching this objective.

The same could be said on the creation of a nuclear power industry, the development of computers, and many others. It would be suitable to emphasize at this point that major national economic projects set tasks not only to scientists but to workers in a number of economic sectors. In the course of the implementation of such projects they must strengthen their material base, raise development and production standards, intensively seek new scientific and technical possibilities, and master modern technology.

Some results of basic research which substantially influence the development of one or another economic sector are of major importance to the further progress of knowledge and practice. It is a question of big scientific and technical ideas or improvements. Thus, in the electronic industry, under our very eyes vacuum electronic instruments were replaced by transistors which were developed on the basis of achievements in solid state physics. Today they are already being replaced by microelectronics, acoustical optics, and optical electronics. These are the foundations for basic and technical developments which are changing the face of electronics, electrical engineering, and communications in many other industrial sectors.

Here is yet another typical example. In the 1940's Soviet geophysicist G. A. Gamburtsev suggested a new method for the study of the structure of the earth's crust on the basis of the study of reflections of longitudinal seismic waves artificially triggered through explosions. The idea was of basic importance to the study of earth's depths. It was approved by the USSR Ministry of Geology and extensively applied in research. The methods of depth seismic sounding of the earth with the help of blasts made it possible to locate the areas in the Soviet Union considered most promising from the viewpoint of the extraction of petroleum, natural gas, and other minerals. However, creative thinking does not rest with achievements. Currently it has been suggested to use in geophysical surveys transversal waves, followed by the optical transformation of their reflection and their depiction in a visible holograph.

These are adequate examples of the typical situation of the progress of a scientific idea from the stage of its laboratory development to practical utilization in national economic sectors. Reaching a sector is the most important prerequisite for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. If an idea is implemented at a single enterprise, while remaining totally unknown to other, similar enterprises, not only would it fail to provide economic benefits but would fail to be developed further itself. Therefore, the principle of "reaching the sector" is basic to scientific and technical progress. It is precisely this principle that brings to society multiple national economic results.

A variety of links between science and the national economy exist: Above all, they include contracts between academic institutes and sectorial scientific research institutes, and direct compacts with lead sectorial enterprises, based on agreements.

Long-term agreements concluded by academic scientific institutions and ministries and departments play a major role in the interaction between science and production. They lay solid foundations for relations between science and economic sectors. Thus, the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department has signed five-year contracts with seven union ministries. The long-term program for cooperation between Siberian scientists and the USSR Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy resulted in the application in the national economy of a number of major technical developments such as extracting super-pure substances, tin refining, and the creation of advanced technology for the extraction of polymetals from ores.

The cooperation between the Siberian Department and the Ministry of Medical Industry is aimed at the development of new medicinal drugs and the use of more advanced instruments for patient diagnosis and treatment. The Siberian chemists and biologists have already submitted a number of most valuable preparations for medical use. The enumeration of such examples could be extended.

Social production concentration is one of the components of scientific and technical progress. We know that major scientific ideas are implemented effectively at big industrial enterprises. This is understandable, for such enterprises have cadres of highly skilled specialists who are well-familiar with their fields of equipment and technology and who can adopt new developments rapidly and creatively. High production concentration presumes its rational specialization. This requires, in management, the profound study of various aspects of the production process and the specific and substantive planning of scientific and technical progress in each unit. Furthermore, additional possibilities are discovered which could be used for the application of new and most promising scientific ideas.

This trend is particularly visible today: Very big plants and combines are designed and built; cost accounting associations are established while existing enterprises are reconstructed. Thus, the VAZ Gigantic Motor Vehicles Enterprise in Tol'yatti was built recently and is already in operation; another giant is being completed--the KamAZ, in Naberezhnyye Chelny; one of the biggest plants in the country--the Zapadno-Sibirskiy Metallurgical Combine in Novokuznetsk, and many others, were built and are operative. Production concentration has become typical for literally all realms of the national economy. It includes powerful hydraulic and thermo-electric power plants, one-of-a-kind blast and Martin furnaces, petroleum and gas refineries, sulfuric acid and aluminum manufacturing plants, and cellulose combines. As to average size and small enterprises, as we know, they are less profitable than the big ones. However, we must take into consideration that their establishment and development has a long history and has involved the creation of a specific infrastructure. These enterprises have adequate cadre resources which makes them entirely viable. That is why here scientific and technical progress will develop through more intensive specialization combined with extensive production cooperation.

Incidentally, specialization creates favorable possibilities for the more active use in production of big scientific ideas and advanced technologies and developments. This would be helped by a systematic and thoroughly planned

system for the training of cadres mastering the latest knowledge and progressive technical experience. Here again differences in production effectiveness between big enterprises with highly concentrated production and small yet narrowly specialized enterprises will be gradually eliminated while extensive production cooperation based on aggregation and comprehensiveness will link the entire spectrum of economic enterprises within a single balanced public production mechanism, actively relying on the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

As we may see, a dialectical relation exists between the organizational forms of industry and science: Production concentration and specialization favor the development of scientific and technical progress which, in turn, contributes to upgrading the concentration of industrial capacities and to even greater production specialization. The conversion of the economy to the new system of organization and management and a course toward specialization presumes the establishment of a broad network of self-financing associations based on interdepartmental cooperation. This process will be developed further. A comprehensive production process based on extensive specialization is one of the characteristic features of scientific and technical progress. The production use of scientific and technical achievements in related technological fields provides, essentially, factual savings of outlays for the development of technical solutions or technologies for a given enterprise, raising it to a higher level.

Production automation is an important component of scientific and technical progress. It is precisely its utilization that offers maximum possibilities for the further development of public production. It is a question of automated management systems, and automation of technological processes and design.

Even though the problem of production automation has long come to the fore its extensive practical solution became possible only with the intensive development of computers.

The most developed today is the problem of automated control systems (ASU) with the use of computers. This means systems of automated data processing and control at different levels--enterprise, sector, and intersectorial interaction, and management on the national level. Their purpose is to improve the organization of all public production units, increase production capacity yields, and improve planning.

The task of the ASU is to contribute to the utilization of the exceptional possibilities of our economy and to the intensive development of the national economy based on total planning. A well-organized accounting of the production process, its all-round study and optimal planning at all levels of the control system is the most important problem in improving the economic mechanism of mature socialism. It can be successfully resolved only on the basis of extensively developed methodological concepts combined with the effective utilization of computers.



Today the use of automated control systems has become widespread at enterprises and in the various sectors of the country's national economy. Initially aimed at accounting and processing a certain amount of production data, today they are penetrating operative management ever more deeply. Thus, the Sigma Automated Control System, based on third generation computers, was created by the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department with the participation of many sectorial scientific research institutes and enterprises. Its distinguishing feature is its ability to adapt itself to the characteristics of enterprises and their management structure. Its purpose is to perform all accounting and operative planning functions and solution of problems involved in preparing production facilities for the production of new goods and the formulation of optimal enterprise plans. Unquestionably, a variety of ASU projects will be carried out in the next few years aimed at developing a broad optimal management complex at all production levels.

In our view, an essentially important stage in this case will be the organization of centralized services to economic enterprises provided by computers in collective computer centers (VTsKP). This will substantially upgrade the effectiveness of the use of computers in ASU systems and will release considerable number of workers now servicing enterprise computers. As to the technical facilities of enterprises, they will represent circuits of inexpensive and reliable minicomputers connected to powerful VTsKP. The development of such differentiation of computers with a view to their more efficient utilization already exists in the national economy.

Improving the organization of all units within the control system is an active factor in increasing the pace of scientific and technical progress. New possibilities appear with the use of simulated enterprise models based on ASU. They have already been established and in the next few years will become an important tool for upgrading production effectiveness.

Sectorial ASU implement a variety of control functions related to the fulfillment of the plan by enterprises, material resources ensuring the functioning of the production process, the formulation of draft annual and five-year plans, and so on. Today the control exercised by ministries and departments is largely based on such systems. In the future they will become ever more closely related to the ASU of enterprises, forming a single sectorial information grid with the necessary hierarchical structure of data banks.

The combination of sectorial ASU based on a single policy will result in the creation of an automated control system on the state level. This will require the solution of a number of methodological, economic, and technical problems, which could be achieved with the participation of the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences, and ministries and departments. State planning which would take into consideration intersectorial and territorial relations, based on optimization economic models, contains tremendous possibilities for accelerating economic development and upgrading social production effectiveness.

The problem of mechanization of manual and heavy physical labor deserves particular attention. In a number of cases enterprise production indicators are modest precisely because of the large percentage of workers engaged in manual labor. That is why we would be fully justified in saying that the mechanization and automation of processes utilizing manual labor would not only upgrade production effectiveness as a whole but release a considerable number of people for other areas of activity where they could be very useful.

Currently an extensive program for the mechanization of manual and heavy physical labor is being implemented in the country. Lift trucks with mechanisms for various operations, capable of working directly in the shops, are used. Facilities for mechanization and automation are being installed in warehousing premises. Their function is the effective search and mechanized retrieval of parts, instruments, and equipment. Semi-automatic machine tools and lines which require the use of heavy manual labor in auxiliary operations are being totally automated. Operations in the ore mining and timber processing industrial sectors, road construction, and reclamation--wherever the share of manual labor is particularly high--are being mechanized.

The first robots-automatic machines with reprogramming capacity have already appeared in shops and workplaces. They carry out a number of operations, ensuring the automation of heavy work under extreme circumstances (such as, for example, high temperatures, a toxic environment, and so on). A new industrial sector is being developed related to the use of mechanization and automated facilities for auxiliary production processes. It is based on the theories of mechanisms, machines, automatic machines, hydraulics, and computers.

The automation of technological processes in the course of scientific and technical progress arises in a great variety of human production activities, facilitating labor and comprehensively intensifying its productivity. Industry is already extensively using programmed machine tools--the forerunners of extensive automation. They enjoy unquestionable advantages compared with automated machine tools because of possibility to reprogram them in accordance with any technological system. In other words, one programmed machine tool can now carry out a number of technological operations previously performed by a large number of automated machine tools tuned in accordance with a single possible system. As a result capital returns from machine tools rise drastically and production costs drop.

Progress in this area leads to the fact that programmed machine tools are becoming ever more widespread while the range of their possible technological use is broadening steadily. They are used as a basis for the creation of complex automated sets representing a combination of machine tools with a single programmed control. In this manner a programmed machine tool here is merely a component of a more complex reprogrammable technological system. This includes the robot machine tools with sufficient possibilities for changing technological operations and processes and automated technological lines.

The reprogrammable automated sets will continue to be improved through the efficient combination of sets of technical facilities as well as control with the help of general or specialized computer systems. Programs for the sets will be designed by computers and fed to specially developed modelling computer systems which would simulate the possibilities of such sets. A new technological level will be developed in industry related to reprogrammable automated sets, their design, program support, and operation. The beginning of this project has already been laid.

Imagining the more distant future, we would see machine tools of an even higher level, having the possibility for self-optimizing in the course of their work, and self-tuning with the best possible technological system. Everywhere the focal point of the new technical systems will be the computer with its exceptional possibilities for data processing. It is precisely the computer, combined with feedback systems, that enables us to engage in comprehensive control and study of the technological process and, using special general programs, change it on the basis of received data and ensure optimal tuning.

Therefore, the pace of scientific and technical progress in the fields of machine tool and machine building in general will be determined, to a tremendous extent, by the quality and set of computing facilities and program control systems. Ensuring ever faster rates of development of machine building on the basis of automation means accelerating scientific and technical progress in all sectors of the national economy.

Let us take metallurgy as an example. One-of-a-kind blast furnaces and converters built in recent years have made it possible substantially to increase the production of cast iron and steel and to upgrade their quality. This is an unquestionable success achieved by the sector. However, nevertheless, the most impressive event of the last five-year plan remains the development and utilization of automated rolling mills. Thus, recently a totally automated rolling mill was installed at the Sapadno-Sibirskiy Metallurgical Combine, capable of producing a wide variety of goods. The mill is controlled by a computer. The work of all the sections of this most complex installation is supervised by no more than 20 operators.

An automated line for the production of pipes of different diameters was installed at the Taganrog Metallurgical Plant. The speed of output here is 1,200 meters per minute. Several operators control the work of the line.

Many such cases could be cited. The future of our industry is related to the creation of precisely such automated technological lines and processes characterized by high productivity, reliability, and quality.

Automated production facilities may be found in chemical and petroleum refining industries, and in the processing of mineral raw materials. This includes, above all, the Omsk Petroleum Refinery, the Kemerovo Plastic Goods Plant, and other enterprises. Here production automation is dictated by

the requirements of the technological process itself. Currently two huge petrochemical enterprises are under construction in Siberia--the Tomsk and Tobol'sk combines. Their designs combine the best ideas in the technological field. Above all, however, they clearly show the trend toward production concentration and its automation based on computers.

Scientific and technical progress is making its way in national economic areas unrelated to highly concentrated production, on the basis of automation. Such automation is based on microprocessors of big integrated circuits--compact computing systems using a single or several semiconductor crystals and performing, in accordance with a program, various project control functions (whether controlling a programmed machine tool, a motor vehicle with a program-controlled fuel mixture, a washing machine with programmed operation sequences, an experimental system for a scientific study based on a given program, and so on). It has been estimated that within the foreseeable future microprocessors will be applied in over 200,000 different types of systems in industry and domestic appliances. This in itself is a technical revolution!

If we add to this the fact that within the immediate future microprocessors will become very inexpensive (the cost of the most widespread types is likely to range from a few to 100 rubles), the real possibilities for progress on this basis become clear.

The use of microprocessors in automation will require, in turn, the development of industrial sectors for the production of recording and controlling apparatus. One direction in scientific and technical progress dictates the need for the development of another. Such is the logic of the scientific and technical revolution.

There is yet another area of human efforts in which automation is scheduled to play an invaluable role--design. It is well known that big collectives of design bureaus in various industrial sectors work for years on end on the creation of major technological designs. For example, three to five years are required to design an aircraft--from the idea to the preparation of the complete set of technical documents. The same applies to the designing of ships, nuclear power plants, and other complex problems of modern technology. The design for a new motor vehicle or tractor takes somewhat less time yet, nevertheless, requires two to three years.

However, a study of the designer's work would show that the creative aspects require far less time than routine computations based on specific norms and the processing of standard documents. It is precisely the solution of technical problems with the help of algorithms that account for the lion's share of the time spent on the design. That is precisely why this process must be automated, using computers with data banks for norms and standard structures, chart plotters for blueprints, teletypes for digital data, screen panels with electronic tracers for design systems, and so on.

Already now a number of sectors have automated workplaces (ARM) for designers. However, this is merely the first stage. In the future time sharing computer centers will make it possible to organize ARM circuits using design optimizing facilities. The implementation of this program will give scientific and technical progress new impetus.

The pace of scientific and technical progress substantially depends upon industrial mobility and the ability of industry to change its programs and, within a short time, implement designs for new systems, technical equipment, and automation facilities. It becomes necessary to shunt resources, switching them to lines of scientific and technical progress considered the most important at the time. All this is closely related to the level of standardization reached in industry. In fact, the development of new designs based on standardized elements would make it possible to make fuller use of scientific and technical experience acquired in the various economic sectors, turn ideas into objects more rapidly, and spend funds more economically. State standardization offers tremendous possibilities for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The Uniform System of Technological Preparations for Production (YeSTPP) and Uniform System for Design Documentation (YeSKD) may be cited as examples of extensive standardization in industry. Naturally, however, this is merely the beginning. Extensive work remains to be done for the further standardization of technological processes and their equipment. This will save on production capacities and enable us to improve quality.

Our industry has long converted to the aggregation method in the development and manufacturing of the various equipment assemblies and elements. The leading machine building plants receive complementing goods from tens and hundreds of enterprises throughout the country, regardless of whether they produce combines, electric generators, or television sets. Enterprise specialization, particularly in high production concentration, enables us to design and produce individual assemblies and systems of superior quality and with great labor savings.

That is precisely why the trend toward consolidated aggregation is becoming ever clearer in industry. Essentially, the question of converting to the production of equipment on the basis of big units or modules, i.e., of standardized assemblies (or parts of complex systems) consisting of interchangeable sets of mass produced parts performing relatively autonomous functions in various types of technical systems, is already on the agenda. The use of modules will upgrade even further production effectiveness and reduce the time for the implementation of technical projects. Many plants in the country have already converted to large-block aggregation. This trend was initiated by the motor vehicle, aerospace, shipbuilding, and other industrial sectors. For example, this principle was the basis of Atom mash --the contemporary giant of our industry (large block production of structural equipment assemblies for nuclear power plants).

Module aggregation has acquired a wide scope in construction in general, civilian construction in particular. This has made it possible substantially to increase the pace of housing and consumer construction.

The module principle is particularly important in scientific research. In order to implement new ideas the scientist needs a solid base of standardized instruments and laboratory equipment, the most advanced measuring equipment, and a well-developed system for supplying the scientific organizations with reagents, chemicals and compounds, vacuum systems, and computing and automation facilities.

The development of standardization formulates requirements concerning scientific and technical progress, above all in upgrading the quality of most important items such as steel, rolled metal, pipes, construction materials, machine tools, instruments, and so on. The satisfaction of such requirements will be inevitably accompanied by changes in the economic criteria which shape production indicators and affect the implementation of the plan. They must stimulate the production of high-grade goods with a rational utilization of resources.

Scientific and technical progress is based, above all, on skilled specialist cadres who can actively influence the development of the production process. Faster progress depends on the level of personnel training for the creative adoption of new scientific and technical ideas and their utilization. This formulates particular requirements concerning the training of specialists and the upgrading of their professional standards.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution technological changes and conversion to new and more advanced equipment, new construction materials, and new labor organization principles take place on a continuous basis. That is why the constant and incessant study of new developments becomes the pivot of the specialist training system at all levels, from the worker to the engineer, and from the laboratory technician to the designer or researcher. To an ever greater extent the center of attention in the training of cadres within the higher and secondary specialized education systems is shifting from narrow to broad specialization. Here the main effectiveness indicator is the gain of the ability creatively to apply knowledge in the solution of specific problems in various realms of socially useful activities, the active adoption of new ideas and methods, and the fast adoption of new scientific and technical trends.

One of the characteristics in cadre training today is the thorough mastery of quantitative methods which imbue all fields of knowledge--physics, chemistry, technology, earth sciences, biology, medicine, economics, and consumer services. There is no realm of work and knowledge in which mathematical methods and computers could not be applied. Electronic computers have a tremendous influence on scientific research methods and the solution of technical, organizational, and management problems. The production and use of computers determine, to an ever greater extent, the pace of scientific and technical progress. Therefore, it is of exceptional importance to train young specialists in the field of mathematics, properly familiar with the use of computers.

The content of the professional-technical, secondary specialized, and higher education is changing under the influence of scientific and technical progress. Attention is focused on problems related to production automation and control, and use of new technical facilities and technological materials. Industry needs engineers and technicians who could develop automated technological lines, and organize the work of programmed machine tools; it needs specialists familiar with complex control-measuring apparatus. The nature of design work is changing under the influence of successes in computer technology: The young specialists must possess a broader outlook and be trained to use new design facilities, find easily their way in changing circumstances, and rapidly master the achievements of science and technology, new production processes, and control systems. The steady creative search for effective solutions and of optimal ways for the implementation of technological production and control systems will become the pivot of specialists' activities at all economic levels. Extensive specialization will make it possible to study the basic problems of the production process and to reorganize it on a profoundly scientific basis.

"Our country has tremendous natural resources," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 18th Komsomol Congress. "Through the efforts of several generations we developed a powerful economic potential in industry and agriculture. We brought up and trained a large number of educated and skilled cadres and gave the people adequate living conditions. Today, more than ever before, it is important to make skillful, sensible, and economical use of all these very rich resources, putting them properly on the service of the people, and extracting maximal use from them."

Scientific and technical progress is the basis for intensive national economic development. The future of our economy lies in upgrading effectiveness. This is the way for ensuring its successful and dynamic development. The party is steadfastly pursuing a line of acceleration of scientific and technical progress, improved planning and management, and intensified level of organization and order at each workplace and management level.

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## IMPROVING ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE AND INDUSTRY

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[Article by Ya. Orlov, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] The supreme objective of public production under socialism is the fullest possible satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the people. Soviet trade which economically links production with consumption in a state of constant interaction, plays a major role in the implementation of this objective. With the present tremendous scales and technical possibilities of the production process the role of trade rises as the most important economic area of the active influence exerted by the mass consumer on end production results. The influence of trade on shaping the plans for the development of the sectors producing consumer goods is increasing substantially. Standing behind trade is the Soviet person with his growing requirements. Therefore, it is a question not only of improving the economic mechanism but of resolving an important social problem.

Each production enterprise must produce goods consistent with social requirements. The purpose and objective of the trade enterprise is to bring such goods to the consumers at the lowest possible cost and with high service standards. This could be fully achieved only with the creation of economic conditions which make advantageous to a collective that which is advantageous to the state and, in the final account, to each enterprise: Adopt an intensive plan, use all reserves, and so on.

It might appear that, theoretically, everything is clear and simple. Practically matters are more complex. Let us consider this with an example. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan the production of men's shirts from all types of fabrics in the RSFSR rose 8.7 percent only in terms of quantity but 30.5 percent in terms of price. Production rose 36 percent for woolen shirts, and nearly doubled for nylon shirts; the production of cotton shirts for which demand was the highest dropped, conversely, by 19 percent, being less profitable to the garment makers. The time needed for the making of a man's cotton shirt is 0.62 hours and the average price of the item is 5.65 rubles, whereas the time spent for the production of a woolen shirt is almost the same (0.66) while the average price is 17.35 rubles. It becomes possible, therefore, to sew one instead of three shirts and still fulfill the plan in cash terms.



Today, as a rule, there are no shortages of groups of items as a whole such as, for example, shoes, fabrics, or clothing. Most frequently there are shortages of fashionable styles within such groups. This is largely related to shortcomings in planning and price setting. A study of the work of light industry enterprises indicates that the conversion to production planning based on volume of retail sales, introduced over three years ago, in many cases not only does not help to improve matters but results (particularly in the case of inexpensive goods in mass demand) to lowering volumes of output.

This may be seen by taking children's goods as an example. The fulfillment of trade orders for individual items ranges from 50 to 90 percent. The USSR Ministry of Light Industry formulates assignments for the production of a specific commodity on the basis of very general indicators. For example, in the case of children's shoes the plans issued to enterprises showed the overall volume with no indications as to variety; the plans for clothing include four general groups: Overcoats, raincoats, suits, and shirts. Under those circumstances the factories produce the types of items they find more profitable, while trade enterprise orders for goods for preschool and nursery age children remain largely unsatisfied. Obviously, orders for children's clothing should be based on a bigger nomenclature and coordinated with the trade ministries of union republics.

Of late a trend has appeared in the production of consumer goods of referring cost rather than physical indicators in the formulation of plans. The manufacturing of leather and felt shoes, and of hosiery goods is planned not in pairs but in rubles; the production of knitwear is planned not in pieces but in rubles; even fish for human consumption is planned not in tons but in a total amount of rubles. As a result, so far there have been frequent cases in enterprise work of violations of contractual discipline and of variety stipulations. The fulfillment of the production plan in monetary terms is frequently achieved at the expense of above plan production of expensive goods "profitable" to the producer while underfulfilling assignments for the production of inexpensive goods needed by the population. One of the main reasons for this situation, in our view, is the absence of a specific plan assignment for the production of goods in terms of variety. Naturally, it is as impossible to abandon the use of value categories in economics as it would be, under socialism, to do without the use of market-monetary relations. Therefore, we should not pit physical indicators against value indicators, and vice versa, but plan them as a single inseparably linked entity.

Practical experience, that of Latvia in particular, proves what could be achieved by putting an end to playing the variety "game." For the past two years, experimentally, the Darba Spars Plant has had the assignment to produce enameled ware both in terms of value and in physical units. The conversion to planning output in both rubles and pieces made it possible to abandon the production of essentially big items. Now, in coordinating the production plan, attention is focused on increasing the production of items of small dimension and size--bowls, mugs, pitchers, tea pots, coffee pots,

and others. This made it possible considerably to ensure population supplies of such household items and shortages of such goods have been largely eliminated. Presently this planning principle, which calls for the use of less metal and results in the production of more goods, has been extended to stamped aluminum ware as well.

Also worthy of attention and dissemination is the system of economic incentives developed by the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy for the shops in its plants producing metal utensils. Encouragement is given not to those who waste more metal, as was the case in the past, but to he who makes out of the same metal a larger number of useful and necessary items. Following the application of this system at the Lys'va Metallurgical Plant, for example, the average weight per item in the utensils production shop declined by 260 grams. This is the equivalent of an additional almost 10 million saucepans, bowls, and mugs compared with the previous output. This year substantial improvements have been made in the planning and accounting of deliveries of metal utensils. The 1978 procurement assignments for steel enameled, steel zincplated, and aluminum stamped utensils, based on the market and non-market allocation stocks, are given both in terms and in thousand rubles.

Reality calls for intensifying the target directions of the plants for the production of consumer goods and the accelerated concentration of forces and resources for the production of items needed to satisfy population demand, focusing them precisely wherever conditions exist for ensuring high quality of output.

The measures taken to improve the organization of the production of goods for the population or the trade enterprises will not yield desired results without radically changing the nature of economic relations between manufacturing and trade. Today the interests of factories and stores, and of producers and purchasers do not always coincide. Some contradictions exist between them. Even though endowed with equal juridical rights, industry and trade are frequently unequal economic partners. The positions of the producer are stronger. Should trade try to become more exacting in its dialogue with the violators of state discipline, in retaliation the factory-supplier could immediately terminate the shipment of its goods altogether.

This was the reaction of the Khasavyurt Factory after the Voronezh Rostorgodezhdy Base rejected a large number of quilts. Since the factory is the only quilt manufacturer in the oblast for quite some time no such commodity could be found in Voronezh stores. Appeals to the enterprise's management and the superior organizations yielded no more results than the fines whose payment the factory delayed until they were revoked. Consequently, occasionally sales become purely formal operations. Goods are moved from the factory to the trade enterprise or store warehouse and funds are transferred from one account to another. The factual meaning of marketing (the economic influence of the consumer on production) is factually lost.

The study of violations along the entire chain of economic relations proves that the main reason for which procurement and contractual stipulations are not met is found in the imperfection of the mechanism itself of economic interaction between production and trade enterprises. The producer knows that his work will be judged on the basis of the fulfillment of the plan, i.e., exclusively on the basis of goods sold in terms of the overall amount of money. If an enterprise producing superior quality goods fails to fulfill its plan for even one-tenth of one percent it is "penalized" materially and morally. Conversely, the enterprise which has overfulfilled its plan in rubles, even though its output is of lesser quality and not in demand, is rewarded. Thus, quantity speaks of itself loudly while quality whispers. The factories are interested in the production of the variety of goods which, all other conditions being equal, would result in the highest volume of sales and best fund forming factors. This is encouraged by the entire existing system of economic incentives directed, above all, toward the value assessment of results, quantitative indicators, and "gross" output: The more expensive the better. This situation largely developed as a result of an imperfect system of indicators. It directs factories and plants to fulfill "their own" plan which is "convenient" for them, rather than toward end results--the satisfaction of consumer demand. Most frequently, this is precisely the reason for which the producer rarely takes trade enterprise orders into consideration.

Following, for example, is the structure of the production of knitwear. Large quantities of knitted goods are produced. However, a considerable percentage of upper knitted goods consists of warmup suits, breeches, and jumpers. Very few more labor-intensive goods in greater demand such as jackets for women and children, suits for children, and sweaters are produced. The production of women's knitted suits and blouses is insufficient. Consequently, demand remains unsatisfied and a number of knitted goods remain unsold and depreciated.

The prompt and high quality fulfillment of assignments and obligations for deliveries based on concluded contracts is the direct expression of the materialized end results of enterprise work. Therefore, the accelerated conversion to assessing the work and encouraging the collectives of associations and enterprises above all on the basis of goods marketed in accordance with the fulfillment of the procurements plan, earmarked for the 10th Five-Year Plan, has become an urgent and vital social need.

The economic contract for goods deliveries performs the function of binding link between production and trade. Let us consider the way it fulfills its role in practice and the way the trade organizations use economic and legal levers to influence production in the direction of improving the variety and raising the quality of consumer goods. Delivery stipulations always include economic penalties for the non-fulfillment of plan assignments and contractual obligations both by suppliers and trade enterprises. However, the trade enterprises failed to make sufficient use of such penalties to influence suppliers who frustrate the prompt delivery of goods in the stipulated variety and quality. The very use of penalties became non-mandatory.

In order to put an end to forgiving the producer who has committed economic legal violations and to strengthen procurements discipline, since 1974 it has been stipulated that claiming penalties is not only the right but the duty of the contracting parties. This is a very important supplement aimed at strengthening the planning discipline and implementing the principle of unavoidable punishment for the violation of contractual obligations.

However, so far the trade workers rarely resort to material penalties for violations of conditions governing procurements and stipulations of economic contracts. Their wish to live "peacefully" and not "quarrel" with suppliers can not be excused but is easily understood. The main reason here, as we already pointed out, is the privileged position of the producer and supplier who could stop deliveries of goods to individual trade organizations regardless of contracts. A fine does not increase the volume of goods. It could not be put on the shelves. Yet, the sales plan must be fulfilled. Even though in recent years the use of penalties for supply shortages and substandard quality has been more frequent, we can not say as yet that contractual discipline in deliveries of consumer goods has improved substantially.

The trade network receives a number of light industry goods. On the surface the variety seems wide. However, frequently the customers leave the store without buying. They are not satisfied with the homogeneous nature of the goods, shapes, and models, or with the quality of materials and the sewing. Clothing and shoes not corresponding to the ordered shapes, models, materials, finishing, accessories, or colors, or with major production defects, pile up in the stores.

In 1976 and in the first quarter of 1977, in the RSFSR alone, 2,542 items were deleted from report data on the fulfillment of production plans, worth 15.9 million rubles, depriving the state budget of an income of 1.1 million rubles, in the production and marketing of light industry goods which failed to meet standards, technical stipulations, and models. In 265 cases the republic's state inspectorate blocked the acceptance of goods by trade enterprises or applied a special procurements system. The constant defaulters include the factories imeni Petr Alekseyev and Osvobozhdennyy Trud, of the Moscow Fine Cloth Production Association, the Avangard and imeni III Internationala combines of the Vladimir Cotton Goods Industry, and the Ryazan' Shoe Factory.

Let us point out that the current state statistical accountability limits itself merely to wholesale trade, essentially reflecting the quantitative side of control results rather than the qualitative aspect of commodity ratings. Most accurate information is being accumulated within the trade network on the quality of goods and it is precisely here that the quality is factually determined. A commodity which the customer refuses to buy possesses a negative quality, so to say, and represents a loss to society. Many factories report the fulfillment of their marketing and profit plans while violating their obligations to trade organizations and enterprises. That is why some of them openly scorn contracts while others do not trust their power and authority.

Last year's Central Committee decree "On the Work of Party and Soviet Organs of Irkutskaya Oblast on Increasing the Role of Legal Services at Industrial, Agricultural, and Construction Enterprises in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" points out that there have been frequent cases of contemptuous attitude on the part of enterprises toward their contractual obligations, the non-implementation of assignments on commodity marketing and variety, distorted accountability, or irregular allocation of controlled materials. Last year the arbitration organs alone find suppliers of defective goods millions of rubles and tens of goods lost their state Emblem of Quality.

The party's Central Committee formulated specific ways aimed at improving further legal controls over economic activities. Covering a broad range of problems, the decree offers clear possibilities to all leading organs and is, therefore, of general party and state importance. It is a question of directing toward better quality the entire planning and management mechanism and the entire system of material and moral incentives.

Additional measures are being taken in the 10th Five-Year Plan to raise the interest of associations and enterprises in the production of high quality consumer goods. In the past, as a rule, no markups were allowed on wholesale and retail prices of consumer goods awarded the Emblem of Quality. Consequently, the enterprises lacked the additional profit incentive. This shortcoming has been corrected. The material incentive fund of all enterprises (not only those who produce goods for industrial purposes) will be augmented by withholdings based on profits totalling up to two percent of the material incentive fund for every percentage of consumer goods awarded the Emblem of Quality out of the overall volume of output.

Recently temporary prices were introduced for high quality goods. They increased the interest of enterprises in renovating their output, broadening its variety, and improving its quality. A procedure is already in operation stimulating the intensified role of technical control departments. The workers in such services will be awarded bonuses based on results of economic activities only if the produced goods are entirely consistent with standards and technical stipulations. This will contribute to the assertion of the basic approach taken by the control organs to the rating of goods, consistent with the interests of both producers and consumers.

Other measures aimed at influencing the quality of goods have been stipulated as well. Thus, the "Basic Stipulations on the Formation and Utilization of the Material Incentive and Socio-Cultural Measures and Housing Construction Funds for 1976-1980 by Production Associations (Combines), Enterprises, and Industrial Organizations Converted to the New System of Planning and Economic Incentive" stipulate that the increased share of second category goods in the overall volume of output, compared with the plan figures, will reduce the incentive fund of associations and enterprises.

The trade organizations suffer substantial losses as a result of the low quality goods supplied by the factories, violations of agreed upon varieties, volume, and procurement deadlines, and of other contractual stipulations. At the same time, under present circumstances the struggle for quality demands constant and considerable outlays. The trade organizations who do not allow the sale of substandard goods or goods not meeting technical stipulations, to begin with, do not receive allocated commodities or receive commodities worth less as a result of lowered grades and prices; secondly, after bearing the costs, they are not granted trade discounts--the share of commercial profit in the price of a commodity. The fines received from suppliers cover merely a small percentage of expenditures related to returning substandard goods or to reduced quality. All this, naturally, adversely affects the fulfillment of trade plans and the assets of incentive funds of retail and wholesale enterprises.

Under these circumstances the five percent withholdings from the surplus of received overpaid damages, left at the disposal of the wholesale bases are obviously insufficient, for they fail to cover all outlays. Here is an example. In June 1976 the Kursk Wholesale Base checked 52,400 pairs of shoes received from the local shoe factory. The grade of 2,000 pairs was reduced and 3,000 pairs were returned to the factory to repair defects. A claim was filed against the factory for 3,000 rubles. However, the enterprise lost money. First of all, sales dropped by 62,000 rubles. Trade discounts for the shoes amount to five percent or 3,100 rubles while costs amounted to three percent or 2,000 rubles. The result was that the base lost over 1,000 rubles and failed to obtain its commercial discount.

Trade workers who fail to fulfill their sales plan are deprived of bonuses as a result of which the wholesale base finds it unprofitable to return goods to the producers. What about the stores? We know that nearly three-quarters of all goods are sold retail directly by the industrial enterprises. Starting with 1976 a procedure was established under which state enterprises and organizations engaged in retail trade and public catering deposit to the budget account 95 percent of the amount by which received computations exceed fines, adding five percent to the profits. However, even the five percent (unlike the situation with wholesale bases) is not left fully at the disposal of the trade enterprise, the workers' supply department, or the store. In a word, in fact the union, republic, or local budgets, according to the affiliation of the enterprise, receive the almost entire amount of the surplus of compensations received over fines paid. Naturally, this does not increase the interest of trade enterprises in claiming compensations from contract violators.

It is a noteworthy fact that, for the first time in recent years, the amount of requested fines has declined rather than increased. Whereas in the past the sum total of fines, penalties, and compensations received by retail trade organizations and enterprises grows with every passing year, under the new system it dropped immediately.

In the past, each trade enterprise in Chelyabinskaya Oblast had good legal departments which effectively helped to increase the strictness of requirements facing careless suppliers. Today such services are unable even to pay their own upkeep. Ever more frequently their maintenance costs are considered unnecessary, for which reason, here and there, they have been closed down. Let us consider the situation in Kaliningradskaya Oblast. Out of almost 150,000 rubles in fines claimed in the first half of 1976 slightly over 7,000 were left at the disposal of trade enterprises. This is one-fifth of the wages paid commodity experts. Hiring one or two additional commodity rating specialists would mean higher costs. Considering this unprofitable, retail trade is filing a lesser amount of claims concerning the quality of goods and penalties than it could and should.

A similar situation is developing in other oblasts, krays, and republics. Naturally, this does not contribute to increasing the influence of retail trade on industry. Instead of stricter control over quality of delivered goods, as called for in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, control is weakened and the retail trade loses interest in strengthening this sector of the work.

Obviously, the USSR Ministry of Finance should review the system of withholdings from fines for the violation of contractual obligations and increase the interest of retail trade collectives in the struggle for upgrading the quality and improving the variety of consumer goods, leaving at the disposal of the enterprises no less than 10 percent of the difference between fines received and paid. For the same purpose it would make sense to raise the share left wholesale trade to 15-20 percent. Such funds could be used to set up a price reduction fund for industrial commodities by wholesale organizations (which do not have it), determining its size in terms of the amount stipulated in the plan for warehousing trade, and use it to encourage the production of new and low-profit goods.

The trade workers have equally serious claims concerning the quantity of the delivered goods. Within the overall amount of fines paid by light industry to wholesale organizations, over four-fifths are fines and penalties related to incomplete or delayed deliveries and violations of variety contracts. The percentage of fines for quality and variety violations accounts for less than one-fifth of the sum total of the fines. The structure of fines paid retail trade is similar.

Frequently the amount of fines is hardly discussed, for they are rarely claimed and their influence on the overall prosperity of the enterprise is weak. Occasionally, this allows contractual violators to be classified as leading enterprises. Their collectives are awarded full bonuses and they could even emerge the winners of a socialist competition. Is this not strange? The more so since such a "leading" collective lowers the opportunity of other truly leading collectives to achieve labor successes. That is why it is very important to increase the role of economic contracts in assessing the work of a factory and collective, and establish a procedure in which the

marketing plan will be considered fulfilled only when all contractual stipulations have been observed. This would include not only the fulfillment of deliveries in terms of variety but the observance by the supplier of shipment deadlines and of the established quality level. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th Party Congress that "we must close all loopholes which still allow uncaring managers to be considered among the leaders despite violations of contractual obligations, low quality, and poor use of reserves. This calls for an effective material and moral incentive system combined with strict and unavoidable penalties for violations in planning and contractual discipline."

As a plan tool and means of connecting production with trade, the contract could fulfill its purpose only when planned indicators of factory activities are properly combined with contractual obligations. So far a gap remains between the assessment of the fulfillment of planned indicators by a factory and the full observance of contracts. Furthermore, the factual importance of a contract is determined not only by the penalties levied on commodity manufacturers but on the role which the implementation of the contract plays within the overall system of indicators of economic activities, and the coordination and interdependence between the plan and the contract. Two autonomous processes seem to have developed--planning and the conclusion of contracts--whereas they must mandatorily be interrelated.

Talks about the power of a contract and about upgrading its role would remain ineffective as long as the system for stimulating plan fulfillments does not become most closely linked with the implementation of contracts, and as long as material and moral incentives are not based on the observance of both the letter and the spirit of the contract. In practical terms this means that the amount of economic incentive funds and bonuses should depend more than in the past on the fulfillment of delivery plans in accordance with contracts and orders. That is why improvements in economic management are directly related to increasing the role of economic contracts.

An important step has already been taken in this direction. A new procedure has been developed for assessing and rating the fulfillment of assignments related to goods deliveries. The indicator "Volume of Goods Marketed in Wholesale Prices of Enterprises, Included in the Plan, in Accordance with the Fulfillment of Delivery Obligations" has been established for the purpose of determining the extent to which assignments and obligations are implemented concerning deliveries of industrial and consumer goods in terms of quantities, deadlines, and nomenclature (variety) based on concluded contracts. Now it is important to ensure its total application.

Recently the central planning organs checked the way sectorial ministries, associations, and enterprises are implementing this decision. The investigation indicated that the enterprises have adopted a stricter attitude toward orders and contracts. The new indicator raises the responsibility for the implementation of assignments for the entire variety. It strengthens plan discipline. Many ministries have efficiently issued associations



corresponding legal documents, formulated regulations on primary accounting of the implementation of economic contracts, and established a scale for the lowering of bonuses for partial failures to meet orders.

Yet, approximately one out of four enterprises fails to meet nomenclature orders, even though, as a rule, planned assignments are overfulfilled in terms of the volume of goods marketed, in rubles.

In order to upgrade the effectiveness of contractual obligations between industry and trade a system of penalties for their violation must be improved. So far the trade organizations lack effective economic and legal means which would enable them to exert an influence on the manufacturers so that their efforts may be focused on steadily improving variety and upgrading the quality of goods in accordance with population demand. The penalties mechanism itself must be greatly improved. The effect of the use of fines would have been considerably greater had they come out of the material incentive funds of the enterprise or of its other personal funds, while officials responsible for the losses be held liable not only disciplinarily but materially. The arbitration authorities should be given the right to fine enterprises and responsible individuals. All this would contribute to strengthening the cost accounting relations between trade and production.

The planning of enterprise activities based on the delivery contracts also leads to the creation of the proper economic mechanism. In order to ensure its proper work, we should raise the responsibility of producers and trade enterprises concerning contracts and take a step forward in replacing the system of partial or, rather, almost symbolic responsibility with a system of total responsibility. The producers must be answerable not only for the amount of undersupplied goods but for the profits lost by trade as a result. Therefore, the arbitration authorities should demand compensation for such losses on a mandatory basis, recoverable from the funds of the liable party.

Starting with 1960 the trade organizations were given the right to mark down obsolete styles and models. To this effect they set up a discount fund amounting to 0.2, then 0.4, and, finally, 0.5 percent of retail sales. As of 1 February 1978 a one time discount was given on clothing, underwear, knitted goods, fabrics, shoes, head gear, hosiery, haberdashery, cosmetics, and school and office goods and individual electric, sports, radio, and music instrument items, metal utensils, and household metal objects produced until 1976, no longer manufactured, of obsolete styles, colors, models, and designs, as well as partially damaged goods. Price discounts averaged more than one-half of the original prices. Over one billion rubles were appropriated to compensate the losses suffered by trade enterprises from such discounts.

A similar situation prevails in 1978. Extensive sales have been taking place since 1 March on many light industry items, electrical appliances, sports equipment, radios, and musical instruments.

There are many reasons to believe that the current practice of sales of marked down goods should be improved and that the price reduction mechanism is still operating at half capacity. Let us begin with the fact that sales of some goods are delayed for several years. This means direct losses of sales and income and increased turnover costs. Such losses could be considerably lowered through quicker sales. This would provide many hundreds of millions of rubles of additional sales and millions of rubles of profits. Furthermore, usually special stores, departments, and sections are assigned to conduct one-time, "campaign," so to say, sales. This not only reduces the possibility to buy "standard" goods but, to a certain extent, also worsens customer services. It also raises the additional expenditures of commercial organizations. A great deal of funds, efforts, and time are spent in the processing of a number of documents at various stages and levels, investigations, control, statistical reports, and so on.

Obviously, the very procedure of the formation and use of the discount fund should be changed. Since 1966 50 to 75 percent of the assets of this fund go to the budget (a large percentage of the balance is used to cover losses from the centralized reduction of prices of individual commodities). The reason cited for this was that the fund's assets were not used for their specific purpose. In fact, the prices of goods were not marked down promptly. The goods piled up and, consequently, considerable budget funds had to be appropriated, exceeding one year or another, income received from such sales. In 1975, for example, 300 million rubles were paid to the budget while over 700 million rubles were appropriated for goods sales. This year enterprises and organizations in state and cooperative trade and consumer services enterprises will receive one billion rubles to compensate for discount sale losses.

This practice raises the losses suffered by the national economy and conflicts with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 1960 decree "On Measures for the further Improvement of Trade." That document stipulates that before the end of the season the trade organizations must systematically organize sales of obsolete styles and fashions and of partially spoiled goods in order to avoid their stockpiling within the trade network.

The population as well benefits from buying goods on sale. This year this will amount to approximately 1.7 billion rubles. Prompt discounts bring back "to life" many goods, satisfy better population demand, make efficient use of the discount fund, and reduces losses in the consumer value of commodities compared with lengthy storage. Even when a commodity is sold with a discount the loss to society is lesser than if it remains unsold for years on end.

Furthermore, the existence of unsold goods artificially lowers the needs of trade enterprises for commodities for the fulfillment of their sales plan and meeting population demand. Today stocks of many goods have dropped considerably below the norm regardless of the fact that the norm itself has not been raised for the past 17 years even though within that time sales have increased considerably.

As a whole, it is in the interest not only of trade but of society to make effective use of the discount fund for its direct purpose. Discounts and sales of partially depreciated goods, as such depreciation develops, is a normal and expedient practice. It means supporting progress, the appearance of new goods, the saturation of the market, and increased sufficiency for the Soviet people. It is a consequence of the influence of fashion. At the same time, naturally, to a certain extent this is the result of poor knowledge of demand, errors in the shipment of goods and their distribution by rayon and trade organization, and, finally, a kind of forgiveness of the "sins" of industry. In fact, so far losses from price discounts are born by the state budget and the trade organizations while the direct culprits--the producers--remain untouched.

Yet, what if we follow the example of fraternal Poland? The popular Warsaw women's clothing store Sawa receives its goods from the Kora Factory. In accordance with contractual conditions the factory must take back the balance of goods unsold within three months. We believe that such a measure would immediately make anyone who still does not care for the honor of the plant's trademark react. In this case the ruble would not become simply an intermediary but the umpire in the work of both factory and store. Briefly stated, we must intensify ruble control not only for production but marketing, and increase self-financing responsibility in both industry and trade.

Perhaps a discussion should be held on increasing exactingness--the basis of a business partnership. This stems from the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. A formal approach to discounts seems to suggest to workers in trade the following: Accept everything you get; if you do not sell it, mark it down; if your own fund can not meet the cost, you will receive money from the fund of another enterprise or from the state budget. True, this is not a universal reaction. At the Moskva Department Store goods experts are held liable for the purchasing and stockpiling of unsold goods: They may be deprived of bonuses entirely or partially. The department store turned into an assessor of defective goods a commodity expert who was "good" at the expense of the state. Another way exists as well: To interest materially trade workers in the economical use of funds allocated for discounts, award them bonuses for the savings on such funds.

The circulation of the public product includes the time needed for production and turnover. The entire reproduction process lasts approximately 170 days, of which trade accounts for 110, i.e., for considerably more than production time. Society is interested in reducing both to a minimum level. Faster sales through the creation of conditions needed for normal trade, including the bringing above inventories to normative levels is a most important reserve for upgrading the effectiveness of trade and overall public production. Improvements in the discount mechanism would make possible the use of this reserve.

However, this is not to say that discounts are a universal means and the only and most effective lever for balancing supply and demand. Discounts are merely a kind of medicine which should be used only under certain conditions and within specific doses. Blocking the production of unsalable goods could and should be achieved, above all by operatively directing the factories to the production of marketable goods. Production is the main link which, if properly used, could and should provide a balance between supply and demand.

The 25th Party Congress emphasized the need to strengthen and improve economic relations between industry and trade, based on the fact that trade orders must become the foundation for establishing the volume of output of a variety of consumer goods, and upgrade the responsibility of industrial and trade enterprises for implementation of contracts. In practical terms this means that the planning of trade must play a more active and effective role in the formulation of plans for the development of sectors producing consumer goods.

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## RAPPROCHEMENT AMONG NATIONS AS A LAW OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

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[Article by N. Tarasenko]

[Text] The solution of the national problem--one of the most complex problems in the history of human society--holds an important position among the achievements of the Great October Revolution. With the victory of the Socialist Revolution the peoples of former Tsarist Russia acquired the possibility to make a historical choice and the right to determine their own fate. Voluntarily united in a powerful union state, they took the path of a new life. Hostility and mistrust among nations and nationalities yielded, under victorious socialist conditions, to friendship, mutual trust, and close cooperation. "The equality, fraternity, and inviolable unity among the peoples of the Soviet Union became a fact," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. "A new historical community developed--the Soviet people. The growing process of rapprochement among nations runs through the entire realm of life of our society."

At the mature socialist stage, already developing on its own basis, the processes steadily leading to strengthening the international unity among nations are manifested ever more completely and intensively. The 25th Party Congress profoundly revealed the nature of such processes in Soviet society. Today the economic, political, and spiritual unification of nations and nationalities in the country is characterized by different measurements and parameters, for it has assumed an all-Soviet scale and depth. The new USSR Constitution became a powerful booster of rapprochement among nations and of the harmonious development of the comity of builders of communism.

### 1.

V. I. Lenin predicted that as socialism strengthens and as it reaches more mature forms, the internationalist features in relations among nations will appear ever more clearly. Ensuring their total reciprocal trust and factual

equality, Vladimir Il'ich wrote, socialism facilitates and tremendously accelerates the rapprochement among nations, creating conditions for a transition "to the conscious and ever greater unity among working people" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, p 21; Vol 36, p 73).

As the internationalization of the country's social life intensifies, relations among nationalities become many-faceted. A synthesis of the most valuable aspects of the culture and way of life of the Soviet nations and nationalities occurs. Emphasizing the irreversibility of internationalization already under capitalism, Lenin pointed out that, after surmounting the antagonism of the exploiting society socialism completes this trend, converting internationalization into a universal process and ensuring the completeness and universality of its manifestations. Determined, above all, by the level of development of the country's productive forces, and accelerated by the influence of scientific and technical progress, under mature socialist conditions internationalization comprehensively encompasses and imbues ever more profoundly the production of material goods, science, education, technology, spiritual life, the way of life, and the entire system of social relations.

The appearance of a new historical community--the Soviet people--was the all-embracing reflection of the processes of internationalization in the USSR and a real triumph of the reorganization of our entire way of life on a socialist basis. This community is a monolithic alliance among the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia, and among all nations and nationalities in the country, welded by common revolutionary, labor, and combat traditions, joint struggle for the building of socialism and communism, relations of friendship and cooperation, unity of economic, socio-political, and spiritual life, and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The anti-communist ideologues depict the international unity of the peoples of the Soviet state as the "denationalization" of Soviet republics and as the "forcible absorption" of national and ethnic groups. This is a clear manifestation of the desire to distort socialist reality. The truth is that in the course of the progress toward communism quantitative and qualitative changes occur not only in the social but the national structure of our society. On the one hand, a number of small ethnic groups related in terms of origin, language, and culture, and economically and territorially closely linked, are consolidated around a bigger and more developed national comity; on the other, some national and ethnic groups sharing the same characteristics merge with another nation voluntarily, on an equal footing, either partially or entirely. Naturally, all the outstanding achievements of these small groups become an inseparable, an organic part of the material and spiritual culture of the national or international formation of which they have become a part.

The growing comity of Soviet people does not absorb or dilute within it nations and nationalities but represents their international unity, a single live organism which excludes not what is national in general but national

exclusivity, narrowness, and restrictiveness, while comprehensively contributing to the selection of spiritual values, the birth of progressive traditions, and the manifestation of the best features of each nation.

Mature socialism enriched the internationalist experience and all-Soviet principles governing nations and nationalities. The biggest such experience is found in the great Russian people who have justifiably earned the respect and love of all generations of Soviet people for their inflexible loyalty to the principles of solidarity and communist ideals, spiritual generosity, true humanistic actions, and the outstanding unification mission they performed and are performing within our fraternal union. The growing influence of the Russian people in the life of all USSR nations and nationalities comprehensively contributes to their economic and cultural upsurge and serves the further consolidation of the builders of communism.

The working class plays an outstanding role in the development of the common features of the peoples and in intensifying their social homogeneousness. It is a truly international class sharing, as the founders of scientific communism wrote, "the same interests in all nations and in which national isolation has been eliminated" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 61). Becoming the principal maker of the new society, the Soviet working class had a decisive impact on the development of the country's nations and nationalities, and on their blossoming and rapprochement. Its integrating role particularly intensified under mature socialist conditions. With the increased size of the working class and, most importantly, its qualitative development and enhanced socio-political activity, educational level, culture, and production skills, greater changes are taking place in the nature and forms of national consolidation of the peoples of the USSR. As a structural component of the single Soviet working class, combining within the functions of the main producer of material goods with the leading force of society, blending together the features of the conscientious industrial worker with intellectual activities, most open to new processes and phenomena of internationalization of the country's social life, the working class of each republic promotes the high norms of collectivism in relations among people of different nationalities and is the main factor for rapprochement.

The Soviet Union has already achieved the socio-class homogeneousness of nations. All of them consist of workers, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia. However, this is not to say that our society has already become classless while nations have become socially entirely homogeneous. As we know, there are still distinctions between workers and kolkhoz members both in terms of their attitude toward productive capital, their role in the public organization of labor, and the method for earning and size of income. Such differences are being gradually surmounted. They are declining. With the growth of agroindustrial integration and interfarm cooperation, with the increased level of production socialization and the conversion of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor, with the implementation of universal mandatory secondary education throughout the

country, and with the upsurge of culture in the countryside and the reorganization of the rural way of life, to an ever greater extent the kolkhoz peasantry is assuming features similar to those of the working class. Having entirely and fully taken the positions of socialism, the people's intelligentsia--the fastest growing detachment of Soviet working people--is the active assistant of the working class in the formulation of directions and the practical implementation of state policy, dedicating its entire creative energy to the building of communism. The progressive elimination of the boundaries separating the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia, and their strengthening alliance with the leading role of the working class defined in the new USSR Constitution as the social base of the socialist state of the whole people, and surmounting of the major disparities between town and country and between mental and physical labor determine the harmonious development of relations of friendship and cooperation among nations and nationalities and the accelerated process of their rapprochement.

Rapprochement among classes and rapprochement among nations are interwoven processes. Yet, they are also processes of different nature and duration. The CPSU program states that the elimination of the national differences is a longer process than the elimination of class distinctions. Surmounting distinctions among classes or social groups is a process which has already become widespread in our country. In sociological language, the number of "one-class" people is declining, i.e., that of strictly workers', strictly peasant, or strictly intellectual families. The interpenetration among the various toiling strata and the gradual growth of social structure from heterogeneous to homogeneous are phenomena inherent in mature socialism.

We are also gradually surmounting differences related to the levels of economic, social, and cultural developments of nations. On this basis some Soviet socialist scientists drew hasty conclusions on the elimination of national differences in general and merger among nations. However, such conclusions are obvious anticipations. At the present stage of the building of communism differences remain in the population's ethnical structure, language, traditions, national characteristics, and so on. By virtue of a certain relative autonomy and continuity such traditions are durable. "The socio-political unity of the Soviet people does not mean in the least the disappearance of national distinctions," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the USSR Supreme Soviet session which ratified the new constitution. "Thanks to the systematic implementation of the Leninist national policy, having built socialism, at the same time, and for the first time in history, we successfully resolved the national problem. The friendship among the Soviet peoples is unbreakable. Their rapprochement and the reciprocal enrichment of their spiritual life is steadily taking place in the course of the building of communism. However, we would be taking a dangerous path by undertaking the artificial acceleration of this objective process of rapprochement among nations. V. I. Lenin consistently cautioned against this and we shall not neglect his behests."



The scientifically substantiated CPSU policy ensures the conscious and purposeful development of the Soviet peoples through the harmonious combination of their general and specific interests. The blossoming of nations is inseparably linked with their gradual rapprochement. Both trends have taken place at previous levels reached by the Soviet society as well, at a time when the physical inequality among nations and nationalities, inherited from the exploiting system, was being eliminated. At that time, however, the extent to which such trends were manifested in the various parts of the country differed. The national outlying areas had not as yet abandoned the vestiges of patriarchal-feudal relations. Their economies were largely based on primitive production facilities and most of the population was under the influence of feudal-clerical ideology. The peoples inhabiting such outlying areas were faced, above all, with the task of achieving an economic and cultural upsurge. As the nations blossomed their tendency to draw together became stronger and stronger. With the victory of socialism it became a leading factor in the life of all nations in the USSR.

Revealing its full size in the mature socialist society, this trend is directly dependent on the further blossoming of nations and nationalities which leads to the reaching of an even higher level in their material and cultural progress. Making use of its results, the peoples of the Soviet Union are feeling an increasing inner need for reciprocal rapprochement, expansion and intensification of mutual relations, and all-round strengthening of cooperation and mutual aid. Rapprochement acts as a type of storage battery for the progressive elements and qualities gained by the nations. The dialectical unity between two interdependent, supplementing, and reciprocally accelerating processes is apparent. Any mechanical opposition to such processes inevitably leads to the erroneous interpretation of the blossoming of nations as the exclusive development of specific national features while rapprochement is interpreted as the exclusive predominance of common features. In fact, as a result of their interaction and interpenetration, the further blossoming of nations intensifies the international factor while their rapprochement strengthens the national factor and accelerates the progress of each nation.

The Soviet system countered the "surrogates of national unity" in the capitalist countries, where class, national, ethnolinguistic, territorial, and other contradictions are becoming ever more aggravated, with the voluntary and firm alliance among big and small nations. The victory of the October Revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the elimination of private ownership and the establishment of public ownership, and the creation of a new society led the peoples of the USSR away from the dead-end of alienation and hostility to the path of relations marked by true friendship. Created by socialism, the essential content of this friendship has become part of our social consciousness and social mentality. As a reflection of socioeconomic relations, embodied within them, above all, and representing, essentially, an ideological and psychological factor, friendship among the peoples is the most important condition for and most vivid manifestation of the rapprochement among socialist nations.

The growing fraternal relations among peoples, the scale and high pace of communist construction, and the increased dynamism of social life are triggering in our country an intensive population shift. Essentially, this means, as Lenin wrote, "the unification, rapprochement, and mixing of nations" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 23, p 322). Naturally, a certain unevenness in the level of migrations remains within the country. One of the reasons determining its level is, specifically, the durability of traditions which retain the power of "national cohesion." With all this, however, today there is no nationality whose members would inhabit only one republic. Many of them live in other parts of the country. For example, 38 percent of all Armenians, almost 24 percent of all Tadzhiks, and over 20 percent of all Kazakhs live outside the republics named after them.

At the mature socialist stage the development of national relations is specifically manifested in the expansion and intensification of contacts in all fields of our life and direct communications among members of many nationalities. The most stable area of such contacts is found in the main nuclei of Soviet society--the labor collectives. The USSR Constitution clearly reflects their role in strengthening the economic, political, cultural, and spiritual comity of nations. As an arena for cooperation by members of different social groups and different nationalities, the labor collectives are promoting socialist competition, contributing to the dissemination of progressive labor methods, and acting as real laboratories for molding in every person high idea-mindedness, a communist outlook, and a socialist way of life. Essentially, such collectives are a type of catalytic agents for the rapprochement among nations in the USSR.

As a manifestation of the growing dynamism of our society, the intensive rapprochement among the different nationalities steadily leads to the strengthening of the internal unity of the Soviet people and is a necessary prerequisite for the building of communism.

## 2.

The economic foundations for the blossoming and rapprochement among nations broaden in the mature socialist society. "The economy of the USSR," states the fundamental law of our state, "is a single national economic complex covering all levels of social production, distribution, and trade on the country's territory." Combining within a single entity the economic possibilities and resources of all republics, this powerful complex accelerates the progress of each one of them, enabling them successfully to resolve the ever more complex problems of building the material and technical foundations for communism. Today, not only by virtue of its international nature, stemming from the social nature of ownership, but from the growing power, quality shifts, and structural changes, this complex becomes the main area for improving the ways and means of combining all-union with national interests. The strictest observance of the Leninist principles of union economic management and planning ensures the freedom of economic shunting, making it possible maximally to use to the advantage of all nations the territorial location of production forces and the interrepublic division of labor.

The comprehensive development of the country's economy and of each of its individual rayons was used by our party as a basis for planning as early as the dawn of the building of socialism. The directives on the First Five-Year Plan emphasized that "the USSR can not build and develop its national economic other than by taking fully into consideration all natural, economic, and national characteristics of its vast association and the specialization of its individual parts. This is the only way for reaching the highest social labor effectiveness coefficient."

However, the creation of a centralized national economy in the country presumed, above all, the elimination of factual inequality among nations. The all-union economic policy of that time was elaborated precisely with this in mind. The party was guided by Lenin's behest of the need to assist in all possible ways and above all previously oppressed nations and to ensure the growth of their economy and culture at a faster pace. Relying on the free and selfless aid of the more developed nations, the Russian people above all, the working people of the national outlying areas rose to the peaks of economic progress within an incredibly short time. Suffice it to say that compared with the pre-revolutionary level the volume of industrial output has risen by a factor of 311 in Kirgiziya, 67 in Uzbekistan, 223 in Kazakhstan, and 57 in Azerbaydzhan.

In the period of laying the foundations for socialism, a number of republics paid their greatest attention to the solution of purely national problems, i.e., the elimination of economic backwardness, the organization of an educational system in national languages, and the creation of cultural institutions. Today the task of equalizing the levels of economic development of the republics has been essentially resolved. All of them have acquired a high economic potential, modern industry, and large-scale mechanized agriculture. This means that each of them has the possibility to approach economic problems above all from the viewpoint of the interests of the state as a whole and of upgrading the effectiveness of the entire national economy of the Soviet Union, the most rational utilization of the country's productive forces, and its natural resources and all other factors determining the steady socioeconomic progress of society, taking national characteristics into consideration, naturally.

Under contemporary conditions, on the basis of the scale reached by the national economy, and promoting the increased overall power of the republics in the building of communism, and strengthening their fraternal alliance, the CPSU is followed a course of further equalization of the levels of their economic development. The 10th Five-Year Plan calls for an overall 36 percent growth of industrial output in the USSR at large; the figure for a number of republics is even higher, as follows: Kirgiziya, 37 percent; Azerbaydzhan and Tadzhikistan, 39; Armenia, 46; and Moldavia, 47 percent. Compared with the preceding five-year plan, the average annual volume of agricultural output will increase 17 percent in Estonia, 21 in Azerbaydzhan, 22 in Uzbekistan, 24 in Armenia, 29 in Georgia, and 37 in Moldavia, compared with a national average of 16 percent.

The party's course of ever fuller equalization of the republics' levels of economic development does not mean a kind of automatic levelling of their economic potentials. Even though all republics are making their worthy contribution to the building of the material and technical foundations for communism, nevertheless, we must not ignore the fact that they have different resources and possibilities, and that their national income they generate differs. Therefore, the economic possibilities and relations of each republic are based not on its specific contribution to the all-union balance, or the share of one or another type of output it produces, but by the place and role it plays in the socialist division of labor. Improving within itself production facilities for which most favorable conditions exist, such as geographic location, natural raw materials, manpower, labor experience, and production traditions, and developing its economy at a high pace and upgrading its intensification and effectiveness and labor productivity, each republic is thus increasing the all-union wealth to a maximum extent.

The contemporary level of economic development reached by the republics enables them to improve relations of mutual aid and all-round economic cooperation. In the course of the advancement toward communism the socialist division of labor, and specialization and cooperation broaden and intensify. Available natural, industrial, agricultural, and labor resources are systematically put into economic circulation. Each republic receives from the other fraternal peoples the raw materials, equipment, and other goods it needs for the development of its economy and the satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the population. The labor of many of the country's nations and nationalities is materialized in any industrial sector, in enterprises, whether completed or under construction, and even in individual machines. For example, over 2,000 enterprises and 63 scientific research institutes and design organizations in the country are participating in the building of the automotive vehicles giant in Naberezhnyye Chelny, the Chuvash Industrial Tractors Plant in Cheboksary is being constructed with the help of 170 Soviet enterprises and scientific institutions.

The new level of economic relations among the nations reached in the 10th Five-Year Plan contributes to the development of big production-territorial complexes which cover the areas of several union and autonomous republics and oblasts. The building of the Baykal-Amur Main Line and the development of its adjacent extensive territory, the development of the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone, and the creation of the Angara-Yenisey and other similar complexes intensify the dynamism and internationalization of the republics' economic life. The implementation of tremendous national economic programs is the general direction followed in the comprehensive development of the Soviet economy, determining the more intensive rapprochement among the country's nations and nationalities.

The close combination of all-union with republic interests is most vividly manifested in the improvements of territorial organization of the national economic complex and the improved placement of production forces. Promoting the fastest possible creation of the material and technical foundations

for communism, the party ascribes particular importance to the planned development of the natural resources of the different parts of the country. In the 10th Five-Year Plan higher pace of development has been assigned to Siberia, the Far East, and Central Asia. The availability of less extensive power resources here opens tremendous possibilities for the development of power intensive sectors and the fuel industry. Ensuring social labor savings and the comprehensive development of rayons and the specialization of their economies, production rationalization comprehensively contributes to the growth of the economic comity of the peoples of the USSR.

The high solidity of the Soviet economic system, based on the socialist ownership of productive capital, helps to break all artificial parochial obstacles. The power of the single national economic complex is the material base for cooperation among the peoples and their further rapprochement. However, the depth of such processes does not depend on production internationalization alone. The all-round unification of nations and nationalities is determined also by the solution of basic social problems, improvements in the political organization of society, socialist democracy, enhancement of the social activeness of the working people, and the development of culture.

The international factor, acting in the mature socialist stage as a leading aspect, interconnected with the national factor, has been clearly embodied in the governmental structure of the Soviet peoples. The growth of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people broadened the social base of their fraternal alliance. The 25th CPSU Congress noted that the party, steadily implementing Lenin's course toward strengthening the Soviet multinational state, on the basis of common interests and in accordance with the conditions governing the development of each of its constituent republics, has ensured the further blossoming of and rapprochement among socialist nations.

The principles of the governmental organization of Soviet society, elaborated by Lenin, were tried by life itself and were codified in the constitution of developed socialism. The prophecies of those who, at the time of the founding of our union state, tried to prove that in the course of building a new society socialist unitarianism will soon replace Soviet federalism, have vanished. Long experience proves that the federal principle in the structure of the Soviet system and administrative organs, combining the general with the specific and the international with the national, creates a firm, democratically centralized organization and is justified.

In the course of the implementation of the tasks formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress, and with the increased complexity and intensification of communist construction processes, the need develops for evermore organized actions on the part of the country's peoples. With a view to focusing their efforts along the main and decisive sectors of the struggle for communism, a more centralized governmental policy is pursued. In accordance with the new constitution the range of competence of the USSR has been broadened. It has

assumed the solution of problems such as the establishment of common principles governing the organization and activities of republic and local organs of state power and administration; ensuring uniform legislative control over the entire territory of the USSR; implementation of a single socioeconomic policy and country's economic management; formulation of the basic trends of scientific and technical progress; and elaboration and ratification of plans for the development of the national economy and for socio-cultural construction.

The fuller embodiment of the Leninist principles of internationalism and their manifestation in the steady strengthening of union statehood are depicted by bourgeois propaganda as a kind of "new offensive" against the sovereignty of the republics. However, such assertions have no real grounds. Under mature socialist conditions the strengthening of the all-union principles of the state is achieved not by restricting the sovereign rights of republics but through the inseparable link and harmonious combination of such rights with strengthened guarantees. Developing together with union statehood, and relying on its power, each republic, autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrug were given the factual possibility to upgrade their role in the life of socialist nations and nationalities, and to provide access to the achievements of the culture of the entire Soviet people and to their experience in economic and governmental construction. This was codified in the new Soviet Constitution: It added to the previous guarantees of rights of union republics new ones such as their right to participate in the solution of problems under USSR jurisdiction, to coordinate and control activities of enterprises, establishments, and organizations under union administration, and the right to initiate legislation in the USSR Supreme Soviet. All this is guaranteed by the very structure of the all-union organs of state power and administration.

The unity between the international and the national in the life of the Soviet republics is vividly manifested in their constitutions as well. In accordance with the country's fundamental law, they developed and supplemented its stipulations. The constitutions of union republics include sections on the state plan for economic and social development and the state budget. They describe in detail the powers and regulate the procedure and forms of activities of republic supreme soviets and their presidiums, councils of ministers, and local organs. Having today a great deal in common with the fundamental law of the country, the republic laws also extensively reflect local characteristics and national features of governmental life. Thus, the structure of the constitution of the Russian Federation was largely predetermined by its national-governmental and administrative-territorial structure. The RSFSR includes 16 autonomous republics, 5 autonomous oblasts, 10 autonomous okrugs, 6 krays, and 49 oblasts. Naturally, its fundamental law includes special chapters dealing with autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs. It includes other characteristics as well based on the right of republics to draft one or another regulation in accordance with local conditions. The adoption of constitutions by autonomous republics concluded the constitutional structuring of the governmental life of the mature socialist society.

The country's constitution reflects the fact that the USSR is based on the voluntary unification of equal republics. The retention by each of them of the right to free secession from the USSR is, within the framework of the federation, the legal expression of Lenin's idea of national self-determination. The fact that in the life of the Soviet Union this right has not been factually exercised and that no single republic intends to exercise it means that socialist federalism has the type of centripetal force which ensures, at the same time, their free development within a single state.

Imbuing the totality of social relations, the rapprochement among Soviet nations and nationalities now takes place more intensively in their spiritual and cultural life as well. True, in the realm of culture, in which the national factor is both a subject of its reflection and a structural component and form, the dialectics of the national and the international assumes more complex features than, let us say, in economics where the specific is manifested to a far lesser degree. However, ensuring the all-round blossoming of nations, mature socialism also inordinately accelerates their spiritual rapprochement, creating real prerequisites for the shaping of a communist culture. The undivided assertion in our country of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the decisive force, the life-bringing ferment of this process. The growing rapprochement among national cultures does not mean their automatic combination, unification, or standardization, as the anti-communist ideologues claim, but their ever greater acquisition of more and more all-Soviet features. Any national culture, while drawing on its own sources, takes, at the same time, the best of the spiritual wealth of the other fraternal peoples. This is assisted by reciprocal translations of works of literature, exchanges of graphic art exhibits, theater performances, interrepublic art festivals, and music competitions. Each one of them and many other forms of cultural cooperation are an outstanding school of internationalism which contributes to the better reciprocal understanding among the peoples. A socialist culture single in spirit and content has developed and is blossoming as a result of the close union among national cultures.

In connection with the increased trend of rapprochement among the cultures of the peoples of the USSR it would be erroneous to believe that they are now losing their former originality. Anyone who thinks thus reduces it, willy-nilly, to previously acquired traditions and customs, limiting himself to exotic ethnography. However, the originality of the culture of one or another nation does not mean the endless promotion of the past but progress, and the steady birth, establishment, and consolidation of the new period while mastering the "foreign," each nation develops something "domestic," consistent with the spirit of our time.

The new stage in the development of spiritual life has also created a new quality of esthetic tastes based on the higher level of education and the ever greater exposure of the contemporary reader, listener, and viewer to the artistic values of the peoples of the USSR. In the developed socialist society Hegel's statement that "only the songs of one's own nation could be felt fully" has lost its factual meaning.

The importance of the Russian language as a language of international communications rises with every passing year in the course of the study of the characteristics of the life of Soviet nations and nationalities and their further rapprochement. According to the 1970 census over three-quarters of the country's population named the Russian language as their native or a second fluently spoken language. It is characteristic that the share of people speaking the language of the great Russian people has risen not only among Ukrainians and Belorussians who share common historical roots, but also among all the other nations within the Soviet Union. Reciprocal exchange of experience, the strengthening of various relations, and the broadening of individual contacts trigger the natural aspiration of peoples of different nationalities to study the Russian language. However, its increased role in the fraternal union does not lower the significance of the other national languages. The CPSU helps in every possible way their free development, allowing no privileges, restrictions, or coercions in the country's linguistic life. The national languages are developing on the basis of equality and reciprocal enrichment in the conditions of fraternal friendship and mutual trust.

As our socialist society becomes more mature, the rapprochement among nations and nationalities is extending ever more not only to the realm of economics, politics, and culture, but morality, psychology, traditions, and way of life. One of the vivid indicators of the increased international fraternity is the growth of mixed marriages. According to the 1959 and 1970 population censuses, the share of nationally mixed families rose from 10.2 to 13.5 percent. According to the 1970 census such marriages accounted for 21 percent of the total in Latvia, 20.7 percent in Kazakhstan, and 19.7 percent in the Ukraine (29.6 percent in the cities of the Ukrainian SSR). The rising percentage of mixed marriages is a progressive phenomenon. It confirms the growing trust and friendship among the country's nations and nationalities.

The Soviet Union is a multinational country. However, the life of its nations is distinguished by a deep inner harmony.

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The growing power of the rapprochement among nations in the USSR under mature socialist conditions, as an objective process triggered by the entire course of Soviet life, is also encouraged by the active and purposeful efforts of the Communist Party and its policy. Rejecting the artificial acceleration of this many-faceted process, at the same time the CPSU firmly opposes any attempt to restrain it and to strengthen national exclusivity, as they contradict the general direction in the development of our society and its collectivistic principles.

The steady rapprochement among nations, based on internationalism, reflects the advantages of socialist reality as shown, in particular, in Article 34 of the new constitution: "The citizens of the USSR are equal in the eyes of the law regardless of origin, social or property status, racial and



national affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, type and nature of employment, place of residence, and other circumstances. The equality of USSR citizens is ensured in all fields of economic, political, social, and cultural life." The blabberings of the anti-communist ideologues and fierce anti-Soviets, who are stirring today the so-called problem of human rights, linking it with fabrications of an alleged "national oppression" existing in our country are worth nothing! The facts prove that in the Soviet state socialist principles have been established in relations among nations, excluding racial and national discrimination, apartheid, and segregation. Having enhanced the dignity of big and small nations, developed socialism filled their lives with profound democracy, with an all-Soviet meaning alien to nationalism and chauvinism.

Having converted the ideas of internationalism into convictions and behavioral norm of millions and millions of Soviet people, and thus accomplishing a real revolutionary change in their minds, the Communist Party still pays prime attention to the solution of problems ensuring the organic combination of the international with the national, and the improvement of methods of comprehensive cooperation among the peoples of the USSR. "We consider as our major task," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "the further strengthening of the alliance among all nations and nationalities of our multinational country. . . . We have achieved considerable results in this field of socialist change. . . . The present stage in the building of communism calls for the achieved successes to be not only consolidated but developed. It is a question of the even closer rapprochement among all nations and nationalities, the further improvement of the work related to the upbringing of Soviet people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and intolerance toward the ideologies of nationalism and racism."

Giving purposefulness to the rapprochement among nations and nationalities, and expressing their goodwill and natural need to live in harmony and friendship, the party resolves comprehensively the problems of patriotic and internationalist education, ensuring a type of unity which leaves no place for nationalistic and chauvinistic anomalies. Without allowing the absolutization of specific features in the life of one or another nation, something which, as a rule, leads to the abandonment of class positions in the field of national relations, at the same time the CPSU blocks all attempts at national nihilism created by neglect of national specifics. The party teaches us to display tolerance and delicacy concerning the national feelings, particularly those of small nations, waging an irreconcilable struggle against nationalistic and chauvinistic prejudices which are sometimes resurrected for subjective reasons and as a result of the fact that individuals underestimate national characteristics, violate the principle of equality, introduce a parochial smack in cadre policy, and promote aspirations artificially to contain or, conversely, "heat up" internationalization processes.

Guiding the free development of USSR nations and nationalities on the path to further consolidation, the party also proceeds from the fact that this process has a beneficial influence on the gradual rapprochement among all

socialist countries. The internationalist domestic and foreign policy of the Leninist party comprehensively contributes to the improvement of their inter-relationships and to the ever greater appearance of common elements in their politics, economics, and social life.

As the first experimental ground for the Leninist principles of national policy and new forms of community life, the Soviet Union is an example to the toiling masses of all nationalities on earth in the struggle for peace, democracy, national and social liberation, and socialism. Embodied in the destinies of the nations and nationalities of the country of the October Revolution, and in the processes of their comprehensive rapprochement, the ideas of internationalism are making their way to the bright future, the epoch of the peaceful fraternal comity of free nations.

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## SIXTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE UNDER THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM

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[Article by Ville Pessi, honorary chairman, Communist Party of Finland]

[Text] The Communist Party of Finland is celebrating its 60th birthday. The very fact of its founding and all its activities so far have been inseparably linked with the ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a considerable impact on the fate of the Finnish people. It was precisely the October Revolution and the Soviet system, headed by the great leader of the Russian proletariat and the working people the world over, V. I. Lenin, that brought Finland its national independence. The October Revolution opened to the nations the path to social and national liberation, proving to the entire world the great international power of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The October Revolution triggered a tremendous enthusiasm among the Finnish working class. Immediately after learning about the Revolution, the executive committee of the Social Democratic Party and the leadership of the Finnish Trade Unions Organization issued a joint declaration which stated that this Revolution will mark the beginning of major historical events which will affect our country as well. It indicated to the nations a way out of the raging imperialist war. The ideas of the Socialist Revolution reached the minds of the popular masses tortured by the war faster than ever before. Class battles became far sharper.

On 13 November 1917 a general strike broke out in Finland following the appeal of the Central Revolutionary Workers' Council, in the course of which the strikers demanded that the supreme power in the country be assumed by the parliament. Slogans were also raised calling upon the proletariat to disarm the militarized bourgeois detachments and seize the power. At that time revolutionary organs of the organized working class had in fact seized the power over a large share of the country's territory, particularly in cities and workers' settlements and the provinces.

However, the Social Democratic Party of Finland lacked the decisiveness, farsightedness, and ability to assess the circumstances and prospects of the struggle accurately as did the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin. Even after assuming the leadership of the general political strike, the party continued to doubt and to hold an uncertain position, not daring to engage in decisive revolutionary action.

The strike ended on 19 November. The ratio of forces changed in favor of the bourgeoisie which unleashed the armed struggle, attacking the organizations of working people at the end of January. Civil war became inevitable. This blocked the way to a relatively peaceful change of power to the working class.

In answer to the armed bourgeois actions, the leadership of the Social Democratic Party and the Red Guard decided to seize the power. On 27 January Red Guards occupied the government buildings in Helsinki and seized the power in the capital without bloodshed. Subsequently, workers assumed the power in all biggest cities of southern Finland. A revolutionary government--the Council of People's Representatives--was set up on 28 January.

However, the working class was unable to consolidate its victory. The whites enjoyed superiority of forces in the north of the country, where the bourgeois government had escaped, and in some other areas. The civil war front stretched from the Gulf of Bothnia to Lake Ladoga. The intervention of German troops in April 1918, launched at the request of the bourgeois government, decided the outcome of the civil war in favor of the whites. The terror unleashed by the White Guards had no parallel since the Paris Commune. About 35,000 participants in the revolution were executed or tortured in concentration camps and jails.

The defeat of the revolution brought about the breakdown of the Social Democratic Party of Finland. Even though the party held the positions of the class struggle, a considerable number of its members slid into opportunism. The party waged the parliamentary struggle quite energetically. However, once a situation had appeared, it found itself unprepared.

The experience of the victorious October Revolution in Russia and the lessons from the class battles in Finland convinced the revolution-minded leaders of the Finnish labor movement of the need to set up a party of a new type--the Communist Party of Finland.

The party was founded on 29 August 1918 in Moscow by Finnish revolutionaries to whom Soviet Russia granted political asylum following the defeat of the revolution in Finland. The composition of the CPF Constituent Congress, attended by about 100 people, was quite representative: The almost entire membership of the Council of People's Representatives, 11 members of the executive committee of the Social Democratic Party, 20 parliamentary deputies, and many workers and officials of social democratic youth and women's organizations and trade unions.

Criticism of the past experience of the Social Democratic Party and a study of the lessons of the 1918 workers' revolution accounted for a considerable part of the congress proceedings. The congress' conclusions were the basis of a plan for the establishment of a new party which, as O. V. Kuusinen said, "must be free not only from rightwing traitors but of half-way measures, hesitations, and opportunistic conciliation inherent in leftwing social democracy." On behalf of the congress Kuusinen drafted an open letter to Lenin, on whose life a vile attempt had been made on 30 August, thus preventing his attendance at the congress.

The open letter of the CPF Constituent Congress to V. I. Lenin is an important document in our party's history. It offers an idea of the political and ideological awakening which occurred among the participants in the Finnish labor movement. In particular, the letter stated that "the revolutionary socialism which we entirely failed to understand at the beginning of the Finnish workers' revolution has now become clear to us and understandable as a result of our own hard experience, the great example of the victorious Russian proletariat and your instructive words and works."

Naturally, the criticism of the path of the Finnish revolution, offered at the CPF Constituent Congress, was still partial, one-sided, and even not always substantiated. Marxism-Leninism can not be learned from books only. It requires the experience of lengthy and adamant class battles and a deep study of their lessons. However, the congress participants properly defined the course of establishing a communist party in the interest of waging a successful struggle for the cause of the working class. The documents adopted at the congress were imbued with the spirit of class battles and called for defending the rights of the working people. They faced the working class with the clear objective of the struggle for socialism.

The founding of the CPF proved that the Finnish labor movement was in a state of upsurge and that its battle ranks were rallying again. The news of the founding of the party gave faith in the future and courage to the country's working class subjected to white terrorism.

The CPF was among the parties which, under Lenin's guidance, founded the Communist International which laid a solid base for proletarian solidarity and unification of communists in the struggle for common objectives. The CPF and the members of its leadership participated in the work of the Comintern throughout its activities. This was of great importance to the party's development. Under the influence of Lenin and the Comintern proletarian internationalism was strengthened within its ranks as one of the founding principles of the theory and practice of scientific communism.

Ever since it was founded the CPF invariably favored friendship between the Soviet Union and Finland. The CPF Constituent Congress proclaimed "the need to support with all forces the Socialist Republic of the Soviets of the Russian proletariat." The Second CPF Congress, held in 1919, welcoming the creation of the Communist International and approving its affiliation with it,

turned to all parties within the Comintern and to the world working class with the appeal to defend Soviet Russia, guaranteeing that the Finnish working class will do its duty. The party did everything possible to wreck the armed intervention against Soviet Russia planned (and partially carried out) by the Finnish White Guards between 1918 and 1922.

From its very beginning the CPF launched a struggle for democratic rights and for improving the living conditions of the working class and the poorest peasantry, for the interests of all working people in Finland and against war and reaction. The party quickly gained influence among the various toiling strata. Surmounting the initial leftwing errors (underestimation of the legal labor movement, and work in the mass organizations of the working people and in parliament), the party found the proper ways and means which enabled it openly to disseminate socialist ideas, and nominate for the parliament and the municipalities representatives of the working class and the peasantry holding the positions of the class struggle. In 1920, together with the leftwing social democrats, the communists founded the Socialist Workers' Party which operated in the open. Lenin considered its activities an example of the successful use of legal and clandestine conditions for the struggle.

In the 1920's the party's prestige among the working people rose substantially. It mastered ever more profoundly the ideological and theoretical wealth of Leninism, engaged in active political work among the masses, and acted as the vanguard force in the socio-class battles. Neither the persecution and victimizing on the part of the authorities nor the arrests of many communists and their supporters were able to prevent this development.

The worldwide economic crisis which struck capitalism in 1929-1933 hit Finland with all possible fierceness. As in the other bourgeois countries, a fascist movement developed here openly opposing the communists and the Soviet Union. It tried to suppress the leftwing of the labor movement which operated legally, thus helping the capitalists to mount an offensive against wages and working conditions. Its second objective was to speed up preparations for the war against the USSR. This was the assessment made by the leadership of the CPF and the Comintern in 1930 of the overall fascist objectives in Finland. History confirmed the accuracy of this assessment.

The fascists and big capital, which supported them, were able to ban all leftwing legal organizations. Their representatives were forceably removed from the parliament and the municipalities and thrown in jail. The Organization of Finnish Trade Unions was disbanded.

This was a severe blow struck at the entire revolutionary workers' movement in the country. Under the existing circumstances the importance of the clandestinely operating communist party rose even further. The rightness of the CPF Central Committee which, in the 1920's, had called for strengthening the party and its organizations regardless of successes in legal work, became particularly clear. Now all forces had to be concentrated on this.

Meanwhile, the CPF did not forget for a minute its work among the masses. The party focused its main attention on increasing its activities at enterprises. In 1933 the CPF Central Committee plenum called upon the communists and all working people to join the organizations of the Central Association of Finnish Trade Unions, founded by the Social Democrats. This led to a considerable increase in its membership. The combat capability of its primary organizations rose. Between 1934 and 1936 they launched a number of successful strikes.

At that time the process of radicalizing the intelligentsia, supported by the CPF, began. With its help the LITERARY GAZETTE was founded, rallying the most progressive and courageous writers. Opposition feelings within the Social Democratic Party as well rose, and many of its members and organizations began to cooperate with the communists.

The threat of war rose as fascism gathered strength. The Finnish government and army took a course toward preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The communist party faced the task of doing everything possible to prevent a military catastrophe. In this case the Comintern helped greatly, particularly through its Seventh Congress, held in July-August 1935, which considered the question of the struggle against fascism and war and called for the creation of a broad popular front. The Sixth CPF Congress stated that for the sake of achieving this objective the communists would be ready to cooperate with all democrats and supporters of the peace.

Consistently proceeding on the basis of the country's national interests, the CPF perspicaciously predicted that firm friendship with the Soviet Union is a guarantee for Finland's future development. The decisions of the Sixth Congress, held soon after the Seventh Comintern Congress, stated that, "we must tirelessly and patiently explain everywhere to the people that the great Soviet people are not the enemy but the friend of the Finnish and that the powerful Soviet Union is the defender of the Finnish as of all small nations against imperialism, should only Finland wish to live in harmony with the USSR." The party disseminated the achievements of the Soviet state and educated the working people in a spirit of friendly relations with it.

The struggle waged by the CPF was fruitful. However, relying on terrorism and on the divisive policy of the rightwing social democrats, the reactionary bourgeoisie was able to suppress the rapidly developing anti-war movement and poison with chauvinistic propaganda the minds of the broad masses. In 1939 the Finnish government rejected the proposals of the Soviet government aimed at ensuring the safety of Leningrad and of Finland itself. In the final account, the policy of the Finnish reactionary circles urged on by the Western imperialists, brought about the outbreak of military operations.

Heading the struggle against the initiated war and for peace and friendly relations with the USSR, the CPF once again acted as the loyal defender of the true national interests. It fought this struggle in subsequent years, when Finland became the ally of Hitlerite Germany in the aggressive war

against the Soviet people. The noted communists Aatto Sallinen, Arnold Salminen, Veykko Pejusti, Matti Lang, Urho Kaipainen, Martta Koskinen, Martti Koivistoinen, Jukka Kumpuniemi, and many other known and unknown comrades died in this struggle, proving with their deaths their loyalty to the cause of the working class and the Finnish nation.

The victory over fascism in World War Two, whose main contribution was that of the first socialist state born of the October Revolution, brought Finland its independence of which no trace would have remained had Hitlerite Germany won the war.

As a result of the defeat of German and Finnish fascism the possibility arose for the democratic development of the country. The 1944 armistice accord and the 1947 peace treaty offered possibilities for legal communist activities. The difficult period of clandestinity in which the party had lived 26 long years was something of the past.

Coming out of clandestinity in October 1944, the CPF set as its main task that of mobilizing all progressive forces in the struggle against reaction, for uprooting the vestiges of fascism in our society, and for the accelerated democratic development of the country. One of the main tasks was the elaboration of a new foreign political line based on firm cooperation and friendship with our great neighbor--the Soviet Union--and with all democratic countries.

In October 1944, on the initiative of the communists and leftwing social democrats and non-party working people who opposed war and reaction, the Democratic Alliance of the Finnish People was founded. As a collective member of this socio-political organization the CPF launched its activities in the parliament and the communal organs and on the governmental level. That same month the Finland-Soviet Union Friendship Society was founded in which communists again were the most active.

The first and second post-war Finnish governments, headed by J. Paasikivi and, particularly, the M. Pekkala which replaced them, were quite different from their predecessors. Represented in these cabinets were the CPF and the Democratic Alliance of the Finnish People even though, true, they did not hold the majority. That is why governmental measures aimed at ensuring democratic development were not sufficiently consistent and decisive. Nevertheless, a great deal of new aspects developed in the country's foreign political and economic life, not to mention its foreign political course which was based on the acknowledgment of the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. At that time a firm foundation was laid for the implementation of this course.

The CPF and the Democratic Union of the Finnish People made a great contribution to molding the post-war foreign political course of the country and the establishment and development of friendly relations with the USSR. At its Eighth Congress, the party formulated its basic foreign policy



requirements as follows: "Strengthening friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, ensuring the strict implementation of the peace treaty and the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty; the assumption by Finland of a clear and consistent position toward imperialist intrigues and joining its efforts to the efforts of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp in the support of the peace and security of the peoples, and of their freedoms, independence, and sovereignty." Throughout all subsequent years the CPF followed these essential stipulations, intensifying and concretizing them in accordance with the domestic and international circumstances. It is systematically struggling for expanding and strengthening the all-round cooperation between our countries and opposes any attempt to undermine it.

The relations which currently exist between Finland and the Soviet Union are based on the principles laid by the USSR as the basis of its foreign policy in the very first days following the victory of the October Revolution. In 1948 only the Communist Party and the popular democratic movement, which headed the struggle for its conclusion, favored the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty between Finland and the Soviet Union. Today this treaty has been accepted by the entire people with the exception of extreme rightwing circles. Through their own experience the Finnish people have seen the benefits of a policy based on friendship and mutual trust and become convinced that in its attitude toward Finland the USSR is always displaying broad views and generosity, and an understanding of the characteristics of the country and its interests.

The constructive activities of the Soviet Union and, above all, its peaceful foreign policy, speak for themselves. The meaning of this policy reaches better than any speech the hearts of the broadest possible masses of our people. Hardly anything has had a deeper influence on the Fins than Soviet foreign policy. This has included not only the USSR's friendly attitude toward Finland but its adamant desire to lower international tension, its position at times of its aggravation and open conflicts, its fruitful activities in international organizations, and its attitude toward racial discrimination and national oppression.

We are pleased to note that at the present time the broad popular masses are participating in the struggle for friendship between Finland and its great neighbor. Friendship between Finland and the Soviet Union is the solid foundation of the foreign policy of the Finnish people, a foundation which the reaction is no longer able to undermine.

The consistent peaceful foreign policy pursued by the USSR and the other socialist countries largely contributed to intensifying the influence of socialist ideas throughout the world. The CPF considers correct the joint conclusion of the communist parties to the effect that the forces of peace are sufficiently strong to restrain imperialism, rebuff its aggressive attempts, prevent the outbreak of a third world war, and guarantee the freedom and independence of the peoples.

We are convinced that the peace program proclaimed at the 24th and developed at the 25th CPSU congresses, mobilizing all peace-loving and democratic forces in the struggle for peace, security, and detente, is consistent with the vital interests of the peoples, and the interests of peace and social progress.

Our party actively participates in the activities of the organization of the Finnish Supporters of the Peace, and the movements for European security and anti-imperialist solidarity.

The European circumstances have changed substantially in recent years. A trend toward detente and the strengthening of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems became dominant. On the other hand, the general crisis of capitalism has clearly become aggravated. The crisis of the economic foundations of the state-monopoly capitalism system in Finland and other capitalist countries leads to the intensification of social conflicts and to class confrontation.

Under such circumstances the general line of the CPF is aimed at the creation of a broad front consisting of the working class and other democratic forces to fight the monopolies and political reaction and for the interests of the working people and the broadening of their rights, for strengthening the peace, and for creating prerequisites for building a socialist society.

In accordance with this line the party calls for radical changes in the policy pursued, above all in the field of economics. Today this is favored by ever broader popular masses. The party elaborated and submitted to the Finnish people a specific program for a democratic solution to the crisis, embodied in the documents of the November 1976 CPF Central Committee Plenum, entitled "A Democratic Solution to the Crisis," and the 18th CPF Congress (June 1978), entitled "For a Democratic Turn." They contain an expanded program for struggle by the Finnish communists in the interest of the toiling population strata.

It is obvious that the solution of the economic, political, and social problems facing the country today, and the defense of the rights of the toiling people are possible only on the basis of the cooperation among democratic forces rallying both labor and centrist political parties. The 17th CPF Congress, held in May 1975, approved the expanded proposals of the communist party for such cooperation. The following, 18th, Congress emphasized that the implementation of such suggestions requires the anti-monopoly cooperation among all democratic forces, "a cooperation for the sake of broadening democracy, improving the life of the people, and ensuring a stable and planned economic development and cooperation consistent with the real national interests of the country, representing an alternative to the false slogan of 'national unification' proclaimed by monopoly capital."

The communists realize that the winning over of new toiling strata and uniting them for joint action could be achieved only by displaying constant initiative in the struggle for the solution of topical and vitally important problems affecting the broad masses.

A mass movement of working people could be the basis of such cooperation. It is only with the ever stronger support of the communist party that such a movement could make substantial progress.

Together with a mass movement, the CPF believes that cooperation among democratic forces on the party, parliamentary, and governmental levels could play a considerable role in the struggle against monopoly power and, subsequently, in building socialism. The Communist Party of Finland has extensive experience in participating in the cabinets of a capitalist country, more than any other fraternal party. This is explained, probably, by the fact that the political circumstances in our country are different to a certain extent from the circumstances in other capitalist countries. We believe that the best possible base for governmental activities would be cooperation among the democratic union of the Finnish people, the Social Democratic Party of Finland, and the parties of the bourgeois center (which include the Center Party, the Swedish Popular Party, and the Liberal Popular Party). In the past as well, whenever communists have been members of the cabinet, this has always been the essential base of the cabinet. The CPF and the Social Democratic Party of Finland have repeatedly emphasized their negative attitude toward the government's cooperation with the rightwing bourgeoisie.

The main feature which invariably determines the nature of a government is what it does, the type of policy it pursues. In the past the communists have frequently disagreed with their partners on this matter. This even brought about an end to cooperation within the cabinet. The participation of communists in the cabinet under the conditions of the contemporary deep economic crisis is an even more complex matter. The economic policy of the partners is quite different from the economic policy of the communist party. Profound differences exist also in terms of the ways and means to be used for surmounting the crisis.

One of the prerequisites for unity of action among all democratic forces is cooperation among workers' parties; the CPF has paid attention to its organization in the course of all its activities. The party has always emphasized that unity of action is not a question of current policy or tactics affecting the working class. It is an essential matter of prime importance, a question of our convictions.

The unity of the working class can be strengthened and a common combat alliance among all working people could be established only as a result of lengthy and tireless efforts. On this basis, the 11th CPF Congress itself, in 1957, included in the party's program a stipulation expressing the positive attitude of the CPF toward all democratic organizations and, particularly, the Social Democratic Party. "The party," the document states, "is doing everything within its power to establish relations of trust and close cooperation among workers holding different political convictions and the organizations representing them; it is trying to eliminate the obstacles hindering cooperation among labor parties. The party is tirelessly working to strengthen relations between workers and small farmers. It wishes fruitful cooperation with all parties enjoying the support of the toiling masses both under capitalist conditions as well as in the period of transition to and building of socialism."

In January 1974 the CPF Central Committee passed an expanded decree on cooperation among workers' parties, expressing in detail the position of the CPF and determining its tasks. It states that, taking into consideration historical, including post-war experience, cooperation between communists and social democrats is possible and necessary. It must be based on the joint struggle for the defense of the interests of the working people, against big capital, and for the development and expansion of democracy, for strengthening the peace, and for building socialism. Systematically acting in this direction, the CPF has achieved considerable successes in the unification of the workers following different party directions.

The further strengthening of the CPF itself and of unity within its ranks are of decisive importance to organizing the unity of action among workers' parties and of all democratic forces. I fully agree with the statement by CPSU Central Committee general secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev who stated that "the communists win wherever the party systematically fulfills its role as the vanguard of the working class and the toiling masses, where the Leninist norms of party life are sacredly observed, and where the party protects and tirelessly strengthens its political, organizational, and ideological unity."

The all-round strengthening of the communist party in modern Finland is a key problem of the class struggle for the interests of the working people. Successes along this way could be achieved only if the party would strengthen its positions as an autonomous political force. The decisions of its 17th Congress reemphasize that the establishment of a broad and strong democratic front and successful struggle against capitalism would be impossible without a strong and united communist party, systematically pursuing a class policy. This is the main guarantee that no reformist views may regain the upper hand in the democratic front. The 17th Congress passed the expanded decision "On the Foundations for Strengthening Party Unity," fully ratified at the 18th Congress, held last June. It earmarks specific measures for supporting and strengthening unity within the ranks of the CPF on the principled foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

In its decisions the 18th Congress described the CPF as a mass party standing on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Its resolution states that historical experience confirmed the durability and effectiveness of the ideological and political principles of the CPF.

There was a time when our political opponents, the members of the reactionary bourgeoisie above all, tried to question the patriotism of the communists. Today no one believes this lie. Through their adamant struggle for the interests of the toiling people and the peaceful development of the country the communists irrefutably proved that they are true and convinced patriots.

The CPF is part of the Finnish people. It defends precisely the peoples' interests and the cause of peace and socialism in our country. This is the national task of the Communist Party of Finland. However, the communists will be unable to implement it by isolating themselves from international revolutionary movement. The CPF has always emphasized the international nature of its activities.

The most essential part of such activities is the strengthening and development of friendship and cooperation with the socialist Soviet Union, which is the only factor for ensuring the happiness and future of the Finnish people. We are convinced of this.

The CPF experience indicates the groundlessness of fears that the open and unconditional acknowledgment of solidarity with the international communist movement and the socialist countries and, above all, the Soviet Union and the CPSU, could allegedly lead to a weakening of communist influence on the masses. Conversely, the clear, systematic, and firm position on this matter only increases their trust in the communist party.

Historically developed and tempered in the severe trials, the friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Communist Party of Finland and the CPSU, based on mutual respect and equality, have always helped our party to fulfill its national duty to the people and have inspired us to fight for democracy, social progress, freedom, and socialism.

In the ranks of the international communist movement our party acts as the systematic defender of the foundations of proletarian internationalism. It proceeds from the fact that close unity exists between the international and the national factors in the activities of each communist party. The Finnish communists consider the class battles they wage in their country part of the common struggle waged by all communists and workers' parties. The CPF considers the successes and failures of the world communist movement its own. Through its work it is trying to make a contribution to the great struggle waged by communists the world over. Our party participated in the international conferences of communists and workers' parties of 1957, 1960, and 1969, in Moscow, and the 1976 Conference of Communists and Workers' Parties of Europe, in Berlin, fully approving their documents.

The common views expressed by the fraternal parties on a broad range of problems of political struggle, reflected in the documents of these meetings, is a solid foundation for the development and strengthening of the international unity among communists. The CPF pays great attention also to broadening its international relations and the holding of bilateral and multilateral meetings.

The CPF believes that the ideology and policy of the Chinese leadership and its anti-Sovietism and alliance with the most sinister forces of international reaction are greatly damaging the cause of socialism.

Our party rejects attempts to set aside the experience of existing socialism, absolutize national characteristics, and pit them against the common laws of the socialist revolution, and pit the communist movement in the capitalist countries against the communist parties of the socialist countries, launched under various slogans, including that of "Eurocommunism."

The CPF expresses its solidarity with the peoples building socialism and communism and with all fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. It supports the working class and the working people of the capitalist countries in their struggle for democracy and socialism. The Finnish communists are on the side of the oppressed peoples fighting for national liberation and independence. Our party favors the type of economic and cultural cooperation with the peoples of the developing countries which would help them to free themselves from oppression and is aimed against imperialist exploitation.

Guided by the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and the ideas of the October Revolution, the communist movement and all democratic and revolutionary forces of our time will confidently follow the path of the struggle for the bright future of mankind and for peace, democracy, and socialism. As success is achieved in this great cause, the danger that imperialism may unleash a new world war will decline, a danger which still threatens the future of the nations in Europe and all mankind. The successes achieved in the struggle for peace are closely and inseparably linked with successes in the struggle for social progress and socialism. The reaching of these objectives will be difficult. However, these objectives can and must be achieved providing that the communists are able to rally all the forces of the working class and the broad toiling strata, all democrats, and anyone who favors peace.

The CPF actively participates in the struggle for the intensification of detente, termination of the arms race, and banning nuclear weapons, the neutron bomb above all, and the new types of mass destruction weapons. The 18th CPF Congress passed a special resolution demanding the total abandonment on the part of the United States of the production of the neutron weapon. The CPF is confidently facing the future. Its influence in enterprises and mass workers organizations--the trade unions and the cooperative and sports movements--and among student youth and the scientific and technical and creative intelligentsia is broadening. The number of its members is rising and party newspaper editions are increasing. The measures dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the party's founding, held last June, were unparalleled in terms of scope and activity of the masses. No single political movement in our country could claim something similar to its credit.

The CPF historical experience teaches that the stronger the communist party becomes the more solid become the positions of democracy in Finland. Unquestionably, the further strengthening of the CPF will contribute to the acceleration of the democratic development of the country, its social progress, and peace. It will be a guarantee that Finland will continue to make an even greater contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security of the nations.

Naturally, we do not ignore the fact that the ideological, political, and economic pressure exerted on communists in a capitalist society prevents them from fighting for the rights of the working people. We also realize that the Finnish bourgeoisie is devoting ever greater efforts to "integrate" the entire labor movement in the country within the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

The CPF counters the bourgeois tactic with its own based on the principled defense of the interests of the working people and consistent with the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Finnish people.

Thanks to the increased power and influence of the socialist countries and their consistent policy of peace, new possibilities have opened to the revolutionary workers' movement. Prerequisites for our party's successful activities today are better than ever before. The circumstances in the country create favorable opportunities for a new upsurge in the struggle waged by the working class and for progress by the communist party and by the workers' and other democratic forces in the struggle for improving the living conditions of the working people, expanding democracy, weakening the positions of big capital and restricting its privileges, developing friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union, galvanizing a peaceful foreign policy, and strengthening detente and international peace. The success with which these opportunities will be realized depends on us, the Finnish communists. We shall steadfastly continue our activities for the good of the toiling people of Finland, the fraternal friendship between Finland and the Soviet Union, and the Marxist-Leninist cause.

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## SOME ASPECTS OF CHINESE REALITY

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[Article by O. Borisov and V. Ivanov]

[Text] The internal political circumstances in China remain quite complex. It is no accident that, as in the past, the main slogan is the appeal "to establish general order in the country," and ensure "stability and unity."

Facing the disorganization of all social life, economic chaos, and mass displays of discontent, the current Peking leadership is still trying to lay the responsibility for all past and current disorders on the infamous "gang of four" consisting of Mao's closest supporters, while, at the same time, thoroughly praising his "ideas" hostile to Marxism-Leninism. Realizing, however, the critical nature of the situation, it is hastening to resolve urgent problems such as restoring its total control over the situation in the country, eliminating production decline, repairing the damages caused the national economy by the "cultural revolution," and restoring the normal functioning of the most important units of the administrative and economic apparatus and the party organizations.

This was discussed at the 11th CCP Congress (August 1977), at the session of the National People's Congress (February-March 1978), and at many conferences dealing with problems of armed forces, industry, agriculture, science, technology, culture, education, finance, trade, and other activities.

Higher party and state organs were set up, and the party's bylaws and constitution of the PRC were renovated at the CCP Congress and National People's Congress session. In a certain sense a "coalition" leadership was set up, including the old leaders, including rehabilitated ones, as well as those promoted in the period of the "cultural revolution." Between the end of 1977 and beginning of 1978 sessions of provincial people's congresses were held. Here and there provincial party conferences were convened as well. Significant transfers of party, state, and military leading cadres, central and local, took place. The rights of many workers, previously persecuted and repressed, were restored. However, the confrontation at the different



power levels has not stopped. The prime reason for the contradictions is that the various measures aimed at achieving "general order" are aimed, in the final account, at strengthening the Maoist foundations and creating prerequisites for the even more persistent pursuit of the anti-socialist course incompatible with the basic interests of the people.

The political concepts based, as in the past, on the theory and practice of Maoism, are unable, however, to lead China to the path of healthy comprehensive development.

1.

It was stated from the rostrum of the National People's Congress session that the defeat of the "gang of four" means a "great change," marking "the beginning of a new period" in the country's life. The strategic task was indicated immediately: By the end of the 20th Century China must become a "great and powerful" state, reaching the "leading ranks in the world in the level of development of the national economy" through the implementation of the "four modernizations" (in industry, agriculture, military affairs, and science and technology). Such a formulation of the problem could have had a positive connotation had it not been accompanied by open expansionistic aspirations and aimed at the creation of a material base for a policy "from a position of strength."

Economic upsurge is conceived only in terms of increasing "defense power at a faster pace," for the sake of "preparations should a war break out." It is precisely from this viewpoint that the Peking leadership interprets, above all, the problem of national economic development and other problems which, for the first time after the initiation of the "cultural revolution" have assumed a notable role in its activities. From such positions it emphasizes, above all, the importance of the fastest possible elimination of the economic and technical backwardness of the country, calling for "shifting the center of gravity of the work" and "undertake modern construction most seriously."

Corresponding amendments are being made to the methods for achieving great power hegemonistic objectives through the country's militarization. They are related to major failures in the field of economics, based on the aspiration to adapt Maoist systems to the concocted plans, for the "four modernizations" can not be speeded up with the old means.

Centralized planned economic management is being strengthened. The state plan is galvanizing its work. The State Economic Committee has been restored. A trend may be traced to the restoration of the ways and means of economic management used before the "cultural revolution." The scientific and technical intelligentsia is being drawn ever more extensively to the implementation of the tasks. The content of the slogan of "relying on one's own forces" has been amended somewhat. It has been freed from a distorted autarchic interpretation. The need is recognized for a certain development of market-monetary relations. Appeals are heard to "manage the economy

through economic methods." The type of approach to production as a result of which it suffered from a variety of political campaigns is criticized. Attention is redirected to the importance of the principle of payment according to labor.

The conflicting nature of views on the ways to develop the national economy, noted here, in which, on the one hand, the Peking leadership is correcting the most odious aspects of Maoist economic practice while, on the other, is afraid to go too far in this direction, triggers great confusion. "We," Hua Kuo-feng acknowledged at the National People's Congress session, "are still far from understanding many problems of economic construction. In particular, modern production and construction have remained, to us, in great part a kingdom of unfamiliar necessity."

The session considered the "Basic Propositions of the Ten Year Plan for the Development of the PRC National Economy between 1976 and 1985." These propositions define the tasks of the first stage of the implementation of the long-term economic program of the Chinese leadership. The plan itself was not publicized. Individual guidelines alone were mentioned. Thus, the plan calls for reaching a production of up to 60 million tons of steel by 1985 (as compared with approximately 23 million tons in 1977); grain production must reach 400 million tons (as against approximately 240 million in 1977). The planned annual growth of gross agricultural output will be four-five percent, while industrial output will be rising at a 10 percent rate. The volume of capital investments within that time must equal the total amount of corresponding allocations for all previous years of existence of the PRC. The plan calls for undertaking and continuing the construction of 120 major projects, including 10 ferrous metallurgy bases, 8 coal bases, 10 petroleum and gas fields, and 30 electric power plants.

The main directions of scientific and technical research were refined, including in the field of sources of energy, computers, laser equipment, space science and technology, and nuclear physics. Most of them are related to military industry sectors. The need "to upgrade the scientific and cultural standard of the entire Chinese nation," and to energize foreign economic contacts, primarily with countries within the capitalist system and the biggest monopolies, was pointed out.

In order to implement its plans the Peking leadership is relying on a new "great leap." Using this already bankrupt course, even though with certain amendments, it is hoping to achieve through voluntaristic methods that which in the unanimous opinion of competent foreign commentators, is unlikely. Many experts note the groundlessness of the control figures concerning coal, steel, and other types of industrial output. Yet, the tasks assigned to agriculture seem even less realistic. The average annual growth planned here--four-five percent over a long period of time--is practically unknown in world practice. Something else is known: The fact that in China itself over the past 20 years this growth has equaled no more than some 1.5 percent.

Life itself proves the adventuristic nature of the ambitious plans for the national economy, showing the discrepancy and profound contradiction between the objective requirements of the all-round development of the country and the subjective aspirations of the Maoists.

This disparity led to the fact that in the past 10 to 12 years, as stated by the Peking leaders themselves, the technological lagging of PRC industry behind the industry of developed countries has increased sharply. In a number of sectors such as automobile and tractors and aerospace, no single big modern enterprise has appeared as of the beginning of the 1960's. Many sectors are based on petty semi-artisan production whose share in the gross output is about 50 percent. Machine building is not meeting the needs of the national economy for machine tools and equipment. A tense situation has developed in the fuel-power and ore mining industries. Everywhere--particularly in civilian production areas--a great shortage of skilled management cadres and engineering and technical personnel is being felt.

As a result of persecutions and repressions against specialists during the "cultural revolution," confusion in the management of industrial enterprises has turned into one of the most acute problems. Many of them still lack the position of director. As in the past management is provided by "revolutionary committees" which include, as a rule, economically and technically incompetent cadres.

Agriculture which, as in the past, is considered the basis of the country's economy, remains one of the weakest links in the national economy. Its development pace, as confirmed by the Chinese press, fails to meet requirements. The grain problem "remains unresolved." The situation in this area is a subject for serious alarm and acute struggle within the Chinese leadership. Per capita grain production has still not exceeded the 1957 level. Loud claims of "rich and record-setting harvests" made over a decade proved to be fictitious. The slogan of "completing mechanization in its essential features in 1980" while "relying on one's own forces" in individual districts and farms is failing the test of reality. The Peking leadership has been unable to formulate an effective program which would enable the Chinese countryside to come out of the dead where it found itself as a result of Mao's policy. They have remained within the vicious circle of Maoist dogmas. As in the past they call upon the people to follow "the progressive experience of the Ta-Chai Agricultural Production Brigade," praised as a self-supporting farm of the barracks type, doing practically without any government expenditures.

The search for more effective means for the development of agriculture, occasionally reported in the press, is of limited and local nature. Yet, it clearly confirms the struggle between supporters and opponents of Maoist plans. In some provinces ideas conflicting with the "Ta-Chai" line are formulated under the guise of "consideration of local characteristics." Demands are even heard of granting production brigades a certain autonomy in economic activities, forbidding the free of charge recruitment of manpower, earmarking material incentive measures, broadening auxiliary industries, and selling some products on the market.

Frequently official materials and press articles mention the task of "improving the life" of the people. As in the past, however, the authorities lack an overall program for the social development of the country. Problems of raising the living standard, affecting the working people, are in fact given second priority. The people's hopes for substantial improvements in their living conditions remain unfulfilled. Even though a 46 percent salary raise for workers and employees with "long labor experience and relatively low earnings" have been announced, the promise has not been kept so far. The policy of "low wages," rigid control, and a rationing system for food and prime necessity goods has been confirmed as a long-term course of action.

The Chinese countryside, where four-fifths of the population of the country live, is in a particularly difficult position. The local press cites very eloquent data on the worsening of the already catastrophic fate of rural workers. For example, in Szechwan Province (90 million people) their income dropped 18 percent from 1974 to 1976. In Anhwei Province, since 1973 income has dropped 20 percent while grain consumption was reduced. A mood of deep apathy is characteristic of the Chinese peasant--the result of Peking's long-term agrarian policy, and extra economic coercion which frequently develops into the direct ruin of the farmers.

Chinese publications mention the need to "réduce the peasants' burden." However, the main responsibility for this is entrusted on the lower strata as though they were to blame for the waste of manpower and materials, the violation of laws and discipline, the shifting to the peasants of the burdening costs of maintaining schools and hospitals, building roads, and so on.

At the same time, the authorities are trying to resolve the problem from the other end, so to say. The task has been set of reducing population growth to one percent over a three year period. The state council set up a special group in charge of birthrate control. Unquestionably, in the case of China this is a very important problem. However, in addition to directive stipulations banning "early marriages" and issuing food rations to "unplanned" infants, Mao's successors have not earmarked any broad social measures in this respect.

The militaristic lining of the slogan of "four modernizations" leaves no doubt whatever that the Peking's leadership thinks least of all of the vital interest of the Chinese people and of upgrading their material and cultural standards. They are concerned with something else.

Mao's successors' plans for the creation of a "powerful China" are of a clearly hegemonistic nature. The Peking leaders are speculating on the legitimate expectations of the people with a view to fanning nationalism and fighting China's real friends who would like to see it as a prospering socialist state. Formulating the task of taking China "into the first ranks," they follow Mao's instruction: "We must conquer the globe." Their objective is to rule Asia first and, subsequently, the entire world. The method for achieving it has been quite clearly defined in the materials of the CCP

Congress, the National People's Congress session, and the constitution: The unification of anyone who could be united to struggle against China's main enemies, real or imaginary, and, above all, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, followed by the United States and its allies.

Evaluating the Chinese version of the "four modernizations," some foreign observers have concluded that the currently steadily asserted Maoist stipulations of "preparations for war," "modernization of the army," and "gaining time" are, allegedly, not an expression of the course taken toward the militarization of China but merely mobilization appeals aimed at labor intensification, higher discipline, and justification of the miserly funds spent on culture and education. The conclusion based on such views is that the call for "preparing for war and catastrophe" seems to have a purely utilitarian importance and is used only for the purpose of urging on economic growth.

Are such judgments acceptable? Analyzing the nature of some amendments introduced in Peking's approach to the development of the national economy, we can not fail to notice that they do not indicate in the least changes in the final objectives and general line of Maoist policy. The "four modernizations" slogan preserves Mao's firm stipulation that the economy must serve above all the increase of China's military power and to enable it to reach "superpower" status. Everything points out that the Peking leaders are aware of the backwardness of the country's economy and its relative military weakness. Therefore, following the Maoist course of militarization, they are hoping to gain the necessary time to modernize the armed forces and increase the country's military-economic potential at an accelerated rate, since without this it would be hard to hope for the implementation of great power-chauvinistic intentions. It is clear, therefore, that essentially they are focusing on gaining time in order to gather military-strategic strength.

It is precisely from this viewpoint that we should consider also Peking's measures taken to broaden relations with the United States, Japan, and other capitalist countries, for the sake of obtaining from them economic and military-technical assistance. Since the anti-socialist direction of Peking's policy suits the imperialists, and since it is manifested ever more tangibly in international practice, they are displaying ever more frequently their readiness to meet the Maoists in the hope of restraining world socialism with their help.

Inflating anti-socialist and anti-Soviet propaganda, concentrating troops on the borders with the Soviet Union, Mongolia, and Vietnam, and resorting to provocations and intrigues, Mao's heirs are trying to draw the forces and means of the country's of the new world away from the building of communism and socialism, and retard their dynamic development. That is why, for example, Peking refuses to normalize Sino-Soviet relations.

It is also known that the Peking leadership is urging on in all possible ways the capitalist countries to aggravate their confrontation with the socialist comity, the Soviet Union above all, supporting the aspirations of military-industrial circles in the United States and other imperialist countries to whip up the arms race thus forcing the Soviet people and their allies to spend even greater funds to guarantee their security. Is this not the purpose of attempts to undermine detente and block measures to restrict the arms race and promote disarmament?

In this light, it would be erroneous to underestimate the danger of the Maoist directive of "preparations for war," and militarization of the country, or failing to see that today's Chinese leadership is pursuing, as a whole, a single strategic course both within the country and in the international arena aimed at accelerating the economic development of the country and the modernization of the armed forces, thus creating stronger foundations for its great power aspirations.

Peking's entire internal economic policy, ideological and propaganda activities, and basic organizational measures are subordinated to the single objective of extracting from the Chinese people, and from a backward and weak economy the maximum amount of funds which could be thrown into military preparations. Already now the PRC, which is approximately in the hundredth place in the world in terms of national income and per capita expenses for health care, has emerged in one of the leading positions in terms of the amount of military expenditures. Such is the ratio between the scale of unresolved social and economic problems and the concentration of available national resources on military preparations, unreasonable from the viewpoint of the interests of the broad toiling masses, absorbing over 40 percent of the state budget.

Reality itself demands China's modernization, surmounting of economic and cultural backwardness, development of a modern technical base for industry and agriculture, achievement of a true cultural revolution, elimination of the illiteracy of millions of people, and training a people's intelligentsia. The socialist countries fully understand the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people to put an end to backwardness, and to build a truly socialist state. The principled position held on this matter was expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "We are deeply convinced that China's real national renaissance and its socialist development could be achieved not by struggling against the USSR and the other socialist countries or the entire communist movement, but through alliance and fraternal cooperation with them."

However, the economic strategy of the new leadership remains, as a whole, essentially a great power-nationalistic and hegemonistic one. Individual pragmatic corrections made to it prove rather a crisis in orthodox Maoism rather than the elimination of contradictions between the objective conditions and needs of the country, on the one hand, and the policy of its current leadership, on the other. The latter uses the revolutionary gains of the Chinese peoples such as the state ownership system and the collective

economy to pursue anti-socialist objectives, the militarization of the country, and ensure foreign political expansion, rather than upgrade the prosperity of the population. The continuation of the course of exploiting socialized capital goods for anti-people's purposes increases the danger of a complete degeneration of the economic base of the Chinese society and the loss of the existing ownership of socialized productive capital.

2.

The most important stipulations of the 11th CCP Congress were reiterated and strengthened through the authority of the supreme organ of state power at the last session of the National People's Congress. One of the principal measures taken at the session was the adoption of the new "corrected" constitution. It retained a number of stipulations of the 1975 fundamental law and included a number of stipulations of the 1954 constitution.

The characteristic feature of the new constitution is that in it Maoism is proclaimed as state ideology. As before, it codifies loyalty to "the ideas of Mao Tse-tung," and the duty and obligation "to hold high and firmly defend the great banner of Chairman Mao Tse-tung." In a word, the decisions of the CCP Congress and the National People's Congress session codify Maoism as the ideological-political platform of the party and the state.

The amendments to the constitution prove that its authors tried to give the regime a more respectable appearance, and conceal behind democratic and socialist phraseology the anti-democratic nature of the system established by Mao Tse-tung as a result of the "cultural revolution."

An attempt has been made through the constitution to strengthen the mechanism of political management of society and the state and to upgrade the effectiveness of economic management. To this effect its section dealing with the prerogatives of central and local power organs has been expanded. A line of implementation of the "four modernizations" has been codified. Problems related to the organization of public production are presented more clearly. It is forbidden "to disturb the economic order of society by whatever means," or to "disrupt state economic plans."

The constitution has rigidified the anti-Soviet and anti-socialist direction of Chinese policy. "Social imperialism," which is understood to mean the USSR, has now been placed ahead of imperialism, i.e., the United States. This legislatively codifies the stipulation that the Soviet Union is China's "main enemy." This is immediately confirmed by the stipulation to create "the broadest possible international united front" aimed against the Soviet state.

This document codifies a foreign political course based on the Maoist pseudo-revolutionary theory of the "three worlds." Even though the Peking leadership was forced to take into consideration the sharp criticism of the 1975 constitution which world public opinion assessed as a manifesto of militarism,

and soften some clearly provocative stipulations concerning "preparations for war," as a whole, however, the course has been left intact--a course of great-power status and instigations, a course hostile to the forces of peace and socialism. It is a serious threat to all nations.

During the session of the National People's Congress, a session was held by the All-China Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the organ of the "united front" which was broken up during the "cultural revolution." The purpose of the resumption of its activities was to broaden the social base of the regime in accordance with Mao's stipulation of "uniting all forces which could be united" with a view to making China a "powerful state." The course of strengthening and broadening the "united revolutionary front" presumes the unification on a nationalist basis of both the working people and the Chinese bourgeoisie, domestic and abroad, and the "patriotically feeling" individuals, including rehabilitated "rightwing elements," as well as Kuomintang officials and military who had served their sentences.

The Maoist concept of the two types of contradictions was proclaimed as the ideological and theoretical base of this "united front": "Within the people" and "between us and the enemy." This concept distorts the Marxist-Leninist class approach to social problems and divides society into "we" and "enemies," mainly based on the person's attitude toward the political line of the powers that be. "We" includes anyone willing to serve the great power course. The Peking leadership is also trying to gain the support of classes and social strata which, by virtue of their objective situation, hold important positions in production, science, and cadre training, and without whose galvanizing it would be unable to implement the "four modernizations." It is trying to rally different strata on a nationalist basis, direct their efforts toward the achievement of Maoist strategic objectives, and assume control over the development of socioeconomic processes for the sake of building a "great China." Steps are taken to ensure the corresponding galvanizing of the role of party and public organizations. In particular, congresses of trade unions, the youth union, and the women's federation are planned for September-October.

Some amendments and a "democratic facade" now applied on the military-bureaucratic regime have led to occasional considerations that, allegedly, a process of "liberalization" and "democratization" has been initiated and is underway in China. If that criticism now voiced in Peking against the "gang of four" and the other measures might have led to the restoration of the CCP as a Marxist-Leninist party and to China's return to a policy truly based on Marxism-Leninism and cooperation and solidarity with world socialism, unquestionable, such a turn could have only been cheered.

Unfortunately, however, today there are far greater reasons to say that everything accomplished is merely the adorning of Maoism. Within the country, the Peking leadership tries, above all, to achieve this way the support of broader population strata, strengthen its authority, and, through a variety of promises, draw the attention of the people away from difficulties and



privations. On the international level this tactic is aimed at dulling the vigilance of world public opinion toward Peking's policy aimed at provoking a new world war. The imperialists and various opportunists are doing everything possible to use this tactic as a means for weakening the international communist movement and discrediting Marxism-Leninism.

A sober assessment of the current process of concentration of power, the nature of the governmental mechanism, and the strengthening of the repressive apparatus would make it clear that the nature of the military-bureaucratic and social-militaristic regime has remained unchanged. As before, the army's influence on the entire governmental structure remains considerable. Thus, the group of army representatives was the largest at the National People's Congress: Five hundred and three as against slightly over 100 in 1964. It is quite characteristic that many noted political leaders who also hold positions in the armed forces preferred to come to the session as army representatives. The Chinese leaders openly proclaim "military democracy" precisely as a model. In his speech on the draft of the new constitution, Yeh Chien-ying recommended to watch over "democracy" the way this is done in "army companies," emphasizing that the fundamental law calls for "iron discipline" in Chinese society, cautioning against enthusiasm for what he described as "great democracy."

Yet, the preservation of the Maoist regime and its political foundations are among the determining factors for the instability of a society corroded by struggle and contradictions. This is confirmed, in particular, by the uninterrupted wide purges in the country. According to the foreign press, within a six month period alone, as of October 1976, in connection with the case of the "gang of four" such purges affected 119 members and candidate members of the CCP Central Committee, including 68 secretaries of provincial party committees, 93 members of provincial "revolutionary committees," as well as members of the military, heads of local trade unions and women's organizations, and others. Between the end of 1977 and the beginning of 1978 the same fate befell on the first secretaries of CCP committees and chairmen of "revolutionary committees" of Kirin, Kweichow, Heilungkiang, Kansu, Shansi, and Anhwei provinces. Only eight of the 29 ministers and state committee chairmen appointed three years ago have kept their positions in the government. The problem of purges in the party and the administrative-economic and military apparatus is particularly grave.

The task of "completing the struggle against and criticism of the 'four,' and their supporters and other class enemies" is raised once again to the primary level for the immediate future. The tireless purges and repressions are justified by the Maoist "theory of continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," which is the cornerstone of the foreign political course and is codified in the new constitution. The "strengthening . . . of the state machinery and dictatorship toward the enemies" is contemplated. As stated by Yeh Chien-ying, the number of PRC citizens classified as "class enemies" totals five percent of the country's population, i.e., over 40 million people.

An uneven political struggle is being waged with the supporters of the "four." Among the rehabilitated, the supporters of decisive action are trying to maintain the high tension of the campaign, calling for the deed to bring it to its conclusion. According to some data about six million cadre workers rode the wave the "cultural revolution." Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his followers are trying to settle their accounts with these people and expand the purge. However, judging by numerous statements in the Chinese press, they are facing the considerable opposition of those who were promoted.

The Peking leaders are very concerned with circumstances in the party and its leading units. They admit that so far the CCP is not an integral organism, that it is "experiencing ideological-political confusion," and is torn by factionalism, parochialism, and anarchy. Attention was drawn at the 11th Congress to the "unhealthy swelling" of the party, and accelerated "streamlining" was demanded. However, this problem is still far from being resolved. During the "cultural revolution" about 17 million people raised in "Mao's ideas" joined the party. After his death two-thirds of the leading personnel were removed from their positions or demoted within the party organizations on the provincial level. Yet, according to Chinese propaganda, the overall number of supporters of the "four" in the party apparatus remains impressive.

The campaign of purging the supporters of the "gang of four" is focused essentially on the party-administrative apparatus on the provincial, district, commune, and industrial enterprise levels. Only recently were a number of senior workers removed from their positions in Tientsin, and in Liaoning, Tsinghai, and other provinces. Some of the new members of the CCP Central Committee, elected at the last party congress, were subjected to repressive measures for their connections with the "four."

As before, the army remains the main support of the present regime. Here as well, however, the struggle for leadership, including for levers of influencing the armed forces, is becoming ever more apparent. This year a broad "good order" campaign was launched in the military. The new People's National Congress dedicated its first session to the discussion of corresponding problems and announced the extension of the term of military service. A number of decisions of the CCP Central Committee military council were made public dealing with the army, including the strengthening of "organization and discipline," the work of military academies and other educational institutions, and improvements in "political education and combat training." The principal targets of this "order" are the command and political personnel promoted to leading positions during the "cultural revolution." The campaign is experiencing major difficulties and is triggering discontent and counteraction. This creates further problems and complications.

The conference on political work in the army, held in May-June, addressed by Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-ying, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, revealed that a rather complex situation remains within army ranks. In particular, differences

were detected on the means for upgrading the combat capability and modernizing the armed forces. While Hua Kuo-feng favored the army to retain its previous political power and act as a bulwark of the present leadership, and whereas Yeh Chien-ying favored the retention of the order which prevailed under Mao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing emphasized the need to turn the army into a "professional" military force. Actually, the three leaders agreed on one thing: Organize the entire work in such a way as to raise the personnel in a spirit of hostility toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The thesis that "the USSR was enemy number one" ran throughout the entire conference.

Undertaking to bring "universal order in the country," Mao's heirs are facing yet another major problem. It is a question of the high crime level, murders, robberies, and other delinquencies inherited from the "cultural revolution." The tremendous mass of vagrants, including members of "literate youth," sent in the past from the towns to their countryside and the mountain areas has become their main source. The public security forces and large militia detachments are being mobilized to fight them and those like them. With the help of various organizations special "workers' groups" are formed and special "month," "week," and "day" campaigns are organized.

Ever more frequently the Chinese press is beginning to publish material proving the urgency of the "fastest possible elaboration" of a criminal, procedural, civic, and other codes which, as we know, have still not been drafted in China.

The most important factor and indicator of instability in the country, naturally, is the situation with Peking's top leadership. Even though it has been established as a result of a compromise, this fact does not prove in the least its "solidarity" and "unity" repeatedly proclaimed both at the CCP Congress and the National People's Congress session. The regrouping of forces, initiated after Mao's death, is continuing within the leadership. As foreign observers have noted, it is essentially dominated by those promoted during the "cultural revolution," headed by Hua Kuo-feng. At the same time, however, the group headed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is continuing its offensive. It included, among others, party-state and military cadres who suffered during the "cultural revolution." An "intermediary" faction exists between the two camps consisting of the old cadres who were able to adapt themselves to the "cultural revolution" and even to rise somewhat during it. This faction (considered to include Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien, Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, and other influential personalities) is apparently not interested in a comprehensive strengthening either of the newly promoted or of Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

The existing balance is rather relative. It makes it possible to retain the present compromise. However, the struggle has not ended. Symptoms of major differences may be traced in press articles addressed against some "weather-cocks," "tricky people," "troublemakers," and "suppressors" who have cooperated in the past with the "four" and were able to retain their sometimes even command positions. Many foreign commentators have expressed the view

that the Peking leadership may expect further crises. However, it should not be forgotten that its group is united by the common great-power platform of creating a "powerful China" by the end of the 20th Century. Forced under the pressure of a number of circumstances to make partial amendments to the clearly bankrupt Maoist concepts and formulations, as a whole it remains on the positions of Maoism and is trying to resolve all problems mainly through the ideological and political indoctrination of the population, and the use of administrative-police measures, combined with certain indulgences for the sake of strengthening the existing regime and creating a powerful-military economic complex.

3.

The factual acknowledgment of the tremendous harm caused the national economy and the country at large during the "cultural revolution," and view on the need to pay prime attention to the development of the economy, science, and culture, strike the eye in the study of official documents, public speeches delivered by the Peking leaders, and local press materials. Other healthy thoughts may be found as well.

Some elements of criticism, measures taken to correct Maoist practices, the enlivening of activities of party, social, and other institutions, and calls for following a "realistic course," have all led some observers to the conclusion that a reassessment of Mao's role and a principled revision of his ideological and political heritage, i.e., a "de-Maoization," as this is described in the West, may be expected.

Indeed, on a number of occasions phenomena may be noted in China's ideological and political life showing a peculiar double approach to Mao's dogmas. On the one hand, the present leadership is canonizing Maoism. On the other, voices are heard seeming to oppose it, and statements to the effect that "the four" "turned Mao's ideas into religion," and "supreme truth," "reducing them to a scant selection of quotations." The supporters of this approach claim that Mao's views were correct in the historical conditions of the past and that today they must be "developed," selecting what is "useful" among them. The political meaning of such a pragmatic interpretation of Maoism is to adopt it to the substantiation of tasks formulated at the CCP Congress and National People's Congress session. Yet, in present day China, equally strong are the positions of those who favor the preservation in their initial aspect and practical implementation of all of "Mao's ideas." The differences between the two leave their mark on the country's domestic life.

Considering the picture in its entirety, the necessary conclusion is that measures implemented by the present Peking leadership give no grounds to speak of the development of "de-Maoization" as a process aimed at turning the country back to scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism. The present political reality shows that this leadership does not intend to drop the Maoist banner. The speeches by Hua Kuo-feng and Yeh Chien-ying, and the text of the new PRC Constitution are imbued with praises for "Mao's ideas."

The introduction to the fundamental law is a sort of panegyric to Maoism, as is the new national anthem. Today the cult of Mao has acquired not only an ideological or political, but a juridical form and consolidation.

Occasionally, the view is expressed that today's Peking leadership, while declaring their loyalty to Maoism, are in fact following the course set by Chou En-lai and that this way Mao's dogmatic concepts are yielding to Chou's pragmatism. Is this the case? Quite recently an inordinately broad campaign was launched in China on the occasion of Chou En-lai's 80th birthday. Its main idea was to prove that Mao and Chou were indivisible. Chou was a loyal student and aid of the great "Helmsman," the convinced promoter and interpreter of his "ideas," and the creative executor of all of Mao's plans and undertakings, both in the period preceding the founding of the PRC as well as during the "Great Leap," and the "cultural revolution," in the struggle against the international communist movement under the banner of "struggle against revisionism," and so on. This provides a sufficiently clear answer to those who see in recent events the withdrawal from Mao's "legacy" in favor of Chou's views.

The aspiration of some Peking leaders to emphasize the importance of unity within the upper power echelons for the sake of the "supreme interests of the nation," and to prove that there should be clashes between the veterans rallied around Chou and those promoted by the "cultural revolution," with Mao's blessings, and that everyone should follow Chou's example and join efforts to carry out the Maoist "legacy," plays just about the most important role in the lauding of Chou.

If Peking truly intended to reassess values, this inevitably should have pertained, above all, to Mao's strategic concepts and political objectives. Yet, not even a mention is made of this. All that can be seen is a reinterpretation of individual concepts hurting Maoism itself. As to his basic dogmas, they have been left intact.

Furthermore, if we consider the sum total of the facts, political concepts, and practical measures taken by the present Peking leadership, we note rather a process of further assertion of Maoism and the praise of Mao and his personality, as a spiritual leader, and the strengthening and perpetuation of his "ideas" as an integral system of views. A study of the main trends of social life in the country would indicate that they do not fit the concept of "de-Maoization." The basis of the present leadership's policy is determined by the familiar essential Maoist features.

Reactionary nationalism and great-power chauvinism--the pivot of Maoist theory and practice--imbue, as in the past, Peking's entire domestic and foreign policy. The Sinocentrist great-China doctrine and the idea of global hegemony determine the interpretation of the most important problems of the contemporary world and the direction followed in the development of the country, and the main strategic objective--the fastest possible conversion of China into a military power capable of becoming a world political center with vast spheres of influence.

Militarism, manifested in reliance on war as the universal means for the solution of basic problems of social development, the militarization of all life in China, and the concentration of resources and efforts on the accelerated development of a military-economic complex to the detriment of the interests of the working people determine the social policy of the present leadership as well, of the state-bureaucratic system of national economic management, the overall administrative-tough approach to the solution of economic problems, and the coercive nature of public work.

As in the past, the activities of the power organs are based on the "theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Such activities are based on coercion and repression, and on the violation of democratic and legal principles.

As in the past, inherent in the policy of the Peking leadership are hostility to scientific socialism, whose concentrated expression is anti-Sovietism, negation of the general laws and international experience in the building of socialism, and the aspiration to pit existing socialism against the "Chinese model" of a social system and "barracks socialism."

Finally, Peking's rapprochement with the most aggressive imperialist forces, based on anti-Sovietism, and the struggle against world socialism and the international communist and revolutionary movements, has become even more obvious. Hiding behind the theories of the "three worlds" and the "struggle against the hegemonism of the two superpowers," it is doing everything possible to undermine the unity within anti-imperialist ranks, set up a "united front of struggle" against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and provoke conflict situations in the hope that the forces of socialism will be defeated and weakened on a global scale.

In other words, Chinese reality itself fully confirms the accuracy of the conclusion drawn at the 25th CPSU Congress to the effect that "Maoist ideology and policy are incompatible with Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They are openly hostile to it."

The wish to substantiated the development of relations between the capitalist world and China in the interest of imperialist monopolies may be clearly surmised behind talks of "de-Maoization" on the part of bourgeois propaganda. The West is interested in making this thesis serve the further weakening of the elements of socialism which were laid in China in the first years of the republic.

A kind of double process is underway in the PRC. On the one hand, Maoism is being more intensively concealed behind Marxism-Leninism; on the other, the nationalistic Maoist directions are being linked even more closely with the age-old traditions of great-China chauvinism. Obviously, this process should be considered as a more clear shaping of Maoism into social chauvinism, i.e., into an ideology which conceals expansionistic objectives behind socialist slogans and Marxist phraseology, and speculates on the prestige of socialism among the broad masses.

The certain changes and corrections introduced in Maoist practice should be rather considered as the canonizing of Mao's postulates, giving them greater "purity," and relieving them from obsolete or bankrupt concepts, thus ensuring the durability of the basic Maoist doctrines, raising their effectiveness, and broadening their social base. It is becoming ever more obvious that such amendments do not ensure the main thing: The reorientation of the general political development of the Chinese state and the solution of vital socioeconomic problems as demanded by the true interests of the Chinese people.

"The severe consequences which attempts to ignore the economic laws of socialism, the abandonment of friendship and solidarity with the socialist countries, and the rapprochement with the forces of reaction in the world arena in China are well-known," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted. "The socialist gains of the Chinese people are in great danger." The Chinese people will be able to build a truly prosperous and highly developed new society only by following the paths of scientific socialism rather than Maoism.

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## IDEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

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[Article by V. Agafonov and R. Khasbulatov]

[Text] The successes of existing socialism appear as even more significant against the background of the profound crisis of world capitalism, its spiritual degradation, and the ever growing awareness of the historical doom of the exploiting system. All this increases the attractiveness of socialism and of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas. Such a development of events, objectively putting on the agenda the practical problem of the historical limits of capitalist existence as a world system, intensifies the ideological confrontation between the two worldwide social systems, raising the adamant need for the substantiated exposure of the latest bourgeois propaganda myths directed against scientific communism, the lessons of the October Revolution, and the grandiose achievements of the Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist comity. In the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "the positive changes in world politics and detente create favorable opportunities for the extensive dissemination of socialist ideas. On the other hand, however, the ideological confrontation between the two systems is becoming ever more active, and imperialist propaganda, more refined."

One of the influential directions in Western ideological concepts, assuming an ever more outstanding position in the overall bourgeois propaganda system is related to attempts to use the new phenomena and processes created by the scientific and technical revolution in the ideological struggle against Marxism-Leninism.

As we know, it is only under socialist conditions that the scientific and technical revolution assumes its proper direction consistent with the interests of man and society. As to the scientific and technical revolution under contemporary capitalist conditions, its development is assuming rather contradictory aspects.



The scientific and technical revolution has a deep impact on all aspects of life in the capitalist society: Economics, politics, ideology, social structure, labor, class structure, and way of life and concepts of hundreds of millions of people. It leads to essential changes in the relationship between man and productive capital, and in the function and role of manpower in the production process. It prepares the material foundations for changes in the form of ownership in the bourgeois society. The scientific and technical revolution accelerates the development of production forces while, at the same time, creating a further aggravation of the deep contradictions in production relations, accelerating the motion of the capitalist system toward a social revolution.

This gives birth to a variety of views on matters of interrelationships among science, technology, man, and society, and between the scientific and technical and social aspects of societal progress. Essentially, it is a question of the factual real possibilities of contemporary science and the illusions created by its successful application in a great variety of ways and means of human activities. In this connection, it is also a question of a variety of attempts to promote a cult of science and technology and their turn into fetishes. On the one hand, ideas are promoted on the salutary, the "messianic" possibilities of science and technology while, on the other, of their destructive, "demoniacal" possibilities.

The concept of technological determinism is a kind of methodological base for such ideas. According to it changes in science and technology automatically determine the entire set of social changes. Here two postulates are considered decisive: First, that the development of society is entirely determined by the condition of the technical foundations of the production process and the consumption level; second, that ownership relations play no substantial role in this respect.

This concept has been expressed in technocracy which began to develop as a current of social thinking at the turn of the century. Very soon it became the target of sharp criticism on the part of the most farsighted Western sociologists. Thus, the famous French scientist H. Friedman accused quite legitimately technocracy of its failure to take into consideration social production conditions under capitalism, while emphasizing technical and organizational factors. Friedman himself, however, even though on a more refined basis, frequently promoted the same ideas by bringing closer the consequences of the development of automation under capitalism to those of socialism. Howard Scott, the acknowledged "father" of technocracy, believed that technology can resolve all problems related to production and distribution. The "technocrats" even elaborated their own plan for the reorganization of the territorial administrative structure of countries based on systems of economic areas controlled by specialists-engineers possessing extensive rights and with a "uniform technical administration" controlling their activities. Here people are considered only as objects of management. At its earliest development stage technocracy revealed quite adequately its anti-democratic and anti-humane trends.

After World War Two, under the conditions of the development of the scientific and technical revolution, technicism in general and technocracy in particular became particularly popular in bourgeois literature. In circumstances in which science and technology are visibly demonstrating their powerful achievements, the doctrine of technological determinism turned out to be the most attractive in a somewhat renovated variant. It was precisely at that time that a number of works were published in a number of Western European countries and the United States trying to analyze the industrial or "technocratic society." (H. Freyer, "Universal European History," 1948; J. Fourastie, "The Great Hope of the 20th Century," 1958; P. Drucker, "The New Society. Anatomy of the Industrial System," 1949; W. Rostow, "Stages of Economic Growth," 1960; R. Aron, "The Industrial Society," 1959, and others.) All these works display quite clearly the old and previously failed attempt to substantiate the view that socialism is a kind of historical accident which, allegedly, will be legitimately swept off by the future technological (new industrial, post-industrial, civilized, and so on) society, whereas the latter, developing on a capitalist basis, would ensure a dynamic growth, coordination of social interests, and elimination of existing contradictions and antagonisms. The technological direction of the attempts of bourgeois social philosophy became widespread, as a result of which it rallied a number of available elements of Western social doctrines, considered "rational" from the viewpoint of the interests of the dominating class, and proved to be organically compatible with the theories of "popular" capitalism, social market economy, stages of economic growth, and technotronic civilization. . . . The position held by technological determinism enables it, within quite broad and vague limits, to encompass a great variety of occasionally conflicting ideas, conceptual approaches, views, opinions, and others.

In the very first post-war years attempts were made to modernize and deepen the various concepts based on the absolutization of the role of science and technology in society. The essence, however, remained the same. American sociologist Leslie White, for example, wrote that "in terms of their true nature social systems are secondary phenomena and depend on the technological system." According to White they are functions of the technological system: Technology is the independent value while the social system is a dependent value. Hence the conclusion that "the social system is determined by the technological system" (L. White, "The Science of Culture," New York, 1949, p 365). In other words, it was not capitalism with its irrational social relations determining the "cost" of technical progress, but technology, which determines the nature of the social systems, was the source of negative phenomena.

The theory of the industrial society was based as well on the principles of technological determinism. Let us note that the very term "industrial society" is far from new. It was first used by A. Saint-Simon. Subsequently, the concept was found in the works of A. de Tocqueville, A. Comte, H. Spencer, and M. Weber. This circumstance has been used by the imperialist ideologues for speculative purposes. They are trying to prove the historical continuity of the concepts of industrialism and post-industrialism.

A large number of all possible names and definitions exist to identify the varieties of concepts of technological determinism. The most popular among them are the technological society (coined by J. Ellul), the technical society (E. Fromm), the new industrial society (J. Galbraith), the post-industrial society (D. Bell), the technotronic era (Z. Brzezinski), the post-bourgeois society (D. Lichtheim), the post-modernization society (A. Ezioni), the post-capitalist society (R. Darendorf), and so on. The bourgeois ideological market offers the greatest variety of all possible petty theories so that anyone could choose the one which suits him best.

Usually, in our publications two views of scientific and technical progress in bourgeois sociological thought are pitted one against the other: The pessimistic versus the optimistic. Naturally, differences between them exist. Yet, both are related by something common--they stem from the absolutization of scientific and technical factors in social life.

Most supporters of the concepts of technological determinism, whether "optimists," or "pessimists," reach in the course of their arguments the conclusion that technocratic principles intensify as modern society progresses from "industrial" to "post-industrial." As we know, this version was the basis of J. Bernham's "Managerial Revolution," J. Galbraith's technostucture, D. Bell's "meritocracy," and so on. These ideas are also related to the currently developing Western concept of "social responsibility of business." They are based on the old technocratic idea formulated by T. Weblen: Production engineers--the general staff of the industrial system--are the main revolutionary class.

J. Ellul believes that in the industrial society technological growth goes hand in hand with strengthening of state power. Whereas initially such structures developed on a parallel basis, now they come ever closer to each other and can no longer exist without the other. Technology has become the condition and tool of any policy while state power is the basis for guaranteeing technical progress. Therefore, in terms of ownership class interests play no role: According to Ellul, both the capitalist and the unemployed feel equally uncomfortable in this "technical society." Nevertheless, it is proclaimed that man, unless he wishes to die from poverty, is now doomed to "technical slavery." "The revolution against the technical society . . . presumes weakened effectiveness in all fields (profits, productivity, adaptation, integration), lowered individual prosperity, failure of great social projects, and gradual disappearance of mass culture. No illusions are possible: Unless we are ready to pay this price, . . . we would not be ready for the only revolution which is needed today" (J. Ellul, "Autopsie de la revolution" [Autopsy of the Revolution], Paris, 1969, p 329). Consequently, the future revolution which, according to Ellul, would consist of the "destruction" of the current structures, technology, and the state, remains a purely abstract, a utopian wish. This is Ellul's entire "pessimism in action" whose meaning is reduced to pitting the social revolution against the scientific and technical revolution and to frightening the masses with a social revolution.

(Kh. Al'fen) as well claims that the forces triggered by technical progress are in the hands of managers and politicians who assume tremendous influence on society. This "creates the real technocratic threat to democracy" (IMPACT OF SCIENCE ON SOCIETY, Vol 22, No 1/2, 1972, Paris, p 88). According to D. Douglas, the majority of American scientists "have already become aware of the need for a certain form of tyranny and of the impossibility of human freedom. The discussion applies only as to what type of tyranny is better" (J. D. Douglas, "Freedom and Tyranny: Social Problems in a Technological Society," New York, 1970, p 13).

Under contemporary conditions, despite their seeming variety, the different industrial-technicistic and technocratic ideas as a whole have taken a more or less single direction. The establishment of this direction was assisted by two groups of factors: First, the general weakening of the strategic positions of imperialism and the crisis condition of its economy, politics, and ideology and, correspondingly, the intensified search for optimum strategic doctrines capable of "scientifically" substantiating and securing the perpetual and inviolable nature of the capitalist system; second, the growth of the power of the socialist comity, the strengthening of its political and ideological positions throughout the world, and, correspondingly, the aspiration of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its propagandists to pit to the purposeful and streamlined Marxist-Leninist doctrine their own more or less completely developed concept based on certain factual processes and phenomena of social life and capable, one way or another, to fulfill the role of historical alternative.

In present day conditions the intensified propaganda of one or another variety of technicism and industrialism is called upon to play an important double function: On the one hand, supply theoretical arguments in favor of anticommunism; on the other, to shift responsibility for negative phenomena in modern bourgeois society to the scientific and technical revolution. The fact that the scientific and technical revolution is developing in both the capitalist and socialist countries and, to a certain extent, in the developing countries on earth, is used by the bourgeois ideologues in their attempt to refute K. Marx's familiar view that "with the acquisition of new production forces the people change their production method. Together with the production method they change all economic relations which were necessary relations exclusively for a given specific production method" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 27, p 403).

It is frequently proclaimed that neither Marx nor, even less so, V. I. Lenin, who developed the theory of imperialism, could predict the depth and scale of scientific and technical progress which radically changed the political and economic situation in the class society and the world at large and, consequently, fully transformed all social conditions. Widespread among bourgeois sociologists is the claim that Marx has become obsolete. According to this claim the contemporary world is determined by technological development to such an extent that social relations which characterized capitalism in the past--conversion of labor into commodity and related class

contradictions--have lost their factual significance. This is the "proof" of the alleged process of "deideologization of social relations" and, consequently, the possibility for a class peace in the capitalist society. In this case the new doctrines are based on the fact that contemporary technology forms simultaneously some categorical "industrial imperatives" which exceed "the boundaries" of class interests and ideologies, representing the dictate of requirements similar to both world systems.

Reality, however, confirms Marx's conclusions that, in capitalist use, the machine, whose purpose is to facilitate human labor, increases the intensiveness of exploitation and enslavement, and converts the worker into a pauper. Meanwhile, as Marx said, the bourgeois economist "simply states that the consideration of a machine by itself most clearly proves that all these obvious contradictions are merely the external appearance of a trite reality by themselves, for which reason, theoretically, they do not exist in the least" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 23, p 452).

The attempts of the bourgeois ideologues to approach from the positions of technicism complex phenomena such as mentality, social consciousness, and concepts are systematic. Thus, O. Toffler proves the need to "reconstruct" the mind and mentality under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. In his view, a kind of shock exists as a result of a conflict with the future, since millions of people feel today valueless and find it impossible to adapt to changes and to the "narrow specialization," incompatible with developing technology, fearing change.

We must point out that, in an effort to convince their readers of the fatal, from their viewpoint, determination of the negative consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, the bourgeois ideologues generally make extensive use of the method of raising the fear level.

This is particularly clear in L. Mumford, in his work "The Myth about Machines." Introducing the "megamachine" concept--a highly organized and "homogeneous social structure," within which society functions like a machine, Mumford substantiates the reduction of individuals to the role of its individual screws. The purpose of the operation of the "megamachine" is the steady rise in the level of order, authority, and, above all, control provided by technocracy which is described as an anonymous "technological imperative" fatally destined to order the people and their organizations within "The System."

A similar fatal impossibility for man to be free from technological slavery and, consequently, from the chains of contemporary society is depicted in the works of E. Fromm. He proceeds from the fact that the industrialized society is going to a future in which men will become the "helpless wheel in a machine." By analogy with the familiar words in the "Communist Party Manifesto," Fromm writes: "A ghost is roaming among us and few can recognize it clearly . . . It is a new ghost: The fully mechanized society dedicated to maximum material production and maximum consumption, and

controlled by computers. Man becomes part of the total machine . . . a passive, lifeless, and nearly insensitive being" (E. Fromm, "The Revolution of Hope," New York, 1968, p 11). Fromm thus tries theoretically to prove the objective law of the "equalization of man" within the "technocratic structure" (read in the capitalist system).

Yet, Fromm does not consider the situation as "fatally hopeless." In this connection again he refers to H. Marcuse's works. Fromm writes that those who believe Marcuse to be a revolutionary leader are deeply mistaken: Never and nowhere has hopelessness been a base for revolution. "Marcuse provides, essentially, an example of the alienated intellectual who presents his individual despair as the theory of radicalism" (op cit, p 9). Fromm states that American society has three possible ways of development. The first is the following: Everything could be left as is, letting the natural course of events take place. In this case a thermonuclear war or any other no less destructive catastrophe is possible. The second is the attempt forcibly to change the course of events, a revolution, for example. This, however, could only breakdown the entire social system and trigger the most fierce dictatorship. Therefore, Fromm purely rejects the revolutionary way. The third way is the "humanizing of the system," which, according to Fromm, could and should bring about the real blossoming and advancement of the individual.

Yet, what does such "humanizing" represent? Fromm suggests the implementation of a number of measures for the solution of this problem. Above all, this involves "humanistic planning," which would take into consideration individual "human values"; the second direction is the application of "humanistic management," which would energize and free "human energy"; the third is the humanizing of consumption itself, changing the nature of advertising, reorienting production, introducing an "annual guaranteed wage," and so on; the fourth is the appearance of new forms of spiritual orientation and new objects of reverence. According to Fromm they would appear in the industrial society when "deadening bureaucracy, unnatural consumption, and manipulated indifference to life will be replaced by hope . . . , when man begins once again to have faith in himself, and when all people begin spontaneously to communicate with one another . . ." (op cit, pp 144-145).

E. Fromm, like O. Toffler, and J. Fourastie, and others, can not (or do not wish) to understand that all such rosy hopes can not be met under capitalism, and that their implementation requires radical socioeconomic and political changes.

Equally utopian are Fromm's statements that "the improvement of life" could be accomplished allegedly through the establishment of new social institutions on a national scale: A national council representing "the voice of American consciousness," "local councils," "clubs" consisting of individual "groups," and so on. According to Fromm such "clubs" must become the basis for a mass movement by the American people, a type of primary cell of the post-industrial society. Therefore, at best, it is a question only of one or another reform in administrative management, and of improving the techniques for manipulating the minds of the toiling masses.

Despite the numerous facts confirming that class contradictions and antagonisms are becoming inordinately aggravated in the contemporary capitalist society, technicistic views either reject such processes or try to interpret them from different more comfortable positions. "We surmounted the class struggle between the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries not through philanthropy," writes P. Drucker. ". . . The class struggle was surmounted, to begin with, thanks to the new technology. . . . Secondly, the class war was surmounted thanks to the education which made it possible for a rising number of children of the poor to come out of the class to which Marxist ideology had sentenced them. However, the main role in surmounting the class war was played by Frederick Taylor's scientific organization of labor. . . ." (P. Drucker, "The Age of Discontinuity. Guidelines to Our Changing Society," New York, 1968, p 120).

Other noted bourgeois scientists try to speak of the "elimination" of the basic capitalist contradiction. A. Wiener states that, "the displacement of human interests in the field of post-industrial culture will eliminate social and political tensions which triggered in the past crises and violence" (A. Wiener, "The Prospects for Mankind in a Year 2,000 Ideology," New York, 1972, p 26).

In their judgments the supporters of the concept of technological determinism claim that under contemporary conditions classical economic categories no longer reflect existing social relations. Consequently, they are unable to characterize the position of man, and so on. Some of them believe that money, wages, profits, and rents are not expressions of production relations. They reject the existence of added value and the exploitation of labor by capital. From their viewpoint the main purpose in applying the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in production is to raise the living standard and purchase power of the people which, in turn, leads to the automatic solution of contradictions between production and consumption and supply and demand.

Sharing the essential ideas of technological determinism, J. Fourastie tries to intensify the somewhat straight approach of his predecessors to the interpretation of technical factors in social development. For example, he considers relations between the technical and social aspects no longer from the viewpoint of the primacy of technology but in terms of their complex interaction, according to a system offered by the "sociological concept of factors" (economics, politics, technology, and others). According to this approach the influence of all factors on society is fully balanced and, essentially, it is a question of the determination of one or another relation, correlation, and so on. Thus, according to his idea developed in the book "The Great Hope of the 20th Century," social progress is not a consequence but the cause of economic progress. Economic progress, in turn, is the consequence of technical progress.

Science, Fourastie claims in his book "Open Letter to Four Billion People," destroyed the previous all-embracing philosophical and religious doctrines without, however, replacing them with an equally all-embracing synthesis.

The industrial society cultivated a single method, a single form of contact with the world--experimental knowledge and technical change based on it. However, this does not suffice man. Therefore, according to Fourastie, the main conflict in our epoch is "between the contemporary experimental method for perception and the traditional type of thinking, emotional, artistic, affective" (J. Fourastie, "Lettre ouvert a quatre milliards d'hommes" [Open Letter to Four Billion People], Paris, 1970, p 25). According to Fourastie the post-industrial society must be a return from the transitional conditions and requirements of industrial expansion to the eternal needs and conditions governing human existence. The post-industrial society is called upon to correct these deformations and create a new harmony. At the same time, the latter can not abandon machine technology and stop the creation and expansion of a "technical environment." The currently existing regulation of labor, correspondingly, will increase even further, intensifying the anonymity of social and production processes, equalization, and uniformity. However, according to Fourastie, such trends of an industrial type will be gradually neutralized and covered by other purely post-industrial trends. That is how Fourastie substantiates his "technological optimism" which inevitably clashes with his social pessimism.

Emphasizing the prime importance of theoretical knowledge in the shaping of the post-industrial society, the famous bourgeois ideologue D. Bell writes that it (the significance) is becoming to an ever greater extent a strategic resource, and the "axis" of occurring changes, regardless of the social system. As a result, a new "intellectual technology" appears--the most important qualitative characteristic of the post-industrial society, based on advanced computers capable of bringing order in the contemporary "mass" society by replacing intuitive judgments in the realm of adoption of political and social decisions with corresponding algorithms. (See Daniel Bell, "The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Forecasting," New York, 1973, pp 29-30). According to Bell such features of the post-industrial society are of a universal nature and equally apply to the capitalist and socialist countries, since they are established (regardless of human will and mind) by the level of development of science and technology. "A global approach" is inherent also in Bell's work "The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism" (see Daniel Bell, "The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism," New York, 1976), in which he tries to shift the contradictions of the capitalist society to the socialist world.

Today the bourgeois theories and concepts which offer a solution to the "ecological crisis," the crisis in international relations, the energy and fuel crisis, and so on, are pitting technical progress against social and economic, regional against global, and national against international progress. In particular, such an approach characterizes the reports of the so-called Club of Rome.

Most contemporary supporters of technological determinism, ignoring the objective laws of social development, are united, as a rule, by various types of attempts to develop for all "people of the technical century"



identical ethical norms and values. These were precisely the problems discussed in the fourth report of the Club of Rome, entitled "Targets for Mankind," written under the guidance of the big American specialist E. Laslo. The authors of the paper claim that social conditions play an equally important role as technical, natural, and other factors. However, by "social conditions" they mean only certain intentions, motives, and objectives of people and their groups. Seemingly, they entirely determine the solution of global problems.

Currently the powerful arsenal of imperialist propaganda is engaged in "total" propaganda of the "catastrophic" ideas and concepts presented in the reports of the Club of Rome. The successful publicity of such works is largely determined also by the fact that their publication coincided with the cyclical crisis of the capitalist economy which became unusually deep as a result of the interweaving of partial and intermediary crisis, the energy and monetary crises, the crisis of international, trade-economic, and political relations, and so on. Under such circumstances suggestions calling for slowing down the pace of economic growth and perpetuating the neocolonialist international division of labor serve as something of a prelude to the numerous speeches by scientists and specialists and social and state leaders, newspaper and journal reviews, and television shows, all of them aimed at frightening man, promoting fear and depression, and a hopeless lethal depression, proving to him that his present troubles and difficulties are almost nothing compared to what awaits mankind in the near future as a result of the accelerated exhaustion of resources, "uncontrollable" changes in international relations, and others. On the other hand, such ideas are the "theoretical substantiation of the need to consolidate the forces of imperialism in its confrontation with the forces of peace, socialism, and progress.

Some Western authors would like to see in the fact that bourgeois social thinking of recent decades has obviously taken up the material and technical factors of social life a "Marxist tendency." It has become fashionable even on the part of "respectable" imperialist ideologues to don Marxist clothing and cite "Das Kapital," true, with certain stipulations which, as a rule, distort its essence. The outlook of technicism which imbues, as we saw, many contemporary sociological concepts, is frequently pitted against the Marxist concept of the role of production forces and, specifically, of technology in the development of society.

In fact, however, Marxism has nothing in common with technicism. Dialectical materialism does not ascribe science and technology any self-seeking, autonomous "demoniacal" role, always considering them as tools and means for social activity, as tools and means of class domination in the capitalist society. Science and technology in the service of monopoly capital contribute to the exploitation of the working people and to the extraction of maximum profits. Under socialist conditions science and technology serve the interest of the working people and contribute to the growth of their material and spiritual wealth.

As bourgeois social thinking becomes aware of the new historical realities created by the scientific and technical revolution, it calls for reforming existing social institutions, the reconstruction of awareness, and "changes in the paradigm of thinking," and the reinterpretation of the traditional nature of relations between man and technology. The social and economic relations within the capitalist system are presumed permanent. This is the reactionary nature of technological determinism and its protection of an obsolete and doomed exploiting system.

Life convincingly proves the accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist study of the characteristics and trends of contemporary capitalism. "The communists," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th Party Congress, "are far from predicting the 'automatic crash' of capitalism. Capitalism retains substantial reserves. However, the events of recent years confirm with new emphasis that capitalism is a society without a future."

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REVOLUTIONARY, RESEARCHER, PROPAGANDIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 112-117

[Article by Yu. Sopin, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] Vladimir Viktorovich Adaratskiy, a major scientist and noted participant in the Russian revolutionary movement, dedicated his entire life to the cause of the communist party. He is one of those members of Lenin's guard who combined such qualities as the firmness and principle-mindedness of the Bolshevik with the inordinate talent of a researcher and organizer of Marxist-Leninist science.

V. I. Lenin valued Adaratskiy highly. He regarded him as a capable worker, an erudite theoretician, and a loyal son of the party. "I knew Comrade Adaratskiy (well) from the reactionary period after 1905 on," he wrote. "Despite the right-wing current, he was already then a Bolshevik and he remained one" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 54, p 233). On another occasion, Lenin pointed out that "he is a most reliable person, a well-educated Marxist" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 51, p 175).

...World War I found Vladimir Viktorovich with his family in Germany, where they were interned. News from Russia was scant and conflicting. Adaratskiy followed the events with care. Long years of experience as a professional revolutionary, and his ability to apply Marxism to the study of reality, led him to the firm conviction that a socialist revolution in Russia was inevitable. He welcomed the news of the victory of the October Revolution with tremendous joy. With the satisfaction of a person who has seen his dream come true, he made the following entry in his diary: "Today's Russia is a revolutionary Russia, my Russia, such as I always wanted to see it -- free and beautiful, with scope, free creativity, where everyone can live without oppression and meanness."

Returning home at Lenin's specific instructions, Adaratskiy took up what became his main project in life. He made a major contribution to the development of the documentary base for scientific research on the history of the communist party and the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the organization of the archives service. He deserves great credit for the preparation of the scientific edition of the works of K. Marx and

F. Engels, and of V. I. Lenin, in the dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and in the training of Marxist historians. Throughout the whole of his earlier life and activities, Adaratskiy had trained himself for service to the new Russia.

Adaratskiy was born in Kazan' in August 1878, into the family of an employee. He lost his father early in life. Together with his mother, he had to live very modestly. Even then the inordinate qualities of this youngster were manifested -- a curious mind, industry, persistence, and purposefulness. He set himself the goal of becoming a thoroughly educated person. He studied foreign languages adamantly and read a great deal. Progressive ideas found fertile ground in his mind. As a high school student, he became familiar with the works of Darwin, Feuerbach, and other philosophers.

In 1897, Adaratskiy entered Kazan' University, first in the department of mathematics, and subsequently in law. Here he became acquainted with Marxist ideas. He was particularly influenced by the "Communist Party Manifesto." Knowing German, the student read it in the original. He developed a desire to translate the pamphlet into Russian. Work on the translation enriched the youngster spiritually. He achieved proper mastery of the basic Marxist conclusions. Adaratskiy established relations with the social democrats, and beginning in 1900, participated in the revolutionary movement himself, soon becoming an active member of the Kazan' social democratic organization. This was an important stage in his life. In the course of revolutionary work, he became convinced that the ideas of scientific socialism had become the motive force of the revolutionary struggle.

Adaratskiy completed his university studies in 1903, and by the end of that year he had been sent abroad by the Kazan' social democrats to establish contact with the party's central committee.

In Geneva, the young revolutionary studied the materials of the Second RSDWP Congress, and unhesitatingly adopted the Bolshevik position. His attention was immediately caught by Lenin's speeches to the congress. He recalled that "they conquered me with their logic, clarity, and systematic revolutionism" (V. V. Adaratskiy, "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Moscow, 1961, p 583). Then, for the first time, he heard Vladimir Il'ich address a meeting held in memory of the Paris Commune in a hall in Geneva. In the spring of 1904, Adaratskiy began to attend a circle for the study of the party bylaws conducted by Lenin. All of this had a decisive influence on him. In May he returned to Kazan'. "I went home a definite supporter of Bolshevism," Vladimir Viktorovich noted (Ibid).

Adaratskiy brought the Kazan' social democrats valuable information about the second party congress and Lenin's position. This helped the city's Bolsheviks to galvanize their work considerably, and to expose Menshevik views more substantively. Adaratskiy himself served as a propagandist for

Bolshevik ideas and earned a reputation as a Bolshevik-Leninist. As a member and, subsequently, secretary, of the Kazan' party committee, he devoted great concern to the popularizing of the ideas of scientific socialism, and headed the work of the propagandists and agitators. The aid he wrote at that time, "A Program on Basic Marxist Problems," played an important role in upgrading the level of this work. This work was important later on, as well. In the 1920's it was used by students in theoretical seminars and circles.

In the spring of 1905, Adaratskiy went abroad again. A revolution broke out in Russia. It was important to have a clear idea of its objectives, the deployment of class forces, and the motive forces behind it, and to apply one means of struggle or another against autocracy properly. This time Adaratskiy came to know Lenin well. He repeatedly discussed topical theoretical and practical problems of the revolutionary movement with him. His meetings with the leader left an indelible impression on him. "Never in my life had I met a person of comparable mental powers. Individual contact with Vladimir Il'ich, even the briefest of talks with him, always yielded something new, unusual, something which could not be obtained in any other way as easily and simply," Vladimir Viktorovich was to write subsequently (Ibid, p 584).

At the peak of the revolutionary events, Adaratskiy was working in the Kazan' RSDWP committee, firmly promoting the Leninist line in the struggle against autocracy. In particular, the Bolsheviks made skillful use of the legal press in the interests of the revolution. Their work with the liberal newspaper VOLZHSKIY LISTOK was indicative in this connection. Adaratskiy, Ya. M. Sverdlov, N. N. Nakoryakov, and other revolutionaries were the Bolshevik nucleus at the newspaper, and they largely determined its content. Adaratskiy wrote a number of major articles on topical political problems. Convincingly, yet argumentatively, he described the deployment of class forces, indicated the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, and substantiated the Bolshevik line of the Bolshevik Party in vivid fashion. Adaratskiy's articles confirm the high Marxist educational level of their author, who skillfully defended Bolshevik theory and practice, from scientific and principled positions. They bear the imprint of the tremendous influence of Lenin's ideas. Adaratskiy himself proudly emphasized that "...in the summer of 1905, when we, the Kazan' party workers, the entire committee, were reading his outstanding pamphlet entitled "Two Tactics," all of us felt that one could not defend the interests of the development of the revolution more accurately and systematically or with greater talent than Vladimir Il'ich had" (Ibid, p 586).

Adaratskiy's active revolutionary work could not fail to attract the attention of the authorities. On 10 December 1905, he addressed the Legal Society on current political matters. He was arrested, along with other members of the Kazan' committee, on 12 December. Imprisonment, exile in Astrakhan' Guberniya, then exile abroad, clandestine work in Russia, and once again emigration, followed.

Adaratskiy worked extensively and adamantly. He studied sociological and historical publications. He was interested in such topical theoretical problems as the class nature of the state, national relations, and their place in the practice of the revolutionary struggle. In 1910-1911, Vladimir Viktorovich wrote the monograph "The State from the Materialistic Viewpoint." Lenin studied the manuscript.

While in exile abroad, Adaratskiy used every available opportunity to augment his knowledge: he went to the largest book repositories in Paris and London, heard lectures by famous scientists and speeches by political leaders, attended workers' meetings, and visited the homes of simple people, and he studied the activities of the mass organizations of the working people. He was in touch with Lenin, and carried out his assignments.

As we noted, World War I found Adaratskiy in Germany. Learning of the victory of the October Revolution, he hastened back to the homeland. However, he was not able to reach Russia until August 1918. "On arrival, my first duty was to see Vladimir Il'ich," he recalled (Ibid, p 593). On Lenin's advice, Vladimir Viktorovich went to work at the People's Commissariat for Education. At the same time, he was given important assignments: to deal with the archive documents of the Romanov dynasty, and the archives of the former Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Adaratskiy organized this work ably. The experience acquired in the book repositories and archives abroad helped. He rallied fellow workers, and his knowledge of foreign sources enabled him to undertake the sorting and classification of documents himself. The first materials exposing the czarist family and the entire czarist gang guilty of numerous crimes during World War I saw the light as early as 1919-1920.

Adaratskiy spent the winter of 1919-1920 in Kazan'. He collected materials on the history of the Great October Revolution and the Kazan' period of Lenin's life, and he delivered lectures at the university and the guberniya party school.

In August 1920, Adaratskiy was summoned to Moscow. Important scientific-organizational work of great party and state significance had to be done. New scientific institutions were being set up in Moscow. Adaratskiy made a considerable contribution in this connection. He participated in the organization of scientific centers such as Istpart (Commission for the Collection and Study of Materials on the History of the October Revolution and the History of the RKP(b)), the State Archives of the RSFSR, and the Central Archives of the October Revolution. He was one of the heads of the Main Administration of Archives in the country (Glavarkhiv, which subsequently became Tsentrarkhiv). Heading the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in 1931, Adaratskiy became one of the founders of the Central Party Archives.

Vladimir Viktorovich participated personally in collecting Lenin's documentary legacy and in classifying Vladimir Il'ich's current files in the Sovnarkom, as well as organizing the archives of the Council of People's Commissars. He devoted great attention to the development of conditions for the permanent preservation of Lenin's manuscripts.

In 1920, Adaratskiy was made one of the heads of the Istpart, deputy head of the Glavarkhiv, and manager of the RSFSR State Archives. He was one of the organizers of the archives servicing the country, and his contribution to their improvement was considerable.

Organizing and guiding the activities of archive institutions, Adaratskiy was guided by Lenin's instructions. He promoted such Leninist stipulations such as archive centralization, ensuring a single management for the entire network of state archives and repositories for documents of institutions and enterprises, in systematic fashion. This made it possible to organize the whole archive service, to establish continuity between state and departmental archives, to consolidate repository areas, adding new materials to them, and so on.

The reorganization of the archives service in the country was carried out on a scientific basis. It substantially facilitated the use of documentary materials. As early as the end of the 1920's, Adaratskiy noted with satisfaction that "the proletarian state has done more for archive work and structured it better and more expediently than have the Western bourgeois states" (ARKHIVNOYE DELO III (16), 1928, pp 38-39).

Adaratskiy did a tremendous amount of work on the preparations for scientific publications of documents by the classic Marxist-Leninist writers. This work began as early as August 1920, and continued until virtually the last days of his life. Adaratskiy's first editorial work was the preparation for printing of a book of selected letters by K. Marx and F. Engels. This was done on Lenin's personal instructions. Vladimir Il'ich told Adaratskiy: "We must select the most important things and make them accessible to the broad workers' circles, in such a way that it is the real Marx that they read" (V. V. Adaratskiy, "Izbr. Proizv.," p 595). Lenin gave him a notebook -- a synopsis of the correspondence between Marx and Engels, the four volumes of which he had read as early as 1913. On reading the first version of the anthology, Lenin wrote to Adaratskiy that "you will, naturally, have to compress it even further, coordinate, arrange, and consider it two or three times, and then write a brief commentary on it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 53, p 87). At the end of 1922 Vladimir Il'ich reviewed the printer's proof. The book was published in that same year.

Adaratskiy's activities were particularly fruitful in his positions as deputy director of the Lenin Institute (as of 1928) and director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute (as of 1931). The collective he headed did extensive work on the publication of the literary heritage from the

founders of scientific communism, and the documentary sources on the history of the Leninist party and the international workers' movement. The first edition of the "Collected Works of K. Marx and F. Engels" consisted of 29 volumes. Adaratskiy edited 15 of them. He edited a number of volumes of the international edition of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels in the original language, and several volumes of the "Marx and Engels Archives."

Adaratskiy actively participated in the preparations for the publication of many of V. I. Lenin's works. He deserves credit in particular for the preparation for publication of the Leninist collections (from the 11th to the 32nd), in which hundreds of manuscripts, materials, and documents written by Vladimir Il'ich saw the light for the first time. A number of the collections reflect Lenin's legacy on the agrarian and national problems, his work on his most important publications, "Notebooks on Imperialism," in particular, and others.

Adaratskiy was one of the editors of the collection of party documents entitled "The VKP(b) in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums." He was also the editor of such documentary anthologies as "Letters by Workers' Correspondents of the Paris Commune," "Letters from Leaders of the First International During the Commune," "The Basel Congress of the First International," and "The London Conference of the First International." Until the end of his life, Adaratskiy remained editor in chief of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels and edited Lenin's anthologies.

A number of Adaratskiy's works deal with the theory of scientific communism and the practical activities of Marx and Engels. The author described the essence of the method of dialectical materialism and the materialistic view of history, and the method used by Marx and Engels in their scientific studies. His works are saturated with specific historical data properly illustrating basic Marxist concepts. He devoted great attention to Marx's activities, not only as a brilliant scientist, but as a consistent proletarian revolutionary and leader, and to the interpretation of the basic concepts in his doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat. He described the struggle waged by Marx and Engels against the antiproletarian currents within the socialist movement. Thus Adaratskiy contributed to the struggle of our party against the opportunistic views of the right-wing social democrats and various revisionists.

In works such as "The Fate of Marxism in Russia in the Past Decade" and "On the Theory and Practice of Revolutionary Marxism," he addressed himself to Lenin's activities as the brilliant perpetuator of Marx's theory, emphasizing his greatest merits in the development of revolutionary theory.

In the middle of the 1920's, within a short period of time, Adaratskiy published a number of works on Lenin's revolutionary activities. They included "Theory and Practice of Leninism," "On the Theory and Practice



of Revolutionary Marxism," "Leninism and Revolutionary Marxism," "Lenin's Legacy," and others. He firmly opposed the Trotsky-Zinov'yev bloc and its attempts to revise Leninism and the general party line. He exposed the roots of antiparty activities and the views and intentions of the opposition. Noting that the struggle against it was of a principled nature, Adaratskiy turned to the experience in the struggle waged by Lenin and the party against the liquidationists, otzovists, and Trotskyites.

Works on the philosophical legacy of Lenin rank importantly in Adaratskiy's scientific work. They include articles and reports such as "On the Works of V. I. Lenin on Philosophy," "On the Significance to Philosophy of Lenin's Works," and others. Undertaking the writing of V. I. Lenin's scientific biography, he published his memoirs, entitled "In 18 Years."

Adaratskiy was a member of the editorial boards of the journals PROLETARSKAYA REVOLYUTSIYA, KRASNYY ARKHIV, and POD ZNAMENEM MARKSIZMA. He took part in the editing of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia.

Adaratskiy taught at the Communist University imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov, giving courses in Marxism-Leninism. He also served at the Red Professorship Institute. Vladimir Viktorovich was the first director of the History-Party Institute for Red Professorship. He participated in the organization of the socialist, and subsequently communist, academy of the USSR Central Executive Committee. His lectures always drew a large number of listeners, and they were of considerable help in the scientific and theoretical training of party cadres. They were characterized by their high scientific standard and clear content.

Adaratskiy participated actively in the country's sociopolitical life. He was a delegate to the 16th, 17th, and 18th party congresses. At the request of the Central Committee, he submitted scientific reports on Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and on the importance of their theoretical and practical activities.

Through his extensive research and organizational-scientific and teaching activities, Adaratskiy won a reputation as a noted Marxist scientist in scientific circles. In 1932, he was elected a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

During the Great Patriotic War, Vladimir Viktorovich did everything possible to contribute to the common cause of victory.

In his works and speeches, he turned back to the literary heritage from the founders of Marxism-Leninism, describing their ideas on the nature of war, and indicating the origins of the emergence of fascism. The entire content of Adaratskiy's works helped to develop in the Soviet people a spirit of irreconcilability toward the enemies of the working class and the Soviet people, and promoted confidence in the victory over Hitlerite Germany. The life and activities of the professional revolutionary and scientist were inseparably linked with the Leninist party, to whose cause he dedicated his talent, knowledge, and all his strength and capabilities.

## LENIN'S CONCERN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 118-120

[Review by B. Pavlovskiy, USSR Academy of Fine Arts corresponding member, of the book "V. I. Lenin i Izobrazitel'noye Iskusstvo. Dokumenty Pis'ma, Vospominaniya" [V. I. Lenin and the Fine Arts. Documents, Letters, Recollections]. Izobrazitel'noye Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1977, 552 pages with illustrations. Author-compiler V. V. Shleyev.]

[Text] Lenin's ideological legacy is truly boundless. Turning to it, the curious researcher obtains an influx of strength and energy and ever-new thoughts enriching our practice.

The topic of "Lenin and art," in its various aspects, has long had an attraction for Soviet scientists, whose works have earned fame and the readers' respect. The publication of this work could be boldly described as an event in our cultural and social life. This is the first time that such an exhaustive work has been published, putting together documents, recollections, and letters related to Lenin and dealing with the fine arts.

Frequently our ideological enemies select art as the target for their falsifications. In particular, some of them claim that the founders of Marxism-Leninism did not leave behind an integral aesthetic theory, and they allege that the statements on art are brief and accidental, and thus of no scientific importance. The work under review strikes a decisive blow at such baseless concepts. What is collected and systematized in the book enable us to assert, with irrefutable proof, the existence of a strict scientific and aesthetic program in the Leninist party.

The anthology begins with an introductory article by V. V. Shleyev, which provides a general picture of Lenin's comprehensive aesthetic interests. The author writes that study of his views on the fine arts, and the determination of the role Vladimir Il'ich ascribed to them as a means in the aesthetic education of the popular masses and in the ideological and political struggle have always been of tremendous practical significance. The article states with justification that Lenin was the founder and elaborator of the theory of culture in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and he marked the path for the development of a

new. socialist culture, which could be possible only on the basis of a precise knowledge and the reworking of the outlook of the proletariat, the classical cultural heritage created in the course of the development of mankind, in a Marxist light.

The documents and testimony of contemporaries and other materials are presented in the collection with scientific conscientiousness, on a broad scale, and are properly classified, showing above all the range of Lenin's personality. Vladimir Ili'ich revealed an amazing combination of the qualities of a philosopher and a revolutionary in everything to which he turned his mind and attention, whether political struggle, revolutionary theory, party and state activities, or to no less an extent, problems of literature and art. These qualities which the great leader and philosopher evidenced are impressively illustrated in the materials on fine arts collected in the book. They typify the Leninist approach to the evaluation of the ways and traditions of art, the tasks in developing it in the revolutionary epoch, and the building of a new culture in the post-October period. In all such matters, Lenin's position is invariably characterized by firm and crystal-clear loyalty to realism, and uncompromising principled-mindedness based on the viewpoint of the interests of the struggle for the objectives of the working class and the needs of the working people. The principles of realism, party-mindedness and nationality in art which Lenin asserted were the foundation on which the party's cultural policy was based in the epoch of the building of socialism and communism and on which it is still based.

Another aspect of the leader's personality is depicted by the totality of the materials in the book: his humaneness, balance, and his extreme simplicity in his relations with people. We literally feel the gentle humor to which Lenin preferred to resort in the interpretation of even sharply controversial phenomena (such, for example, as enthusiasm for extreme "left-wing" and futuristic forms of art), unwilling to allow a deterioration in relations with comrades and allies in the revolutionary cause to prevent the inexorably ripening clarification of the essence of such matters. This can be seen by comparing, for example, the testimony of a number of participants in the famous 21 February 1921 meeting between Vladimir Il'ich and the youth attending Vkhutemas [Higher State Art and Craft Shops], which is included in the book.

The structure of the book is logical and clear. Each of its nine chapters begins with documentary materials. This makes the anthology particularly convincing and provides an idea of Lenin's tireless activities in the field of Soviet culture.

The structure of Chapter I is interesting. It demonstrates Lenin's extensive familiarity with the fine arts, Russian and realistic above all. He was particularly fond of Peredvizhnik paintings. On this subject, he said: "How well they represent Russian life!" The principles governing Lenin's attitude toward the Peredvizhnik heritage were deep and vital

social truth and painting mastery. Lenin valued the works of I. Repin, V. Vereshchagin, N. Kasatkin, N. Yaroshenko, and others highly.

As the anthology convincingly proves, Vladimir Il'ich was a great expert in the field of international fine arts. Even though his years in exile abroad had been years of vast work for the organization of the party and the development of Marxist theory, he found time to look at famous historical monuments and to visit museums and painting galleries. In the Louvre and the London National Gallery, and in the museums of Naples, Vienna, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Antwerp, and Munich, he enjoyed the works of the great European painters. Here he saw the masterpieces of Raphael, Correggio, Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, as well as the famous paintings of Rembrandt, Velazquez, Goya, Durer, Cranach, H. Holbein, the Younger, and Pieter Brueghel, the peasant painter. It is noteworthy that comrades coming from Russia talked with and sought out Lenin not for advice on political matters alone. They also asked him which artistic and revolutionary monuments they should see. One of the Bolsheviks, M. G. Tskhakaya, recalls how he visited the Louvre in the company of Vladimir Il'ich. "At the foot of the statue of Nike of Samothrace, a Greek sculpture symbolizing victory, Lenin whispered: 'Look, dear Mikha, at this miracle of ancient Hellenic culture. Amazing nonhuman creation!'"

Another vivid experience reflecting the importance the leader of the revolution ascribed to the classical artistic heritage is cited by A. M. Gor'kiy in his essay "V. I. Lenin." "V. A. Desnitskiy-Stroyev told me," Gor'kiy writes, "that while traveling by train in Sweden one time with Lenin, he was perusing a German monograph on Durer.

"Some Germans in the next compartment asked him about the work. It turned out that they knew nothing of this great painter and compatriot of theirs. This quite aroused Lenin. Twice he told Desnitskiy with pride:

"'They do not know their own people, while we do!'"

The part describing the publication in ISKRA of political cartoons, and the keen attention Lenin devoted to them, is quite interesting. Here, as in other parts of the book, extensive, labor intensive, and painstaking research has been done.

An exceptionally interesting chapter deals with Lenin's relations with painters. It is based essentially on recollections of talks between Vladimir Il'ich and the masters of the fine arts. On reading these pages, one must constantly admire the sensitive attitude of the leader toward the life and creative fate of each painter. He was interested in everything, from philosophical problems to the availability of materials for sculpture.

Each chapter, like the work as a whole, reflects scientific systematization and is imbued with profound partymindedness. The author has been able to describe not only Lenin's knowledge of painting, sculpture, graphic art,

and other forms, but above all, his principled positions in the evaluation of artistic phenomena. Numerous examples illustrate Lenin's struggle against various "left-wing" trends in art.

Chapter VII, entitled "From the History of the Struggle Against 'Left-Wing' Distortions in Soviet Art. 1918-1921," deals in particular with these important problems. The materials quoted here prove convincingly that Lenin's attentive and careful concern with works of art was always accompanied by a firm condemnation of formalistic and naturalistic deviations, which he defined as expressions of bourgeois ideology. A reading of this chapter shows us yet once again that there is nothing more harmful and damaging to the development of Soviet art than the isolated efforts, still encountered, to present Lenin's careful attitude toward artistic creativity as political tolerance.

In this connection, let us quote an excerpt from the relatively unknown memoirs of Lenin's fellow worker, V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, describing Lenin's indignation on viewing a painting depicting workers' labor. "Look at these thin necks," he said. "They are entirely abnormal, about three times as long as the ordinary human neck! On top of these necks you see small heads with brutal crania, like those of monkeys, with narrow brows... Isn't the degradation of the painter himself visible in this portrayal of the working masses? ... We must wage a serious battle against this."

Noting the ferment and chaos in the fine arts at the turn of the century, Lenin believed that the communists had no right to stand idly by while the chaos continued to spread. "We must strive to guide this development too, with a clear awareness...", he said in a talk with Klara Tsetkin. "We are too much the 'denigrators' of painting. What is beautiful must be preserved and used as a model..." In his "Draft Resolution on Proletarian Culture," Vladimir Il'ich pointed out that we need "not the invention of a new proletarian culture, but the development of the best models, traditions, and results of existing culture, from the viewpoint of the Marxist outlook."

A decision adopted by the Council of People's Commissars at a 1921 session chaired by Lenin stated: "Ask the People's Commissariat of Education to be guided precisely in its practical activities by the stated principles of the commissariat: not the pursuit of a policy in the interests of certain groups and trends, but the adoption, in particular, of urgent measures for the reorganization of higher fine arts education, ensuring, above all, a potential for the artistic development of realistic trends in painting and culture."

This is the first time that Lenin's views on fine arts education have been covered so thoroughly and documented so well. The materials contained in the pertinent chapters reveal the extent of the attention he devoted to the training of young Soviet fine arts cadres. Following his meeting at the Vkhutemas, he openly expressed his fear that in view of the domination of

the Higher Fine Arts School by the "left-wingers," it would be unable to train good painters. He voiced this concern in a conversation with A. V. Lunacharskiy.

Lenin's concern that students in all courses acquire the necessary political training and be required to take courses in the foundations of a communist outlook took on particular meaning and significance. How important these Leninist thoughts are! It is they precisely which constitute the basis of the familiar CPSU Central Committee decree on work with creative youth.

The anthology describes how Lenin resolved not only the essential problems in the development of art, for in studying the documents, one can literally feel his concern with the fate of individual painters, and his desire to put the talent of every one in the service of the revolution. For example, he asked Lunacharskiy about the painters A. Benua and B. Kustodiyev, since he was interested in their social and creative attitudes. He thought about creating proper working conditions for V. Deni, the outstanding Soviet master of political cartoons and posters, and was concerned with providing clay for sculptor I. Gintsburg to work with.

In reading the anthology, we see the topical nature of Lenin's ideas today and admire the brilliant perspicacity of the leader. The documents signed by Lenin to transform the Troitse-Sergiyevskaya Monastery into a museum, to protect artistic monuments, to direct attention to applied decorative arts, and so on, are being further developed today through the party's policy and practical activities, and through key decrees and theoretical documents.

The ideas inherent in Lenin's plan for monument propaganda remain a life-giving source for Soviet art. This plan perpetuates the character of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the exploits of the people, and asserts the splendid socialist reality.

As we study Lenin's materials pertaining to fine arts, we are struck by the functional way in which decisions were made. For example, on 28 October 1918, Lunacharskiy drew Lenin's attention to the efforts to take over the premises of the famous Shchukin Gallery. On 29 October, Vladimir Il'ich signed the decree nationalizing it.

Let us take special note of the value of the scientific additions to the book's structure -- the notes and comments. They have been drafted very carefully and represent a substantial supplement to the basic text. We should give due credit for the skillful choice of illustrations, which take on particular importance in a work such as this on art. V. V. Shleyev regards them as a source of information on artistic life within a certain period, above all. Some of the illustrations are unique. They give life to the documents, make recollections convincing, and lead us into the world of Vladimir Il'ch's artistic interests. These include the painting "The Schlüsselburg Prisoner," by F. Burov, which Lenin went to

see in Samara; the monument to the Russian historian N. M. Karamzin, which was so familiar to the young Volodya Ul'yanov, in Simbirsk; Rodin's sculpture "The Thinker," which Lenin advised the delegates to the third party congress to go and see.....

The publication of reproductions of the first monuments, based on the plan for monument propaganda, takes on special importance. They reveal to the reader the spirit of a revolutionary and heroic epoch.

V. V. Shleyev, the author and compiler of the collection, spent many years working on this book. His work has been crowned by well-deserved success.

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CSO: 1802

RELIABLE MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AMONG PEOPLES OF THE USSR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 121-122

[Review by Yu. Bel'chikov, professor, doctor of philological sciences, of the book "Russkiy Yazyk kak Sredstvo Mezhnatsional'nogo Obshcheniya" [The Russian Language As A Means of International Communication]. Editor in chief F. P. Filin, Nauka, Moscow, 1977, 302 pages.]

[Text] The Russian language has taken on a major social function as a reliable means of communication and cooperation among all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Drawing on a vast body of factual material from a number of Union republics (the Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaidzhan, Lithuania, Latvia, and Uzbekistan), the book under review convincingly demonstrates how national Russian and Russian national bilingualism, together with the other variations and the multilingualism which have objectively evolved in our multinational socialist state, is coming into being in the main spheres of economic, political, and cultural life, as well as in the process of direct communications among Soviet people.

Having effectively become a world language, Russian today functions outside its national milieu, not only within the USSR, but also abroad, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed in welcoming participants in the Third International Congress of Teachers of Russian Language and Literature: "While it is a means of communication among the multinational Soviet people, many millions strong, Russian is becoming increasingly widespread among the peoples of the world."

In order to give a general account of the social and psychological atmosphere in which Russian is mastered by the people of our country, it is important to point out that it is voluntary for citizens of non-Russian nationalities. This voluntary basis and broad, consistent democracy in the study of Russian by the multilingual population of the Soviet Union is a fundamental communist party guideline on the national question. The active acceptance of Russian by the people of the USSR as a means of international communication is one of the most important achievements of the Leninist national policy and the policy consistently pursued by the party, of both maximum regard for the linguistic practice of the masses which has freely evolved under the conditions of a multinational state, and maximum development of the national cultures and languages of all the country's peoples.



The unifying role of the Russian language, helping to consolidate the Soviet people into a single collective, many millions strong, is vastly increasing under modern conditions, when through the efforts of all the peoples of the USSR, a society of developed socialism has been built -- a society of mature socialist relations, in which, on the basis of bringing together all classes and social strata and the legal and actual equality of all nations and nationalities and their fraternal cooperation, a new historical community -- the Soviet people -- has emerged.

The monograph gives an historicoscientific validation of the role of Russian as a means of international communication among the peoples of the USSR, taking into account the traditions and sociocultural spheres of its functioning which have evolved in the individual Union republics, particularly the forms of its interaction with Uzbek, Lithuanian, Latvian, and other literary languages. General questions relating to these problems are dealt with in the first section.

Turning in the second section to the role of Russian in the life of the Soviet republics, the authors give a detailed analysis of its manifold functioning in the Ukraine. The main reason for this is that for many years now, the problems of Russian interacting with Ukrainian, as well as a series of questions pertaining to the role of Russian as a means of international communication among the peoples of the USSR, have been the object of purposeful and fruitful study at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics. The depth and skill with which the specific facts and forms of the Ukraine's national linguistic life, the functioning of Russian in a closely related linguistic environment, and questions of Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism are interpreted also has an extremely favorable effect on the handling of the scientific and methodological problems of teaching Russian in Ukrainian schools and VUZ's.

The book explores in detail the spheres of use, conditions and forms of the functioning of Russian in different walks of life in the republics, and among various population groups at various stages of instruction in local schools, selected on the basis of age, sex, and studies. The authors show that Russian is widely used as the language of international communication in all Union republics, autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs.

Moreover, the development of the economy, which is closely bound up with impressive construction, increased social mobility, and the creation of industrial production complexes employing many thousands of workers and specialists of many nationalities skilled in a variety of fields (projects like the Kama truck plant, the Baykal-Amur railroad, and the earlier opening up of the virgin lands for example), service in the armed forces, the improvement of the educational system, the interests of scientific and technical progress, the solution to problems in the cultural development of the working people, particularly giving them access to the spiritual values of the people of the USSR and to the treasure house of world culture -- all these things require a substantial improvement in the standard of Russian teaching in national schools, as well as in the degree of proficiency therein.

It is of fundamental importance that this vital need coincides with the personal wishes of Soviet citizens, who are given the right by the USSR Constitution to use their mother tongue and the languages of the other peoples of our country. The legitimate desire to study and to know Russian well and to teach it to one's children is based, on the one hand, on the principle of the voluntary choice by citizens of the USSR of the language for personal, group, official and unofficial communication, chiefly one's mother tongue, and on the other hand, on the profound recognition of the necessity and usefulness both for oneself and for the coming generations of speaking a single language of international communication -- the language of Lenin, of friendship among peoples, and of a great culture.

In their desire to master Russian, the people of our country have achieved impressive results. Almost 76 percent of the Soviet people has a greater or lesser command of the language. This also means, however, that about a quarter of the population (some 58 million people, according to the 1978 census) does not have a fluent command of Russian, or lacks any command of it at all. The book cites statistics for the republics and points out, for instance, that Russian is less widely spoken in the rural areas than in the cities. There is obviously still much to be done to broaden and deepen the teaching of the language and to spread and develop national Russian and Russian national bilingualism, in order to satisfy both social needs and the desire of working people of non-Russian nationality to speak Russian. And this, the book says, "does not conflict with the interests of the non-Russian nationalities and ethnic groups. The principle of voluntary participation in study of the languages of the peoples of the USSR remains unshakable. The further development and flourishing of national languages is continuing and will continue, and there must be no infringement of national interests" (p 8).

The merit of the book lies not only in its analysis of the practical functioning of Russian in a number of Union republics and of the state of affairs regarding the mastering of Russian at various stages of instruction (from preschool to VUZ) in national schools, but also in the authors' attempts to find ways of increasing the efficiency with which it is taught. It is, after all, no secret that students completing secondary school frequently read and speak Russian badly. Unfortunately, the same can be said of some highly skilled specialists. This is due to insufficient expertise on the part of philology teachers themselves, and to shortcomings in teaching methods, textbooks, and teaching aids, especially for children of preschool age, who can master a second language most easily.

In addition to proposals for the creation of a broad scientific basis for developing Russian teaching aids for national schools, the book makes recommendations for improving the training of teaching cadres. Thus we have the fruitful and promising idea of study periods in VUZ's with a Russian-speaking environment for students of non-Russian nationality who will become teachers of Russian. Acquiring sound habits of correct

Russian speech in this way could become a fundamental stage in the training of future teachers. Also worthy of attention and support is a form of teaching Russian like the "mixed" schools (in which teaching is done in two languages) which have been functioning in Latvia and other republics for many years now.

In order to stimulate the mastery of Russian and the improvement of Russian speech skills (especially in areas where there is no close-knit Russian-speaking milieu), there are proposals to develop those means and forms of extracurricular language practice which have demonstrated their worth -- amateur performing activities, various clubs, thematic evenings, competitions of various kinds, and so on. The role of the media in the mastery of Russian is an important one. Powerful channels such as radio and television must be used systematically and purposefully to organize special language programs and courses.

Much is said about Russian as a language of international communication. The value of the book under review lies in the fact that in illuminating some aspects of the functioning of Russian in a number of Union republics, the authors draw attention to unresolved problems, including the fact that the extent to which the language is used also depends to a great extent on the quality of teaching at all levels of instruction.

CSO: 1802

SOCIALIST COMITY: ATTEMPT AT A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 123-124

[Review by L. Minayev, professor, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Sotsialiticheskoye Sodruzhestvo: Osnovnyye Tendentsii Razvitiya" [The Socialist Comity: Basic Development Trends] by I. V. Dudinskiy. Mysl', Moscow, 1976, 327 pages.]

[Text] With the further strengthening and development of the comity of fraternal socialist countries, the need to study it as an integral socio-economic and political organism becomes ever greater. The publications available (quite extensive) essentially cover only one aspect or another of this new international community. This makes the attempt made by Prof I. V. Dudinskiy to provide a comprehensive study of the basic socioeconomic and political problems of the world socialist system worthy of note. This study on multiple levels focuses on three groups of problems: creation and advancement of the developed socialist society; strengthening of economic and political relations among fraternal countries; and influence of the socialist comity on world development.

The basic theme of the study involves revealing the international nature of socialism and the universal aspect of its laws, as well as the essential unity of the most important directions in the progress of the fraternal countries. The book provides an extensive interpretation of the general trend in the development of the world socialist system, as a social, economic and political comity of sovereign states, and the natural growth in their unity.

Complex but as yet mainly inadequately researched theoretical problems are posed in the work, in connection with the study of the world's socialist economy. The author works from the premise that it represents a unity of two functionally interacting structural elements -- production relations within the frameworks of the individual countries, and international production relations developing on the basis of them. The economic laws expressing the profound nature of socialism gradually, in their action, cover both the national economies and the areas of their interrelationships. Past experience irrefutably demonstrates that these laws are basically of universal significance and are inherent in all countries undertaking the

building of a new society, without exception. The forms in which they are manifested and utilized depend on the specific conditions prevailing in the individual countries and on the characteristics of the international sphere in which they operate.

The economic processes taking place in all the structural elements of the world's socialist system merge into a common process of production internationalization. Under socialist conditions, this process discards antagonistic forms alien to its nature, as they occur under capitalism, and takes on forms consistent with its true nature. Production internationalization is the leading law governing the world's socialist economy. As the basis for the strengthening of the common social, political, and spiritual spheres, it operates as a decisive factor in the internationalization of the whole of the social life of the fraternal countries.

Economic and political practice is the most important method in the study and utilization of the laws of social development. The book shows convincingly how the tremendous constructive activities of the communist and workers' parties with a view to the organization of the building of socialism and communism, the organization of international relations of a new type, socialist economic integration, the drafting of a joint foreign political policy, and so on, are contributing to the revelation and utilization of the advantages of socialism in the individual fraternal countries, and on the scale of the comity as a whole.

The study of the laws governing the development of the world socialist system in the monograph is linked with the consideration of the problems pertaining to the unity among fraternal states. The world socialist system, as a living, rapidly developing socioeconomic organism, has its inherent objective contradictions. The author emphasizes, however, that the public ownership of productive capital predetermines the nonantagonistic nature of these contradictions. They appear and are surmounted within the framework of the basic unity of the various aspects of life in the socialist comity.

The objective potential for unity is inherent in the very nature of world socialism. It is achieved through the coordination of national-state interests, in the process of the drafting, by the fraternal parties, of joint positions on a broad range of problems, covering both the specific requirements of the individual countries and those of the entire comity. Unity is a necessary prerequisite for its existence, and a natural form of its advance.

The parts of the book which deal with the problems in the building of developed socialism and showing the basic trends in the theoretical activities of the CPSU and the other ruling parties are of great interest. The experience of the new society is now revealed to the whole world as the richest possible collective international achievement of the socialist

states. Its comprehensive study, creative application, and enrichment on the basis of the specific national conditions and characteristics is a mandatory law for the successful practical activity of the fraternal peoples.

Considering the key problems in the establishment and improvement of mature socialism, the author demonstrates that the path of comprehensive upgrading of production effectiveness is the main direction for the economic advance of all the fraternal countries. He gives a thorough and skilled analysis of the components of this effectiveness (manpower resources, productive capital, utilization of the accumulations fund and increased consumption fund), and he demonstrates the importance of further improvement in economic management.

The work deals at length with the historical role of socialism as the leading factor in world politics, stressing that in a concentrated form, its influence on the historical destiny of mankind is revealed in the solution of the problems of war and peace. The book shows that by promoting the development of large-scale and long-term economic relations, free of discrimination and inequality, among countries having different social systems, the socialist countries are trying to strengthen good-neighborly and peaceful relations and to intensify the positive influence of socialism on the world's economy, in the interests of the progressive restructuring of the entire system of world economic relations on the basis of the principles of equality, justice, and mutual advantage.

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BOOK ABOUT AN OUTSTANDING MARXIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 124-126

[Review by G. Diligenskiy, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Istoricheskiye Vzgl'yady Antonio Gramshi" [Antonio Gramsci's Views on History] by I. V. Grigor'yeva. Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, Moscow, 1978, 296 pages.]

[Text] The theoretical legacy left by Antonio Gramsci, the leader of the Italian communists who fell in the struggle against fascism, and one of the leading representatives of 20th century Marxist thought, plays an important role in the contemporary ideological struggle. His short and courageous life and his contribution to the theory of Marxism and the elaboration of the strategy of the communist movement are becoming a focus of attention for researchers in a number of countries. The monograph recently published by I. V. Grigor'yeva is playing an active part in the determination of the true historical position of this outstanding proletarian revolutionary-internationalist, substantially expanding the previously scant Soviet scientific publications on this noteworthy Italian communist.

Strictly speaking, the book is an analysis of Gramsci's historical views. Essentially, however, its content is far broader. The reader gains a comprehensive and substantive idea of Gramsci, the revolutionary. His historical and philosophical views are considered in close connection with his political activities and the struggle to establish a Marxist-Leninist party in Italy. Such an approach to the topic is entirely natural: Gramsci's consideration of historical topics and his very concept of history are inseparable from the ideological struggle in which he was a participant.

The merit of this book lies in the fact that it systematically considers the whole of the path covered by Gramsci as a philosopher and revolutionary, describing the development of his views under the influence of the living experience of contemporary history, and the inner unity and organic nature which characterized that development.

Throughout this study, the author convincingly demonstrates the link between Gramsci's views and Lenin's revolutionary theory. As the book shows, the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and V. I. Lenin's political and theoretical activities played a decisive role in Gramsci's development as a mature and creative Marxist theoretician. It was precisely these activities which helped him to surmount the influence of idealistic views, and to determine his particularly intensive and profound interpretation of the Marxist theory of practical work.

The study which I. V. Grigor'yeva has made of the process by which A. Gramsci and the other Italian communists mastered the experience of the Great October Revolution is exceptionally interesting and topical. The same can be said of the statements by Gramsci quoted in the book on Lenin's role as the true leader of the working class. With I. V. Grigor'yeva's work, the question of Gramsci's attitude toward Leninism, which is precisely what tendentious interpreters of his work attempt to distort, can be regarded as convincingly resolved on the scientific research level.

Regardless of the extent to which his views developed under the direct influence of Lenin's works, or that of revolutionary practice, through which Lenin's ideas were implemented, Gramsci came to consistent Leninist positions as a result of his own ideological evolution. This process, as applied to a broad range of theoretical problems, such as the correlation between the general and the specific in overall historical development, and in the liberation struggle of the proletariat in particular; the characteristics of the revolutionary process in developed capitalist countries; the nature of relations between the hegemonistic class and its allies and the hegemony and dictatorship of the proletariat; and so on, is traced in the book. I. V. Grigor'yeva demonstrates specifically that Gramsci wholly followed Lenin's ideas in emphasizing the constructive aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in viewing it as being, above all, the guidance of the masses provided by the victorious working class, and the alliance between it and the broad nonproletarian strata Gramsci's inclusion of the leading cultural-ideological of the ruling class in society in the concept of hegemony is equally and entirely consistent with the basic philosophical and historical Marxist-Leninist views.

Gramsci's thoughts on the role of the party of the working class in the revolutionary process, on the party as the vanguard of the mass movement, and on the importance of mass initiative in the revolution and the correlation between this initiative and the social ideas realized by the masses, were unquestionably inspired by Lenin's theory of the party, the means of enabling the masses to adopt a progressive ideology, and the significance of the soviets as a mass movement form. The concept of soviets which Gramsci developed in 1919-1920 was fully consistent with the Leninist understanding of the matter, and it was directed against both an underestimation of the party's role and a voluntaristic interpretation of it in a spirit of sectarian ideas, the spokesman for which, in the Italian



communist movement, was Amadeo Bordiga. In his "Prison Notes," as well, Gramsci proved himself a consistent Marxist-Leninist in the interpretation of the problem of the socialist state, continuing, under the conditions of fascist exile, to develop this topic along with other problems of revolutionary policy.

The author convincingly shows the meaning of Gramsci's views on problems of party-mindedness in the study of history. She describes the consistent party-mindedness of his scientific and theoretical work and the connection between his theoretical ideas and his contribution to the development of the strategy of the revolutionary movement. The "linking theme" in Gramsci's works, from his early years to his "Prison Notes," as the author shows, is seen in his opposition to the fatalistic and positivistic views of history and its laws, the theoretical substantiation of the role of revolutionary initiative, and study of the laws governing activities with a view to the revolutionary reorganization of the world.

In this connection, the author provides a comprehensive study of Gramsci's creative contribution to Marxist historical methodology. She reaches the conclusion, backed by a variety of data, that this contribution was of particular importance in substantiating the monistic nature of the materialistic interpretation of history, and clarifying the interaction between the determining and derivative aspects of social development, in particular the base and the superstructure. The author has made a thorough study of another direction in Gramscian thought: the profoundly creative study of the role of the people's masses as the subject of the historical process, a study deriving directly from his concepts on the overcoming of historical fatalism and the opportunistic vulgarization of Marxism.

Gramsci's creative application of the concept of hegemony enabled him to intensify his understanding of a number of specific historical problems and contemporary reality and the meaning of a number of political doctrines to a considerable extent. He was able to find a criterion for the assessment of a number of historical phenomena, such as the specific features of the historical development of Italy, the Renaissance and the risorgimento, and the crisis in the Italian liberal state and the advent of fascism. In his analysis, Gramsci laid the foundations for the development of the Marxist historical school, which is very influential in Italy at present.

The author has made an interesting study of Gramsci's contribution to the development of the dialectics of the historical process. Giving a number of specific examples, she demonstrates how much Gramsci accomplished in substantiating the dialectical interpretation of historical laws. She shows the fruitfulness of his ideas on the alternatives in historical development, and in particular, the potential of the various historical activities of the masses, and the correlation between revolution and restoration. Gramsci is described in the book as an irreconcilable enemy of a simplistic or mechanistic interpretation of the historical process, and as a thinker whose creative application of Marxist dialectics made it

possible to overcome the vulgar metaphysical materialism in the interpretation of history characteristic of the traditions of the Second International. In this connection, the study of the categories of history and the concept of historicism found in the "Prison Notes" (Chapter VI) is especially interesting and valuable.

This study is distinguished by model scientific conscientiousness, thoroughness, accuracy, and substantiation of the analyses. The author uses an exceptionally wide range of sources, including the literary legacy left by Gramsci himself, the documents of the Communist Party of Italy and the Comintern, materials from the files of the Gramsci family, and memoirs. She has also made an extensive study of the ideological struggle in that period among the numerous philosophical and ideological-political currents involved in Gramsci's work, in one way or another. The problems taken up in this work required that the author have a profound knowledge of a number of the most important aspects of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and I. V. Grigor'yeva has dealt with this task successfully. The book also contains a thorough critical study of the existing range of interpretations of Gramsci's legacy. It is no secret that the popularity he enjoys has also led to numerous attempts to distort his ideology and to represent him as a kind of "unorthodox Marxist," distorting his ideas and pitting them against Leninism. Imbued with the ideas of historicism in its Marxist-Leninist interpretation, this book is sharply argumentative because of the very fact that the characteristic feature of the misinterpretations of Gramsci's view is precisely an antihistorical approach to the legacy he left, expressed either as neglect of the process of development in his thinking, or the separation of individual stages in his ideological biography, and even pitting one against another, while isolated thoughts are taken out of context and used as a basis for deliberate developments which distort and "modernize," in one way or another, the truth about his ideology. This leaves the door open for a wide variety of political speculations, such as, for example, placing Gramsci's ideas in opposition to the contemporary strategy of the communist movement in the developed capitalist countries, distorting (in a reformist spirit) the meaning of his thoughts during his incarceration, and so on.

While noting the high ideological and theoretical level of the monograph and its very topical political nature, we should also mention its shortcomings. These involve, above all, a certain lack of proportion, as we see it, between the very rich study of the broad range of problems, and a less well-developed synthesis of them. The author shows excessive modesty in abstaining, in a number of cases, from deriving summarized methodological conclusions based on the study of Gramsci's historical views. This is applicable in particular to her analysis of the problem of historical methodology. It is true that these problems have been taken up by the author in several articles published earlier. But the integrity of this study suffers from such gaps.

Let us also add that the placement of the materials in the book does not take the interest of the readers into comprehensive consideration. The initial chapters are excessively long and crowded with information, in our view. Conversely, the final chapters evidence a considerably more refined breakdown of the data.

On the whole, however, I. V. Grigor'yeva's monograph, written with great erudition and based on consistent Marxist-Leninist positions, makes a major contribution to Soviet and world literature on the history of Marxist thought.

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## WORLD ECONOMY PROBLEMS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 126-127

[Review of a series of publications by V. Stepanov, professor and doctor of economic sciences, Khabarovsk]

[Text] World Economy Problems is the name given to a series of aids for lecturers published by the Znaniye Publishing House in 1976-1977 (compiled by Prof E. P. Pletnev, doctor of economic sciences). Each of the nine pamphlets included in the series discusses a specific aspect of world economics and international relations. At the same time, one can readily see the close interconnection among them. In fact, this is a study welded together by a single thought and methodological approach, summarizing the results of works by experts in international economics from the leading scientific and higher educational institutions in the country. The theoretical material in the pamphlets is presented in an accessible and popular style, which is of great importance in lecturers' propaganda.

...Today there are four billion people on this globe, and by the end of the century there will be that number living in the developing countries alone, while the earth's total population will have reached six billion. How can food, housing, energy, knowledge, and health care be ensured for all earthlings?

If current trends were to continue until the year 2000, the army of the unemployed in the countries having failed to achieve the socialist stage of development would increase to a total of one billion persons. What role might radical internal changes and mutually profitable international trade play in ensuring their employment?

Every eight to ten years, the production of electric power in Europe doubles. Taking into account only the possible future exchange flow between the Western and Eastern European power systems resulting from differences in load schedules and emergency supplies, with the possible reciprocal use of reserves, what is to prevent all the countries interested from formulating a line of capacity saving, which might reach 20 million kilowatts by 1980, and about 40 million kilowatts 10 years later?

The enumeration of such major and topical problems could be extended. It is possible to resolve them only under the conditions of detente. It is detente precisely which "creates the political climate necessary for the full use of the inexhaustible potential inherent in international cooperation and division of labor in the interests of all the countries and nations, without exception," N. P. Shmelev, the author of one of the pamphlets, emphasizes. The authors of the series bear in mind, in all cases, that the economic competition between the two opposite world social systems is becoming the pivot of the contemporary worldwide communication among nations, to an ever greater extent. This struggle is clearly manifested in the two types of contemporary economic integration processes. Most important, they involve countries accounting for three-quarters of the output of the socialist world and countries producing about one-third of the goods on the capitalist portion of the planet. Using extensive factual data, M. N. Os'mova and I. P. Faminskiy consider in their pamphlet the complex theoretical problems in the internationalization of economic life in each of the two types of contemporary integration processes, the influence the conflicting class objectives of socialism and capitalism have on it, and the factors expressing and consolidating the advantages of the socialist, as compared with the capitalist, system. The advantages of socialism are comprehensively shown in the work by K. I. Mikul'skiy, as well.

In our day, problems in the economies of developing countries have taken on a rather urgent nature. Essentially, the main one is the problem of the correlation between the national and the international, which is a manifestation of the world's reproduction process which determines the progress made by this group of countries, as A. I. Medova and V. A. Yashkin justly assert in the pamphlet "The Developing Countries in the World's Economy."

"A Worldwide Energy Crisis or Crisis in Capitalist Energy Resources?" is the catchy title of the pamphlet by L. L. Lyubimov. The work by E. P. Pletnev, "Foreign Economic Relations and Employment," answers the following question: What are the possibilities offered by world economic contacts to provide productive employment for a maximum of manpower and to use it in such a way that international trade will recreate, over and over again, a demand for labor? The pamphlet by M. K. Bunkina entitled "Centers of Imperialist Rivalry" discusses the specific features of the struggle for spheres of influence among imperialist monopolies under the conditions of detente. In the work "International Division of Labor and the Scientific and Technical Revolution," I. D. Ivanov informs the readers of the latest factual data on the struggle among monopolies for control of the results of the scientific and technical revolution. E. Ye. Obminskiy substantively criticizes bourgeois world economic theories.

The ability to single out the essential aspects from the innumerable facts of overall economic life, and the ability to formulate the topical problem accurately and sharply in the characteristic feature of the entire series.

In a word, the publication of this series was both necessary and useful. However, it would in our view have been expedient to begin with a pamphlet discussing the basic aspects of the Marxist-Leninist theory of world economy to be followed by a description of its various aspects. The need for such an approach, incidentally, is also dictated by the inner logic of the series itself. We believe that on the whole it could only benefit therefrom, fulfilling its purpose precisely as a publication issued to aid the lecturer.

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FROM THE BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 78 pp 128

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Brezhnev, L. I. "O Vneshney Politike KPSS i Sovetskogo Gosudarstva" [On the Foreign Policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State]. Speeches and articles. Third expanded edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 759 pages.

Shcherbitskiy, V. V. "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 624 pages.

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"Mezhdunarodnoye Rabocheye Dvizheniye" [The International Workers' Movement]. Problems of history and theory. In seven volumes. B. N. Ponomarev, chairman of the Chief Editorial Collegium. Vol 3. "Nachalo Revolyutsionnykh Bitv XX Veka" [Beginning of the Revolutionary Battles of the 20th Century]. Mysl', Moscow, 1978, 701 pages.

Solomentsev, M. S. "Rossiyskaya Federatsiya" [The Russian Federation], Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 214 pages (Republics of the Soviet State).

Babushkin, V. Yu. "O Prirode Filosofskogo Znaniya" [On the Nature of Philosophic Knowledge]. Critique of contemporary bourgeois concepts. Nauka, Moscow, 1978, 207 pages.

Kortunov, V. V. "Kommunizm i Antikommunizm pered Litsom Sovremennosti" [Communism and Anticommunism Facing Contemporaneity], Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 344 pages.

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"Materialy Ob'yedinennoy Politicheskoy Organizatsii Natsional'nyy Front Narodnoy Demokraticheskoy Respubliki Yyemen" [Materials of the National Front United Political Organization of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen]. Aden, 11-13 October 1975. Translated from the Arabic. General translation editors Yu S. Gryadunov and M. V. Malyukovskiy. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 240 pages..

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"V S'ezd Sotsialisticheskoy Yediny Partii Zapadnogo Berlina. 15-17 Aprelya 1977 g" [Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin. 15-17 April 1977]. Translated from the German. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 166 pages (documents and materials of foreign communist and workers' parties).

"Rabocheye Dvizheniye i Bor'ba za Mir i Sotrudnichestvo v Yevrope" [The Workers' Movement and the Struggle for Peace and Cooperation in Europe]. Some topical problems. Edited by V. B. Knyazhinskiy. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1978, 302 pages.

"Rol' i Znachenkiye Pomoshchi Mezhdunarodnogo Kommunisticheskogo Dvizheniya v Stanovlenii i Razvitii MNRP" [Role and Significance of the Aid of the International Communist Movement in the Establishment and Development of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party]. Politizdat, Moscow - Ulan Bator, 1978, 263 pages.

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"Sovremennyy Etap Sovershenstvovaniya Planovogo Upravleniya Ekonomikoy" [The Contemporary Stage in Improvement of Planned Economic Management] (Based on the materials of congresses of communist and workers' parties). General editors R. A. Belousov and A. G. Kulikov. Mysl', Moscow, 1978, 301 pages.

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"Spravochnik Partiy'nogo Rabotnika" [Party Worker's Manual]. Issue No 18. Editorial collegium: K. M. Bogolyubov et al. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 407 pages.

Starushenko, G. B. "Sotsialisticheskaya Oriyentatsiya v Razvivayushchikh-sya Stranakh" [Socialist Orientation in the Developing Countries]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 192 pages.

"SSHA -- Zapadnaya Yevropa: Partnerstvo i Sopernichestvo" [United States-Western Europe: Partnership and Rivalry]. Collective monograph. Editor in chief Yu. P. Davydov. Nauka, Moscow, 1978, 422 pages.

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