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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 8, May 1979



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SAFEGUARDING AND EFFECTIVELY UTILIZING MATERIAL RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 3-12

[Text] Implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, our people have achieved considerable successes in the development of production forces. A tremendous production potential has been created through the toil of the Soviet people, enabling us to develop the economy comprehensively and, on this basis, insure the further growth of the people's prosperity.

The dynamics of the national income is the most important indicator characterizing such processes. Between 1966 and 1977 the national income output per industrial worker rose 103%, outstripping the growth of the industrial workers' income. The party's task is the rational utilization of everything at the disposal of our national economy in order to fulfill and over fulfill the 10th Five-Year Plan and make progress in the building of communism. Its successful implementation depends, above all, on the ability of our cadres and of all working people to work economically, manage effectively, and maintain the strictest possible regimen of savings in everything.

The all-round intensification of the struggle for thrift, and broadening the scale of the search for economic reserves become today some of the main directions in the mass socialist competition. Practically every working person, every citizen of the country, may make his contribution to this important cause. Industry and agriculture, construction, transportation, and each city, village, or micro-rayon offer tremendous possibilities for economizing on material resources.

The communist party invariably pays great attention to economy and thrift. Such items are regularly discussed at party congresses and central committee plenums and are reflected in a number of party documents and governmental decisions. Such planned and purposeful work is fruitful. Between 1966 and 1977 material intensiveness in industrial output declined 8-9%.

The saving of material resources and their more effective utilization in the national economy may be achieved, above all, by improving planning and management, optimizing intersectorial balances, and improving planning work

at all levels. In other words, a considerable percentage of the savings are contained in our plans. Enterprises, associations, and ministries have assignments on lowering outlay norms of raw materials, materials, fuels, and electric power and must strictly control their implementation.

Considerable savings are contained also in the structural changes within the individual sectors stipulated in the five-year plan. In ferrous metallurgy, for example, the plan calls for reaching by 1980 an output of finished rolled metal goods totaling 117.5 million tons, or a 19.1% increase over 1975. Meanwhile, the production of the most effective types of rolled metal goods-- cold rolled sheet and transformer steel, and rolled goods made of low alloy steel will rise 45-58%. Along with other factors this will enable us to considerably increase the effectiveness of the utilization of metal and, compared with 1975, save in 1980 5.3 million tons of rolled ferrous metals.

Increasing savings in the national economy depends to a tremendous extent on the working people themselves, their patriotic initiative, their thrifty attitude toward the work, and the competition for economy and thrift which has become extensively developed in all economic sectors. As the socialist pledges of enterprises, cities, oblasts, krays, and union republics and individual sectors show, the struggle for a thrifty utilization of material resources in 1979 is in the focal point of attention of all production collectives, many of which have acquired extensive positive practical experience in this direction.

For example, the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin is steadily achieving substantial power savings month after month and year after year. This is achieved thanks to the efficient and well-planned system of organizational and economic measures governing practically all production units and sectors. In accordance with the assignments formulated by the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the combine's sectors and shops are issued norms and ceilings for outlays of fuels, and thermal and electric energy, broken down by quarters and months. Throughout the year their observance is strictly controlled on a daily basis. Weekly general combine operative meetings are held to discuss such matters. Assignments on lowering specific outlays of fuel and energy are supported by a number of organizational-technical measures ordered for the entire combine. Competition for saving on fuel and energy resources has assumed a tremendous scope. Its core are the annual public reviews. In the first two years of the five-year plan over 7,000 suggestions were submitted in the course of these reviews, whose implementation made it possible to save over 160,000 tons of conventional fuel. A number of other enterprises are engaged in an intensive search for saving possibilities.

The most important prerequisite for observing the regimen of economy is the maintenance of strict state planning, production, and labor discipline. Everyone knows the tremendous losses caused by rushing and by shortcomings in the material and technical supplying of plants, factories, and associations. Supply interruptions force the enterprises to use more expensive materials and complementing goods, or undertake additional transportation expenditures. Unrhythmical work invariably worsens the quality of output.

Improving the structure of enterprises, raising the shift coefficient of equipment work, properly organizing cadre training, and the use of computers help to intensify specialization of all production subdivisions, and the more intensive introduction of mechanization and automation, rational utilization of resources, and effective management.

Basic order, however, is necessary above all. We cannot tolerate the fact that, here and there, fuel, raw materials, and metals are still poorly stored and wasted. Not all collectives are engaged in an energetic struggle against waste makers and plunderers of socialist property. Substantial losses of coal, ores, and cement are allowed in the course of transportation. Material resources are wastefully used at many construction sites. We must intensify the struggle against such facts and provide a strictly principled assessment of all cases of slackness and irresponsibility leading to losses and unproductive outlays.

Currently metal is a particularly important target for economy. By virtue of a variety of reasons, of late a certain stress has developed in the national economy in supplying sectors and enterprises with metal. In a number of cases metal shortages are restraining the increased production of scarce items. The struggle for metal economy is being waged in our country on a broad front. Directly involved in it are the metallurgical workers who are applying new highly effective technological processes and progressive varieties of rolled metal goods, machine builders, who are striving to lower the metal intensiveness of produced equipment, and working people in many other economic sectors who use metal goods.

The domestic metallurgical industry is justifiably considered one of the most advanced and technologically equipped in the world. The continuous steel casting method developed in the USSR has been patented in 28 capitalist countries. However, in 1978 we used this method for the production of 10% of the steel, while Japan, for example, used it for the production of 40% of its steel. Reaching the optimum level in the annual output through continuous casting which, in terms of the scale and specifics of our national economy, would be 30-40 million tons, availability of finished rolled goods in the country would be increased by 2-3 million tons. That is why it is so important to comprehensively develop this line in metallurgy, expand variety, and increase in the overall volume of metal output the percentage of sheet rolled metal and of new construction materials such as thermally strengthened rolled metals, bent shapes and high precision shapes, and the introduction of new technological processes.

In recent years a great deal has been done to reduce specific metal intensiveness in machine building output such as tractors, turbines, locomotive engines, and motor vehicles. Some collectives have achieved truly outstanding successes in this important matter. In the last five-year plan the Minsk Tractor Manufactures, for example, saved over 34,000 tons of rolled metal and 820 tons of extruded pipes. Compared with the MTZ-50 tractors, the metal intensiveness per unit capacity of the MTZ-80 model has been lowered by 24%. A notable contribution to this achievement is being made by comprehensive creative brigades who include many tens of leading workers, engineers, and technicians.

Nevertheless, possibilities for metal savings by machine developers remains substantial. In recent years the efficiency with which rolled ferrous metals is used has remained stable at the 0.72 level. This means that 28% of the metal used here goes to waste. One of the reasons for this situation is the non-optimal structure of metal processing equipment. The volume of output of forge-press equipment is inconsistent with contemporary requirements. This leads to the fact that occasionally metal-cutting machine-tools are used where forge-press machines would be more effective. Plastics and other chemical materials are also being insufficiently used in machine building.

Control over the rational utilization of metal has weakened at many enterprises. Problems related to this fact are not always kept in the focal point of attention of the party organizations. Progressive norms are being too slowly applied and competition for economy and thrift has been poorly organized.

The construction industry does not use the major possibilities existing for cement savings. The main reason here is the insufficient volume of output of high-grade high-brand cements. Four-fifths of the cement produced in the country is of the 300-400 brand and less than 1% is of the 600 brand. Yet, high-brand concrete, in the opinion of authoritative construction specialists, would enable us to reduce the material intensiveness of structures approximately 20% and reduce their cost by 8 to 10%. The important task of increasing the production of high-brand and specialized types of cement, stipulated by the 25th CPSU Congress, is being implemented with delays.

Considerable reserves for raw material savings may be found in the chemical industry. Here the main way for thrifty economic management is the establishment of an optimum system for all processes. This is achieved through the extensive use of controlling computers and by upgrading personnel skills. The ahead-of-schedule completion of designs for new systems and shops would provide great benefits. We must accelerate the development of the production of chemical fibers and other progressive materials.

In recent years timber procurers and processors have achieved noticeable successes in timber processing. Nevertheless, the more extensive processing would enable us to produce per unit of raw material, in terms of value, more output than is the case presently. Furthermore, the needs of sectors consuming the goods produced by the timber processing industry will be satisfied far better.

The Soviet Union is one of the few countries in the world developing its economy on the basis of its own energy resources. Currently we account for nearly one-fifth of the world's production of energy resources. This five-year plan, the extraction of all types of fuel will be increased by a 1.3 factor. Nevertheless, the USSR does not have unlimited resources of mineral fuels. The need to carry the fuel from the eastern to the European part of the country requires substantial additional outlays. This calls for the

accelerated development of the nuclear power industry in the areas west of the Urals, and for a program for the construction in the eastern part of the country of powerful electric power plants whose energy will be transmitted to other areas through super-high voltage power transmission lines. In a word, the fuels and energy we receive are expensive. Comprehensive savings of such resources is one of the most important national economic tasks.

According to the computations of a number of ministries and the USSR Gosplan, compared with 1975, in 1980 the national economy will be able to save 121 million tons of mineral fuel in terms of conventional figures. Of this amount 44 million tons could be saved by lowering specific fuel outlays used for industrial output, 36 million tons by lowering specific electric power outlays and thermal energy, 19 million tons through the better utilization of secondary fuel and heat resources, 15 million tons by lowering specific outlays of light petroleum products and improving the structure of truck hauling, and 7 million by reducing fuel losses in storage and transportation.

The planned measures are being successfully implemented in a number of sectors. This is the result of the extensive competition for economy and thrift and the adoption of a number of organizational measures. Thus, starting with 1977, a number of ministries, including the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, and Ministry of Pulp and Paper Industry introduced the procedure of norming specific outlays of fuel and electric and thermal energy on a quarterly basis, unlike the previous procedure of annual planning. This measure makes it possible to study the implementation of assignments on an operative and planned basis throughout the year and, if necessary, help lagging collectives. Nevertheless, the number of collectives who failed to cope with their assignments on saving fuel and energy resources remains substantial. Such cases may be found at enterprises in the machine building, automotive, petroleum, meat and dairy, and construction materials industries.

Industry is still insufficiently using secondary power resources. Thus, reducing the losses of blast furnace gas to the normed levels at the Makeyevka, Donetsk, Kommunarsk, and Yenakiyevo Metallurgical combines, about one-quarter of a million tons of conventional fuel per year could be saved. We must improve fuel storage facilities. Losses of wellhead gas at the enterprises of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry are being too slowly reduced. Approximately one-third of the gas is wasted through burning. Meanwhile, the Belozersk and Surgut plants which will process this gas are being built too slowly.

Some enterprises have poorly organized their norming of fuel and electric power. Effective incentives for saving on energy resources have not been formulated and applied everywhere. Such have been the cases, specifically, at the Ufaleyskiy Nickel and Almalyk Ore Mining-Metallurgical combines, the Makeyevka Coke-Chemical Plant imeni F. Z. Dzerzhinskiy, the Balakleya Cement-Shale Plant, the Khar'kov Ceramics Plant, and many food industry enterprises.

Economic managers and party committees must intensify their control over the implementation of assignments on saving, on power resources. They must study more profoundly the reasons for losses, comprehensively upgrade the responsibility of managers for the thrifty utilization of fuel and electric power, and promote the development of the competition for economy and thrift by the collectives.

Virtually all industrial sectors have the possibility to improve the organization of the collection of secondary raw materials, and to organize their processing at specialized enterprises. It has been estimated that such production investments are considerably more effective than in the extracting sectors. We must take into consideration in this case not only the economic but the ecological effect. Unfortunately, the possibilities in this field are far from fully used. Because of departmental interests a number of ore-mining enterprises do not make full use of the raw material, dumping rocks containing a number of valuable components. It has long been proved that the dumps of thermoelectric power plants could yield excellent construction materials. However, such materials are being produced in very limited quantities.

The question of accelerating the turnover of working capital has been urgently posed. Unfortunately, this important national economic reserve as well is being insufficiently used. One of the reasons lies in the major breakdowns in the work of the transportation system, the railroads above all, which have become one of the bottlenecks of the national economy. Considering the existing shortage of freight cars, the existing rolling stock is being used inefficiently. Thus, last year car idling at the spurs of industrial enterprises and organizations of Ruzayevka Station of the Kuybyshev Railroad, averaged 10.8 hours rather than 4.3 hours as normed. Over one million car/hours were lost as a result of slowed down loading and unloading operations. Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Neverkinskiy, Kameshkirskiy, and Lopatinskiy rayons, Penzenskaya Oblast, take from 10 to 60 days to unload a freight car. With such an attitude toward such an important state matter, regardless of how highly developed the freight car manufacturing industry might be, it would be hardly able to meet all the needs of the national economy.

The slowdown of capital turnover in the national economy is also the result of the scattering of capital investments and the growth of unfinished construction. In 1977 over 55,000 industrial projects were under construction in our country, financed with state funds. We have a number of important national economic projects whose construction and reconstruction have been dragging over 10-15 or more years. Thus, the expansion of the Novosibirsk Plant for Electric Power Units has been going on 18 years and only 60% of the appropriated funds have been used. The completion of this enterprise is not contemplated for this five-year plan. For the past eight years new capacities have been installed at the Tomkabel' Plant, rather than two as normed. Only one-third of the work has been completed and the end is not in sight, as the completion deadline has been extended six times. At the beginning of this year the volume of unfinished construction for the country at large had exceeded the planned figure by 14.9 billion rubles, and reached 96.2 billion.

The construction ministries and the client sectors are directly responsible for this. The main reason, however, is the lack of material, administrative, and moral responsibility for the freezing of funds invested in capital construction. This leads to the development of circumstances in which economic managers are not trying to work most effectively, are not concerned with construction costs, capital recovery deadlines, and returns on invested funds.

The five-year plan of effectiveness and quality demands of every working person, every production organizer, that they pay greater attention to economic problems, and master the art of working thriftily and with high profitability. This is a mandatory prerequisite for the dynamic development of our society and for increasing the national wealth of the homeland. Experience in socialist economic management proves that tremendous economic reserves may be utilized only by improving management, upgrading the level of organization, and bringing strict order in production. Efficient rhythm, reliable intra-plant relations, impeccable delivery discipline, strict observance of contractual obligations, properly organized accountability, and excellent knowledge on the part of every worker of his tasks and obligations and understanding of his position and role in the economic mechanism are also possibilities for economy. The collective of the Baku Machine Building Plant imeni Leytenant Shmidt is famous in Azerbaijan for its rhythmical work. It is no accident that it is the champion in the competition for economy and thrift. Yet, in the Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR, of late, a number of collectives fulfilled most of their monthly program in the 3rd 10-day period of each month. They include the Groznyy Machine Repairs Plant, the Pishchemash Plant, and the radio engineering and other plants. Substantial working time losses have been registered at the Kavkazkabel' and Sevkavrentgen plants in Kabardino-Balkariya. Last year each of these enterprises failed to produce goods worth 200,000 rubles because of working time losses. The party committees must determine the reasons for such undesirable phenomena and do everything possible for the collectives to catch up this year.

Today socialist competition for economy and thrift has assumed a mass nature and is involving within its orbit the overwhelming majority of the working people in our country. The competition is focused on the All-Union Public Review of the Effectiveness of the Utilization of Raw Materials, Materials, and Fuel and Energy Resources sponsored by the AUCCTU, Komsomol Central Committee, and USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. It will last the entire five-year plan. In the first two years the participants submitted about eight million suggestions. Their implementation made it possible to produce additional above-plan goods out of saved resources worth 1.5 billion rubles, including 330 million rubles' worth of consumer goods.

The public review of reserves has made it possible to combine the search and initiative of millions of people with the purposeful work of ministries and departments specifically in charge of the utilization of material resources. In other words, thanks to the review it has been possible to channel the searches of the working people along the most efficient directions and focus the efforts of the competitors on the solution of the most important problems of upgrading production effectiveness.

A number of patriotic initiatives and new directions in the socialist competition were developed in the course of the review. The steel smelters of the Chelyabinsk Metallurgical Plant formulated the following work slogan: "The Entire Metal Must Be Based on Orders, Be of High Quality, and Produced with Minimum Outlays!" This initiative has been extensively supported throughout the country. Today in Chelyabinskaya Oblast alone over 100 steel smelting brigades are supplying ingots based on orders. The competition was supported by the personnel of blast furnaces and by rolled metal workers. With a special decree the CPSU Central Committee recommended the organization of the extensive utilization of the experience of leading enterprise collectives and construction projects of Chelyabinskaya Oblast in ferrous metal savings and involve all working people in the struggle for the rational utilization of metals, fuels, electric power, and raw material and manpower resources. The collectives of nearly 15,000 associations, plants, and construction projects, using the Chelyabinsk experience, have assumed high socialist pledges to save on material resources and produce, on this basis, above-plan goods. The All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies (VSNTS) proclaimed an all-union competition for best solutions for reducing the metal intensiveness of installations, machines, and equipment, developed within the scientific and technical programs of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Competition based on individual and brigade personal savings is successfully developing in Sverdlovskaya Oblast. Here strict accounting is kept of saved materials, fuels, and electric power. This type of competition makes it possible to involve all the workers in the search for such methods. It clearly shows individual contributions to the results of joint work. It encourages workers and specialists to work more energetically to lower production outlays. Other valuable initiatives have been proposed by the working people in the struggle for greater economy.

Nevertheless, the effectiveness of the competition for economy and thrift could and should be upgraded. We cannot tolerate the fact that the great majority of machine building enterprises is not coping with tasks related to metal savings. Essentially new and progressive technological processes are being poorly applied here and the metal utilization coefficient is low. We must admit that the existing system for accounting and planning the work of metallurgical and machine building enterprises does not properly interest the collectives in lowering the weight of the machinery. The science of economics has not as yet developed effective criteria for assessing labor and its effectiveness such as to encourage collectives and individual workers to lower, always and in all cases, specific outlays of material resources. Quality incentives are insufficient and no proper obstacles are being erected to block unproductive outlays in the national economy.

Today increasing savings in agriculture becomes particularly topical. This is related to the steady growth of agricultural output. The greater the scale of agricultural production, the most tangible become the losses arising in taking its produce to the consumers and in the course of its processing and storage. Such losses become even less tolerable considering the fact that

population requirements are not being fully met for a number of problems. The struggle against losses assumes an important political meaning. It must be constantly kept within sight by the party organizations, soviets of people's deputies, individual party members, the party and economic workers, and every working person.

The effective utilization of agricultural commodities is frequently related to additional material outlays for improving transportation and roads, and for the building and reconstruction of processing enterprises. The state allocates substantial funds for such purposes. However, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses themselves have possibilities. We must support and disseminate the initiative of those who, concerned with the implementation of production plans and the end results of their work, invest funds for the development of processing enterprises in the countryside, the building of storage bins, and transportation improvements.

Particular attention must be paid to the all-round utilization of animal husbandry reserves. It cannot be considered normal that in a number of areas fodder crop yields and the yields of hay growing and grazing areas have remained stable over a number of years. A number of farms fall behind in harvesting the grasses, and silaging the corn and tuber roots. They violate the technological rules for the processing of hay, haylage, and silage and fail to pay the necessary attention to the building of fodder storage bins. All this holds back the expansion of cattle herds and the production of animal husbandry goods. Strengthening economy and thrift in animal husbandry, a most important agricultural sector, is a most important economic and political task.

The party organizations play an exceptionally important role in the nationwide struggle for economy. The party members must head the campaign for economy. They must provide individual examples of thrift and care for the work and promote in the people the feeling that they are the masters of their enterprise and of the entire country. The task of the party organizations is to make every person aware of the fact that the pace of development of the national economy and the improved living standard of the working people depend on his attitude toward the work and individual contribution to the nationwide thrift fund.

The organization of thrifty work is a most important official duty of every economic manager. Assessing the activities of economic managers, and resolving problems of cadre promotion, the party committees must determine the extent to which one or another worker has profoundly mastered the skill to work efficiently and economically and the extent to which he has developed a high feeling of responsibility for the results of our common labor. It is from this viewpoint that we must consider the activities of managers-party members in the course of the practical implementation on the part of party committees of their right to control the economic activities of administrations.

Unfortunately, cases of insufficient responsibility displayed by production managers for the thrifty utilization of material values entrusted to them are not so infrequent. Thus, the people's controllers of the Kropotkin Spetsselevatormel'mash Plant determined, in the course of an unannounced investigation, a number of cases of negligent storage of equipment, materials, finished goods, and usable waste. Those specifically guilty of such waste were named. Right away the party bureau began to receive numerous explanations on the part of foremen and shop chiefs claiming that they either "were unaware of," or else "had reported" shortcomings. It became clear that many of them were seeking not means to resolve problems but convenient means to justify their idleness and shift responsibility. Major breakdowns in the work of a number of enterprises in the past severe winter prove that some economic managers have an insufficiently developed feeling of responsibility. We cannot consider as normal the fact that in the initial months of this year some collectives lowered their work indicators and fell behind the pace stipulated in the five-year plan.

Thrift is a communist feature. It is shaped by our entire way of life and by the sociopolitical atmosphere of our society. That is why the party organizations must support all manifestations of thrift and promote in the people this valuable quality. This can be accomplished best by taking as examples the leading competitors. People who are reducing material outlays in production must be encouraged more energetically. The "thrift indicator" in labor must be made as important as the other quantitative and qualitative indicators. The local soviets of people's deputies, who have jurisdiction over many enterprises, should display greater inventiveness, and persistence in mobilizing the people in the search for possibilities to save. The collectives of such enterprises have extensive possibilities for processing production wastes and using all kinds of local raw materials.

The mass information media--newspapers, television, and radio--play a major role in the struggle for economy and thrift. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Educational Work" mentions the need to wage a systematic, purposeful, and irreconcilable struggle, using all propaganda and education media, for uprooting vestiges of the past hostile to socialism such as negligence and waste. Party propagandists, agitators, and journalists also have the duty extensively to describe the progressive experience of those who display a model economical attitude toward the work and to educate all working people using such positive examples.

A great deal has been done in this respect, for example, by the Kemerovskaya Oblast party organization. Here problems related to the thrifty attitude toward materials, raw materials, and energy resources are being studied within the entire system of party training, Komsomol political education, and economic education. The mass information media actively supported the initiative of leading miners' brigades who launched a competition under the slogan of "High Load at Each Face, Complex, Machine, and Mechanism!" The oblast, city, rayon, enterprise press have sections entitled "All-Kuzbass

Economy Fund," "For Economy and Thrift," and "Every Working Person Is an Economist in His Workplace." A broad set of organizational-technical and political measures enabled the oblast working people to save in the first three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan 810 million kilowatt hours of electric power and 700,000 tons of conventional fuel.

Our country has covered two-thirds of the way earmarked at the 25th CPSU Congress. The country's economic potential has risen noticeably. The indicators of the technical and economic level of output are improving. All this is the result of the purposeful organizational work of the party which is mobilizing the masses to wage a daily struggle for upgrading the effectiveness of the socialist economy and thrift in everything. The unanimous aspiration of the Soviet people to achieve greater results in their work with the lowest possible outlays is a confirmation of their profound understanding of the economic strategy and tasks formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress. Through their shock selfless toil and thrifty attitude toward the public wealth the working people of town and country are increasing the power of the homeland and making a worthy contribution to the building of the material and technical foundations for communism.

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CSO: 1802

POWERFUL FACTOR OF OUR DEVELOPMENT

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 13-26

[Article by G. Romanov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee. Article based on a report submitted at the All-Union Practical Science Conference on "The Socialist Competition and Movement for a Communist Attitude Toward Labor Is a Powerful Means for the Development of the Creative Activity of the Masses and the Upbringing of the New Man," held in Leningrad on 12-14 April 1979]

[Text] Throughout the entire history of the Soviet state the activities of the Communist Party have been distinguished by constant concern for improving the political management of all realms of social life. This fully applies to socialist competition born of the revolutionary reorganization of reality. Our party sees in the competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor not only a powerful lever for increasing labor successes but a most important means for the education of the masses.

Competition problems under mature socialist conditions have been comprehensively reflected in the works and addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. "We are all pleased," the Central Committee Accountability reports to the 25th party congress noted, "with the deep roots which the Leninist ideas of socialist competition have sunk. . . . Our common battle slogan is the further comprehensive development of the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor." These views represent an expanded program for action for all party organizations in improving further the organization and upgrading the effectiveness of the patriotic movement of millions of Soviet people.

I. The Leninist Competition Ideas Are Alive and Developing

The formulation of the scientific theory of the competition under the conditions of the victorious proletarian revolution is unbreakably linked with Lenin's name. In his brilliant works "How to Organize the Competition?" "The Forthcoming Tasks of the Soviet System," "The Great Initiative," and others, he proved the basic difference between socialist competition and capitalist rivalry, depicting the objective foundations for its appearance and extensive development. He elaborated the basic organizational principles of publicity, comparability of results, and possibility to duplicate on a mass scale the best work models.

V. I. Lenin was the first to see in the competition a manifestation of the activities of the masses and a source for the increase of the public wealth and for an upsurge in labor productivity, a factor for the creation of a new labor discipline, the most widespread method for the involvement of the working people in management, and a means for the all-round development of the individual and for the communist education of the working people. "The broad and truly widespread creation of opportunity to be enterprising, compete, and launch both initiatives," Vladimir Il'ich wrote, "will be manifested only now. Each factory in which the capitalist will either be kicked out or even merely restrained by true workers' control, and each village in which the landowner-exploiter has been driven out and his land taken away becomes now, and only now, a field on which the working person can prove himself . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 196).

The Leninist ideas on the organization of competition were based on the creativity of conscientious and free workers and on their revolutionary enthusiasm. Looking back today at the distance covered we recall the resolutions passed at workers' meetings at enterprises in Moscow, Petrograd, the Ukraine, and the Urals, pledging to organize the production process and to upgrade labor productivity. How can we measure the selflessness of the Moscow communists and sympathizing railroad workers who held the first communist subbotnik!

Highly rating the great initiative of the working class, already then, in one of the most difficult periods of the civil war, Lenin called for a "positive communist construction, and the creation of new economic relations and of a new society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 39, p 13), pointing out that in the course of this the toiling people would promote a number of initiatives and that all and any shoots of the new from which life would select the most viable should be supported by everyone and with all possible means.

This conclusion was confirmed by the entire history of the competition. Today we look with deep emotion at newsreels and yellowing newspaper pages. They have recorded for the future generations the difficult times of those who invested their labor in the First Five-Year Plan--the initiator of an outstanding galaxy of Soviet five-year plans which lifted our country from technical-economic backwardness to the peaks of social progress.

As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 50th Anniversary of the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR," the increased role of the planned management of the national economy contributed to the growth of the activities of the masses. Lenin's article "How to Organize the Competition?" published for the first time in January 1929, was of tremendous importance to the development of this process.

Its ideas fell on fertile soil. The collective of Krasnyy Vyborzhets Plant became one of the initiators of the mass competition which went beyond the limits of the sector. In March of that year, in PRAVDA it turned to the collectives of similar enterprises and to all workers in the Soviet Union

with the appeal to launch an all-union competition for reducing production costs. The contracts signed at that time between Leningrad and Moscow enterprises, and the beginning of the competition between the rayons of the capitol and of the city on the Neva River laid the beginning of the labor cooperation between Moscow and Leningrad, whose history covers half a century.

Fifty years is a long time. However, time cannot erase from our memory the first shock brigades born at the "Ravenstvo" Factory, the "Contract of the Thousands" included among the textile workers of Moscow, Tver, and Ivanovo, the first counter plans which appeared at the Plant imeni Karl Marks, the first cost accounting brigades at the Nevskiy Machine Building Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, and the first technical-industrial-financial plans at the "Svetlana" and "Russkiy Dizel'" enterprises. This was a period of mass labor records, years when the builders of Dneproges launched the competition by skill whose essence was to combine the individual example of leading workers with practical help to those who had fallen behind; and when the workers at the Moscow Aviation Plant launched the movement of "excellent workers" aimed at upgrading production quality.

We mention Aleksey Stakhnov and we see in front of us the growth of the great guard of his followers: Aleksandr Busygin and Nikolay Smetanin, Yevdokiya and Mariya Vinogradov, Petr Krivonos, Pasha Angelina, and many others whom we describe as first, and who were the first to turn their shop, mind, locomotive engine, construction site, or kolkhoz field into a creative laboratory, who saw their work, their seemingly regular daily work from the height of the entire state. They were followed by millions of people. They stand at the life-bringing origins of the labor glory of the 1930's, and the valor and highest patriotism of the fiery 1940's, when the call of the communist party, "Everything for the Front, and Everything for Victory!" turned the Soviet people into a terrible life-asserting sword, punishing the enemy. They converted into the difficult postwar years and, into the quite recent 1960's. Living ties link them with the movement for a communist attitude toward labor and our present accomplishments.

As any other phenomenon in social life, the competition has its own rules. One of them is that its level is determined by the condition of production forces and production relations, and the fact that each of its new methods contains everything that is best from past experience, raising the competition to a higher level. Today the competition, whose place and role in our life has been legislatively codified in the new Soviet Constitution, covers all economic sectors and involves virtually all participants in public production. Great attention was paid to its development in the decisions of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th CPSU congresses, and in the materials of subsequent Central Committee plenums. The August 1971 Central Committee decree "On Improving Further the Organization of the Socialist Competition" is of essential significance. Its stipulations were concretized in the joint decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee on the solution of national economic problems in the 9th and 10th Five-Year plans.

II. The Main Thing Is the Struggle for Effectiveness and Quality

Improving the sociopolitical management mechanisms, and the ways and means of organizational and ideological work, and relying on the initiative of the masses, the communist party is working to upgrade further the effectiveness of the competition in all sectors of economic and cultural construction. On the basis of the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee the Leningrad party organization, like the party organizations of all union republics, krays, and oblasts, is systematically developing the historical activities of the working people, considering this one of the most important prerequisites for upgrading their contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the 25th party congress.

The high share of Leningrad's industry in the all-union output, the extensive volume of work done by our scientific research, planning, and design organizations, and the complexity of problems related to economic and social development face the oblast party organization with the task of activating on an ever broader scale the quality factors governing economic progress. All efforts to promote the competition are aimed at reaching this target. At the present stage it is inseparable from the scientific and technical revolution and is aimed at insuring the best final national economic results. It is most closely linked with the counter plans.

As is the case in other cities throughout the country, our enterprises have developed a number of different competition methods and initiatives. Not all of them have withstood the test of time. However, many of them have greatly influenced our present work. They include the initiative of leading workers on formulating comprehensive plans for upgrading labor productivity, which have become a form of counter pledges. This movement has made it possible to interrelate even more closely the efforts of workers, engineers, technologists, and foremen, aimed at the practical application of progressive labor methods and developing improved tools and a more progressive technology. It is precisely in such plans that the progressive production workers of the Kirovskiy Zavod Association saw a reliable organizational method which enabled them to launch the initiative of competing for the completion of a five-day assignment in four days.

Let us note that far from everyone immediately understood and accepted this slogan. Extensive work was required of the party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations before this initiative gained extensive recognition. Thanks to the specific nature of the target--fulfilling the five-day plan in four days, the clarity of the ways for upgrading labor productivity on the basis of a comprehensive plan, and the possibility to compare individual contributions based on saved time, and extensive publicity in covering the results of the competition using screens and other information media, the movement gained active support in different Leningrad economic sectors. It was joined by hundreds of thousands of workers in the city and oblast. Even though only one out of four was able to reach the target in factual terms--to fulfill a five-day assignment in four days--the main result was that all competition

participants exceeded their individual assignments and came closer to the leading workers. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan this enabled us to insure annually in the fulfillment of assignments faster work equivalent to the additional employment by the national economy of over 40,000 workers. This becomes particularly important under the conditions of the familiar shortage of manpower resources.

The slogan "From High-Quality Work of the Individual to High Labor Effectiveness of the Collective!" became the summed up expression of the efforts of the Leningrad people to implement the decisions of the 25th party congress. The movement has the same roots and objectives as other initiatives developed in the course of the all-union competition. It is enriched by the experience of the Muscovites who raised the slogan of "Workers' Guarantee for a Quality Five-Year Plan!" of the L'vov working people who developed and applied a comprehensive quality control system, the people of Sverdlovsk, who are extensively applying the method of individual savings accounts, the people of Rostov, who called for "Working Without Laggards!" and other valuable initiatives.

Based on the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan, Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast launched a competition for overfulfilling assignments on the basis of comprehensive plans for upgrading labor effectiveness. What are its characteristics? First, the fact that from a struggle for upgrading labor productivity at each work place a transition was made to plans and obligations including specific measures aimed at improving production quality and saving on materials. Second, this movement increased the significance of the brigade form of labor organization as more effective, enabling us to convert from individual plans for upgrading labor effectiveness to comprehensive plans covering entire brigades, sectors, shops, and production facilities.

Today over 800,000 workers work in brigades, nearly one-half of them are fulfilling a single order. Their combined experience convincingly proves that brigade forms of work promote comradely mutual aid and responsibility and contribute to the development of the activeness of all workers, including scientists, engineers, technicians, and production leaders. Another important fact is that comprehensive plans make it possible to take more fully into consideration and make more extensive use of progressive methods, making them available not to individual workers but to quite big labor units, and to upgrade the importance of organizational and technical measures.

The practice of comprehensive planning the economic and social development of production collectives and administrative rayons led to deepening the content and fuller utilization of all functions related to the competition. Such a plan, in the course of the 10th Five-Year Plan, was formulated for the first time on the scale of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast. It became the base for higher quality elaboration of obligations and more stressed counter assignments.

Formulating the objectives of the competition, the oblast party organization ascribes a particular role to efforts to insure the better utilization of

productive capital. The importance of this question in upgrading production effectiveness is universally known. Suffice it to say that each percentage of increased capital returns on the scale of Leningrad's economy alone leads to additional annual output worth nearly 200 million rubles. Yet, the annual above-plan output equals precisely this amount. It is clear that the fate of this one percent depends not only on the quality of the plans for projects under construction or undergoing reconstruction, but also on the extent to which modern technological processes are being rapidly and extensively created and applied in operating production facilities, the reduction of manual labor, the use of working time, and the utilization of raw materials, materials, and manpower. It is precisely from this viewpoint that such matters were considered at plenums of the oblast, city, and rayon party committees, and the oblast practical science conference.

Without dwelling on all the aspects of this problem, let us note that competition for raising the load of the equipment plays an important role in its solution. Looking for innovations characterizes the work of many working people, broadening the areas of services and reinforcing the ranks of multiple machine operators. Practically all spinning workers and nearly 90% of the weavers are using the system of the above-plan machine servicing, following the example of weavers' Hero of Socialist Labor Ye. Ya. Demidova, and USSR State Prize winners T. D. Chistyakova and G. M. Fedyanova. Hundreds of thousands of workers have mastered related skills. Many of them in the metal processing sectors operate two-four or more machine tools.

The struggle for steadily upgrading social labor productivity has been, and remains, the pivot of the socialist competition, at all its stages. Our party is always guided by the basic Leninist instruction that labor productivity is the most important, the main factor for the victory of the new, the communist system. The CPSU inseparably links the solution of this historical problem with the utilization in socialist production of the latest achievements of science and technology. This, as Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has repeatedly emphasized, is particularly topical today, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution which raises the socialist competition as well to a new level.

New opportunities for the intensification of such work appeared with the development of a broad network of production and scientific-production associations. Using their advantages, progressive methods for the planning and organization of engineering labor, and computers, and coordinating operations along the entire "research-production" cycle, the collectives of the Optical-Mechanical imeni V. I. Lenin, Svetlana, and Pozitron associations initiated a movement for upgrading the technical standard of output and reducing the time for the creation and utilization of new equipment. This initiative met with the specific response of other collectives. This includes the slogan of the Elektrosila workers, "Each New Item Must Bear the State Emblem of Quality!"

The organizational work of the party committees is contributing to the fact that a number of technical problems can be resolved far ahead of established

deadlines and that the number of goods awarded the state Emblem of Quality is rising. From the beginning of the five-year plan alone over 2,000 new types of machines, apparatus, and other items have been developed, the characteristics of many of which match the best world standards and which yield high national economic results. Thus, the tens of thousands of 300 horsepower Kirovets tractors which will be supplied to agriculture this five-year plan will enable us, on a national scale, to lower the need for tractor drivers by a minimum of 200,000 people. The production of 800,000 kilo-watt power turbines (instead of 200,000-300,000) lowers by one-half the number of servicing personnel per unit installed capacity and reduces specific fuel outlays. The series production at the Izhorskiy Zavod enterprise of equipment for nuclear reactors developing a power of one million or more kilowatts will lower the cost of produced energy by one-half and reduce servicing personnel per unit by almost 150 people. The development by Leningrad's shipyards of the "Lenin," "Arktika," and "Sibir" nuclear powered icebreakers has considerably upgraded the effectiveness of the utilization of the arctic seaway and made it possible to nearly double the freight hauled along this route.

The Krasnyy Vyborzhets collective operates according to the principle of not only achieving high labor effectiveness in the association but comprehensively contributing to the successful work of the customers. By increasing the production of better rolled metal shapes and observing delivery deadlines, the collective adopted and is successfully implementing the pledge of insuring over the five-year plan no less than 40 million rubles' worth of savings at enterprises using their output.

The initiative of 28 Leningrad enterprises and organizations participating in the building of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, approved by the CPSU Central Committee, aimed at the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and insuring maximum national economic results, became a qualitatively new step in the development of collective competition methods. They adopted joint pledges to build the energy giant on the Yenisey on a high scientific and technical level, within a short time and with minimum resource outlays. Assessing the experience of such cooperation, in his greetings on the occasion of the ahead-of-schedule launching of the first hydraulic power unit of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized that such practices considerably enrich the experience of the socialist competition and will be developed further in the implementation of other most important national economic programs.

Today the activities of over 200 plants, associations, and scientific, planning, and design organizations in Leningrad, participating in the construction of Baykal-Amur Main Line, the Bratsk-Ust'-Ilim, and Sayansk territorial-production complexes, and power industry projects, including nuclear ones, in resolving the problem of upgrading agricultural production in the Nonchernozem zone of the RSFSR, and many others, are marked by a comprehensive approach. We deem it necessary to continue to broaden the range of this competition which is fully consistent with the requirements of the program-target approach to the solution of major problems.

Currently Leningrad's industry is formulating a coordinated plan for technical progress. It is based on projects carried out by scientific research institutes, design bureaus, enterprises, and associations for the development and extensive application of latest technological processes and equipment which drastically reduce material outlays and substantially increase labor productivity, such as plasma processing, powder metallurgy, precision casting, industrial robots, and many others.

The high effectiveness of the collective forms of competition is confirmed by the labor association among seamen, railroad workers, truck drivers, and river sailors of the Leningrad transportation center, approved by the CPSU Central Committee. The adoption by the participants within this movement of a continuous and interrelated plan-schedule saved the state millions of rubles last year alone. Presently about 400 collectives have initialed a contract and adopted obligations stipulating more effective interaction and fuller utilization of internal reserves for speeding up freight processing and reducing transportation costs.

The competition plays a great mobilizing role in the implementation of the party's agrarian policy. The creation of cost accounting associations within which all resources are concentrated and material incentive funds used more effectively, has contributed to upgrading its effectiveness. The elaboration of standard competition conditions for all sovkhozes and subdivisions within the association has made the use of specific and of comparable indicators possible. The annual defense by sovkhozes of pledges taken, conducted at meetings of the councils of directors, party committee secretaries, and chairmen of trade union committees, has become a practice adopted by the Detskosel'skoye, Novyy Svet, and Leto associations. Following the Ipatovskiy method, as applicable to our conditions, comprehensive mechanized detachments are being set up for various types of field work, particularly for fodder procurements.

Adamant work to develop the competition contributed to the fact that in the past ten years milk production in public sector farms rose by over 70%; meat production doubled while the production of eggs rose by a 3.5 factor. Compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan, in this five-year plan alone the average annual volume of agricultural output has increased 26%. Our traditional competition with the agricultural workers in Moscow Oblast is developing fruitfully and efficiently.

Today the people of Leningrad are focusing all their efforts on the ahead-of-schedule implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The best collectives in industry, agriculture, construction, and transportation have pledged to complete this task by the third anniversary of the new USSR Constitution. Many production leaders, brigades, sectors, and shops will reach their planned levels by the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth. By then tens of associations and enterprises will have completed their five-year assignments for the growth of labor productivity and the production of most important commodities. All our estimates and plans are based on the fact that at the final stage of the five-year plan as well the competition will prove its role as a powerful booster in the implementation of economic and social tasks.

III. Effective Means for the Education of the Working People

Currently the link between the competition and the solution of problems related to the social development of the collective and the individual, the shaping of a communist attitude toward labor, the growth of cadre education, culture, and skills, and the involvement of the working people in production management is becoming ever stronger. The activities of the party organizations aimed at the fuller utilization of the creative initiative of the masses, confirm, again and again, the accuracy of Lenin's words to the effect that "the most thankful and noble of all works is to build a new labor discipline and new forms of social relations among people, and to build new ways and means for attracting the people to work . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 40, p 316).

The Leningrad party members have accepted as their program the stipulations of the recently passed CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work": "making fuller use of the educational opportunities offered by the socialist competition and of progressive forms of labor organization in industry, agriculture, construction, and transportation. Promptly and extensively informing the working people on the course of the competition, be concerned with the growth of their professional and cultural standards, adopt a responsive attitude toward the needs and demands of the people, and respect the views of the members of the labor collective. Summing up competition results, mandatorily take into consideration not only production indicators but the condition of educational work as well."

The movement for a communist attitude toward labor, in which the political-educational function of the competition is particularly emphasized, has a tremendous impact on the life of production collectives. Currently over two million people in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast are participating in this movement. In addition to high production accomplishments, their pledges reflect their aspiration to upgrade their political, general educational, and vocational standards, and to participate in public affairs. This is dictated by the increased complexity of modern production work which faces all categories of working people with stricter requirements.

Whereas previously the successful solution of production problems frequently depended on the basic discipline and conscientiousness of the worker, today success presumes a variety of other qualities: creativity, reciprocal trust, impeccable honesty, and reciprocal responsiveness. Without this it would be very difficult to spread forms of labor organization and competition such as work based on the same order, interchangeability, related brigades, lines, etc.

We know that as competition influences the development of the individual, the growth of the general educational, vocational, and cultural standards of the working people contributes to upgrading the effectiveness of the movement followed by millions of people. The party organizations pay great attention to improving further the system of political and economic training, skillfully

using the "Propagandist-Five Year Plan" movement, and directing the training process toward equipping the working people with the necessary amount of knowledge in the fields of economic theory and practice, ability to formulate substantiated pledges, and insure that each labor collective and every worker be aware of the levels to be reached.

This makes it possible also to concretize the competition for comprehensive economy of raw materials, fuels, electric power and other resources, and to promote a thrifty attitude toward the people's property. Last year, for example, as stipulated in the obligations, Leningrad's industry worked two days using saved raw and other materials. We are trying to disseminate and propagandize this experience further using all possible means.

Success in resolving current and long-term national economic problems largely depends on the further development of the creative activeness of the youth and on training a worthy working class reinforcement. In accordance with party and government decrees, the Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast party, soviet, and economic organs have done a great deal to broaden the network of vocational-technical schools and to improve the training and education process. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan and in recent years 85 new vocational-technical school complexes have been built. Starting with last year all schools provide their graduates with general secondary education along with a skill. Every year over 55,000 such specialists go into production work from vocational-technical schools.

The fact that already at schools the boys and girls acquire the habit of labor competition is a major characteristic of the training and education process. This is largely related to the extensive dissemination of the initiative of Hero of Socialist Labor B. A. Zhuravlev, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and instructor at vocational-technical school number 90. He called for cooperation between training groups and production collectives following the slogan of "Vocational-Technical School Graduates Must Gain the Experience of the Leading Workers!" As a result, most graduates of vocational-technical schools acquire collective instructors while at the training stage, acquainting the students with their future work place and share with them their experience. This, in our view, is an essential matter, for a number of aspects related to the job placement and upbringing of the young worker meet, in the final account, within a single point--the labor collective. "To a person the collective in which he works is a home, family, and school of sorts," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "It is precisely here that professional experience, skills, and the habit to work conscientiously are transmitted from one generation to another. It is precisely here, passed from one heart to another, that the young people acquire communist idea-mindedness, loyalty to the party cause, and readiness to be always in the leading ranks, in the most difficult and decisive sectors."

The party organizations adamantly see to it that an efficient system for the upbringing of working youth operates at each enterprise. The Komsomol-youth collectives, rallying today over one-fifth of the young workers, have proved

to be a good form of labor organization. The instructors' movement, with over 70,000 instructors, is developing actively. Leningrad's possibilities for raising the young people in the spirit of revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions are extensively used. Leninist readings, meetings with party, war, and labor veterans, young worker's days, close relations maintained with sponsored military units, evenings dedicated to labor dynasties, and numerous measures sponsored by historical-revolutionary museums are contributing to the training of a worthy working class replacement.

Improvements in the ideological and educational work of the party organizations and the increased effectiveness of the competition are creating a new type of Soviet worker—a person with a statesmanlike attitude toward his work sector and a feeling of high responsibility, who considers labor a matter of honor, valor, and heroism. The entire history of the competition in our country is not only a chronicle of labor accomplishments. It is a chronicle of the education and maturing of the Soviet people, and of molding the new man—the worthy builder of communism.

IV. The International Movement of the Builders of a New World

The vitality of the socialist competition and its effective educational influence have been confirmed today not only through the example of our country but of the fraternal socialist countries as well. This experience is confidently forging ahead.

The united and equal family of fraternal peoples of the USSR and the other socialist countries are celebrating this year the 30th anniversary of CEMA. Its creation was the legitimate result of the development of international economic relations of a new type, based on the principles of fraternal mutual aid, and a joint interest in the blossoming of each of our countries and of the entire socialist comity. At the present stage our international cooperation has reached the level of successfully developing socialist economic integration. It combines our comprehensive efforts within the joint solution of a great variety of problems. Practically all units of the party, soviet, and economic organism, and the broad network of public organizations are involved in this gigantic project. Today hundreds and thousands of Soviet people work in the fraternal countries, helping their foreign friends to build important national economic projects. A number of workers and specialists from the fraternal countries work in our country as well. All of us have become accustomed to this situation, considering it entirely natural, and strengthening it in every possible way.

A socialist competition is developing as well, covering today the collectives of related enterprises and organizations of our countries, and plant and association workers linked through cooperated supplies, and construction organizations involved in the building of joint projects. Currently over 900 Soviet enterprises are competing with collectives of related enterprises in the socialist countries. The extent to which the roots of such fraternal relations are deep and life bearing is confirmed by the outstanding initiative

of the collective of the Krasnyy Chepel' Combine. As we know, the collective was among the initiators of the competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and adopted specific pledges for the ahead-of-schedule implementation of deliveries to the Soviet Union. Our people welcomed with a feeling of profound satisfaction the presentation of the Order of the October Revolution to the Krasnyy Chepel' Combine, presented for its considerable contribution to the strengthening of Soviet-Hungarian friendship. The initiative of the Hungarian workers met with a lively response among all our friends. Assessing this movement, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "here we are dealing with qualitatively new phenomenon: the international movement of millions and millions of builders of the new world inspired by a single objective. This is an initiative of tremendous importance and with a great future."

In turn, the collectives of Soviet enterprises and organizations are trying to fulfill their international duty as best as possible, making a great contribution to the development of the economy of and training of cadres for the fraternal countries. Following the example of the collective of the Volga association for the production of passenger cars, in honor of CEMA's anniversary, a competition was launched under the slogan of "Fulfill the Orders of Friends on Time and on a High Quality Level!" The initiative of the Soviet automobile manufacturers is spreading ever further among the labor collectives of the fraternal countries.

The people of Leningrad as well are making their contribution to this movement. The banners of the Elektrosila association, Leningrad University, the Polytechnical Institute, and other enterprises and schools bear the high awards presented by the members of the socialist comity. Thousands of Leningrad workers, specialists, and scientists proudly bear the orders and medals awarded by the fraternal countries, along with their Soviet orders and medals.

The strengthening relations between sister cities and their party organizations are very useful to the common cause. Lenin's city has become the sister city of many towns. We have organized long and firm contacts with Gdansk and Dresden. We are proud of the fact that in the western hemisphere, on the island of freedom, Leningrad's sister city is the great city of Santiago de Cuba and, in heroic Vietnam, the city bearing the name of leader of the courageous Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh.

We cooperating along all lines. Also traditional has become the conclusion of competition contracts among industrial and agricultural enterprises, and scientific, construction, and transportation organizations. High results are achieved through the joint efforts of specialists and workers involved in the joint solution of complex technical problems. The practice of exchanging groups of workers and specialists, and reciprocal participation in rallies of competition winners has proved its usefulness. The significance of such fruitful relations is familiar to all. We must not only strengthen existing experience but develop it further in the interests of our peoples, and for the sake of peace and social progress on earth.

V. Party Management of the Competition and Improving its Organization

The communist party is the decisive force insuring the extensive development of the competition. It brings to it high idea-mindedness and purposefulness. It insures broad scope and organization and the steady development of the patriotic movement of millions of people.

Guided by the decisions of the 25th congress and the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee the Leningrad party organization is systematically working to achieve the fullest possible practical utilization of the variety of ways and means of party management of the competition and the establishment of a comprehensive approach to this important work sector. Today, in our view, the following elements of this approach may be singled out:

First, insuring the development of the competition on the basis of the strict observance of its Leninist organizational principles;

Second, strengthening the unity of all competition functions: economic, social, and educational;

Third, clearly defining the main directions followed in the development of the socialist competition based on CPSU policy, taking into consideration the characteristics of the national economic sectors and labor collectives;

Fourth, developing collective and individual competition forms, insuring the comprehensive solution of problems of scientific and technical progress and achieving the best possible final national economic results;

Fifth, comprehensive ideological-political insurance of the effectiveness of the competition, and the steady development of the democratic foundations of the creative activities of the masses;

Finally, coordinating the actions of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and soviet and economic organs in organizing and developing the socialist competition.

The comprehensive approach to the management of this movement is directly determined by the entire practice of the elaboration and implementation of plans for economic and social development, for plans at all levels--individual collective, rayon, Leningrad City, or Leningrad Oblast--problems of organizing the competition and directing it to the solution of specific problems hold one of the central positions. Such problems are constantly studied at plenums and by the bureau of the oblast, city, and rayon party committees and the party committees of enterprises. Particular significance is ascribed to insuring the vanguard role of the party members and to upgrading the activity of shop party organizations and party groups. Meetings dedicated to the individual contribution of party members to the implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan have become an effective educational method. Such meetings, by decision of the CPSU oblast party bureau, are held on an annual basis with a single agenda followed by all units within the oblast party organization.

The practice of the party's management of the competition is being enriched through other forms of work as well. Special sections have been set up to deal with the competition within the councils for economic and social development of the oblast, city, and rayon party committees. The rayon and city party committees have been instructed to study profoundly problems which are being resolved more successfully by another rayon or city. This enables us to coordinate the activities of all organizations and to sum up and to disseminate progressive experience more operatively.

Practical science conferences on the further improvement of the competition have been held in all rayons and at numerous enterprises. Similar conferences were held on the sectorial level. The Krasnyy Vyborzhets Association held a seminar for first secretaries of city and rayon party committees. The party committees are trying to utilize as completely as possible the results of the activities of people's control organs, the permanent commissions of local soviets, and the financial and other controlling organizations who are extensively studying the use of capacities and promoting the determination of production reserves. The materials and conclusions of such investigations contribute to the adoption of greater obligations and counter plans.

Such adamant work to develop the creative activeness of the masses and upgrade the effectiveness of the competition is yielding positive results. The assignments for the first three years of the five-year plan on the growth of the volumes of output and labor productivity were overfulfilled. Goods worth over 570 million rubles were produced over and above the annual plans.

Following the 25th party congress, the Central Committee has repeatedly rated highly the successes achieved by Leningrad's labor collectives. Based on the results of the all-union competition in the 10th Five-Year Plan, Leningrad and its oblast have been awarded every year the Red Challenge Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee. A number of cities and rayons and tens of labor collectives have been proclaimed winners in the all-union and the all-Russian competition. In answer to this high assessment, the party organizations are focusing their efforts on the more effective solution of the problems formulated by the party, and the utilization of all reserves for the successful implementation of the five-year plan for economic and social development.

This entire work is directly related to improving the organization of the competition whose possibilities are not always used to the fullest extent. The competition is not always focused on the solution of the main problems or on reducing all kinds of losses. For example, we must display greater persistence in the dissemination of the brigade system following the method of the famous Moscow construction worker Hero of Socialist Labor N. A. Zlobin. Many collectives could achieve better results had they mastered more effectively the Shchekino experience. Some of our enterprises are not fulfilling their planned assignments. Consequently, in this case the application of the Rostov initiative could be of great help. Pledges are not always

formulated with proper substantiation from the economic viewpoint and the results of their implementation are frequently summed up with delays. Formalism has not been totally eliminated as yet in the organization of the labor competition. How can we forget, in this connection, the outstanding sections in Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's memoirs "Malaly Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], properly awarded the Lenin Prize, clearly describing the pulse beat of purposeful and truly militant party work, including the field of competition organization. Leonid Il'ich convincingly proved that all success is directly related to the level of this work and the utilization of the entire arsenal acquired by the party. Drawn from the depth of life, such conclusions remain topical to this day. They provide us with a clear lesson of how to be able to assess circumstances, single out the main link, and lead the people to obtaining the planned objectives.

Further improvements in the competition are directly dependent also on the solution of a number of ripe national economic problems. A number of suggestions have been received on the stabilization of annual plans coordinated with the assignments of the five-year plan. Their authors believe that upgrading the assigned growth rates for the volumes of output and labor productivity are the creative project of the collective of the specific enterprise whose obligations must be considered by the ministry and, if judged expedient, approved as a counter plan and provided with proper financial and material support. We consider this formulation of the matter correct.

The criteria for determining competition winners must be seriously reworked. So far we frequently come across the desire to accomplish the unaccomplishable, and to include as many indicators as possible. Obviously, the task is to find and formulate obligation items which could be checked both quantitatively and qualitatively. This fully applies to problems of moral and material incentives for the participants and winners of the competition.

As the competition develops further, the movement for a communist attitude toward labor will have an ever greater impact on its forms and content. This enhances requirements related to the organization of the movement and the awarding and presentation of honorary titles. It is precisely in this area that we must block formalism, red tape or anything against which the party members must struggle firmly. Awarding high titles to brigades and communist labor shock workers, we must always be guided by Lenin's instruction that "Such an honorable title must be earned through long and adamant toil, and through practical success in a truly communist type of construction" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 39, p 26). Scientists from various branches of knowledge must participate more actively in the elaboration of effective recommendations related to these and other problems. Life itself calls for considerably upgrading the level of scientific research for the entire set of problems related to the organization of the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor.

The Soviet people face major and responsible assignments at the final stage of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The creative energy of the socialist competition is focused on their successful implementation, a socialist competition which, as noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 50th anniversary of the First Five-Year Plan, was born through the historical creativity of the masses and was scientifically organized by the communist party.

The party shows constant concern for the further strengthening of the role of the competition in the life of the Soviet society. It teaches us not to be satisfied with achievements and tirelessly to fight shortcomings. "We do not need noise and agitation on the subject of the competition," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1978 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "We need the lively interest of every working person and labor collective in improving the work. . . . We need effective initiatives, truly coming from the thick of the masses, capable of inspiring and firing millions of people." The party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and soviet and economic organs have the primary task of summing up and comprehensively supporting progressive experience, seeing to it that it becomes available to the entire nation.

Through the broad scope of the competition for the successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan the Soviet people are confirming their unanimous approval of the party's Leninist course and domestic and foreign policy, as well as the fruitful activities of the Central Committee, and Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The monolithic unity between party and people is a guarantee for our new successes in the implementation of the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the great plans for the building of communism.

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TOPICAL ISSUES OF MORAL EDUCATION

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[Article by G. Aliyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee. Article based on reports submitted at the All-Union Practical Science Conference on "Molding an Active Position in Life: Experience and Topical Problems of Moral Education," held in Baku on 25-27 April 1979]

[Text] Soviet society has reached a development stage in which the level of conscientiousness and the political and moral culture of a person have become one of the decisive factors for success in all sectors of communist construction. Under such circumstances the role and significance of the communist education of the working people become particularly important. As the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" notes, the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR and the tremendous growth of the material and spiritual potential of the country have created extensive possibilities for the implementation of the program objectives of our party in the field of molding the communist awareness of the people.

Relying on the Leninist tradition and summing up the experience in the building of socialism and communism, the party is creatively enriching the science of Marxism-Leninism. The time following the October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum has held an important position in the theoretical elaboration and practical solution of communist construction problems. During that time Marxist-Leninist theory was enriched with new concepts and conclusions contained in the documents of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th party congresses and Central Committee plenums. They have defined the specific directions to be followed in raising the Soviet people in a spirit of communist idea-mindedness, high moral requirements, and intolerance of hostile ideology and bourgeois morality.

The 25th congress deemed it necessary that the effectiveness and quality of ideological work be upgraded and called for the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the organization of the entire matter of education. This means insuring close unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing,

taking into consideration the characteristics of the various groups of working people. It is a question of converting the education of the public into an organically integral process which presumes the interconnection between political education and the elaboration of a communist attitude toward labor, upgrading the sociopolitical and labor activeness of the Soviet people, and shaping their civic and moral maturity. †

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, is making a major contribution to the development of revolutionary science. His works, reports, and speeches are a model of creative enrichment of the theory and practice of scientific communism. Leonid Il'ich's books, "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], encompassing the amazing spiritual world of the Soviet person, the communist, convincingly reproduce the dialectics governing the shaping of the mind of our contemporary in whose heart there is place for common concerns and important public interests, thoughts on the destinies of the world, and a feeling of personal involvement with history. This outstanding artistic-historical trilogy was deservedly crowned with the Lenin Prize.

The works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev are a true party leadership encyclopedia or all party, soviet, ideological, and economic cadres.

I

The shaping of the high moral qualities of the individual is the most important facet of his comprehensive and harmonious development. The principles of communist morality, embodied in the minds and behavior of the people, enhance them, give life a profound social meaning, and ennoble them through their service to the communist ideals. Our morality is inseparably linked with public and private interests. It helps man to assume an active position in the struggle for the happiness of the people.

Operating under contemporary conditions as a factor for upgrading political awareness, labor activeness, and enrichment with experience and knowledge, moral education molds the vital position of the Soviet person. "Nothing enhances the individual more," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev states, "than an active position in life, a conscientious attitude toward public duty, when unity of word and action becomes the daily norm of behavior. The elaboration of such a position is the task of moral education."

An active position in life is a summing indicator of the effectiveness of the ideological-moral education of the masses, and an effective means for testing the moral foundations of the individual. It is established in the struggle for communism on the basis of high political conscientiousness, infinite loyalty to the socialist homeland, and loyalty to international duty. It is embodied in the purposeful struggle for the implementation of the party's plans.

Expressing the communist orientation of the individual, and the blending of its willpower, ideological-moral motives, and qualities, the active position in life helps the person to formulate and resolve new problems, find his way in critical situations, act decisively, and assume responsibility. It demands the constant enrichment of his inner world and a knowledge of all spiritual riches created by mankind.

An active position in life represents an irreconcilable attitude toward the enemies of socialism and toward any violation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is tempered in the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, the vestiges of private ownership mentality, and the opposite of communist morality.

Communist idea-mindedness is the base for an active position in life. It was, is, and will remain a powerful source of our strength. It is impossible to become the conscious builder of a new society without feeling the truth of the great Marx-Engels-Lenin doctrine and without being imbued with communist morality. Loyal service to one's socialist homeland, conscientious attitude toward labor, high conscientiousness, and readiness to help one another are the new, Soviet features of the character and behavior of the people. Our law of life is not mine but ours, and not for me but for the entire society.

The ideological-moral qualities of the working people are shaped in the course of the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and CPSU policy. The party training system, secondary and higher education, and people's universities for sociopolitical knowledge have opened broad opportunities for the profound mastery of Marxism-Leninism by virtually every single Soviet person. Mastering revolutionary science is based not only on convictions but on the entire spiritual world, character, and the person's position in life.

Unity between theory and practice, and the comprehensive solution of socio-economic and ideological-moral problems represents the most effective means for obtaining rich results from labor enthusiasm, initiatives, sociopolitical activities, the social creativity of the working people and, in the final account, the moral blossoming of the individual.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," directing the party committees to the solution of topical problems of communist education, demands of them increased effectiveness and concreteness of propaganda and agitation, increased ties with life and with the solution of economic and political problems. "The Soviet person," the decree states, "must be clearly aware of the social significance of his individual participation in the implementation of national economic plans and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress as a decisive prerequisite for the further strengthening of the power of the homeland and the victory of communism." These words clearly express the significance of an active position in life which must be inherent in every member of our society.

Resolving practically the problem of molding the new man, mature socialism also develops higher criteria with which to assess the behavior of every member of society in production and life, and in his working and free time. It raises the requirements regarding the moral qualities of the individual and, consequently, the criteria governing the entire system of ideological and moral upbringing. Today criteria such as moral reliability of the individual, worker's conscience, a high spiritual feeling, and a feeling of ownership directly influence the effectiveness and quality of labor and all social affairs.

Guided by the stipulations of the CPSU program and the decisions of the 24th and 25th party congresses, the party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, ideological institutions, and creative unions must pay greater attention to the practical problems of asserting communist morality. These problems were extensively and fruitfully discussed at the All-Union Practical Science Conference on "Molding an Active Vital Position: Experience and Topical Problems of Moral Education," recently held in Baku. Its proceedings summed up the rich experience in educational work acquired by the country's party organizations. The conference emphasized the need for bringing to light moral aspects in all directions of ideological work, building it on a scientific foundation with the comprehensive consideration of the social, national, and specific-historical characteristics of each republic and of the USSR as a whole.

2

The molding of high moral qualities in the Soviet person and of his morality and world outlook is achieved by surmounting existing shortcomings and in the struggle against negative phenomena. "There can be no victory for communist morality," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "without a decisive struggle against its opposites such as grubbing, bribery, parasitism, slander, anonymous denunciations, drunkenness, and so on. The struggle with that which we describe as vestiges of the past in the words and actions of the people is a matter requiring the constant attention of the party and of all conscientious progressive forces of our society."

The vestiges of the past are the main evil which seriously harms moral education, social and economic practice, and the principles of socialist community life. This includes, above all, a petit bourgeois private ownership mentality, and the customs and mores of the old world which became rooted in the minds of the people in the course of the centuries. Based on the morality of obsolete classes, they penetrate the mind and way of life of some members of our society, and assume the durability of prejudices. Their durability is assisted by the complex mechanism of social inertia, and by the underestimating of the harm they cause to the development of new social relations. "With luck an institution may be eliminated instantaneously," V. I. Lenin has pointed out. "There is no luck which would enable us to eliminate immediately a habit" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 361). Reworking all customs and mores demands painstaking and purposeful ideological work, and increased effectiveness in the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

Paying greater attention to problems of the spiritual-moral advancement of man is directly linked with the systematic solution of the main problem of our party: upgrading the people's prosperity. Our party rejects both the preaching of poverty and asceticism as well as the cult of consumption, the mentality of the philistine who cherishes money. To us material goods are not a self-seeking aim but a prerequisite for the all-round development of the individual. As practical experience indicates, however, the microbes of a militant philistinism and individualism contaminate a certain segment of the people with a private ownership, a consumer mentality, an aspiration to acquire things, "with the disease of material objects." In such cases the life of a person becomes filled not by ideals but by things which enslave him and make him heartless.

The desire to take from the state more and to give it less, slovenliness and negligence at work, petty cupidity, and avoidance of responsibility to society are incompatible with the Soviet way of life. Such faults frequently lead to fraud, eye-washing, thievery and acquisition of socialist property.

The opposites of the norms governing socialist community life are misuse of official position, bribery, and string pulling. As disgusting vestiges of the past, today as well they corrupt the minds of some people, trigger indifference toward social problems, and weaken faith in the power of the law and justice. No less dangerous are the concealed and initially not always noticeable manifestations of immorality: parasitism, cynicism, hypocrisy, lack of modesty, and disrespect for the people. With all their variety, these negative phenomena have a common denominator--individualism, pitting oneself against the collective.

Indifference has its roots in the world of self-love, alienation, and cupidity. In fact, the indifferent individual does not break the laws himself. He neither profiteers nor insults anyone. However, ignoring such phenomena, he thus contributes to the evil which remains unpunished. In our society where man is the master of his fate and master of his country, he cannot remain alien to someone else's happiness or sadness. Struggle with social indifference is, in the final account, struggle for the Soviet person.

The party calls for fighting the vestiges of the past systematically and purposefully. The mobilization of the broad masses and the creation of an atmosphere of social condemnation and scorn toward the violators of our morality are major prerequisites for an effective moral upbringing. The task is, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, pursuing this objective "to make full use of the opinion of the labor collective, a critical word in the press, methods of persuasion, and the force of the law--all means at our disposal."

Our republic has acquired a certain experience in the organization of moral upbringing. The system is based on the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 24th and 25th party congresses, Central Committee plenums, and CPSU Central Committee decrees, and the tasks formulated in

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses, dedicated to the development and strict observance of the norms of party life and principles of management, the further improvement of organizational, economic, and ideological activities, and intra-party democracy. We have carefully studied the experience of the party organizations and labor collectives of a number of cities, oblasts, krays, and union republics.

In their time problems of moral education acquired particular urgency in Azerbaijan. As we know, at the end of the 1960's major omissions and errors occurred in the activities of the republic's party organization. For a long time the pace of development of its economy lagged behind average union indicators. Errors in party-organizational and ideological work led to gross violations of the Leninist principles of party management and seriously damaged sociopolitical and moral life.

Resolving the problems of economic and social development and eliminating the shortcomings which had accumulated, we assigned an important role to moral factors: intensifying the ideological-educational work of the party organizations, upgrading the moral prestige of party and economic cadres, asserting the principles of justice and objectivity in big and small matters, and improving the moral-political atmosphere in the labor collectives and the republic at large. We realized that without this we would be unable to resolve the complex economic and sociopolitical problems. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee extensively acquainted the public with the existing situation, frankly mentioned all faults and earmarked means for their elimination. The measures which were earmarked mobilized the party members and all working people of town and country to wage a decisive struggle against violations of the party's bylaws, the norms of communist morality, and the Soviet laws.

The vanguard role of the party members and cadre responsibility were upgraded. Party and state discipline was strengthened. All this became the base for improving the activities of the party and state apparatus and for successes in economic and cultural progress.

The republic's achievements, said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his Baku speech, "are the result of the purposeful organizational, political, and ideological-educational work of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee, and of the republic's party organizations, as well as the result of the active labor efforts of the entire people of Azerbaijan. It is the result of the improved atmosphere and moral and psychological climate which influenced without delay the results of economic activities as well."

Moral education became an organic element of our entire work. Today we can speak of moral education as of an existing system.

Naturally, we are far from the thought of overestimating our accomplishments. We still have many shortcomings and unresolved problems. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee is self-critically analyzing the situation

prevailing in the socioeconomic life of the republic and considers further improvements along all directions in communist education a prerequisite for the successful solution of the problems set by the party. Strengthening the active position in life of every member of society and the ideological and moral enhancement of the individual is a difficult yet noble task. The Azerbaijan party organization is focusing its attention, forces, and experience on its implementation.

3

The truly socialist individual develops in the course of the struggle for communism and for the establishment of the new way of life. The active position in life of the Soviet person imbues all areas--labor, political, spiritual, and family. The pivot of this process is free toil, the basic source of prosperity and of the moral health of society, and a generous field for the moral ennoblement of the individual. The labor collective, whose role and significance have been legislatively codified in the new USSR Constitution, is the main educator of the Soviet person and the mold of his lofty ideological and moral qualities.

The collective teaches the person to work with total dedication and conscientiousness, and to be proud of his work. It teaches him how to think on a broad scale, like a statesman, and to participate like a statesman in the solution of all major and minor problems of the country. It teaches class principle-mindedness in assessing one's own plans, actions, and social accomplishments. In a word, it teaches socialist collectivism.

Metaphorically speaking, our homeland is a single labor collective of millions of people, our common home, our school, in which the Soviet people are gradually rising along the steps of ideological and civic maturity. This is the greatest accomplishment of the communist party and of our socialist society.

The growth of the labor and political activeness of the people directly depends on the ideological-political and moral-psychological condition of the labor collective. The more united it is, and the stronger its party nucleus and higher its ideological and civic maturity, the more active becomes the position in life of every worker.

Implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee pays close attention to upgrading the role of production collectives in the ideological-moral education of the people. We try to make every collective the bearer of high political conscientiousness, unity, and socialist labor discipline. All ideological work of the party organizations, focused on promoting a healthy moral-psychological environment, is directed toward reaching this objective. The beneficial atmosphere of collectivism and comradeship contributes to the growth of the initiative and activeness of the people and offer broad scope for the display of the moral energy of every person.

Off shore, way away from the Caspian Sea, the famous Neftyanyye Kamni Collective is at work. The legendary Neftograd, today accounting for 22% of the entire petroleum produced by the republic, is 30 years old. Throughout this time the party organization and labor collective have raised a real spiritual nobility. The petroleum veterans share with each new generation their loyalty to the work. This outstanding tradition of the collective is enriched in the struggle for high economic indicators under most complex situations created by the elements. It molds the strong characters of morally firm and purposeful people. The efforts of the oil workers offshore, Leonid Il'ich said, is more than heroic.

Good experience in moral education has been acquired also by the young collective of the Baku Household Air Conditioners Plant as well. Built in record time, this modern enterprise is a sign of the future diversified industry of the republic. In the course of the tense period of construction, operational cadres were trained and the high moral potential of the future workers' nucleus was established. The plant has been in operation no more than three years, and its entire output bears the Emblem of Quality. This is a vivid confirmation of the high professional, political, and moral standards of the collective, the average age of whose workers is 27.

Enhancing even further the moral prestige of socially useful labor and raising the individual in the struggle for production effectiveness and higher work quality is the main way leading to improved collectivistic relations. Ignoring such requirements, and ignoring the needs and requirements of the people, narrow practicalism, and underestimating of spiritual factors harm moral education, create grounds for gross violations of the principles of socialist economic management and for abuses of official positions, and, in the final account, result in production decline.

Such a situation developed, for example, in the 8th Five-Year Plan at the Azerbaijan Pipes Rolling Plant—one of the biggest enterprises in the republic. A thorough study of the situation indicated that along with shortcomings and omissions in engineering and technological work and in modernizing the enterprise, the reasons for its lagging could be found in violations of the party principles governing the selection of cadres, violations of labor laws, and inattentive attitude toward requirements, suggestions, and the way of life and leisure time of the workers. The republic's Communist Party Central Committee implemented measures aimed, above all, at improving the moral atmosphere in the collective. The plant's director was removed from his position and expelled from the party, and other managers were punished for negligence, eye-washing, and alienation from the working people. Attention was focused on resolving problems of technical retooling and promoting concern for every working person, his training, recreation, and way of life, and observing an objective attitude toward the people. The enterprise changed. For the past nine years the plant has been successfully developing and fulfilling its plans and obligations. Today the collective is distinguished by its unity and high moral-political mood.

Ideological-political work and the moral tempering of the working people must be built in production collectives in accordance with their specific features and nature of their work. For example, a collective of machine builders producing productive capital requires a specific approach while another approach might be adopted to those who produce consumer goods for the country.

Moral upbringing in trade, public catering, consumer services, urban transportation, communications, and housing-communal resources must be distinguished by particular exactingness and depth. Over half a million people are employed in these areas directly affecting the more than six million strong population of Azerbaijan. The efficiency, operativeness, purposefulness, and professional standards of the working people in this huge area largely determine the mood of the people and, consequently, the results of our common toil.

Yet, many serious shortcomings and, occasionally, negative phenomena such as fraud, profiteering, stealing, extortionism, rudeness, and inattentiveness, may be found in the service industry. This is explained largely by omissions in ideological work and errors in moral upbringing. We are systematically fighting such phenomena and their carriers and have achieved considerable results. However, a great deal remains to be done to make such efforts even more effective.

Health care substantially influences the moral and psychological condition of the people. We sincerely respect the selfless and noble workers in Soviet medicine. However, sad though this might be, immoral actions have been committed in some medical institutions. Cases of indifferent and callous attitude toward people and of extortionism shame the good reputation of the physician. We are actively struggling for the elimination of all negative aspects in the work of such collectives, considering this an important part of ideological work.

The socialist labor collective sets as the level to be reached in the adoption of an active position in life selfless performance of social duty, warm concern for man, and the aspiration of the working people to reach moral perfection. The specific limits of the embodiment of this norm become apparent in the course of the socialist competition which is a powerful means for the development of the creative initiative of the masses and the education of the new man.

4

The active vital position of a person is shaped by his entire way of life. Its foundations are laid in childhood in the family. The high role of the family in the life of our society has been legislatively codified in the new USSR Constitution. The entire family atmosphere influences the moral foundations of the individual. The attention which the spouses pay to one another, the scope of their spiritual interests, the desire to share

responsibility for the strength of their union, and the very atmosphere of reciprocal understanding and respect are of great importance. We must strengthen not only the material but the spiritual base of the family.

Family education is based on a moral foundation such as parental love and the corresponding feelings of the children. Their parents are their first spiritual tutors. It is in them that the children see the example to emulate. Should the microbe of immorality penetrate the world of the family, and should the child see that family funds have been acquired dishonestly it may develop a morality with a "double bottom." The drunkenness of the elders triggers hatred on the part of the adolescent; hypocrisy corrupts his mind and boorishness creates cynicism. A number of negative phenomena may be traced to the low moral standard of the family. The philistine vaingloriousness of the parents and their desire to provide the child with expensive clothing and adornments, and to release it from domestic obligations create a consumer, a weak-willed and passive person. That is how a mentality of parasitism, willfulness and egotism is developed.

Other aspects of family relations also influence social affairs. The atmosphere developing in the private world affects not only members of the family but the collective where they work and the spiritual disposition of many people. The collective cannot stand aside from intrafamily problems. Naturally, relations between the collective and the individual family are a delicate matter demanding particular thoughtfulness, sensitivity, and tactfulness. They should not include petty supervision or persistent moralizing. The family needs friendly help, concern, and warm participation.

The organization of moral education at home assumes great importance. The time has come to seriously consider universal pedagogical training for parents, particularly needed by young families. However, work at home does not end there. The range of problems is considerably broader: the interrelationship between the collective and the micro-rayon, concern for the recreation of young people, the creation of clubs for interesting meetings, and many others. This must be the daily concern of the party committees. Problems of work at home must be reflected more fully and accurately in the plans for the socio-economic development of each labor collective.

Resolving the problem of the leisure time which, according to Marx, is a yardstick of the social wealth, serves to strengthen the moral health of the family and the individual, the collective, and society at large. In our society leisure time is used in the interest of the all-round development and upgrading the spiritual potential of man. Implementing a program for the growth of the people's prosperity, the party is systematically reducing the working time and, in the final account, pursuing precisely this objective.

Leisure time is a social wealth which could and should be used thriftily and carefully, through social activeness, broadening one's own outlook, upgrading one's professional and general culture, and engaging in sports. The party organizations, soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol,

and the labor collectives must help the people, the young in particular, in this area. So far we are not using with sufficient effectiveness clubs and palaces of culture for educational work. We believe that the time has come to develop in citizen villages new sociocultural centers which would enable us to increase mass political work, improve aesthetic education, broaden possibilities for technical creativity, and insure conditions for engaging in physical culture and sports.

The school greatly determines the direction of the line which the young citizen will follow in his life. Under the conditions of universal secondary education every young person undergoes school training, as is there is no other path. Here, along with acquiring knowledge, he learns the elements of collectivism and comradeship and becomes familiar with true rather than false spiritual values. The school gives the boys and girls the foundations of a Marxist-Leninist outlook. It promotes industriousness, intolerance of bourgeois ideology and morality, and readiness to defend the socialist fatherland. These are the specific lines of an active position in life which pass through the classroom and the classroom desk.

Now, when the task is to train young people for practical work and for life in the broad meaning of the term, the training process must be linked ever more closely with moral upbringing. It is important to help every adolescent to find the answer not only to the question of "who to become?" but, which is considerably more important, "what to become?" Unfortunately, so far, poor use is still being made of the possibilities offered by school self-management and the sociopolitical and labor education of the working people. As in the past, the school offers little and timid training to the children in developing their autonomy, ability to assume responsibility, being firm in decision making, and assert their activeness.

The higher school plays a considerable role in the ideological-political education of the youth. The VUZ party and Komsomol organizations try to link more closely student training with research and the solution of specific economic and scientific problems. They pay great attention to the students' sociopolitical practice. To this purpose extensive use is being made of the pledges taken on the basis of the Leninist examinations, participation in the labor semester, artistic creativity, sports, and the social life of the student collective. That is how the abilities and talents of the future production organizer and educator are discovered and polished and their active position in life strengthened.

Successes achieved in educational work are directly related to the condition of the moral-political atmosphere, initiative, and militancy of party and Komsomol organizations of higher school collectives. Unfortunately, the abandonment of previously established principles of education and upbringing led, in the 1960's, to gross distortions in the work of the higher educational institutions in our republic. Here and there the roots of abuse of official position, string pulling, and bribery were sunk, particularly in periods of acceptance examinations, and the percentage of high school graduates from

workers' and kolkhos members' families declined considerably. We have directed the party organizations to the need to surmount such negative phenomena. The publicity of the adopted measures and upgrading the exactingness toward rectors and the faculty, and improvements in the activities of party and Komsomol organizations improved circumstances in VUZ's as well. Currently there are objective competitions for each of the 120,000 young men and women who take entrance examinations annually. Honesty and justice in entrance examinations have restored the faith of the people in the fact that only deep knowledge opens the way to the VUZ.

The young people are the future of our country, its pride, and its hope. It is the duty of the Komsomol organizations at all levels of moral education--in the labor collectives, families, secondary school, and VUZ--to train our young replacements for life and selfless toil, and the ability to think creatively. They must promote in the young people a class approach to all manifestations of bourgeois ideology and the ability accurately to find their place in the close and united ranks of the fighters for communism. "The young generation of country," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "must properly continue the work of their fathers. Under conditions of peaceful construction it must develop the qualities which their elders developed in the course of the fierce and cruel class struggle--firmness, courage, and infinite loyalty to revolutionary ideals. Naturally, achieving this is no simple matter. In addition to theoretical training this requires extensive work to develop one's character."

We are encouraging the Komsomol committees to teach the young people a critical attitude toward their shortcomings and achieve better results in their work, in upgrading their skills, and in self-education. The young men and women must check their lives, accomplishments, and aspirations against the communist ideals and struggle for their practical implementation. The republic's party committees are attentively seeing to it that all Komsomol organizations strictly implement the CPSU Central Committee requirement of intensifying the political, labor, and moral training of the young people, developing in them the desire for knowledge, culture, professional skills, and a thrifty attitude toward the people's good. This is a prerequisite for developing an active position in life by every young citizen of the Soviet state.

5

The task of improving the moral education of the working people at the present stage calls for upgrading further the level of party management of ideological activities. This means to promote and develop even more adamantly and at all party levels, the Leninist style and best ways and means of organizational and ideological-educational work, comprehensively to upgrade the discipline, and enhance the responsibility of party members and all working people for the fulfillment of their obligations.

Practical experience proves that the higher the level of party management becomes and the better the production indicators are, the healthier becomes

the moral-psychological climate within the labor collective, rayon, city, or republic. The ability of the party committees thoughtfully to study the entire variety of projects and to single out within them the moral aspects largely depends of the effectiveness of the system of moral education and the elaboration of an active position in life.

It is precisely such an approach adopted by the oblast, city, and rayon party committees, specific guidance, and profound study of the needs and concerns of each social category of the population that contributed to the assertion of the high moral criteria and principles governing sociopolitical life in Baku, the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR, the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast, Sumgait, other cities and rayons, and our entire republic.

The effectiveness of the organizational mechanism for moral education within the primary party organizations, individual work with the people, extensive dissemination of positive experience in the life and work of party veterans and production innovators predetermined the leading position reached by Leninskiy Rayon, the oldest petroleum extraction area in the country. Also worthy of dissemination is the experience of the Sabirabadskiy Rayon party committee which has drawn the attention of the primary party organizations to the moral aspects of the progressive experience of kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Ipatovskiy Rayon in Stavropol'skiy Kray, Yampol'skiy Rayon in Vinnitskaya Oblast, and the best farms in Azerbaijan. The fruitfulness of this approach was manifested in the sharp improvement of the intensiveness and quality of the work. Last year the rayon obtained record setting grain and cotton yields which, compared with the 8th Five-Year Plan, rose severalfold.

The systematic improvement of the activities of party committees in the field of moral education called for further improvements of plans and the content of their work, and for determining the topical problems which are systematically submitted for consideration by bureaus, oblasts, city, and rayon party committee plenums, party meetings, and meetings of workers and employees in labor collectives.

The primary party organizations rallying the production collectives, engaged in individual work with the people, and promoting their social and labor activeness have become centers of practical activities in moral education. Corresponding commissions and groups have been set up at the Baku Petroleum Machine Building Plant imeni Leytenant Shmidt, the refinery imeni Vladimir Il'ich, and many other enterprises, and kolkhozes and sovkhoses, organized by the party committees who set up a system of individual work with the help of a broad aktiv.

The party committees coordinate the activities of governmental institutions, soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, the Komsomol, economic organs, mass information and propaganda media, schools, VUZ's, scientific research institutions, and creative associations. They see to it that this work is conducted within a single channel and conformed to the common tasks of molding high moral qualities of the Soviet person and the struggle against the opposites of our morality.

The proper choice and placement of cadres and the objective assessment of their merits and shortcomings are the most important components of the efficient and creative atmosphere within each collective. The all-round consideration of their practical, political, and moral qualities, and the consideration of public opinion in the promotion of a worker and in the subsequent constant control and help in the course of his practical activities predetermine the production successes of the collective and contribute to its moral advancement. Neglect of such factors in cadre work invariably leads to adverse consequences.

String pulling, nepotism, the desire to settle one's relatives in positions closer to one's own and under one's immediate subordination and give them undeserved privileges cause great harm to the moral-political atmosphere within the collective. Unfortunately, such was precisely the trend noted toward the end of the 1960's in our republic. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee adopted a number of basic and decisive measures toward managers who failed to justify the trust invested in them and who had violated the norms of party-mindedness and morality. Several leading workers in party, soviet, and economic organs, including the former republic prosecutor, and the former first secretaries of Kyurdamirskiy, Shemakhinskiy, Khachmasskiy, and Kazakhskiy Rayon party committees, who had protected the grubbers, bribers, and plunderers of socialist property were removed from their positions and expelled from the party. However, recidivism still occurs in this area.

In order to achieve a deep penetration of communist morality in the minds and behavior of the people, its noble principles must be embodied, above all, in the work of each party organization and the character of every party member and leader. As Lenin pointed out, "If we conscientiously teach the workers and peasants discipline we must begin with ourselves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 50, p 63).

Our party and its central committee are particularly strict toward communist managers. The decree "On Further Improvements in Ideological and Political-Educational Work" notes that at the present stage we must upgrade the responsibility of leading cadres for the educational consequences of economic activities. Whatever his sector, the manager must take into consideration sociopolitical and educational aspects as well. He must be responsive to the people and to their needs and demands. In order to manage, which also means to teach and educate the people, a person must have the moral right to do so. This presumes a blend of idea-mindedness, efficiency, and moral purity within the worker himself. The assertion of the moral authority of the leader is inconceivable without a decisive struggle against those who, as Lenin said, "have convictions which do not go deeper than the tip of their tongue" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 16, p 65).

Increasing the party's guidance of ideological work and moral education is directly linked with the development of efficient, principle-minded and constructive criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism--the

accurate barometer of the political health of a party organization--enables us to bring into action ever new creative popular forces, surmount shortcomings, and find means for the solution of ever more complex problems.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on ideological work notes that "Wherever criticism and self-criticism are not practiced and where there is no sufficient publicity in the field of social affairs the activities of the masses are directly harmed. Yet, it is precisely the activities of the masses that are an important source of strength of the socialist system."

Criticism from below, dictated by the desire of the people to improve the moral climate in their party organization, labor collective, rayon, and city, is particularly important. Such criticism is a clear indicator of the active outlook of the working people.

We could state with perfect confidence that the extensive development of criticism and self-criticism in our republic, the attentive attitude toward reports submitted by communists and non-party people, and their prompt and objective investigation have played an important role in surmounting shortcomings in party, economic, and cultural construction, in strengthening ideological work, and in increasing the effectiveness of the moral education of the working people.

The extensive development of criticism and self-criticism presumes the decisive opposition to all kinds of demagogues, slanderers, gossipers, skeptics, and philistines who are ready to inflate even the smallest shortcomings without doing anything for their elimination. The Leninist requirements regarding criticism call for becoming interested in the rapid and radical elimination of shortcomings rather than for biting statements or sensationalism.

We see to it that all decisions made by republic organs have not only a directival but a moral force, actively influencing public opinion and moral climate. The decrees of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee on problems of economic and cultural construction and ideological work are submitted for broad discussion which, in Lenin's words, we try to convert into lessons and practical wisdom, lessons in politics and morality.

The letters of the working people are an important form of expression of public opinion. They enable us to determine better the shortcomings and omissions in the work of enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, ministries, departments, and party committees. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee Council for Sociological Research, and a number of institutes and problems laboratories in the republic are engaged in the study of public opinion. Combined studies enable the party committees to elaborate long-term plans for socioeconomic development and to upgrade the effectiveness of ideological work. The main thing, nevertheless, remains the daily, live, and comprehensive link between the party and the masses. The party members are always in the very thick of the masses and in the leading positions in

the building of communism. We are trying to strengthen and deepen such relations, and to analyze thoughtfully all sources of information coming from below. We carefully consider the suggestions, critical remarks, and wishes of the working people and draw timely conclusions. This is a mandatory condition for upgrading the effectiveness and quality of party work and of one of its basic directions--moral upbringing.

The problems of international and patriotic education of the working people, which we try to link closely with the solution of all other ideological problems and to the all-round strengthening of the internationalist moral-political climate within the labor collectives, remains the focal point of all political, organizational, and ideological activities of the Azerbaijan party organization.

The extensive use in ideological work of the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the Soviet people helps to mold an active position in life. The republic's party organizations are purposefully disseminating all-Soviet sociopolitical traditions, introducing in the way of life and culture of the working people new labor and civic ceremonies and rituals.

We must also bear in mind, however, that resolving problems of moral education and upgrading its effectiveness depend not only on our organizational efforts but on their scientific and theoretical elaboration. Of late Soviet scientific publications have begun to pay greater attention to problems of morality and its structures, functions, and development laws. However, so far we have remained unsatisfied with the scope and level of such studies. The science of ethics is lagging behind practical requirements.

The party workers expect of the scientists the profound theoretical interpretation of the experience and problems of moral education, the all-round establishment of the laws governing the moral development of the individual, and the study of ways and means for surmounting antisocial phenomena. The elaboration of problems of the scientific organization of the process of moral education, the correlation among its objectives and means, and the clarification of the characteristics of the educational approach to the various social and age categories of the population are of major importance.

Communist upbringing is a complex science, a fine art, an adamant and selfless toil. The party has called for raising this work to a new level and for making it consistent with the requirements of the socioeconomic and spiritual development of our society.

The molding of a harmoniously developed truly communist personality is the noble highly humanistic objective of our party. In our difficult progress toward this objective our road is always illuminated by the powerful beacon of the great Leninist thought that "The basis of communist morality is the struggle for the strengthening and completion of communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 313).

The historical plans of the 25th CPSU Congress are being successfully implemented through the selfless creative toil of the Soviet people. The Leninist course of the communist party, embodying the mind, honor, and conscience of our age, leads the Soviet society to new peaks of social and moral progress.

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WORK WITHOUT STRAGGLERS ACCORDING TO TENSE PLANS!

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[Letter to the editors by Hero of Socialist Labor G. Sonin, chairman, Rossiya Kolkhoz, Kozel'skiy Rayon, Kaluzhskaya Oblast]

[Text] The decisions of the July and November 1978 CPSU Central Committee plenums determined the ways of development of agriculture in our country and earmarked specific measures insuring its further upsurge. It makes it incumbent upon us, the rural workers, to seek and utilize all possibilities for upgrading production effectiveness, increasing the production of agricultural commodities, and improving their quality. We must see to it that every collective participate in the implementation of this task. The good example we can follow is the initiative of "Working without Stragglers," born in the industrial enterprises of Gor'kovskaya and Rostovskay oblasti.

At the November Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, said: "We need the live interest of every working person, and of each labor collective, in improving their work. We do not need farfetched 'initiatives.' We need effective initiatives, truly coming from the thick of the masses, capable of hiring, and inspiring millions of people. One of them is working without stragglers. It is precisely such initiatives that must be disseminated."

The initiative of the Gor'kiy and Rostov workers is of great importance not only to industry. Its objective is just as topical to agriculture where the share of lagging collectives is higher than in industry. A considerable increase in the production of grain, meat, milk, and other goods could be secured by eliminating the lagging of individual farms and seeing to it that all collectives fulfill their planned assignments.

It is a matter of honor for the rural workers comprehensively to support the initiative of the collectives of industrial enterprises and to utilize all reserves in order to work without stragglers and follow tense plans.

The rural party organizations play an important role in the dissemination of this initiative. The party members must stand in the front ranks of the competitors for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of state planned assignments and socialist pledges by every working person and collective.

As member of the All-Russian Council of Kolkhozes, I have frequently the occasion to meet the managers of the leading farms of the country and to discuss with them problems of organization of the competition for effectiveness and quality. Labor rivalry is gaining strength. With every passing year ever new names are added to the ranks of its winners--leading production workers and entire collectives are reaching levels seemingly inaccessible in the past. To many previous records have become work standards.

Typically, competition winners include many collectives which, until very recently, were at the tail end of the list of competitors. Such collectives, moving from lagging to leading, may be found in each republic, kray, oblast, or rayon. They are no rare exception. This proves that under the circumstances of the current overall agricultural upsurge great successes may be achieved by each sovkhos and kolkhoz.

Today all the necessary conditions have been provided for work without stragglers. With every passing year kolkhozes and sovkhoses are receiving an ever greater quantity of various modern machines. They employ a tremendous army of specialists. The comprehensive mechanization program is being extensively implemented. Production specialization and concentration, based on inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration, is being systematically applied. Steadily increasing its volume of output, agriculture is confidently following the path of intensification. The fact that under such conditions there still remain kolkhozes and sovkhoses with a low level of labor productivity who failed to fulfill their planned assignments should be the subject of a serious study of the reasons of this phenomenon and the adoption of specific measures for the elimination of shortcomings.

Frequently a variety of objective reasons are cited in an effort to explain the non-fulfillment of planned assignments. Indeed, even within a single rural rayon, different soil and weather conditions may prevail. We also know that farms located closer to highways and industrial centers are in a better position compared with more remote ones. Nevertheless, such differences could not be used as justifications for non-fulfillment of plans or "amending" them downwards, for in the formulation of planned assignments the real possibilities of the production collective, its resources, and its working conditions are always taken into consideration.

We believe that the poor work of one or another collective should be explained, above all, in terms of subjective rather than objective reasons. A great deal depends on the management--kolkhoz chairman, sovkhos director, or chief specialist, and on their ability to rally the collective for the sake of the noble objective, use progressive experience and the achievements of agricultural science, and make correct and economically substantiated decisions. They must also possess qualities such as initiative, a high feeling of responsibility, and the ability to lead the people and convince them through the strength of their personal example.

Planning discipline is entirely and fully based on labor discipline. Success is determined by the specific contribution of the individual worker and his

attitude toward the work. Wherever violations of labor discipline or a neglectful attitude toward obligations are allowed, however properly a plan might have been formulated, it will always be threatened by failure.

Cases of plan non-fulfillments confirm the existence of major shortcomings in the organization of the work and the management of the entire production process. This is manifested, in particular, in reduced attention to cost accounting, which directs the collective toward achieving high economic results and upgrading production quality, reducing production costs, and increasing output. This weakens the effect of the moral and material labor incentives which influences labor productivity. The level of production organization must be assessed on the way it guides the collective and the individual working person toward achieving the highest possible end results in all sectors of the kolhoz public farm.

No single violation of planning discipline should be ignored by the rural party organizations. Their task is to increase their exactingness toward economic managers, enhance individual responsibility for assignments, and insure daily control over the implementation of planned assignments.

Judging by submitted reports, all straggling collectives participate in the competition. Essentially, however, their participation is frequently formal. The people in such collectives have become accustomed to remaining at the tail end of the competitors and have lost faith in their forces. Yet, such collectives could make a considerable contribution to increasing the country's food resources. An easy computation shows that increasing output in a straggling farm by a single quintal could be achieved with lesser outlays than in a leading farm. For example, in our area, in the Nonchernozem, raising grain yields from 10 to 20 quintals per hectare would be far easier than from 30 to 40 quintals. In the straggling farms as, in fact, in average farms major unused possibilities could be found. We are confident that in the immediate future the main growth of agricultural output in the country will be achieved thanks to the utilization of such reserves.

The elimination of lagging and having all farms work on the basis of tense plans is one of the major conditions for increasing agricultural output. Let us take our Kozel'skiy Rayon as an example. As a whole, it dealt successfully with the assignments of the 1st 3 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan for the production and sale of agricultural commodities to the state and, based on 1978 results, was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU. Many collectives achieved considerable successes.

Yet, comparing results of activities of individual farms we cannot fail to see considerable disparities in their yield levels and volume of output per 100 hectares of farmland. The indicators of leading farms are higher than those of the stragglers by a 2-3 factor. It has been estimated that should straggling farms strictly implement their plans and obligations, they could provide additionally about 10,000 tons of various types of agricultural commodities, which would represent a substantial addition to the results

obtained by the entire rayon. Last year several kolkhozes showed a loss. The size of such losses ranged from 44,000 to 270,000 rubles. The elimination of such losses alone would enable us to raise the rayon income by nearly one million rubles. Such funds could be used to increase production facilities, for capital construction, and for upgrading the material prosperity of the rural workers.

The party and the government have appealed to all rural workers successfully to implement the plans and obligations of the 10th Five-Year Plan and to set up a firm base for the further upsurge of agriculture. We must not only eliminate the lagging of individual farms but see to it that all kolkhozes work on the basis of tense plans, steadily upgrading their economic effectiveness. We must increase the role of planning discipline and upgrade the responsibility of every individual for the results of his work. As practical experience indicates two to three years would be an entirely adequate time in the course of which a straggling collective, properly approaching the work, could achieve average or even higher results based on the rayon level.

Discussing reasons for shortcomings, and the need to increase the responsibility of straggling farms for the results of their work, we must also consider another aspect of this matter.

We cannot tolerate a situation in which individual heads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, having achieved considerable successes, believe that they have thus fully implemented their duty and show no interest in the affairs of their neighbors which may not be all that successful. We could say about such managers that they fail to understand, above all, the long-term developments of their own kolkhoz. The future of agriculture is related to extensive specialization and to the development of agro-industrial complexes within the rural rayon. Equalizing the results of the activities of production collectives on the basis of the highest indicator would be the basis for more advanced forms of inter-farm cooperation, requiring the efficient work of all the members of the association and the high economic effectiveness of the individual farm.

In order to eliminate the lagging we must comprehensively develop cooperation and organize steady help to the straggling farms. The relations of cooperation and mutual aid which are the basis of relations among labor collectives must be strengthened and developed even further.

Naturally, helping stragglers cannot and should not be based on a redistribution of farm production capital or monetary income. This would result in parasitism and equalizing and would lower the interest of the collectives in improving the results of their work. Only the type of aid and cooperation which insures the overall growth of output could be effective. Creative practical cooperation among production collectives may take a number of directions. Above all, however, it must contribute to the dissemination and application of progressive experience--the most valuable reserve for the acceleration of production growth. This reserve must be utilized most effectively.

The leading farms must help the stragglers to improve their production organization. Particular attention should be paid to the system of primary cost accounting. This would enable us to eliminate losses and achieve profitability in all sectors of the straggling farm and convert to wage systems which would encourage every working person to achieve the highest possible results.

The formulation of a set of measures for the application of progressive labor methods in crop growing and animal husbandry could considerably help the straggling farms. In this case progressive experience courses could play a major role.

With a view to improving the planning and elaboration of a set of agrotechnical measures in all farms cooperation should develop on the basis of the coordination of plans for agricultural work. This would enable us to concentrate the equipment in such a way as to help the straggling farms, use suitable zone strains for all farm crops, and improve selection and breeding work with a view to upgrading herd productivity.

Finally, a possible trend of cooperation would be the improvement of the infrastructure--the building of roads, landing and take-off runways for agricultural aviation, warehouses, and storage areas. We know that because of the shortage of storage bins for potatoes and vegetables, and of grain warehouses, many kolkhozes lose every year some of their harvest. All this affects the economic indicators of such farms, raises production costs and lowers effectiveness. In a number of farms infrastructural improvements would enable them to increase their volume of agricultural output no less than 10-20% by reducing losses alone. We must thoroughly plan the type of measures which could be jointly implemented presently in this area.

The ways and means of cooperation between leading and lagging collectives would be too numerous to enumerate. What is important is for such cooperation and mutual aid to be implemented, and reality itself would indicate which of the methods are the most effective.

The successful solution of the problems set by our party to agricultural workers largely depends on the level of organization of the socialist competition. In order to work without stragglers, on the basis of tense plans, we must achieve the most effective combination of two aspects of the competition--labor rivalry and comradesly mutual aid. In this connection, particular attention should be paid to the development of new forms of labor rivalry and to develop criteria for determining the winners.

Along with the existing conditions for summing up the results of the competition, should we define individual farm achievements on the basis of the annual growth of yields and the overall volume of output, the method would enable us to energize the participation of all working people in the competition. Increasing the growth rates of output, the collectives of straggling farms would acquire the same chances of winning the labor competition as the

leading farms. On the other hand, in order to strengthen cooperation among collectives, successfully to apply progressive experience, and to upgrade individual responsibility for common results, the participants in the competition should be rallied in groups (consisting of two to three farms each), headed by leading collectives. In such cases the results of the competition would be paid on overall results.

Encouraging all collectives to increase their economic effectiveness and upgrade the quality of their work, the use of this method for organizing the competition will also contribute to the intensification of production specialization and the further development of production cooperation.

The formulation of practical measures for the organization of the competition among rural working people, aimed at working without stragglers and on the basis of tense plans, should not be postponed but undertaken without delay. Taking into consideration the adversely developing weather conditions this year, it is particularly important to mobilize all rural workers for the implementation of planned assignments for the 4th year of the 10th Five-Year Plan and comprehensively use for this purpose the effective power of the socialist competition.

From the Editors

At our request the suggestions made in the letter by Kolkhoz movement veteran and Hero of Socialist Labor G. I. Sonin were discussed at a conference of the aktiv of the rayon party organization, held last April by the Kozel'skiy Rayon party committee with the participation of a representative of this periodical. The conference approved the initiative of the Rossiya Kolkhoz which has assumed sponsorship over two stragglers in order to help them reach leading positions.

Implementing the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the rayon working people have actively joined the competition for effectiveness and quality and achieved noticeable results in increasing the production of agricultural commodities. In order successfully to complete the five-year plan and fulfill obligations, the efforts of the competitors must be focused on the utilization of all kolkhoz production reserves, and eliminate the stragglers and losses of individual farms. Working without laggards on the basis of tense plans should be the objective of each collective and every participant in the competition, delegates to the conference said.

The speakers focused the attention on organizing practical aid to stragglers and applying progressive experience. They studied the reasons for the stragglers of individual kolkhozes. Criticizing shortcomings, they also indicated unused possibilities and suggested specific measures for upgrading the economic effectiveness of kolkhoz-sovkhoz production. M. I. Mitroshin, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Ordzhonikidze--one of the best in the rayon--emphasized that it is possible to surmount stragglers and eliminate losses within a short time by making full use of the potential of the land, paying

greater attention to farming standards, strictly implementing all agro-technical rules, and observe timetables for all agricultural operations. Helping the stragglers does not mean to complete their unfinished assignments. The approach to the solution of this problem should be the determination of the reasons for the straggling and the exposure of shortcomings in planning and production organization, and the providing of assistance leading to their elimination. In order to organize effective aid to stragglers and intensify control over work quality cooperation must be expanded. Joint sessions must be held by the kolkhoz boards for the formulation and coordination of joint measures. Specialists must visit more frequently their neighbors' fields and share their experience. Approving the Rossiya initiative, the working people of the Kolkhoz imeni Ordzhonikidze will sign a contract with two lagging farms and assume the obligation to help them to eliminate their lagging entirely within one to two years. To this effect a number of agro-technical and organizational measures will be elaborated and aid will be provided by supplying them with first and second grade high reproduction grain seed. One hundred Simmenthal calves will be given to the sponsored Put'k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz. This will make it possible, within a short time, sharply to upgrade the productivity of the dairy herd. We shall help the sponsored kolkhozes by providing them with new seed potatoes as well.

A. I. Cherkasova, economist at the Druzhba Kolkhoz, spoke on means for upgrading kolkhoz economic effectiveness. Only several years ago the kolkhoz was working at a loss and failing to fulfill its plan on a number of indicators. The situation changed following the reorganization of output, the making of improvements in the management structure, and the introduction of shop cost accounting. The 12 small brigades were replaced by two big mechanized brigades which were assigned land and equipment sufficient for covering the entire cycle of agricultural operations. Each quarter the brigades are given assignments on the volume of work, types of output, and cost ceilings. The brigades have six mechanized teams--two specializing in grain crops, two in potatoes, and two in fodder production. Wages were directly related to final results and direct cost savings. All this immediately influenced kolkhoz work indicators. In the 10th Five-Year Plan average grain production rose 78% compared with the 9th. Labor productivity increased and the utilization of the equipment improved. The kolkhoz has the highest capital return indicator for the rayon. Losses were eliminated and wages rose substantially. A. I. Cherkasova submitted specific suggestions aimed at improving the organization of labor and applying primary cost accounting in the rayon's kolkhozes.

Many speakers pointed out the need for more extensive utilization of the experience of leading collectives and for upgrading the level of economic work. Competition for working without stragglers and in accordance with tense plans should be focused on the implementation of the decisions of the July and November CPSU Central Committee plenums.

"The end economic objective of the competition," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "is to produce more and less expensive grain, meat, milk, and other goods. It

is important to know how precisely best results were achieved and what are the specific reasons for which some have advanced, others have maintained their level, while others again have fallen behind. Finally, why is it that what is possible in one kolkhoz or sovkhov has not been achieved by another? Why is there such a great range of fluctuations in farming results?"

Material and labor outlays are of particular importance in the struggle for effectiveness. Currently such outlays are growing faster than the volume of output in a number of rayon kolkhozes. Such facts could be explained, above all, by the inadequate level of economic work: If a farm has been able to achieve good production results while, nevertheless, still working at a loss, the reason for such a phenomenon should be sought in the lack of the necessary attention paid to the organization of intra-cost accounting and the use of more advanced wages systems. Many kolkhoz specialists--agronomers, zootechnicians, and mechanizers--show little interest in the economic aspects of the work. They have not become accustomed to compute and compare outlays with results. On the other hand, the economists are not always properly familiar with technological processes. This prevents them from choosing the most effective alternative in the development of one or another sector in public farming. In order to surmount such shortcomings we must upgrade the level of economic training of cadres and see to it that acquired economic knowledge is applied in practice. We must contribute to the better utilization of leading experience.

The secret of the success achieved by the economically strong kolkhozes is the attention they pay to upgrading production quality. Such kolkhozes sell the state a large amount of high quality grain, purebred cattle, and early potatoes. They raise the average delivery weight of cattle which increases profitability in all public farm sectors and insures high growth rates. Wherever such matters are ignored labor outlays are greatly depreciated by the low quality of output which results in losses. The struggle for high production quality is an important means for upgrading the economic effectiveness of agricultural output in general and strengthening the economy of the individual kolkhoz in particular.

The sum total of organizational, agro-technical, and economic measures insuring the upgrading of land fertility and livestock farm productivity, and the use of contemporary production management methods must be subordinated to the main objective: achieving the highest possible end results. End results in agriculture are determined, above all, by the size of the crops. The size of the harvest is a test of the quality of the work of the individual collective. We must prepare for it on time and do everything necessary to insure not only the fulfillment but the overfulfillment of the plans for the production and sale to the state of all types of farm commodities. In the past two years the Ipatovo method has been used in the rayon enabling a number of farms to harvest the crops within a short time and without losses. This year the same method must be used in such a way as to achieve identical results in all farms without exception.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution tremendous opportunities are created for each farm to increase its production on the basis of the utilization of modern equipment, the latest achievements of agricultural science, and progressive experience. The rayon is promoting the specialization of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Inter-farm complexes have been created and are under construction. This enables us drastically to upgrade labor productivity on the basis of the comprehensive mechanization of labor intensive processes. Many kolkhozes, including Rossiya and imeni Ordzhonikidze, have achieved considerable successes in this area. Yet, many kolkhozes remain where manual labor outlays are quite high and agricultural equipment is insufficiently used. In 1978 the cost of individual types of output in such farms was higher than market prices. This was largely explained by the high percentage of labor outlays. Transportation expenditures are a heavy burden affecting production costs. They are borne by the farms as a consequence of the existence of a number of small, distant and under mechanized livestock farms. Production concentration in such farms could yield double economic results: first, thanks to upgrading the level of mechanization and, second, as a result of considerably reducing unproductive transportation outlays.

Understandably, problems of production concentration should not be approached mechanically such as, for example, achieving such concentration by reducing the volume of output. With a proper approach to the matter it becomes an important factor for upgrading agricultural production. This factor must be utilized comprehensively.

Greater attention must be paid to capital construction which is not only of economic but of important social significance to the countryside.

The conference was also addressed by chairmen of straggling kolkhozes.

A. K. Khryachkov (Zarya Kommunizma Kolkhoz) pointed out that the reason for which his kolkhoz had failed to fulfill planned assignments was the weakening of requirements toward the specialists and the lowering of their responsibility for assignments. This had resulted in planning errors. Breeding work had been neglected and fodder had been inefficiently used. Measures had been taken to eliminate such shortcomings. By the end of the year the production structure will be reorganized and shop cost accounting applied. The work of the economic analysis bureau, which is studying in detail the economic activities of all sectors and services and adopting specific recommendations to perfect them will be improved. The initiative of leading rayon farms to organize cooperation among collectives, based on mutual aid and strict control over the implementation of obligations is considered, unquestionably, good. Its implementation will make it possible to eliminate the straggling and help to increase agricultural output.

Major differences exist among the brigades in our farm, A. N. Zenin (Kolkhoz imeni Lenin) said: Whereas some have reached yields of 20 quintals per hectare others have hardly exceeded 10. In order to eliminate this straggling such disparities must be eliminated as well. Competition among brigades and

livestock farms must be developed. Even though of late the collective has improved its work, yields remain low due to the low agro-technical level and insufficient application of chemical fertilizers. One of the main reasons for the straggling is that the kolkhoz hardly uses the progressive experience acquired by the best rayon farms headed by kolkhoz production organizers such as G. I. Sonin, M. I. Mitroshin, V. I. Dudko, and V. M. Mikhaleva. Following the example of the leading farms, the kolkhoz should carry out as soon as possible intra-farm concentration and mechanize labor intensive processes. The new form of competition, close contacts with leading farms, and the joint solution of current and long-term production-economic problems would all enable the farm to catch up within a short time.

V. V. Fitiskin, party committee secretary at the Krasnyy Kombinat Sovkhoz, one of the best farms in the rayon, whose collective has assumed sponsorship over straggling sovkhozes, shared with the participants his experience in the organization of labor competition and comradesly mutual aid. Emphasizing that in order to surmount the straggling competition among groups of farms whose collectives conclude reciprocal contracts for cooperation will be of great importance in surmounting the lag, he noted the importance of the elaboration of effective indicators and of increasing publicity. The monthly totaling of results, he stated, makes it necessary to think more not only about the fulfillment of one's planned assignments but of the overall indicators and, therefore, of the results of the sponsored farms.

In order to develop socialist competition the organizational and mass political work of the party organizations must be intensified. The practice of setting up permanent and temporary party groups at decisive work sectors has been fully justified. The creation of such groups makes it possible to increase the influence of the party members, reach every person, and see to it that there is no straggler in the competition.

The participants in the conference adopted an appeal to kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers and specialists and to all rayon agricultural workers, which read as follows:

"We must critically assess the results of our work, understand the reasons for straggling, increase demand and responsibility for upgrading the tense plan assignments, organize effective cooperation between straggling and leading farms, brigades, livestock farms, and teams, improve the economic training of the worker people, comprehensively develop and improve socialist competition, profoundly study the ways and means of work of leading farms and production innovators, skillfully apply moral and material incentive measures, reduce production costs, apply progressive methods for labor organization and new technology, surmount farm straggling by the end of the current five-year plan, and totally eliminate their losses must be achieved."

The conference called for extensively developing socialist competition for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment and overfulfillment of the assignments of fourth year of the plan and of the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole, in honor of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Considering that the problems raised in G. I. Sonin's letter and in the speeches of the participants in the conference of the party aktiv of Kozel'skiy Rayon are of major national economic significance, the KOMMUNIST editors invite the readers to express their views on the subject.

5003

CSO: 1802

RELIABLE INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 50-57

[Article by P. Alekseyev, IZVESTIYA editor in chief and deputy chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists]

[Text] 1

In the Soviet state the working day begins the newspaper. Before dealing with state matters, the newspaper is attentively studied by the minister. Traveling to his plant, the worker reads the newspaper which is equally awaited at the camp in the field and at the space launching center. This happens every morning. It has become a tradition, an unwritten rule. Life has convincingly proved that the people need the press like the air and their daily bread.

The place of the press in the political structure of the developed socialist society is determined by its tremendous role in mass-political and all party ideological work and, above all, in the comprehensive process of molding the new man. The prestige of our press is based on its profoundly democratic nature, party-mindedness, truthfulness, and mass distribution.

Our party is steadily guided by the Leninist concept that the state is strong through the conscientiousness of the masses. It is strong when the masses know everything, can judge of everything, and undertake everything consciously. The recently passed CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" notes that under the conditions of developed socialism this concept is more topical than ever. "On this level," the decree states, "the mass information media play an exceptionally important role. They inform the population on a broad range of problems of interest to it and secure their proper understanding. To an ever greater extent the press, television, radio, and oral propaganda and agitation must help the Soviet people to be properly oriented in domestic life and international events. They must trigger the aspiration to make maximum contributions to the common cause, to the building of communism."

The tasks facing the mass information media, as a structural part of the party-propaganda apparatus, are becoming ever more complex. Life has faced them with new tasks whose solution requires great flexibility, profound thinking, and intelligible presentation.

It was precisely this that was pointed out by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, in his speech at the November 1978 Central Committee Plenum.

The appearance and development of Soviet journalism are inseparably linked with the history of the communist party and the Leninist theory of the nature, purpose, and role of the Bolshevik press. Vladimir Il'ich provided a profound and all-round study of the functions of the press as a collective propagandist, collective agitator, and collective organizer. The founder and leader of our state saw in it a socially constructive force actively influencing the entire range of relations between man and the world around him.

"The press must be a tool in the building of socialism." Formulating this requirement as a primary political task, Lenin clearly defined the specific problems on which party journalism should work. The Leninist principles of party guidance of the mass information organs were further developed in the decisions of party congresses, Central Committee plenums, and Central Committee decrees. A number of valuable instructions and wishes related to the activities of our press are found in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses. Specific stipulations in this respect were earmarked at the 25th CPSU Congress. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report delivered at the congress rated highly the activities of mass information media. Our press has made a major contribution to the successful implementation of socioeconomic problems. Circumstances of tremendous political and labor upsurge have been created in the country with its active participation.

The congress paid great attention to problems of the party's management of state and social organizations, and to improving socialist democracy and its most important instrument--the press.

In the entire variety of topics based on the congress's resolutions and subsequent party documents, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's wishes and instructions may be conventionally classified into two groups: strategic and tactical problems. The strategic problems are related to the future development of the Soviet society, to the theoretical problems. The second group of topics reflects the tactics of our activities, daily, operative matters.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's 15 March 1978 speech at the Kremlin, on the occasion of awarding the Order of the October Revolution to the newspaper IZVESTIYA, was a major contribution to the development of the theory and practice of Soviet journalism. "The prestige of IZVESTIYA, as that of the entire Soviet press," said he, "is related, above all, to their profoundly democratic nature. Our press is the daily tribune of the whole people, accessible to every Soviet citizen. It openly describes our joys and disappointments, successes, shortcomings, everything which makes our life, dreams, and work. It is understandable, therefore, that many important decisions have been, and are passed by party and state organs in connection with materials published in the press."

The democratic nature of Soviet journalism is determined by the objective requirements governing the development of the socialist society. It is predetermined by the historical mission of our state, its organization and its collectivism. At the present stage in the building of communism the prestige and influence of the party press are related to the steady implementation of the principle of democratic centralism which has been, and remains, a law of life governing the Leninist party.

As the offspring of the party and the people, the Soviet press is a tool for the implementation of the brightest ideals and highest objectives of the social revolution. It holds a particular position among the institutions of socialist democracy. Its influence covers the entire population of the country and, in K. Marx's words, it is comprehensive, ubiquitous, and omniscient. At the same time, Soviet journalism is a powerful lever with the help of which the democratic institutions of our state resolve their problems. The press enables the working people actively to participate in the life of the entire socialist society. The dissemination of the best labor examples, criticism of negative phenomena, and extensive discussion of state problems cannot be achieved without the help of the press.

The Soviet press must steadily insure the practical implementation of the Leninist principle of publicity in the work of the party, state, and economic organs and public organizations. This is a clear manifestation of its democratic and national nature. It substantively shows the real possibilities and ways for radically improving matters in one or another realm of social life and influences the world outlook of the masses. At the same time, the press expresses the views of the people and actively defends their interests.

"The Soviet person," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the November 1978 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "is today politically literate and active more than ever before. He legitimately formulates strict requirements concerning the mass information media. The duty of the workers on the ideological front is to upgrade the quality and effectiveness of their work and to improve its ways and means."

This statement by Leonid Il'ich is the key to the successful solution of the major and responsible problems facing party journalism today.

2

In the socialist society the influence of the press is tremendous. Invariably, PRAVDA is the vanguard of Soviet journalism. Created on Vladimir Il'ich's initiative in May 1912, it took over from Lenin's ISKRA which played an outstanding role in the ideological and organizational establishment of a Marxist revolutionary party of the Russian working class.

By 1979 the mass information system in the USSR numbered approximately 8,000 newspapers published in 56 national languages and in a total over 170 million copies. We publish 4,838 journals and other periodicals in a total of 3.12 billion copies annually.

The Soviet press is unbreakably linked with the people. Its party affiliation and ties with the masses presume the providing of extensive information on life in the country and on the tasks facing the socialist state.

The CPSU Central Committee makes it incumbent upon the press organs comprehensively to cover the life of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia, and to describe the most important economic, scientific, and cultural achievements. The ripe problems of economic and cultural construction and of international life are always presented to the broad masses for discussion.

The discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution was a convincing proof of the democratic nature of our press. Tens of thousands of letters containing a number of suggestions, remarks, and clarifications were received by the central and local press. The constitution was adopted by the Soviet people not as an abstract legal document but as the result of the life creativity of the masses and the embodiment of the policy of the communist party.

The recent elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet were a major event in the life of the country and in the activities of the mass information media. In the course of the electoral campaign the organizing role of the Soviet press was manifested yet once again to its full extent as the most important institution of socialist democracy. The newspapers, radio, and television described in detail what had been done since the previous elections on a national scale and in the individual cities and villages. Exciting data were published on the labor successes of the Soviet people. Convincing figures and facts were cited depicting the achievements of our national economy and the growth of the prosperity and culture of the Soviet people.

IZVESTIYA, for example, published works by the people's poet of Tadzhikistan Mirsaid Mirshakar, Stanislava Vitkene, a mother-heroine from Tauralaukis, a Lithuanian settlement, G. Shishko, steel smelter at the Minsk Tractors Plant imeni Lenin, Order of Lenin bearer Rziddin Mialov, master of underground well repairs at the Leninneft' petroleum and gas extraction administration, Hero of Socialist Labor R. Kir'yanen, master of machine milking at the Tartu Sovkhoz and deputy to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, Hero of Socialist Labor Dadash Amirkulov, senior shepherd at the Beriktas Sovkhoz in Kazakhstan, People's Artist of the USSR T. Gurtovoy, chief conductor of the symphony orchestra of the Moldavian State Philharmony, Khursand Sultanov, brigade leader at the Samarkand Sovkhoz, and many others. The Soviet people described their fellow workers, and shared their joys and plans. Every single letter contained the idea that elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet represent a review of the work of all labor collectives and all soviets of people's deputies, and a review of the contribution of every individual to the common cause. Such an attitude toward the most important political campaign is an expression of the most profound trust of the people in the Soviet system, their state, and the Leninist party--the leading and guiding force of our society. The fact that these feelings were reflected in the central press is the most outstanding manifestation of Soviet democracy and of the vitality and strength of the political system of developed socialism.

Our newspapers and journals must have their own "face," their range of basic topics. They must present their information in their specific style and shape, noted the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." IZVESTIYA is the newspaper of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It is entirely understandable, therefore, that IZVESTIYA's main line, our main topic, is to cover the life and activities of the soviets in their complete variety. Practical experience has indicated that the more familiar the people are with the work of the soviets and with their accomplishments, the more assistants does the Soviet system have.

After the 25th party congress the work of the soviets gained a new impetus. It was beneficially influenced by the adoption of the Law on the Status of Deputies. Today the soviets are resolving considerably more problems than before. It is entirely understandable that all this is reflected in IZVESTIYA. Thus, in the section "Life of the Soviets" the newspaper tries to depict the comprehensive life of the soviets, their elective committees, and their permanent commissions, and the practical experience of the deputies.

Well received by the readers were the articles by S. Aliyeva, Nakhichevanskaya ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman entitled "A Bright Share"; by Z. Kruglova, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "True Democracy"; by O. Kuanyshiev, first secretary of the Kokchetavskaya Oblast, Communist Party of Kazakhstan, entitled "Light of the Virgin Land"; by V. Orlov, senior metal rolling worker at the Zaporozhstal', USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and Hero of Socialist Labor, entitled "Reception Day"; by A. Berezin, first secretary of the Mordovskaya Oblast party committee, entitled "The Personal Example of the Deputy"; by D. Filatov, chairman of the executive committee of the Smolenskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; and by N. Novikov, chairman of the executive committee of the Lipetskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, entitled "A Priceless Wealth." The readers highly rated the notes on the session of the Belgorodskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies entitled "The Struggle with Losses is on the Agenda," and many other articles.

Such materials clearly show that in our country democracy is not something frozen in its forms, functions, and manifestations. It develops with the development of the entire society.

In his speech to the voters of Baumanskiy electoral district in Moscow, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev clearly delineated the range of the most important problems to be resolved in the immediate future. He noted that the new constitution broadened the rights of the soviets in the field of economics. We must learn how to use these rights, the more so since in the field of economic construction there are tasks which no one could implement better than the soviets. Our soviets, and Soviet democracy contain a tremendous vital force. This force must be used even more fully to determine available reserves, criticize shortcomings, compare views, and formulate substantiated decisions. Soviet democracy can and must serve even better economic progress

which was, and remains, the foundation, the material base for the ever fuller guaranteeing of the rights and freedoms of the Soviet people and for the further blossoming of socialist democracy.

Today the country has over 2.2 million people's deputies. Taking into consideration previous members of soviets, the number of people who have attended this great school of state administration and political management will range into the millions. A considerable percentage of them are contributing, one way or another, to IZVESTIYA, considering the newspaper an instrument for influencing the course of development and advancement of society, and a rostrum for the expression of their views.

As we know, on 16 May 1978, at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the Kremlin, chaired by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the item of the work of the editors of IZVESTIYA and the journal SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV was considered with a view to insuring further improvements in the summation and dissemination of the experience of the activities of the soviets and their deputies. A corresponding decree was adopted.

We see in this governmental act a new manifestation of the party's Leninist concern for upgrading the role of the press, the further development and intensification of socialist democracy, and the strengthening of Soviet statehood.

3

Every day articles and reports carried by newspapers and journals discuss problems of economic and sociocultural development, and particles of the new, progressive and daily practice in the building of communism. The press workers are doing a great deal to promote the further advancement of the mature socialist society, the daily intensification of socialist democracy, and the ever broader development of public principles.

The growing political activeness of the working people is clearly manifested in the newspapers. Each issue carries materials submitted by workers, kolkhoz members, and members of the intelligentsia. They write about their fellow workers, share their thoughts, submit their own alternatives for the solution of topical governmental problems, report on violations of socialist law and, finally, simply request help in personal matters. Every day the voice of millions of people is heard through the newspapers and journals. This, we believe, is one of the main conditions for the development of society.

In its comprehensive activities our press extensively uses the power of the huge aktiv of workers' and rural correspondents, letters to the editors, public receptions by the newspapers, meetings with readers, and mass debates and discussions. Every year over half a million letters to the editors are received by newspapers such as PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN', and TRUD.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" has assigned the mass information and propaganda media the task of insuring the further development of the movement of workers' and rural correspondents, to adopt an attentive attitude toward all letters to the editors, regularly publish the views of the working people on domestic and international problems and surveys of letters, and to draw party, soviet, and economic managers to study and comment on editorial mail. The daily implementation of this task increases even further the democratic nature of the Soviet press.

The thesis expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the effectiveness of our publications is an exceptionally topical item to the press workers. "It is also very important," he noted, "for the readers to be confident that everything that is correct and socially useful, whether it is a question of the development of a new popular initiative or a critical article, will be supported by the newspaper. In such a case the people will truly adopt the newspaper as their own."

Each newspaper or journal must mandatorily promote the adoption and publication of practical measures based on critical remarks and be concerned with materials showing progressive experience -- such as to contribute to its comprehensive utilization.

Based on materials published in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, and some republic and oblast newspapers, the party and soviet organs have passed important decisions. Last year alone IZVESTIYA received over 400 official answers from party and soviet organs and various departments and organizations. Practical experience indicates that an article in a newspaper could play a major role in the solution of major national economic problems if directed to the proper authorities, if the study of the data is accurate, and if constructive suggestions have been made.

Thus, the article by a group of scientific workers entitled "Why Heat Up the Street?" raising the question of the need for the elaboration of a method applicable to the entire national economy for determining the optimal level for the heat insulation of buildings used for various purposes, correcting the norms governing the matter, and developing effective standard designs for subsequent application, was considered at a meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium; a proper resolution was passed on the subject as reported by the newspaper to its readers in its issue number 30 for 1978.

IZVESTIYA printed the answer of Sh. R. Rashidov, Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central first secretary, to the article "Why Carry Coal to Newcastle?" The newspaper's article, he reported, was discussed at a meeting of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee bureau. The facts cited in the article were acknowledged as correct and the criticism substantiated and timely. In a decree passed the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee earmarked specific measures, including the holding of a republic practical science conference on problems of optimizing intersectorial economic relations.

Articles published in the main economic sections of the newspaper entitled "IZVESTIYA's All-Union Review. For High Quality and Wide Variety of Consumer Goods," "The Comprehensive Development of Siberia and the Far East Is a Program of the Whole People!" "Work Without Stragglers, Effectively, and with High Quality!" and "Priority Projects under IZVESTIYA Control" received over 100 answers. They included communications submitted by the central committees of the communist parties of the Ukraine, Belorussian, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan, Armenia, Turkmenia, and Estonia, as well as the RSFSR Council of Ministers on measures taken in connection with the development of the socialist competition for the overfulfillment of the annual planned assignments for the production of consumer goods and for improving their quality and variety. In the course of IZVESTIYA's All-Union Review possibilities were found for overfulfilling the assignments for the production of consumer goods by the industry of all union republics, for a 1978 total of 1.8 billion rubles.

Propaganda of the CPSU foreign political course, and promotion of the ideals of peace, freedom, and security of the peoples is a major direction in the work of the press. This thought was clearly expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev who stated that IZVESTIYA remains today a powerful instrument in the implementation of the peaceful Leninist foreign policy of our party and state and of the ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism. However, as Leonid Il'ich emphasized, this instrument would become even more effective by upgrading the operativeness of the materials published, and presenting them in a more vivid and intelligible form. The solution of these problems depends, above all, on professional skill and talent.

Let us note in this connection that millions of Soviet people are studying today with great interest Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's recollections "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. They are discussing these works with enthusiasm and passion. Journalists are showing particular professional interest in them. Here is why: There is no rhetoric, no high sounding phraseology in these books. They are imbued with the spirit of socialist democracy and profound love for the fatherland and the Soviet person. To us, journalists, they are a true model of party publicism.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches in the course of his trips around the country have become a major guideline in our work. Each one of them is an example of principled and systematic approach to the solution of even the most complex governmental and economic problems.

The development and intensification of democracy is the main direction of progress in the socialist society. At the same time, related problems are becoming, to an ever greater extent, an arena for ideological confrontation between the old and the new. Some bourgeois "well-wishers" are persistently giving the Soviet people "recommendations" and "advice" as to how better to develop socialist democracy. Our press as well has become a target for attacks. The so-called "fighters for freedom" complain that it is, allegedly, insufficiently liberal. They insist on the imaginary advantages of the bourgeois press. What could be said in this connection?

In our country the mass information media serve the cause of economic and cultural progress, strengthening the friendship among nations, and developing in man high moral qualities. The USSR Constitution proclaims the freedom of speech and of the press. This, as we know, is steadfastly insured in practice.

The Soviet journalists have in their hands a weapon of tremendous social, cultural, and psychological power. Our party has the right to demand of the workers in the mass information media high responsibility for their assignment.

Humanism is a distinguishing feature of the Soviet press. It tirelessly works to promote the ideological-moral and labor education of the people. It criticizes bureaucracy, money grubbing, and egotism. Sensationalism and the praise of violence are alien to Soviet journalism which is not an item for sale. Our journalists enjoy the constitutional freedom of the press while realizing their responsibility to the party and the people.

A truly free press is a press which serves social progress and the great and objectively true ideals of mankind as brought to light and formulated in Marxist-Leninist theory. However hard our enemies, ranging from raving anti-communists to revisionist "reformers" of Marxism, may try to defame the Soviet press, inevitable failure awaits them.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, the founder of party journalism, wrote: "We have defeated the tools of profit and fraud. We began to turn the newspapers into a tool for the education of the masses and for teaching them how to live and build their economy without landowners and capitalists. However, we have merely begun to do this. . . . Yet, a great deal more remains to be done and the way ahead is long" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 42, pp 329-330).

In the course of a cultural revolution made on immense scale, the Soviet system raised the general educational level of the people to a tremendous height and created all the necessary conditions for the competent participation of the working people in the management of governmental affairs. This revealed the tremendous potential of the toiling people and their capabilities and talents. That is why the main hero of the Soviet press is the new man, the working man brought up in the socialist way of life.

The CPSU Central Committee is always calling upon the Soviet journalists adamantly to struggle for the steady upgrading of the influence of the passionate party word on the labor and political activeness of the country's working people. We must point out that the purposeful work done by the mass information media, the newspapers in particular, has yielded definite results: all the successes achieved by our country in the building of communism and all accomplishments in the field of Soviet foreign policy were determined by the active and conscious participation of the people in governmental affairs.

At the same time, the increased awareness and level of information of the working people raise the requirements facing Soviet journalism.

Unfortunately, there still frequently appear articles unrelated to production and moral problems or the factual working and living conditions of the people. We cannot tolerate this approach, particularly in the case of topics related to the ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism, aimed at rebuffing our ideological opponents.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improvements in Ideological and Political-Educational Work" faces the Soviet journalists with the task of considerable broadening the topics, volume, and area covered by their reports on domestic and international life, and to upgrade the news saturation of materials carried by newspapers and journals. The press workers must vary their genres. They must pay particular attention to style and language, surmount verbosity and conventionalism, and be concerned with the operative-ness, convincingness, and clarity of their writings.

At each stage in the development of the Soviet state, the party's Central Committee defines the range of problems to be resolved by the press and focuses its efforts on the most important problems of political and economic life. The party's policies and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee are the foundations for the activities of the Soviet press. That is how it was and that is how it shall always be.

5003

CSO: 1802

INFLUENCE OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 57-61

[Article by A. Laurinchykas, editor of the TIESA newspaper and chairman of the board of the Lithuanian SSR union of journalists]

[Text] Jocularly, Academician Fersman used to tell his students that should they be asked in tests where one or another mineral may be found, they could confidently answer, in the Urals, and would never be wrong. In the same way that the Urals are rich in minerals, the party newspaper must be saturated with materials on party life so that the party members may find in its pages answers to the questions we are faced by daily practice, by our reality.

The TIESA ("Pradva"), the newspaper of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, are perfectly aware of this and the materials discussing intra-party democracy, the strengthening of party discipline, and mass-political, propaganda, and organizational activities play an important role in the republic's press.

Close ties with the readers, the primary party organizations, and the party members help our editors to publish in the newspaper articles on party topics on a systematic and principled basis. The party's Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Work with the Letters of the Working People in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" played a great role in strengthening such ties. The discussion of this decree and its systematic implementation marked an exceptionally important landmark in the work of our collective.

The entire mail received by the newspaper could be conventionally divided into three groups, even though the letters addressed to the various editorial departments deal with a great variety of matters. The first includes letters motivated by pride in the successes of the Soviet people achieved under the leadership of the communist party. The second includes letters raising various problems of our life, including party work. As a rule, their authors submit suggestions aimed at improving matters. This confirms the increased activeness of the working people and their desire to contribute to the successful development of the socialist society. The third group consists of letters exposing our shortcomings and errors, and criticizing still existing negative phenomena such as drunkenness, bureaucracy, grubbing, and various immoral actions.

All letters to the editor are of great value to journalistic work. Some of them contain topics for newspaper articles. Others, even if not published, are the subject of measures by the respective party, state, or public organizations. Particular attention is paid to letters containing criticisms.

The press has the duty adamantly to fight shortcomings and to help the party organizations in this matter. The secretaries of many primary party organizations and rayon and city party committees are aware of the significance of unpleasant criticism published in the press and make skillful use of this sharp weapon. However, not all properly react to critical articles.

The problem of the effectiveness of newspaper articles was considered in 1975 at the 17th Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee Plenum. The question was that in 1974 TIESA had published 629 critical articles and remarks but only 104 answers to them. Departmental managers and officials who had made purely formal replies or had simply remained silent were sharply criticized at the plenum. Since then the situation has improved considerably. With rare exceptions now all critical materials published by the newspaper bring about specific positive changes on site. In 1978 over 400 answers, of which 256 were published, were received. The main feature of these figures is that they reflect a qualitative change: answers to criticisms have become more meaningful and principle-minded and most of them are worthy of publication, for our purpose is not to increase the number of official answers but to correct errors and shortcomings.

Certain measures adopted by the editorial offices as well helped to increase the results of the newspaper's publications. We organized the keeping of an effectiveness record in which all critical materials and answers to them are entered. This record is used on a daily basis. It enables us to provide accurate and strict control, block formal answers and, if necessary, act again. The record is a collection of all critical materials carried by the newspaper. This helps the editors to study the work of the various editorial departments and accurately to assess their individual contributions to the development of criticism and self-criticism.

The Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee has always supported criticisms voiced by the press, television, and radio. Thus, in 1977, it condemned cases of gross suppression of criticism at the Research Institute. Party member A. Grigonis reported to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA the serious shortcomings existing in the institute's work. He pointed out cases of padding, improper bonus awards, cash overpayments to individual officials, and so on. An investigation conducted by the people's control committee established that the information was timely. What was the reaction of the institute's management? Instead of analyzing the shortcomings in a party style and take proper measures, the senior officials began to persecute the critic. Groundless, unproven, and stupid charges were leveled against him such as, did this comrade have the right to be a member of the CPSU if he wrote letters to the newspapers?! Without thoroughly studying the matter, addressing a party meeting at the institute, A. Aksomitas, chairman of the

republic's Gosstroy described A. Grigonis's action as unworthy. The Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee bureau strictly punished party member A. Aksomitas and demanded of the Leninskiy Rayon party committee in Vil'nyus to call to account other suppressors of criticism as well.

Usually, the publication of critical articles is meant when the effectiveness of the press is discussed. However, a positive article discussing, for example, progressive experience, progressive labor methods, and so on, is no less important or effective. It is exceptionally important to the press worker not only to discuss a topical problem but to contribute to its solution. Occasionally, this requires more than the publication of a single article. It may require the systematic discussion of the problem in a series of articles. Unfortunately, we do not always follow this rule. The CPSU Central Committee decree on covering problems of the socialist competition by the press of the Lithuanian SSR notes that, occasionally, the newspapers still lack the consistency and ability to focus the attention on the main directions of the work. The insufficiently clear line of reasoning and the multiplicity of topics or, in other words, the sporadic coverage of various matters prevents the press to focus on the main problems.

In 1977 TIESA initiated a conference by correspondents on the topic of "Intra-Party Democracy and Party Discipline." We published about 100 articles and letters sent by party members. In one of them, Al'bina Kazlauskayte, CPSU member, engineer at the Shyaulyay House Building Combine, wrote: "I returned home from the party meeting excited. I kept thinking of a young party member, a member of our collective. The party organization bureau had decided to expel him from the CPSU and had submitted the item for discussion at a general party meeting. The fate of a communist was at stake." A. Kazlauskayte proceeded to present her doubts. The party member whose membership was being discussed had not committed any particular crime. Somehow things were not going well for him: He was not successful in his work and, as secretary of the Komsomol organization at the combine, he had failed to find a common language with the young people. Should this entail such a severe party penalty?

A. Kazlauskayte addressed the meeting. No, she was not excusing the person and agreed that all charges were warranted and that there were many shortcomings in the work of the Komsomol organization secretary. However, she pointed out that the party bureau had erred by promoting this person to such work and that the bureau should have noticed this earlier. She was supported by the majority of members present. Those attending the meeting amended the bureau's decision. The young party member was strictly punished but kept within the party's ranks. Today this comrade is at work carrying out other assignments successfully.

This letter, like many other materials of the conference, was extensively discussed by the readers. The party activists of Utenskiy Rayon party committee and the party members of Mosedis Kolkhoz in Skuodasskiy Rayon and the Kaunas Artificial Fibers Plant imeni 50-Letiya Oktyabrya expressed their own views in the newspaper.

The conference organized by TIESA was rated positively by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. The decree which was passed recommended the use of the materials published in the newspaper in the course of the practical activities of party committees and primary party organizations. It was suggested to the republic, city, and rayon newspapers to cover more extensively problems of intra-party work, disseminate positive experience, and expose shortcomings. In accordance with this instruction, the materials of the readers' conference were put together and published in a separate pamphlet.

In TIESA the party members held a discussion in the section "The Primary Party Organization in the Production Collective." Essentially, this was an extension of the conference by correspondents, dealing with vital problems of party life--organizing the struggle of the labor collective for upgrading production effectiveness and quality and improving socialist competition. On the basis of the materials published the editors spoke with party members aboard the vessels of the Klaypeda Merchant Fleet and at the Kel'me Poultry Breeding Sovkhoz. A party meeting was held at the Kauno Baldai Factory addressed by N. Astrauskas, head of the department of organizational-party work of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, and A. Mikuchauskas, first secretary of the Kaunas City party committee. They too discussed in their addresses the problems raised in the newspaper.

Lying on my desk, in front of me, is a sharp report from Plungenskiy Rayon. It speaks of party members who have violated moral norms. Before sending it to press I looked, yet once again, briefly through the manuscript.

. . . A regular audit was conducted at the Aleksandrovas Kolkhoz. It revealed several serious violations of financial discipline committed with the approval of the kolkhoz management. The audit materials were discussed by the rayon party committee. The bureau strictly reprimanded kolkhoz chairman, party member V. Radavichyus, which was entered in his file, and recommended that the kolkhoz members' meeting decide whether or not he could continue to be entrusted with the duties of kolkhoz chairman. This was a severe penalty. However, it could not be said that it was imposed unexpectedly. Some time previously the rayon party committee bureau had issued V. Radavichyus a strict reprimand for negligence. Therefore, the manager-party member had sufficient time to consider his actions and correct them. Alas, the party reprimand had no effect.

It would have seemed that it is precisely this aspect of the matter that should have concerned the party members. However, the study of all circumstances revealed that I. Lelyuga, the party organization secretary, had acted together with the chairman.

Is this not a case in which managers believe that party discipline is different for them and for the rank and file party members and that the rayon party committee may discuss and even issue a reprimand while the kolkhoz chairman has his own work and concerns? This may sound too simplistic! Yet,

there are people who believe that party discipline could be broken down on the basis of rank and duty. That is why we, party journalists, consider it our duty actively and adamantly to struggle against such phenomena and for the moral purity of party members. That is why we are continuing in the press the discussion on the responsibility of party members and their vanguard role in the collective.

Work with the youth and the ideological and moral upbringing of the growing generation and its labor training is another important sector of party work. This means that it is also our journalistic sector. We pay great attention to developing in the adolescents the need to engage in socially useful labor, for it is only by working with workers and peasants, as Lenin pointed out, that one could become a true builder of the communist society. Yet, it is precisely in the organization of the labor education of the youth that we have substantial shortcomings. TIESA has published a number of articles on this topic. Their authors have discussed with interest its various aspects. Parents and elder comrades frequently tell the adolescents: All roads to education are open to you. The Soviet system has created for you conditions for a happy youth. Yet, they forget to remind them, at this point, that education and happiness can be achieved through work and struggle. Many parents protect their children from work in school brigades and student construction detachments or from assisting kolkhozes and sovkhozes at harvest time. They protect them from all difficulties, forgetting that they are thus raising dependents rather than workers and fighters. The dependent mentality of some young people frequently leads them along the path of crime. This is confirmed, for example, by the following data: One-quarter of all young people who have committed a crime were unemployed at that time. This was not caused by lack of work but by the lack of the habit to work. Frequently the justice organs come across the sad fact that juvenile delinquents are the children of honest, respected, and highly moral working people. Letters to the editors and journalistic experience indicate that a number of party organizations do not study or consider these facts when working with adolescents, their parents, and their educators.

The young person must love work and be able to face the storms of life. Nikolay Ostrovskiy, the soldier of the Great October Socialist Revolution, did not choose at random the profoundly meaningful title of his outstanding book, "How the Steel Was Tempered." The young people must be tempered even without the flames of the civil and the Great Patriotic wars. Our party has excellent experience in the labor upbringing of the growing generation: the great construction projects of all 10 five-year plans, the development of the Virgin Lands, daily concern for the development of the polytechnical labor school, and the variety of forms of labor participation of the young people in national projects. Anyone involved in the education of children and adolescents must well understand the importance of molding in them the mentality of the working person.

Four years ago our editorial office set up a council for the communist education of the youth consisting of known scientists, public figures, and

party workers. The council has promoted a number of measures in rayon and cities with the active participation of rayon and city party committee workers, managers of schools and farms, and party organization secretaries. Such measures are extensively covered by the newspaper and, as a rule, meet with the approval of the working people.

Party publicism plays an important role in the newspaper. Actually, the topic of party-mindedness may be seen, to a greater or lesser extent, in any newspaper article or section. It is from such positions that we assess our work, realizing that a great deal remains to be done to be on the level of the party's contemporary requirements facing the press workers at the present stage in the development of Soviet society.

Our editorial collective took personally the critical remarks expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1978 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the instructions addressed to all journalists in the party's Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." It is a question of raising the effectiveness of newspaper articles. This makes it incumbent upon us, party propagandists, to analyze our work daily and critically, and to increase the organizing and educational influence of each article, along with its effectiveness and social pertinence.

The slogan of the 10th Five-Year Plan is "Effectiveness and Quality." The struggle for it is our professional duty and mandatory party obligation which gives us strength and inspiration.

5003
CSO: 1802

ONE FATE AND COMMON CONCERNS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 61-66

[Article by Dzh. Tursunov, editor of the newspaper SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN and chairman of the board, Kirgiz SSR journalists' union]

[Text] Our party pays great attention to the complex matter of raising the working people in a spirit of communist morality and strict observance of the requirements of socialist community life. The recently passed CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" is also imbued with this tireless concern. The journalists of Soviet Kirgiziya see it as their most important duty to contribute comprehensively to the further strengthening of the friendship among the peoples and to support, in V. I. Lenin's words, everything which makes ties among nationalities closer and closer.

In the course of the building of communism objective processes have appeared and intensified such as the merging of the production forces of all union republics within a single national economic complex, gradual elimination of class differences, and steady upsurge in the educational and cultural standards of the Soviet people--members of all classes and social groups and all nations and nationalities in the USSR. This creates favorable conditions for the party's subsequent successful work on patriotic and international upbringing. However, the party has never relied on any kind of automatic process for exerting a positive influence on such processes. Delegates to the 25th CPSU Congress convincingly spoke of the new requirements which contemporary conditions and various internal and external factors face our ideological activities. In his CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, particularly emphasized that establishing 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, in 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. This concept is developed also in the new party Central Committee decree which calls for developing in all Soviet people a feeling of pride in the socialist fatherland, indestructible fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR, respect for national dignity and national culture, and intolerance of any manifestation of nationalism; it calls for contributing to the further strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the great Soviet people.

The party organs and organizations of our republic, the ideological aktiv, and the mass information media are actively working on the solution of these problems. The individual publication of all newspapers and journals issued in Kirgiziya exceeds two million copies. In all press organs and broadcasts topics of international and patriotic education are in one of the leading positions. The closest possible unity, all-round blossoming, and steady rapprochement among the nations and nationalities inhabiting our country are brought to light with the help of a variety of facts borrowed from present day reality. This, as the description of the best experience in ideological and educational work, has long become a good tradition of the press and one of the most important directions in the activities of Kirgiz journalists.

In order to be a true Soviet patriot and internationalist it takes more than voicing love for the homeland or the idea of friendship among the peoples, or else number among one's friends and comrades members of different nationalities. It is above all the type of person who participates in the building of communism on the basis of inner convictions, seeing in this his public and civic duty and his own vocation, that may be considered a Soviet patriot and internationalist. Civic duties and individual, national, and international interests organically blend within everyday work which, however, is needed by the homeland. This thought imbues a number of articles published by SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in the section "We Are Strong Through Friendship." Their authors are journalists, leading workers and production innovators, labor veterans, and party and soviet workers.

Friendship among the peoples of the USSR has deep roots and a great history. Leafing through the files of KYZYL KYRGYZSTAN ("Red Kirgizstan") which was the name of our newspaper in the 1930's, we can find a number of articles on the way, following the October Revolution, friendship among the peoples of Kirgiziya and the Russian people and the peoples of other nations and nationalities in our great socialist state strengthened and brought to light ever new facets. A number of articles and essays of that time described the truly invaluable aid in materials, equipment, and skilled cadres given to the once remote province. Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanovo, Kazan', and other cities throughout the country welcomed representatives of the republic in their factories, plants, and schools, gave them production skills, and exposed them to science.

Leading workers, noted scientists, and the first teachers came to us and actively engaged in building the new life. For example, tens of machine building industry enterprises of the RSFSR and the Ukraine participated in supplying equipment to the Kant and Kara-Balty under construction in the 1930's.

The power of the unity and mutual aid among the peoples, headed by the CPSU, resulted in an unheard of acceleration of socioeconomic progress in all union republics. Thus, with a tremendous increase in the overall volume of industrial output in the country, in Kirgiziya, for example, compared with prerevolutionary levels, it rose by a factor of over 300. Incidentally,

the international economic relations of our distant republic were not limited to the USSR alone. In 1925 the Intergel'po ("Mutual Aid") cooperative was set up and reported by our newspaper. Its history is instructive. The cooperative was created by Czechoslovak workers answering Lenin's appeal to help the young Soviet country in the building of socialism. The members of the cooperative with their families came from Czechoslovakia to Pishpek (today Frunze). They included Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Germans, and Transcarpathian Ukrainians. The Intergel'po collective was reinforced quite rapidly with local people--Russians, Ukrainians, Kirgiz, and Urbeks. The cooperative's enterprises--a cloth and furniture factory, a leather plant, and others--produced a great deal of various commodities for the population. The Intergel'po activities are an outstanding event in the history of fruitful cooperation between the working people of Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

Here is yet another page of history recorded by the local and central press: in November 1932 the Leningrad Soviet passed a decree sponsoring Kirgiziya. The members of the senior generation will remember the development of socialist competition among enterprise collectives sharing a single production rhythm and common objectives, despite the thousands of kilometers separating them. They also remember how, in the time of fascist siege of the city on the Neva, the envoys of Kirgiziya supplied the people of Leningrad with food and clothing. The defenders of Leningrad themselves included many sons and daughters of that distant mountainous area.

The years passed and the comprehensive relations between the working people of our republic and all peoples of the USSR strengthened and broadened. The press workers described this inspiredly. Newspaper articles convincingly proved that the blossoming of Kirgizstan and of the other Central Asian republics is the result of the efforts of all Soviet republics in the course of the struggle for socialism. Difficulties and trials only strengthened the unbreakable union.

Today the multinational Soviet state is acting as a single family in all sectors of the building of communism. Every person can feel the pulse beat of the single economic organism of our country not only in major projects but in each work place, for, in the final account, local successes are of nationwide importance. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has stated, the Soviet people are not the simple total of nations living side-by-side in a single state, under the same roof. Regardless of their national affiliation, our people share a number of common features which unite them within a single monolithic entity. This includes a common ideology and common historical destinies. It includes common conditions governing socioeconomic life and basic interests and objectives.

The economy of contemporary Kirgiziya is characterized by the high level of development of production forces, maturity of socialist production relations, dynamism, and profound quality changes in the national economy: production intensification and increased effectiveness of its social potential. All Soviet people are attentively following the building of the flag bearer of

the hydraulic power industry of Kirgizstan--the Toktogul' GES. The central press, television, and radio regularly send their correspondents to the project. Information and articles are published as a rule, on the front page. The Toktogulka is being built by the entire country. Equipment is being shipped to the site by over 2,000 enterprises and organizations. The GES is already operational and its electricity flows to the joint Central Asian power system, strengthening the economy of the country and the friendship among the Soviet people. The waters of the Toktogul' Sea provide vivifying moisture to the Fergana fields and plantations. Meanwhile, Kirgiz construction workers are working at all-union projects thousands of kilometers away from home--on the track of the Baykal-Amur main line, at Atomnash, in steppes of Kazakhstan, and on the Volga and the Dnepr.

The peoples of the USSR have a single fate and common concerns. Today the entire country is helping the Russian Federation in the further development of agriculture in the Nonchernozem zone. The Communist Party of Kirgiziya Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers passed the decree "On Providing Sponsorship in the Implementation of the Program for the Further Development of Agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR," expressing the thoughts and feelings of people who deem it their international duty to participate in this major and important project. SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN regularly publishes extensive news on the way the republic's envoys are working in the distant Yaroslavskaya Oblast. The information is varied, containing reports by special correspondents, letters from construction workers, and grateful responses by the people of Yaroslavl' with whom the editors are in constant touch. In one of its February issues the newspaper carried a specific section entitled "The Patriotic Duty of the Soviet People," dedicated to the friendship between the Russian and Kirgiz peoples and to the history of fraternal cooperation. The materials published dealt with the accomplishments of the Kirgiz representatives on Yaroslavl' soil. Construction work has been undertaken near Rostov-Yaroslavl', on the shore of Nero Lake where the Rostovluk agro-complex is being erected. It will include several new farms, including the Kirgizstan Sovkhoz, built by workers and engineers from our republic. The overall cost of the comprehensive construction of the project totals 46.4 million rubles. The newspaper section contained an essay on one of the best construction brigade leaders, Vladimir Lanevich, and his comrades who were among the first to reach the area. The central farmstead of the sovkh which will house 3,000 people is being built literally from scratch. Its outlines are already visible. A monument symbolizing the friendship among our peoples will be erected in the center of the settlement. The newspaper received a number of letters in answer to this publication.

On the basis of the experience and traditions of senior generation journalists, the editors are actively contributing to making the contribution of the working people of Kirgizstan to the building of communism ever more substantial. With every passing issue news from the labor fronts of all union republics are published.

Comradeship, brotherhood, collectivism, inspired constructive toil, and firm faith in the future are the inseparable features of the Soviet way of life, manifested daily in big and small matters. The task of the collectives of journalists is skillfully to handle the rich data given to us by reality, taking them to the minds and hearts of all working people, and inspiring them to new accomplishments, the more so since even in peaceful daily work difficult moments occur. . . .

We still remember the 1970 earthquake in the eastern section of the Issyk-Kul'. At that time thousands of people remained without shelter and there were human casualties. The moment the catastrophe was announced the Soviet people came to the aid: Russia and the Ukraine sent machinery and lumber; the Transcaucasian republics sent additional amounts of petroleum; construction materials, food, and clothing came from the Baltic areas, Uzbekistan, and Tadzhikistan; Kazakhstan sent tents. Within a short time destroyed housing, and industrial, administrative, and cultural-consumer buildings were completely rebuilt.

The elements broke out in the summer of 1977 as well: spring floods, run-off waters, and earthquakes caused destruction in settlements located in the foot hills of Oshskaya Oblast. Once again our brothers helped us. Equipment, fertilizers, and construction materials came from all ends of the country. Neighboring republics welcomed as their own the children from the affected areas, placing them in their best pioneer camps, tourist centers, and boarding schools.

Whatever their topic, the journalists try to bring to light the profound political meaning of facts and events in an intelligible and convincing manner, and see to it that they have an educational influence on the readers. Newspapers, journals, and the radio and television extensively cover the economic and cultural life of fraternal republics. Joint issues are sponsored between Leningrad and Kirgiz newspapers under the sections of "Unbreakable Union," and "We Are the Soviet People." The topic of military-patriotic education is also within the field of vision of our propaganda. For the past 12 years SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN has carried a section whose voluntary contributors are reserve or retired officers, military personnel, military commissariat workers, and Kirgiz SSR DOSAAF committees. This department edits the very popular sections entitled "Defending the Fatherland Is a Sacred Duty," and "No One Is Forgotten, Nothing Is Forgotten."

We know that along with development of joint economy--the material base for the unity of the Soviet people--their spiritual comity is strengthening, manifested in their monolithic world outlook and moral norms, increased similarity of ways of life, and appearance of common customs and traditions. The great Russian language is contributing to a tremendous extent to the all-round development of the process of interaction and reciprocal enrichment of cultures. For many years our newspaper has carried the section entitled "The Russian Language--Our Second Native Tongue." The problem of a language for international communication was resolved in our country on a natural and free

basis, in the course of the building of socialism, while the press, television, and radio have actively propagandized the Russian language among the population. They have just as actively contributed to acquainting it with the best contemporary literary and artistic works of the Russian and other fraternal peoples. The majority of the Kirgiz population became acquainted with the works of M. Sholokhov, K. Simonov, S. Mikhalkov, R. Gamzatov, S. Narovchatov, I. Tsyup, I. Melezh, A. Alimzhanov, G. Abashidze, M. Ibragimov, A. Gudaytis-Guzyavichyus, and V. Latsis in the Russian language, before their works were translated into Kirgiz. Many of them were published in installments in SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN.

The annual "Spring Ala-Too" festivals, and ten-day periods dedicated to the literature and arts of fraternal republics have become a Kirgiz tradition. The outstanding masters of the arts of Russia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and other republics acquaint, using the Russian language, the working people of Kirgiziya with the best achievements of the multinational Soviet art. The "Spring Ala-Too" festival is an outstanding event in the spiritual life of Soviet Kirgizstan, and a convincing proof of the unbreakable friendship among our nations, and of their unity and fraternity, and a well-justified method for the dissemination of the achievements of all-Soviet culture. The republic's press and the other mass information and propaganda media show, using such rich data, how the comity of national cultures is strengthening under the conditions of present-day reality, and the way the single socialist culture of the Soviet people is shaped.

". . . Our culture," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his report on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, "is socialist in content and in the main direction of its development. It is varied in terms of national forms and internationalist in terms of spirit and nature. Therefore, it is an organic alloy of the spiritual values created by all nations."

Such is one of the most important results of the wise national policy of our Leninist party, a policy consistent with the profound interests of the working people of all nations and nationalities, giving ideological cadres the strength and confidence in the struggle against national narrow mindedness and nationalistic prejudices which are still enduring in the minds and mentalities of individual people insufficiently mature from the ideological-moral viewpoint. We cannot ignore the fact that the molding of the new man is taking place under circumstances marked by a most acute ideological struggle and intensifying propaganda activities on the part of the capitalist world, zealously supported by Beijing's hysterics. Their main weapon is the slander and dis-information they use in all "convenient" cases. The enemies of peace and social progress are trying in vain to undermine our society from within. They are trying to promote national conceit, and pit one nation against another. Speculating on the subject of the notorious Russification, the anti-Soviets would like to plant the seeds of hostility, mistrust, and discontent. The hopes of the anti-communists are entirely clear: They are trying to drive a wedge between the peoples of the USSR living within a single united family.

One of the most important tasks of our ideological cadres, stipulates the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," is to help the Soviet people to recognize the entire falsity of imperialist propaganda which, using most refined methods and modern technical means, is trying to poison the minds of the Soviet citizens by slandering Soviet reality and casting aspersions on socialism. The workers in the Soviet press see it as their duty to expose bourgeois policy and ideology, combining this important work with propaganda of the basic advantages of the socialist system and the Soviet way of life, and convincing display of the achievements of real socialism in the fields of economics and culture, and the role of the life-bringing ideas of patriotism and internationalism in the unification of socialist nations. We realize that not all journalists, the young in particular, are able to analyze with sufficient depth the complex phenomena and processes of sociopolitical life and the deployment of forces in the world arena. Exposing our ideological opponents, we occasionally limit ourselves to the criticism of specifics, using a stereotype language. Our press does not always depict with adequate vividness our own Soviet reality and the variety of processes characterizing the development of the mature socialist society at the present stage. That is why the party organs in the republic ascribe great importance to helping the journalists constantly expand their economic and political knowledge, broaden their outlook, and improve their professional skill.

The oriental saying is that time eats away mountains and water eats away rocks. . . . Yet, the friendship among the Soviet peoples is only becoming stronger as the years go by! The broadest possible masses have become imbued with the high awareness of loyalty to the socialist fatherland, combining the idea of the homeland with that of building the most equitable and humane society on earth. Our republic's party organization and its press are focusing their efforts on insuring the comprehensive blossoming and gradual rapprochement among nations, and strengthening union and national statehood for the sake of the happiness of the people and in the name of peace and progress the world over.

5003

CSO: 1802

'I AM COUNTED WITH RUSSIA'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 67-80

[Article by Genrikh Volkov on the occasion of the 180th anniversary of A. S. Pushkin's birth]

[Text] And my incorruptible voice was the echo of the Russian people. A. S. Pushkin

Applying to Pushkin the classical image of "sun of our poetry," in accordance with the laws governing the movements of celestial bodies we would clearly find ourselves in a variety of historical periods, closer to or away from the sun. It would appear as though the light of his poetry has had different degrees of influence at different times affecting our earthly spiritual life.

Let us recall how suddenly and blindingly this sun suddenly exploded in the glow of our poetical sky. What an unusual bright impression it made immediately on progressive reading Russia.

The same outstanding literary workers who totally dominated the spiritual life of the country at the beginning of the 19th century and who were to be overshadowed by the young Pushkin joyfully welcomed the very first high school glimpses of his genius without a shade of envy or, to put it better, with a pride and ecstatic envy and immeasurable sympathy. First "old man Derzhavin," followed by the soothsayer Zhukovskiy, expressed the amazing and truly prophetic statement on the 16-year old "young miracle maker": "A dear, a live creation! . . . The hope of our literature. . . . We must rally to help this future giant grow, a giant who will outgrow all of us." They were followed by N. M. Karamzin ("Soar like an Eagle . . ."), P. A. Vyazemskiy ("A Lad with a Fiery Stamp, and a Glowing Forehead!"), I. I. Dmitriyev ("A Beautiful Blossom of Poetry"), and, finally, K. N. Batyushkov ("Oh! How This Scoundrel Writes! . . .").

Pushkin reached the apogee of his life's vocation in the mid 1820's, when Russia was reading "Ruslan and Lyudmila," "Gypsies," "Bakhzhisaray Fountain," "The Caucasian Captive," and the initial chapters of "Eugene Onegin," and when the future Decemberists were fired by his poetry described as "seditious" (i.e., rebellious, mutinous).

It seemed as though in the time of Nicholas, in spiritually broken down Russia, in the dark and oppressive spiritual atmosphere, Pushkin's light was fading or cooling off. In fact, however, it continued to burn unrestrainedly. The reading public whose intellectual level had been sharply reduced no longer understood the poet whose development was taking giant steps forward. In 1836 Faddey Bulgarin, an agent for the Third Department in Russian Literature, ominously croaked that Pushkin was a luminary which had been extinguished at high noon.

We know that even after Pushkin's death his path to the hearts and minds of the broad Russian readership was quite complex. We recall the fact that Pushkin was firmly rejected by D. I. Pisarev and the radically leaning raznochintsy-nihilists, the manifesto of the futurists who called for throwing Pushkin "overboard from the steamship of our time," and the vulgar-sociological works of the 1920's and 1930's in which, on the basis of primitively conceived "class" positions Pushkin was proclaimed to be either a bourgeois-liberal ideologue, member of the developing "middle" class, representative of the "landed bourgeoisie," or even a representative of the "Prussian type capitalist trends." Arrogantly the poet was blamed for insufficient revolutionism, lack of understanding of the laws governing the development of society, "servility" and "appeasement."

Yet, speaking of the "historical destinies" of Pushkin's legacy, realizing the reasons for all extremes in assessing it, we cannot fail to see the main trend as well: With every passing decade, in the 19th and 20th centuries, Pushkin's readership broadened at a headlong pace. His influence on all realms of culture rose. The ennobling and illuminating influence of his works on the spiritual world of the Russian people or, as was aptly stated, the "education in Pushkin," became more intensive. At the same time, we were achieving a better understanding of Pushkin and his epoch, abandoning one-sidedness and responding ever more harmoniously to his creativity, personality, and genius.

At this point we must express our profound gratitude to the Soviet studies of Pushkin which resulted in invaluable studies of the poet's life and creativity, actively continuing to this day. As a result, we have learned more about Pushkin and can understand him better than previous generations.

The more time separates us from Pushkin the closer we come to him.

Never before seems our country to have experienced such a nationwide and warm attraction for Pushkin. It is a question of the stability and growing "attraction" to him as a process drawing powerful impulses from the very nature of Soviet society and its humanistic multi-national culture.

In particular, is this not the result of the fact that having become "older," and wiser, having experienced together with the socialist fatherland great historical events and changes, and having felt and assessed the outstanding position which it now occupies in the development of all human civilization,

and in the struggle between the "mind" (to use Pushkin's language) against "darkness," we, the Soviet people, feel more than ever before the need "to turn our souls to the origins."

Together with Pushkin we can say that "there is a common Russian land," a land which creates great poets and writers, thinkers, luminaries of the spirit, a country with original cultural accomplishments which increase the cultural heritage of all mankind. It was with Pushkin that the spiritual self-awareness of the people was shaped and, for the first time, expressed to its fullest extent, i.e., the realization of the richest possible inner undiscovered forces, talents, and opportunities which were to burst forth and shake up the world.

That is why Pushkin is not simply one of our poets or simply the greatest Russian poet. He is a historical phenomenon. He is the most important juncture in the development of domestic culture, when, for the first time, from its locked boundaries it entered the open sea of world art and daringly became its flagship sailing under Pushkin's poetry.

There is something amazing yet totally natural in the fact that poet's aesthetic, moral, and humanistic ideals turned out to be closer and better understood by the socialist, the proletarian culture compared with the culture of the palace or the bourgeoisie.

Russia and Pushkin. Pushkin is as inconceivable without Russia as is Russia without Pushkin.

One of the latter high school graduates has described the following symbolic event: In the autumn of 1829 he met with Aleksandr Sergeyevich and asked him:

"May I ask you in whose service you are?"

"I serve Russia," the poet answered.

The 19th century was coming to Russia together with Pushkin.

One of the most interesting and still puzzling problems is that of geniuses and the age which creates them, and the age and the geniuses it creates. In his time, the young Engels began to question why was it that socially and politically pitiful Germany, at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, was, nevertheless, in a period of the blossoming of German literature and philosophy. One could also try to explain the very high development of enlightened philosophy literature in France in the 1740's-1770's, in such a socially and economically difficult age. Conversely, the epoch of the great French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars turned out, in this respect, far more modest. Sociologists, culture experts, and historians are as yet to unravel this historical paradox.

What is striking here is the existence of two inevitable patterns. First, in both France and Germany the uplift of spiritual culture took place within

a historical period which, even though appearing as an age of economic stagnation and political calm, a calm preceding the storm, was the eve of a revolutionary shock. Secondly, this flight began at a level already reached in a previous age by spiritually more developed neighboring countries: England, in the case of France, and France and England in the case of Germany.

The same patterns could be found in Russia but, naturally, bearing their specific features.

It was as though a thaw had started in the various corners of the huge empire when Aleksandr the First came to the throne in 1801. Liberal innovations were suggested and plans for promising reforms were discussed. "The splendid beginning of Aleksandr's days" gave birth to the hope that the lofty ideals of the Age of Enlightenment would finally sink roots on Russian soil as well. Russia was waking up to an active spiritual life. The first symptom of this awakening was the unparalleled expansion of the reading public through the involvement of new population strata and the related expansion of publishing activities.

This was pointed out as early as 1802 by N. M. Karamzin in the article "On Book Trade and Love for Reading in Russia." "In the past 25 years," he wrote, "there were two book stores in Moscow with annual sales of less than 10,000 rubles. Now there are 20 and their overall annual income is about 200,000 rubles. By what number has the lover of books in Russia increased? The idea is pleasing to anyone who wishes successes to the mind and who knows that it is love for books that contributes to them the most."

Newspaper distribution rose tenfold. In Moscow alone, at the turn of the century 6,000 copies were sold daily. According to Karamzin, "Unquestionably, this is still little, considering the size of the empire. However, it represents a great deal compared with the previous figures. Hardly anywhere else on earth is the number of curious people rising so rapidly as in Russia. True, many members of the nobility, even when their condition is good, do not read the press; yet, merchants and petit bourgeois already love to read them. Even the poorest people take subscriptions and even the most illiterate would like to know what is being written on foreign countries! One of my acquaintances came across several pastry cooks who, surrounding a reader, were listening with profound attention to a description of a battle between Austrians and Frenchmen. He was told that five among them buy newspapers jointly, even though four are illiterate. The fifth, however, can read while the others listen."

Indeed, something was changing in Russia's spiritual life. New ways and means were being readied for its development, awakening previously slumbering intellectual forces. New Russian social strata were becoming active and feeling the spiritual ferment: the small nobility, rank and file officials, and rich and enterprising petit bourgeois. Literature was experiencing the current of active life. The number of literary journals and almanacs multiplied. The first professional publishers and journalists appeared even

though earning a living from literature was still considered disgraceful. Russian criticism and publicism--the spokesmen for public opinion--were being born.

Literature was learning and was teaching the reading public how to express itself in Russian, which was no easy matter. Literary Russian was yet to be created, influenced by folk sounds rather than foreign speech. Derzhavin, Fonvizin, Bogdanovich, Dmitriyev, Kriylov, Karamzin, Batyushkov, and Zhukovskiy were at the origins of the linguistic revolution which Pushkin was to crown.

He was lucky to be born at precisely the right time. He captured the early spring of Russian culture. "This was early spring," A. V. Lunacharskiy wrote. "It was so early that everything was still covered by fog, and when malignant microbes circled in the air with inordinate strength. It was a windy, drab, stormy spring. However, those who had preceded Pushkin had been unable to see the spring sun or heard the bubbling of springs. Their hearts had not thawed out. Their lips were stuck and muttered vague words in the frosty air. Those who came after Pushkin, however, were in the position of successors, for Pushkin had already said the most important words."

Pushkin's birth as a poet coincided with the spiritual birth of the nation and the assertion of the Russian people as a great and autonomous people, called upon to accomplish gigantic historical exploits in the world's arena. The upheaval of the 1812 Patriotic War was needed to provide proof of this.

At that time, in slightly over two decades, old Europe had been subjected to greater changes and events than in the preceding two centuries. The new Europe was being born in the crucible of battles, in the blood of clashes, and in the rises and falls of the revolutionary thrust. A new age was being hammered out--the age of fast bourgeois development and industrial civilization. The avalanche of social changes rolled like a refreshing wave over the continent and provided powerful incentives for the renovation of spiritual life. Inordinate brains appeared in all areas and real giants rose--Goethe and Coya, Hegel and Heine, Beethoven and Stendhal, Byron and Walter Scott, and Saint-Simon and Humboldt.

Russia alone remained outside this political and spiritual firebrand which covered the rest of Europe.

But Napoleon's armies invaded Russia and presumptuously advanced toward Moscow. The dawn came suddenly and everything that was truly big, strong, freedom loving, and inflexible--what was truly national--was revealed. The pain and bitterness of a seemingly endless retreat triggered a stormy splash of patriotic feelings. The huge and immobile empire, as though frozen in a long lethargic dream, quaked under the blows of foreign troops. The soul of the people reached self-awareness and a feeling of dignity, anger, and action. It hardened and matured.

In this distant 20th century it is hard to imagine the entire novelty and unusualness of the feeling which a simple soldier expressed in the sentence, "All of Russian launched a campaign!" It was perhaps the first time that the Russian people felt themselves with a painful acuteness to be a single and great nation, aware that the greatness and glory of Russia was found not in the glory and greatness of the czar's family, as they were told by the priests from the pulpit, but in the courage and selflessness of soldiers, officers, and guerrillas--in a word, in the popular masses. This feeling of confidence in the powerful forces of the people, manifested for the first time so powerfully and comprehensively, never abandoned our awareness, nurturing our belief in the outstanding future of the homeland.

It was Pushkin who was the embodiment of this self-awareness.

Without the War of 1812 or, rather, without the victory over Napoleon in that war, Pushkin would have not existed as the great national-Russian poet, any more than the Decembrists.

The entire tempestuous and fluctuating period of 1811-1817, exceptional to Russia in terms of saturation with events and "seething of the minds" was the high school period of the first, Pushkin's graduating class. The entire epoch ran through the young minds, inflaming the hearts of the students, creating "souls with a beautiful thrust."

The Decembrists were the children of 1812 and Pushkin was the son of that same stormy age. Years later the lightning of political action by the Decembrists and of Pushkin's poetic creativity unleashed the storm and vividly illuminated Russia.

The tempest of the Patriotic War passed away. However, a pre-storm atmosphere of a different kind began to develop: Having liberated its own land and other nations, the people demanded their own freedom. How could Russia remain unchanged after such an accomplishment! How could it fail to break the degrading chains of serfdom and absolute monarchy! Alas, not only everything remained as of old but things became even worse. The sinister Arakcheyv period was arising. This triggered comprehensive and most profound disappointment and protest. The nobility's opposition to the government spread and secret alliances and societies appeared.

Fate deemed it suitable for Pushkin to be always in the very center of the "ferment of the young minds." There was probably no unusual mind in Russia with which Pushkin was not most closely familiar. Immediately after school he established more or less close relations with P. A. Vyazemskiy, P. Ya. Chaadayev, N. I. Turgenev, A. S. Griboyedov, M. F. Orlov, F. N. Glinka, A. I. Yakubovich, M. S. Lunin, M. P. Bestuzhev-Ryumin . . .

Even though exiled in the south he was far from being on the periphery, remaining in the heart of liberation thinking and action. He was surrounded by fighters against the Turkish yoke one of whom, in particular, was the

future leader of the Greek uprising Alexander Ypsilanti. He was a friend of V. F. Rayevskiy and was one of the active participants in the Southern Secret Society. He engaged in "metaphysical, political, and moral" discussions with the head of the society, P. I. Pestel', a knight without fear and without reproach.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of such direct and live contacts between Pushkin and the progressive people of Russia to the ripening of his intellect, talent, and spiritual world. Literally, as Zhukovskiy wanted it, everything in Russia that was intelligent, good, bright, freedom loving, and fighting tyranny rallied around him. All this fostered the poet's genius for many years, until he had finally matured and reached his full power and strength in the quiet of his Mikhaylovskoye solitude. The poet managed to convert even this exile to the benefit of his spiritual development. Carts filled with books went him to Mikhaylovskoye. A time came, while working on "Boris Godunov," when he was able to say about himself, "I feel that my spiritual forces have reached their full development. I can create." This was on the eve of the uprising on Senatskaya Square.

Pushkin was inspired by the ideas of the future Decembrists and himself inspired them with his poetry. In D. Blago's expression, he was the first literary "Decembrist" and, let us add, the first "Decembrist"-exile. Aleksandr the First had reasons to persecute the poet. Bearing in mind the tyranny fighting Pushkin poems of the end of the 1810's and beginning of the 1820's, Adam Mickiewicz wrote: "Unquestionably, in order to dare to write something similar in Russia more courage was needed than to raise a mutiny in Paris or London."

We may say that Pushkin experienced at an early age a most radical Decembrism and, perhaps, earlier than anyone else felt its doom.

After the tempestuous yet short revolutionary-liberation wave which rolled over Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece, a period of comprehensive triumph of the reaction took over under the yoke of the Holy Alliance. The czarist government began to take punitive measures against the domestic opposition as well. The mutiny of the Semenov Regiment and, subsequently, of the regiment within the division commanded by M. F. Orlov was cruelly suppressed. Orlov himself was removed from commanding the division. V. F. Rayevskiy, the political supporter and friend of Pestel' and Pushkin, was thrown in jail. It was then that Pushkin wrote, "I reached the stars earlier, alone, sower of freedom"

The hour of great revolutionary action was still far into the future. The "star of captivating happiness" was still beyond the horizon. The people were deaf to the call for freedom. It was still early to cast the seeds of freedom in the "enslaved furrows." Such was the deep meaning of this work written, the poet said, in imitation of the "moderate democrat Jesus Christ."

With the bitterness of disappointment and the anger of condemnation we read lines which, as written by a people's poet, sound biting, sacrilegious, blasphemous, entirely impossible. . . .

From the height of the merciless-realistic vision of the stern truth of life, a brilliant echo of which would subsequently be found in Saltykov-Shchedrin's encyclopedic satire, Pushkin sadly abandoned his former romantic illusions that there would soon come "minutes of sacred freedom" and that "our names will be written on the ruins of autocracy."

Yet, when the Decembrists, like Pushkin, who had reached "the stars early," nevertheless decided to hurl their sacrificial challenge to autocracy, the poet's heart and mind were with them. He realized that the "infinite power of the government" could not be defeated. However, he also realized that their "sorrowful toil and high aspiring mind" will not fail, and that, as A. Odoyevskiy said, repeating Pushkin, "The spark will burn into a flame!"

As we know, this prophetic thought became V. I. Lenin's starting point in assessing the historical significance of the Decembrist movement.

Naturally, the poet's attitude toward the Decembrist movement as, in general, toward the destinies of Russia, was affected not only by his artistic feeling but the historicism and realism of Pushkin's thinking which had developed at that time.

The lectures delivered by the professors at school and, particularly, the work by N. M. Karamzin "History of the Russian State," marked the beginning of Pushkin's thoughts on the path followed by the historical process. He was stunned by the book. For the first time it presented Russia's past as the action of a powerful and original nation with outstanding governmental leaders, soldiers, and commanders. It appeared that one could be proud of this history no less than the French were proud of theirs and English of their own. It was filled with the great and heroic actions of brave, dedicated, and purposeful people. All this was depicted by Karamzin in rich colors and in a beautiful literary style. It was precisely Karamzin who "contaminated" the young poet with his love for native history and the desire to understand it with its origins and deep processes, in order to understand Russia's present and future.

Nevertheless, the more Pushkin considered Karamzin's work, the more equivocal his attitude toward it became. He was disturbed by an idea running through the work: The entire history of our people was described by Nikolay Mikhaylovich as the history of the establishment of statehood, and of a strong, single, and absolute power. This power, in the eyes of the writer, was the highest good, insuring the unity, strength, and greatness of Russia itself, and its confident progress. It was on this basis that he judged events and personalities. Naturally, he was the defender of autocracy and the opponent of anything threatening the stability of the governmental mechanism which kept peace over gigantic Russia, against anything fraught with disturbances, divisions, and quarrels. In his view, mutinies and disturbances had never brought Russia anything other than evil.

Naturally, as a progressive man of his age, Karamzin did not defend all absolutism but the enlightened variety, the type of monarchy which did not pit

its arbitrariness against the interests of society at large but, conversely, proceeded on the basis of such interests as the supreme law. Naturally, Karamzin thought, slavery was shameful. However, it could not be eliminated by mutinies and revolutions. Freedom was to be gained, above all, in one's own heart, making it a moral condition of the soul. Only then could there be a beneficial and real liberation of the peasants from slavery, a liberation "according to the czar's way."

A number of such views were understood and shared by Pushkin. He spent years thinking about a great many things. He conducted a long mental dialog with the "first Russian historian." It became ever clearer to Pushkin that, despite the reactionary tendency of some conclusions, Karamzin's work was a tremendous phenomenon, the fruit of a powerful mind, bright, imbued with love for the homeland which would leave its mark on the entire spiritual life of the country, and that it was possible to agree or disagree with the historian without underestimating the importance of his scientific exploit for the glory of Russia.

Pushkin considered his vocation, his artistic and civic duty, to continue Karamzin's work in order to clarify and interpret the heroic pages of Russian history, giving his compatriots legitimate pride in the worthy actions of their ancestors and confidence in the greatness of the past and, therefore, in the future of Russia.

There is a striking number of historical references in Pushkin's works. Our entire history is presented to the reader: from the most ancient to the tragedy of the Decembrist movement. Events of European history, particularly those related to the French Revolution and Bonapart's wars, are also always present in the poet's thoughts. Finally, he proclaims himself a professional historian as well.

Pushkin's historical concepts did not develop in one fell swoop within a definite and original system of views. It developed and strengthened with each new stage in his creative work. We can speak with full justification no longer of Pushkin's historical outlook alone, since the period of the writing of "Onegin" and "Godunov," but also of his historicism, as a principle consciously used in his works.

Pushkin's historicism developed under the influence of the winds of the stormy 19th century, the air of the French Revolution, and the influence of progressive ideological, philosophical, historical, and political searches of domestic and foreign philosophers. His library number some 400 books on history.

The outstanding minds and representatives of socio-utopian (Saint-Simon, Fourier), philosophical (Hegel), and historical (the French romantic historians) thought molded in the first decades of the 19th century a new view on the development of society as a progressing change of stages and tried to determine the motive forces of this progress. The romantic historians

(Thierry Guizot, Minier, and others), with whose works Pushkin was quite familiar, were close to understanding the role of the class struggle, the masses, and the individuals in history. Nevertheless, they continued to rely mainly on "good enlightenment," "educational successes," and the role of public opinion.

All in all, these ideas were consistent with Pushkin's historical outlook, which was developing independently. As early as 1822, in Kishinev, the poet had expressed himself as follows: "In the past nations rose against each other. Now it is the king of Naples who is fighting the people, the king of Prussia who is fighting the people, and so is the king of Spain. It would be easy to guess who will gain the upper hand." In other words, he considered civil war, the war of classes a sign of the times and a guarantee of the inevitable victory of the people.

Pushkin tried to understand Russia's present and future in relation with the development of historical processes in Europe and the rest of the world. Without separating his country from such processes, nevertheless, he could clearly see the specific nature of its historical development. The poet considered Guizot right when the latter stated that in France, century after century, a consistent progress had taken place in the development of education and freedom. However, he firmly refused to apply the "Guizot formula" to the history of Russia. It "required a different type of thinking, another formula, the way Guizot's thoughts and formulas had been derived from the history of the Christian West." Consciously or subconsciously, Karanjin had provided a version more consistent with Russian history: "Progress" in the strengthening of absolutism, despotism, enslavement of the peasants, and suppression of freedom had taken place from one century to another, and from one reign to another. Ivan the Terrible, Peter the First, Catherine the Second, and, finally, Nicholas the First had passed on the "baton" from one to the other.

"The infinite power of the government, based on the power of things," i.e., on the age-old traditions of slavery and loyalty, degradation of the individual and of human dignity, and the backwardness and ignorance of the people are a mass of autocracy, sanctified by the church, supported by bayonets, protected by a thick net of policeman, spies, and informers.

Yet, in that same Russia there had been the uprisings of Razin and Pugachev and of the Decembrists. In 1831 the military settlers in Staraya Russ had mutinied in a bloody rebellion cruelly drowned in blood. Indignant peasants and opposition nobility were still opposing the government separately. What if these two forces were to combine?

Once, talking with the Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, Pushkin said:

"Such a fierce mutinous element does not exist even in Europe."

How to combine, to put together the "stability" of a social organization-- "the main prerequisite for public prosperity"--with the need for "constant

improvements?" Such was the question which puzzled Pushkin who, unquestionably, possessed a sober statesmanlike mind, a question which, as it were, he was unable to answer.

"I have never liked," he wrote Vyazemskiy, "uprising and revolution. . . ." However, let us bear in mind that this was written in July of 1826, under the fresh impression of the defeat of the Decembrist uprising and aimed at being read by the police.

In fact, naturally, Pushkin's attitude toward the revolution and uprising was very complex. In any case, it was not restricted in the least. He considered such events against the broad background of the historical development of European civilization. He assessed them as an artist, historian, and philosopher, sharply separating not only light from shadow in occurring events but the entire range of shades.

Such was his attitude toward the tragedy of the Decembrists as well. Despite the censorship, he stated this quite clearly in his message to Del'vige at the beginning of February 1826: "We shall be neither superstitious nor one-sided as the French tragedists; however, let us look at tragedy through Shakespeare's eyes." Obviously, this meant not to fall into hopelessness and depression. Not to depict events only as black or bloody. Let us understand the reasons of events. Let us hope, believe, that the "mournful work" of the Decembrists will not fail and that "the heavy chains will break."

Was all of Pushkin's poetry not a rebellion, a call to rebellion, a praise of freedom and rebellion? Was Pushkin not attracted at all times to depict the rebellious man, breaking the frames of ordinariness, violating an unfair law, daring?

Naturally, Pushkin was a rebel through all his work and in his profound motives. Naturally also (here again Marina Tsvetayeva is right!), he was on the side of Sten'ka Razin Pugachev, and Dubrovskiy. Naturally, had he been able to do so, on 14 December 1825, he would have been present at Senatskaya Square, together with his friends and like-minded people. And he would have shared the fate of Pestel' and Ryleyev or Pushchin and Kyukhel'beker.

A definitive judgment of Pushkin's views on rebellion and revolution should be based not on excerpts of letters and works or official statements of loyalty to which the poet was forced by circumstances, but by the entire size (and immortality!) of his works and personality.

We know that Pushkin tried to study the element of mutinies, using the means of the artist and the scientist-historian. Following the suppression of the Staraya Russa uprising, he turned to the history of Pugachev. What did Pushkin mean by this work? In this case, let us note the following:

Essentially, as a historian, he refuted the official version according to which the mutiny was triggered by "Yemel'ka's" intrigues, a "crime" which had

triggered the popular indignation. On the contrary, Pugachev took up a cause which had already objectively ripened by virtue of a number of social and political reasons. Had it not been Pugachev, the role would have been assumed by another leader.

Pushkin's mature historicism is revealed in this view on the reasons for major social upheavals.

The mutiny was triggered by the unfair oppression of the government and the ruling class. It was they, rather than the cossacks, who were to blame. Such was Pushkin's main conclusion! Such was the beginning of the Pugachev movement which spread over huge parts of the empire and shook up "the state from Siberia to Moscow and from the Kuban' to the inaromskiye forests."

"All the common people supported Pugachev," wrote Pushkin, summing up the results of his work. "He had the good wishes of the clergy, not only the priests and monks, but the archimandrites and the bishops. The nobility alone was openly on the side of the government. Initially, Pugachev and his confederates wanted to win over the nobility as well. However, their interests were too disparate." These "interests" were of a material-class nature.

Pushkin did not consider Pugachev's uprising sterile in the least. The poet-historian himself said: "There is no bad without good: Pugachev's rebellion proved to the government the need to make a number of changes and, in 1775, there was a new redivision of guberniyas. The power of the state was concentrated; excessively big guberniyas were split. Communications among all parts of the government became faster, etc."

These lines, as well as the statement that rebels were unable to make the nobility take their side were written in "Notes on the Uprising," especially for Nicholas the First. Pushkin was giving the czar a lesson. Katherine had implemented some, even though rather insignificant reforms following Pugachev's uprising. Nicholas drew no conclusion whatever out of the 14 December or Staraya Russa events.

In an effort to draw from the history of "Pugachev's Rebellion" something of value to Russia's present and future, naturally, Pushkin did not reduce his task to the role of a lecturing, a moralizing historiographer. On the contrary, any prejudiced or tendentious attitude toward the historical task or the wish to borrow from it merely illustrations for maxims on the subject of contemporary problems was profoundly alien to Pushkin as a researcher. He demanded of the historian "precise information and clear presentation of events," void of any "political or moralizing thoughts." He called for "conscientiousness in the work and circumspection in accepting the evidence." Not the subjective stand of the author but history itself, presented impartially and objectively, would shed the clearest light not only on the touchy problems affecting the contemporary reader but on the profound law governing the entire historical process. It is within this context, obviously, that we could interpret Pushkin's remark that "the light of philosophy must illuminate the dark historical archives."

Considering Russia's past, Pushkin clearly realized that the people were far from free in choosing the objectives and means of their activities. This applied even more to the great people. Something powerful existed, dictating the direction in which they applied their energy and will.

This something is the ripe needs of socioeconomic development, clearly or unclearly expressed in the social consciousness and public opinion or, as Pushkin himself said, the "spirit of the times," the "spirit of the people," which is the "source of the needs and demands of the state." This "spirit of the people," i.e., the ripe need of the times, brings to life the energy of great people and outstanding historical leaders, molding them as individuals of a specific time, guiding their destinies. It was thus that Godunov, Lzhedmitriy, Peter the First, Pugachev, and others appeared in the historical arena. Let us re-emphasize that, discussing Pugachev, Pushkin looked for the socioeconomic and political reasons for the uprising rather than reducing the matter to the individual rebellious intentions of the freedom loving Don Cossack. He cited the "outstanding lines" in Bibikov's letter to Fonvizin: "Bugachev is nothing but a scarecrow, the toy of thieves and the Cossacks: It is not Bugachev who is important; what matters is the general indignation."

Strangely intertwined in the conscious and subconscious of the poet were the past and present, the destinies of Russia and the destinies of individual Russian people hurled into the stormy stream of history, either spinning round within it or trying to swim against the current or else again directing it into a new tempestuous bed. It was the latter that was precisely the great accomplishment of Peter the Great.

As was the case with Pugachev, Pushkin was charmed by Peter's rebellious nature and personality unwilling to swim with the current. With the help of the uprising of the "common people," Pugachev wanted to seize the throne of the czars in Moscow. Peter was a "revolutionary" on the throne, a man who had turned upside down and shaken up Russia not from below but from the top. According to Pushkin that had been the only successful Russian "revolution."

Peter the First was a "revolutionary." He was also a tyrant, a despot, an autocrat. He was the ruler of "half the world," and the builder of the greatest country. However, he was also the suppressor of the masses. He was a man who was destroying through his power everything that was old and obsolete in society and was opening new roads to it. Perfectly aware of the entire complexity and contradictoriness of this historical figure, both admiring him and horrified by him, Pushkin found extremely brief but meaningful words to describe him: "The means used for making a revolution are insufficient to consolidate it. Peter the Great is both Robespierre and Napoleon (embodiment of the revolution)."

Robespierre and Napoleon, combined within Peter the First! This was a full concept of the revolution considering the different conditions prevailing in Russia and France. The concept was inordinately daring, original, and profound. Let us try to reconstruct the most likely course of Pushkin's thinking and understand the full conventionality of this operation.

Robespierre was the leader of mutinous France embodying the revolution as the means for the decisive rejection of feudalism, and the total and systematic destruction of everything which had become obsolete and prevented the nation to move ahead in its ascending stage.

However, opening a sharp breach into the future, the revolution also outstrips its time. A sobering up time comes when it is necessary to engage in common work under existing circumstances and with the prerequisites for strengthening the gains stemming from the coup d'etat, considered historically justified, and reject those anticipated by historical necessity. The "reverse course" of history begins.

This, as a rule, requires other people, other characters, other natures. Thus, Robespierre--the man who crushed the feudal monarchy--was replaced by Napoleon--the creator of a great empire and of the bourgeois monarchy. Robespierre represented the bourgeois revolution as it dreamed to become. Napoleon was the bourgeois revolution as it became, as it developed and changed. In this sense as well, according to Pushkin, Napoleon is its "embodiment."

Such was the case in France at the end of the 18th century.

At the beginning of that century Russia combined both figures within a single personality! Both tasks, negating and destructive, and the creative, consolidating the results of the changes, were carried out here "from above," through the will and genius of the autocrat. We are faced with a person who, it would seem, could anticipate turns in the course of history and lead the country into its new bed and, perhaps, become not only master of his own fate but of all Russia. "Pulling the bridle he raised Russia on its hind legs."

He not only raised it on its hind legs but put it on the torture rack. As was the case of Pugachev, Pushkin considered Peter the Great in a double light. He was both a gigantic personality making history and an individual controlling circumstances. He was both an educator and a petty tyrant. A man of power, he was corrupted by that power, using it for both noble and base purposes. He was a man of dignity who destroyed the human dignity of others. Such was the impression that Pushkin developed about Peter, summing it up as follows: "The disparity between Peter the Great's state institutions and his ukases was amazing. The former were the results of a broad mind, filled with well-wishingness and wisdom; the latter were frequently cruel, arbitrary and, it might appear, written with a whip. The former were for eternity or, at least, for the future, while the latter came from an impatient, and autocratic landowner."

It is usually believed that Pushkin "praised" Peter, romanticized and enhanced his image, as a passionate admirer, combining "the academician, hero, sailor, and carpenter," a figure whom he revered. This was so but, nevertheless, Pushkin was also the first sharp critic of Peter's tyranny, cruelty, and autocracy. The poet-historian perfectly realized that the censorship would

not allow an objective description of Peter. One week before his death, talking to P. A. Pletnev, he said: ". . . As yet the history of Peter cannot be written, i.e., its publication will not be allowed." Nevertheless, he persistently worked on his gigantic project without sacrificing the truth even by an iota.

No other Russian czar had done so much to educate Russia and rescue it from barbarism and expose it to European culture and to the course of scientific and technical and economic progress as Peter the Great. Yet, no one had also so vividly and fully expressed through his life and actions the idea of absolutism, of the unlimited power of the autocrat embodying the entire state and suppressing all and any freedom.

". . . Despotism," Pushkin noted, "surrounds itself with loyal mercenaries who suppress all opposition and independence." With such an unlimited autocracy and power focused in the hands of single person, the poet thought, there was nothing to make Peter the First "fear the people's freedom, the inevitable consequence of education." Again, comparing the two great "rulers of a half world," Pushkin noted that Peter the First "despised mankind perhaps even more than Napoleon."

As if commenting on this idea, Gertsen wrote: "Peter the First is the complete type of the age or else a genius-executioner brought to life to whom the state was everything while man nothing; he initiated our historical slave labor which lasted one and a half centuries and achieved tremendous results." These words been the epigraph to the "Brazen Knight," and it is excluded that they came to Gertsen precisely on the basis of Pushkin's poem.

The great monument to Peter assumed a different aspect after the "Brazen Knight": a horse on its hind legs, ready to crush with his front hooves the heads of all opponents, with the permanently vigilant eyes in the copper head of the emperor. In his amazing poem, beginning with an enthusiastic hymn to Peter's accomplishments, Pushkin concluded with a killing irony of the "proud statue" of autocracy, made restless by the protest of the little people, thus making himself ridiculous and pitiful.

The most truthful and profound statement ever made about Pushkin is the unexpected and, even superficially paradoxical view expressed by Gogol': Pushkin is "the Russian man in his development, as he could be, as he will appear 200 years hence."

Naturally, Gogol' had in mind least of all to sing the praises of the poet and present him as the ideal person "without blame and reproach." He meant something entirely different. In his works, Pushkin was the first to show to the world--through himself, his personality, his outlook--what the Russian person was like, what were the national characteristics of his character, and what were his views on matters, what was his spiritual world; the way he felt, loved, suffered, and yearned; his way of life and mores; the social problems which affected him and the ideals with which he breathed and lived.

In the first half of the 20th century there was a great deal of talk in the West concerning the "puzzling" Russian soul. The reason was that something uniquely national, characteristic precisely of the Russians, had been seen in the Russian person. It had been seen through the lens of the great Russian literature. Pushkin was the first to begin to unravel this "puzzle."

At the beginning of the 19th century, however, no one in the West probably even suspected the existence of any peculiar "Russian soul." The Russian nobility abroad was looked as rich people from a semi-barbaric country who were so ashamed of it that they were doing everything possible to resemble more the foreigners and who, obviously, had such a poor native language that even among their own they did not speak in Russian.

Yet, a poet appeared who with just about his initial adolescent poetry felt the insurmountable call to become the "echo" of the Russian people, to tell not mankind, to begin with, but that very people what it represented, what forces were slumbering within it, and what possibilities were hidden in its spiritual recesses. To show this people, above all, how sonorous, musical, and beautiful the Russian language was, how plastic it was, how capable it was to depict all nuances of feelings and emotions, all transitions of the mind, and the variety of the poetic intonations of other nations. To depict what profound poetry was concealed in Russian history and even in its mutinies and disturbances.

With the appearance of Pushkin all of us felt ourselves to be Russians. Together with him we experienced what it means to be a Russian. Together with him we learned to be proud of the Russian people and their great history. With him we gained faith in the great future of Russia.

Now, when most of Gogol's 200 years have passed, focused in our minds are the features of the true Russian man, the Russian character, as represented by Pushkin himself in the characters of his works.

However, how is this "national element" of the Russian character expressed? What are its characteristics? Pushkin himself briefly mentions this as follows: "The distinguishing feature in our morals is a kind of joyful cunning of the mind, mockery, and a picturesque way of expressing itself."

This gay cunning of the mind, mockery, and a picturesque method to express oneself were beautifully reflected, shining and sparkling in Pushkin's poetry, stories, and prose. They expressed, with unique clarity, the outlook of the Russian person, bringing to light the very soul of the Russian people. They contain the Russian people's wisdom, happiness, and moral loftiness free from greed, envy, and stupidity, and where goodness, beauty, and courage triumph. They contain inflexible dignity and reckless daring. How well the people's soul was expressed in Pushkin's stories. How many possibilities were discovered in the "muzhik" language! It is brief, simple, picturesque, and mischievously sly. It is melodious, flexible, and "coherent."

Naturally, the national nature of Pushkin's poetry is not found in the least merely in the color of the language (the poet rarely used it directly), and not only in the fact that it can describe life in simple terms.

Here again, Gogol' was profoundly right when, speaking of Pushkin as of a national poet, he explained that "From the very beginning he was a national poet, for true national feeling consists not of a description of a peasant dress but of the very spirit of the people. The poet can be national even when he describes an entirely different world but looks at it through the eyes of his own national element, the eyes of his people, when he feels and speaks in a way his compatriots would have the feeling that they are saying this themselves."

Before Pushkin poetry was "elegant literature" in the literal meaning of the term. It was a decoration, an admonition, a praise. With Pushkin, for the first time, poetry became the revolutionary of the public mind not in the sense of open calls to join the barricades but through the powerful influence of aesthetic means. Pushkin discovered the world of lyrics--as a harmony of strings in the people's spirit. He played these strings and, amazed, Russia listened and was charmed.

What an infinite accomplishment is Pushkin's "Onegin" alone, or merely Tat'yana's character in it, to such an extent that "200 years later" the Russian person has become what Gogol' dreamed about! Tat'yana is, in fact, the Russian woman in her development as she has always been in the course of the historical development of our society. She is a beautiful feature of life, a feature of great art, of artistic summation, assuming a tremendous moral attractiveness, reflected in the souls of ever new generations, as though flowing into these souls, molding them "in her way and sameness." Is there not something of Tat'yana in each of our contemporary Russian women?

There is firmness, perfection, spiritual harmony, and purposefulness in Tat'yana, there is her daring and loyalty in love along with the demon of doubt, dissatisfaction, and rejection which tempt Onegin. And there Savel'ich's common sense, positive attitude, loyalty, judgment, and circumspection. There is Pugachev's rebelliousness, fury, risk taking, and opposition to the force of circumstances. There is the same set of contradictions and extremes in Pimen and Grishka Otrep'yev, in Kochubey, Mazepa, the old Gypsy, Aleko, Liza, Germann, Peter from the "Brazen Knight" and in Yevgeniy. The flight of Pushkin's genius takes place within such a broad scope, like two powerful wings of the Russian soul and nature. He himself is a "combination" of these contradictions.

As to Pushkin's personality, we know how tempestuously his literary genius matured. However, his moral and intellectual self-perfection followed the same headlong path. He was constantly dominated by this process, carefully concealed from foreign eyes. Even though painful notes of spiritual self-scourging would penetrate his poetry ("among worthless children of the world, perhaps, he was the most worthless," would the poet say himself). He glued

together, molded, and recreated from himself an entirely different person from the man we know in his fanciful and legendary youth. However, the features of a childish directness and, to use his own words, "simplicity reaching stupidity" within him never changed.

The greatness of Pushkin's works is the greatness of the complex, comprehensive, and inordinately attractive personality. Ever new generations fall in love with him, not only with his works but, precisely, with him.

There is in Pushkin's work in general and, above all, in his poetry a characteristic feature which comes from his own spiritual-moral loftiness. The poet does not enervate the reader, he does not push him into meaningless dreams, yearnings, and melancholy, into hopelessness. He does not irritate him. Even though aware of the infinite depth of the human mind and the confused condition of the spirit, he remains, nevertheless, amazingly optimistic. He retains a light of hope even in hopeless situations. However hard and hopeless the situation may be, according to the poet, he remains, through the concealed pains, yearnings, and despairs, the generous giver of light and warmth, wisdom and depth, and confidence and dignity. What a large number of people have been helped by Pushkin's poetry in their survival, in not giving up, in not giving up in most difficult times! They ran to it like to a fresh spring and were charged with energy and hope.

Pushkin gave the spirit of the Russian people, so to say, a bearing.

We do not accept Dostoyevskiy's entire evaluation of Pushkin. On one point, however, it seems to me, he is right. The universal, the humanistic content of Pushkin's work and the universality of his genius ("He was able to incorporate someone else's genius within his own soul as though it were his own") are deeply consistent with the historical trend which is slowly yet accurately making its way: the trend toward internationalization of social life and, subsequently, as a result of political, economic, social, and cultural changes, to the fact that "having forgotten their quarrels, the nations will join in a great family." It is precisely on our country that has befallen the honor to be the first to express this historical trend, the first to lay a path in that direction. It was as though intuitively Pushkin guessed through his work this future for his native country which, decades later, was considered even by the leading minds as existing in a foggy distant haze.

Before our culture had become part of the all-European culture and assumed its proper position, through his work Pushkin brought us closer to the achievements of other nations. He absorbed foreign geniuses within himself to test his forces in a friendly competition with them, mastering their experience and means of artistic skill, and to prove that on the soil of Russian culture as well masterpieces comparable to the greatest accomplishments of the human spirit, becoming a part of this spirit, were possible.

In Pushkin's time the conventional thinking was that the Russian people had a single talent: imitation, acceptance of the foreign, and its slavish

duplication. This view was popular among foreigners as well, who condescendingly discussed Russia, as well as among the Russians themselves. Through his works Pushkin refuted the version of the "passive femininity" of the Russian principle and the alleged inability of the Russians to create original models of art, develop their own spiritual values of universal importance, and enrich mankind with a truly Russian contribution to world civilization and culture.

Pushkin's "universal responsiveness" is not the ability to borrow and change but the dynamism of creative mastery which is merely a run along a track leading to a dizzying jump into the unknown and flight to the type of spiritual areas as yet unreachd by mankind. A Pushkin was needed to achieve this. Without him subsequent Russian talents would not have developed so boldly or felt the rebellious and powerful call of not merely following the West in the ways of art but to point out themselves, and to discover in the West and the East new ways and possibilities.

"To discover new worlds following the steps of the genius" was the credo formulated by the poet himself concerning his attitude to the gems of world art. This was the secret of the universality of his own genius.

It was thus, with Pushkin, that contemporary Russian culture began, a culture which, having imbued within itself and mastered the best achievements of its own and of all European spiritual life, is fully revealing, on this basis, the characteristics of true originality, expressing a truly national outlook and thus enriching world culture.

Pushkin is the central point marking the beginning of something entirely new in Russian spiritual life. In other words, he is the peak on the native soil to which roads lead from all ends of the world and from which a view of the far horizons of the future opens. It is only from this peak that the subsequent path could be followed and it was from it and to new peaks that subsequently literature in our country moved fantastically, occasionally abandoning and separating itself from Pushkin, arguing with him but always, consciously or subconsciously, gaging its steps from the starting point, from the level he reached.

All rivers of our literature stem from this watershed. All of them are fed from this peak and, even though they scatter in various directions, they carry with themselves the charge, speed, and freshness obtained there. That is why since Pushkin our culture has developed so tempestuously, so tremendously.

To the tens of peoples inhabiting the USSR Pushkin, even though a Russian poet, is also "their own," their national poet, not only because everyone in our country has the opportunity to read him in his own native language but also because without the study of his works it would be hardly possible for today's national--precisely national!--self-awareness not only of the Russian peoples but all other socialist nations and nationalities in our country to exist, along with a feeling of reciprocal attraction, because of his tremendous unifying influence on the development of the entire multinational culture of the Soviet Union.

To Russian or, more accurately, all-Russian, culture Pushkin was what Shakespeare was to English culture and Goethe to German.

In one of his last articles Thomas Mann wrote: "Were I to be asked about the poetic geniuses I love and consider my favorites, and were I to be asked to name no more than six names or even only four, I would never omit Pushkin."

Possibly, these four names are the following: Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Pushkin.

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LATEST COMPILATION OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 81-90

[Article by Academician A. Prokhorov, chairman of the scientific-editorial council of Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya"]

[Text] The 30th and final volume of third edition of Great Soviet Encyclopedia was published at the end of 1978. The event was extensively noted by the public. In a letter to the compilers of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, described the publication of the BSE [Great Soviet Encyclopedia] as an outstanding event in the spiritual life of our country, noting the important role of Soviet encyclopedic publications in resolving topical problems of socioeconomic and cultural construction and in the communist education of the working people. This fundamental work, a systematic compilation of scientific knowledge, is the result of the creative efforts a thousand-strong collective of scientists, specialists, men of literature and the arts, workers in state and public organizations, Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya," and the printing and press industries.

Encyclopedias play a special role in the history of culture. We know that the very word "encyclopedia" was developed by the ancient Greeks, meaning a "range of knowledge," or "training in an entire range of knowledge," needed for the education of the citizens. The people had long expressed the desire to cover with a single look the world, and to express the totality of knowledge of their time within a specific scientific compilation. It was natural that a single person could not accomplish this at an age which K. Marx metaphorically described as the "childhood of human society," when science was taking nearly its first steps. We describe as encyclopedic the works of universal minds of antiquity such as Aristotle. However, it was only starting with the 17th century that the word "encyclopedia" has been used to describe works systematically offering scientific information in one or several fields of knowledge.

The true history of encyclopedias may be traced to mid-18th century following the publication in France of an "Encyclopedia or Explanatory Dictionary of Sciences, Arts, and Crafts" (1751-1780, 35 vols), compiled under the

supervision of D. Diderot and J. L. D'Alembert. F. Engels wrote that "the idea of an encyclopedia was typical of the 18th century, i.e., of the inter-connection among sciences. According to Engels sciences "came closer, on the one hand, to philosophy and, on the other, to practice" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol I, p 599).

The French encyclopedia is an outstanding example of this trend. Imbued with the ideas of the Enlightenment, it factually expressed the ideological-political program of the bourgeoisie which was then still a young progressive class. The Diderot-D'Alembert encyclopedia allowed, along with science and the arts, a considerable space to practical disciplines, the crafts. The compilers had clearly formulated their tasks. In the article "Encyclopedia," Diderot had written that, "Essentially the purpose of the encyclopedia is to put together knowledge scattered throughout the earth so that such knowledge, in its totality, may become understood by our contemporaries and transmitted to those who will live after us, so that the works of past centuries would not be lost to subsequent centuries, and that our descendants will be better informed and, therefore, more virtuous and happier, and would not pass away without earning the grateful memory of mankind."

The French encyclopedia was a weapon of the bourgeoisie in the struggle for its hegemony. It educated the people and prepared them for decisive battles against the feudal-absolutist order. That is why its compilers were subjected to all possible persecution. Diderot said quite bitterly that "of all persecutions experienced at all times and by all nations there is almost no one among them which has not been used against us, people who have dedicated themselves to the tempting and dangerous competition for inscribing their names among the list of the benefactors of mankind. We have experienced everything which history describes to us concerning the sinister intrigues of jealousy, lies, ignorance, and fanaticism. In a period of 20 years we have hardly had a few minutes of rest."

Initially a broad range of authors were drawn into the compilation of the encyclopedia, among whom were the outstanding people of the times--Voltaire, Holbach, Turgot, Montesquieu, Helvetius, and Buffon.

The French encyclopedia was a model for encyclopedias which were published in different countries, including pre-revolutionary Russia.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the tremendous reorganization tasks facing the Soviet people adamantly demanded the creation of new, socialist encyclopedias. In the first years of the Soviet system V. I. Lenin noted the importance of an encyclopedic reference literature as a tool for upgrading the culture of the people and called for the compilation of a Soviet dictionary.

It was noteworthy that preparations for the publication of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (BSE) were initiated as early as the beginning of the 1920's. In 1925 the USSR Central Executive Committee Presidium passed the decision of the compilation of the BSE and the Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskaya

Entsiklopediya" was set up. The preface to the first BSE volume, published in 1926, noted that the tasks of the encyclopedia had changed along with the radical changes in social relations and ideology. The encyclopedia was to present the range of human knowledge on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist outlook. The direction of the encyclopedia was clearly marked: The consolidation of the revolutionary outlook in the mind of the new reader, the systematization of knowledge, the need to be guided in the entire variety of contemporary phenomena, and the description of the latest scientific achievements. The first BSE edition had 66 volumes and was completed in 1947.

During that work the publication of the Abridged Soviet Encyclopedia was undertaken as well, directed toward the broadest possible readership. At the same time, the publication of general sectorial encyclopedias was undertaken--technical, agricultural, medical, and others.

The second BSE edition was compiled between 1949 and 1958 in 51 volumes. Despite the reduced number of volumes, the overall volume of the BSE (excluding illustrations) had been increased by approximately 1,000 authors' pages and the number of articles by over 30,000. Compared with the first edition there were 60,000 new entries. The second edition reflected achievements in the building of socialism and in the development of science, technology, and culture in our country, as well as the changes which had taken place as a result of World War II and the upsurge of the revolutionary and national-liberation movements.

The dynamic development of the USSR and the members of the socialist comity, the radical changes in the international arena, the development of the scientific and technical revolution, and the considerable growth of the culture of Soviet society determined the need for the compilation of the new, third BSE edition. Work on the edition was initiated in accordance with the 1967 CC CPSU decree which defined the scientific and ideological program and the basic trends of the encyclopedia.

The new edition contains about 100,000 articles even though the number of volumes has been reduced to 30 while authors' sheets have been reduced to 3,800. This was consistent with the numerous wishes of the BSE readers of making the encyclopedia more compact and convenient for use and the overall trends in the development of encyclopedias the world over--the trend toward a more concise presentation of the material and increased amount of information.

The CPSU Central Committee program stipulated that the encyclopedia fulfill several simultaneous functions: scientific-referential, ideological, and educational. Secondary and university students, scientists, state and public officials, and workers and kolkhoz members would all try to draw from it the required information. That is what determines its structure, content, and principles governing the interpretation of the data. Ideally, the purpose of an encyclopedic article is to meet the requirements of the reader whatever his educational level. However, it must mandatorily contain basic contemporary

scientific information on the topic as well as a more profound characterization of the most important aspects of the topic. Bearing in mind in this connection that each concept and term must be explained comprehensively and its place within the contemporary system of concepts, and scientific laws must be depicted, along with their theoretical, conceptual, and practical significance, it becomes clear that authors and editors must resolve the complex problems of insuring depth, accessibility, brevity, and fullness of information.

The most difficult part was the choice of the terminological stock of the encyclopedia--the creation of a new glossary on which it would be based. We had to resolve how to combine within a specific size the presentation of historical and contemporary data, and establish the ratios for the various branches of knowledge. The reader had to be given an idea of the tremendous historical layers of culture, guided by Lenin's instructions that a person could become a communist only when he enriches his memory with the knowledge of the entire wealth created by mankind. At the same time, the encyclopedia had to be made topical, contemporary.

We had also to take into consideration the growing interrelationship among the natural, technical, and social sciences, and their interpenetration which shows up in the application of the principles and methods of some sciences (such as mathematics, physics, and chemistry) to other sciences (such as biology, medicine, geology, sociology, and economics). Whereas until the middle of the 20th century the individual sciences could have been considered as relatively separate sectors in the vast field of knowledge, today science is an integrated system with a tremendous number of interconnections. New sciences have developed such as cybernetics and new ways and means have appeared among which computers which have become a type of symbol of the scientific and technical revolution, play a revolutionizing role.

Comprehensive studies of complex problems described as interdisciplinary and the extensive application of the methods of systems approach and systems analysis are essentially new. Comprehensiveness, and systems have become mandatory requirements both in terms of a specific encyclopedic article and the encyclopedia as a whole.

Finally, let us emphasize the headlong growth of information and its increased importance in all aspects of social life. We know that today many tens of thousands of scientific journals are being published, not to speak of books, newspapers, and mass information media such as radio and television. In this sea of information every person should have the opportunity to find quite rapidly information both in his own area as well as other areas he encounters. Under such circumstances the encyclopedia assumes the important role of a guideline: its purpose is to select and systematize a variety of data, assessing the factual significance of the achievements of science and culture, singling out new directions, eliminating data from extensive "static," and avoiding sensationalism and fashion. We took into consideration the trend clearly realized in modern science as properly expressed by Academician N. N. Semenov: "Today it is impossible to take the next major practical step without a thorough study of the the prime foundation."

The encyclopedia sums up the results of today's fundamental achievements of mankind. It is like an island combining unity of knowledge and cultural phenomena in our complex and differentiated world.

Biographic articles on outstanding political and state leaders, scientists, writers, composers, actors, musicians, and architects of all times and nations account for a considerable share (over 20,000) of BSE entries. Let us particularly note the fact that the BSE is the first encyclopedia in the world carrying the biographies of workers and peasants who are production innovators or initiators of the socialist competition.

What is the methodology on which the encyclopedia is based and the ways and means through which it is carrying out its objectives and assignments? Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist theories of the principles of party-mindedness and class mindedness, historicism, concrete truth, comprehensiveness, and fullness of consideration are the BSE theoretical foundations. This is the essential distinction separating socialist from bourgeois encyclopedias which, as a rule, are based on a "pluralistic" yet, essentially, eclectic foundation. Unlike bourgeois party-mindedness, concealed behind the non-party principle and objectivism, we openly support the principle of communist party-mindedness which presumes and objective scientific analysis of the real trends of social development, the depiction of the true content of social progress and slogans, of theory, and concepts, the defense of the interests of the working class and all working people and of the progressive development of mankind, the exposure of reaction, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and criticism of bourgeois ideology, revisionism, and opportunism. The principle of party-mindedness is manifested not only in the content of the articles but in their selection as well.

The BSE strictly implements the basic Marxist-Leninist principle of historicism whose nature was defined by Lenin as follows: ". . . We must not forget basic historical ties. We must consider any separate problem from the viewpoint of how a certain phenomenon arose in history, what were the main stages covered in its development and, from the viewpoint of such a development, consider what this given object has become today" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 67).

One of the most important qualities of an encyclopedic article is the precise presentation of the facts, proof, and strict logical support. The very spirit of the encyclopedia does not tolerate carelessness or approximation. This demands of the editors particularly thorough and very scrupulous drafting of the entries. The comprehensive consideration of the problems is achieved by involving in the writing of many articles all editors dealing with a given concept, term, or phenomenon. In this sense the editorial collective of the encyclopedia acts as an organic entity.

The organization of the publishing machinery and the editorial process of an encyclopedia is, as we may see, an important problem, for which reason it is worth discussing in somewhat greater detail. Basic work in writing the articles is done by the sectorial editors and groups in charge of big blocks

of encyclopedic information: architecture and the arts, biology, general history, geography, geology and mining, USSR history, literature and language, mathematics, medicine, music, theater and motion pictures, pedagogy and public education, industry and transportation, agriculture and veterinary medicine, theory of the state and law, technology, physics, philosophy, and economics. A variety of projects are being carried out by other teams within the editorial machinery--the editors in charge of cartography, illustrations, bibliography, reference group, and transcription and etymology group. Obviously, the management of the encyclopedia is faced with the solution of rather complex problems of the distribution of materials by topics and editorial units in order really to implement the principles of comprehensive approach and methodical unity, avoid duplication of data or the appearance of "no-man's-land" related to the appearance of new sciences and concepts not fitting existing classifications.

In our view, it is entirely justifiable today, when encyclopedias are published in all union republics, to speak of the appearance of the skill of encyclopedia editor. This calls for a thorough mastery of Marxist-Leninist methodology, profound specialized knowledge, and extensive erudition. The encyclopedia editor must constantly follow the development of his and related fields of knowledge and take part in scientific life. We must also take into consideration that whereas the editor of a periodical or book may postpone dealing with "unattractive" material, the encyclopedia editor must prepare the article as stipulated in the selection within a specific deadline. Yet, he is dealing with hundreds of topics and articles and, respectively, hundreds of authors, reviewers, and consultants, i.e., with an environment characterized by a considerable vagueness in the sense of meeting deadlines and the quality of the articles. Therefore, the activities of the encyclopedia editor involve high-level scientific, literary, and organizational functions.

The collective of a publishing house can carry out such a tremendous amount of work only on the basis of the all-round aid and support of a considerable number of scientific, party, and state institutions, institutes, and departments. Ten thousand highly skilled authors, and thousands of reviewers and consultants in all fields of knowledge participated in the creation of the current BSE edition. In a certain sense it could be said that the entire spiritual potential of our country is used in the writing of Soviet encyclopedias. This is a vivid manifestation of the collectivism inherent in socialist social relations. Scientists and men of culture in the socialist countries, and noted scientists in the capitalist countries also participated in the writing of the encyclopedia.

From the very beginning of their work on the new edition, the BSE editors in chief and the scientific-editorial council of the publishing house sought the help of the broad public. The draft list for the BSE, containing the alphabetical enumeration of articles and their selection based on specific sections and topics, were discussed in all union republics and by many scientific institutions, party, state, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, creative unions, higher educational institutions, publishing houses,

libraries, museums, and noted specialists in all fields. About 3,000 answers were received containing over 52,000 suggestions on additions to the list, clarifications, or deletions of terms. This enabled us to improve the selection of articles and to enrich the vocabulary with a terminology reflecting the level of contemporary science.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium passed two decrees on the participation of its institutions in the compilation of the BSE and in the writing, discussions, and reviewing of articles. It called upon academicians and corresponding members personally to participate in the creation of the encyclopedia. In 1967 the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education also recommended to ministries of union republics and higher educational institutions to join in the compilation of the edition. One of the stages of the scientific-preparatory work in which the scientific public plays a particularly important role is the drafting of standard articles of various types. Over 200 such standard articles and systems were drafted. The methodical quality of the articles is the great merit of the Soviet encyclopedia compared with many foreign encyclopedias. Naturally, the standard article and system define merely the structure and framework of similar data. This does not hinder the manifestation of the creative individuality of their authors.

Naturally, it would be difficult to overestimate the help given by the scientific public in the writing of articles on essentially important problems or scientific problems on which a variety of viewpoints exist. A number of materials were submitted for broad public discussion. For example, surveys dealing with union republics were considered by the party and scientific institutions of these republics. Articles on foreign socialist countries were analyzed by scientific and other organizations in such countries. Ministries and departments and, particularly, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and USSR Central Statistical Administration were particularly helpful to the publishers.

The content of the three BSE editions reflects the development of Soviet society and the entire world. It represents an important source for the study of the history of science and culture. The very size of the BSE editions—ranging from 60,000 of the first to 300,000 of the second and 630,000 of the present—is quite an indicative proof of the upsurge of the overall culture and education of our people. Whereas the first edition reflected the stage of building the foundations of socialism in the USSR and the second the stage of building a developed socialist society, the third could be described with full justification as the encyclopedia of mature socialism.

The study of the BSE materials is a separate and exceptionally complex yet very useful task. Unfortunately, considering the limitations of a journal article, we can merely mention the basic sections and trends of the encyclopedia.

Prime attention has been paid to the main contemporary problems, events, and processes—the universal-historical successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the all-round nature of the developed socialist society built in the USSR, and the successes of the entire socialist comity in building mature socialism and communism; the role of the CPSU and the other ruling Marxist-Leninist parties in managing the building of a socialist and communist society is brought to light; a description is given of the intensification of the general crisis of the world's capitalist system and the development of the revolutionary workers' and communist movements in capitalist countries; the successes of the national-liberation movement which brought about the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system are described and so are the problems of the struggle facing the developing countries for strengthening their national independence. Extensive data describe the overall laws of the socialist revolution, the establishment of the social system, and the rich and varied experience and specifics governing the development of each socialist country. A number of articles provide a theoretical substantiation of the historical mission of the working class, proving its role as the most revolutionary force of our time. Problems of the scientific and technical revolution, as a complex and comprehensive process covering the production, sociopolitical, and spiritual areas, are extensively dealt with.

A large number of articles deal with Marxist-Leninist theory and its components—philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism. These are articles on the categories and laws of our revolutionary doctrine and on most important concepts such as "Socialist Revolution," "National-Liberation Revolution," "Socialism," "Communism," "Internationalism," "Friendship among the Peoples," "The Soviet People," "The National Problem," "Industrialization," "Collectivization of Agriculture," "Cultural Revolution," "The World Socialist System," "Socialist Economic Integration," "Way of Life," and others. They reflect the creative contribution of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties to the development of Marxist-Leninist science in accordance with the characteristics of contemporary social progress and the new historical age.

The experience in building mature socialism and the successes achieved by our country are described in the articles on the USSR, the CPSU, and the union republics. The encyclopedia describes the development of the socialist political and economic systems, science, culture, and further improvements of socialist democracy, fully embodied in the new USSR Constitution, the conversion of the USSR economy into a single national economic complex, the blossoming of each union republic, their fraternal cooperation in all fields, and the equalization of their economic, scientific, and cultural levels.

In addition to the multiplicity of individual articles on our country, a special volume (vol 24, book 2) deals entirely with the Soviet Union. It provides a comprehensive systematized information on all aspects of life of Soviet society. Big sections discuss natural conditions and resources of the USSR, its population, social system, history, economics, upsurge of the

material and cultural living standards of the people, achievements in public education and public health, science and technology, the growth of the scientific and technical potential of the country, and the blossoming of its literature and arts. Considerable space has been allocated to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and to its varied international economic, scientific and technical, and cultural relations. The volume "USSR" has triggered extensive interest abroad and a number of countries have undertaken to reissue it.

The BSE pays great attention to the fraternal socialist countries, and their strengthening comity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian and socialist internationalism. Surveys of individual countries are supplemented by articles such as "CEMA," "The 1955 Warsaw Pact," the "World Socialist Market," the "International Socialist Division of Labor," "Economic Cooperation among Socialist Countries," "Scientific and Technical Cooperation among Socialist Countries," and many others. The consistent and principle-minded foreign policy of the USSR and the other fraternal countries, supporting the peace and detente is shown in the articles "International Peace," "Peaceful Coexistence," "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," "Disarmament," and other similar articles.

The materials on the developed capitalist countries offer an objective description of their history and current condition, indicating their economic and political development, and changes in the social structure under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution. Manifestations of the general crisis of capitalism have been specifically exposed (unemployment, inflation, growth of crime, etc.). At the same time the entries describe the strengthening of the workers' and communist movements and the organization of an alliance of democratic forces in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The BSE extensively covers the history, contemporary status, culture, and social thinking of Asian, African, and Latin American countries which have emerged in the arena of independent historical progress. Articles on such countries describe the complex problems facing these countries following their independence. They indicate the confrontation among different classes and social groups supporting essentially different ways of further development and the significance of the fraternal international support which world socialism is giving the liberation movement, and the economic and scientific and technical assistance given by the USSR to the progressive development of the young countries.

The encyclopedia will become a good base in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, right-wing and left-wing revisionism, anti-communism, and anti-Sovietism. It convincingly proves the theoretical groundlessness and reactionary trend of the concepts of "convergence of social systems," "de-ideologization" and "re-ideologization," and of the "industrial" and "post industrial" societies, of the "general prosperity" and "people's capitalism" states, and many other clearly revealing the aspiration of bourgeois and

revisionist ideologues to embellish the capitalist system which is experiencing an economic, political, ideological, and moral crisis, and to defame of belittle the achievements of real socialism.

The BSE shows the origins and essence of the Maoist ideology, hostile to Marxism-Leninism, whose supporters have openly allied themselves with aggressive and reactionary imperialist forces, promoting a great-power hegemonistic policy, organizing a "barracks communism" system, and deliberately hindering the development of the world's revolutionary process.

Describing the basic trends and concepts of non-Marxist social thinking, we were guided by Lenin's familiar instruction which called for being able to master and rework accomplishments achieved by the representatives of bourgeois science and to be "able to eliminate their reactionary trends, to be able to follow one's own line, and to struggle along all lines with forces and classes hostile to us" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 18, p 364).

Literature and art which play an invaluable role in human and worldwide achievements are also properly covered by the BSE. Along with the description of their history on a worldwide basis, descriptions are provided of the basic contemporary trends and the conflicting development trends in the non-socialist world are thoroughly analyzed. Modernistic and anti-realistic currents are criticized. Describing the literatures and arts of the socialist countries, particular attention is being paid not only to their artistic gains but to the revelation of the innovative nature and rich creative opportunities offered by the method of socialist realism on which writers and artists base their works.

As a whole, the positive and critical material of the encyclopedia is contributing to the ever broader assertion of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and the dissemination of the truth about socialism, the successes of the Soviet people, and the problems they must resolve.

Nearly one-half of the BSE deals with social sciences and technology. It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of these sectors in social life; yet, we would consider suitable a certain reduction of the space they cover (from 50 to 48%) in favor of the humanities.

The third edition contains not only new concepts but information on new sciences. For example, in the previous edition there were virtually no entries such as "Nuclear Technology," "Computers," "Reliability of Technical Systems," "Systems Technology," "Management Equipment," and "Bionics." Today the reader would find in such sections hundreds of articles. The outer space topic was also virtually absent and only seven small entries dealt with it. Today this topic includes 350 articles. An important role has been assigned to problems of interrelationship between society and the environment, which have assumed considerable urgency today. A cycle of articles may be found on nature, natural resources, and environmental protection.

The section "Automation and Telemechanics" contained 70 articles in the second edition (8 author's sheets); in the third edition it has been renamed "Technical Cybernetics and Production Automation," containing as many as 470 entries (21 author's sheets). Whereas electronics was represented in the second edition with a small number of radio engineering terms, the topic of "Electronic Technology" in the third edition covers over 380 articles. The mathematical cycle has become richer as well. Problems of cybernetics and computer mathematics, information theory, operational studies, theory of games, and mathematical economics are considered in their various aspects. Let us note articles in the fields of physics such as "Quantum Electronics," "Laser," "Non-Linear Optics," "Holography," and "Controlled Thermonuclear Synthesis" which reveal the latest accomplishments in this science. The section on "Solid State Physics," now covering one-half of modern physics, has been considerably expanded and qualitatively changed. New concepts in physics are explained such as, for example, "Quasi-Particles," "Quarks," and "Hyper-Nucleus." Also extensively covered are new sections of modern chemistry such as bio-organic chemistry, chemistry of element-organic compounds, radiation chemistry, plasmo-chemistry, and physical-chemical mechanics.

The third BSE edition does not contain a number of concepts which were disseminated in the past in the science of biology. Its latest considerable successes are described. This applies, above all, to articles on molecular biology, ecology, the nature of heredity and protein structure, organ transplants, and gene engineering. The essential changes in the science and practice of medicine, related to the achievements of electronics and laser technology, chemistry, and genetics, are described in the section on medicine.

Let us note as a positive fact that articles on geography reflect the comprehensive approach to the study of landscapes, the world's oceans, and the earth as a whole. In the field of geology the reader is given information on the theories and hypotheses related to global earth-tectonics, earth models based on its structure, laws, and forecasts concerning the location of mineral deposits.

The new encyclopedia pays serious attention to modeling, systems analysis, and forecasting.

The description of natural and technical sciences is a clear example of the development of the scientific and technical revolution, indicating the substantial achievements of Soviet science and its outstanding contribution to the world's scientific development.

We cannot bypass bibliography, maps, and illustrations. There are 35,836 of the latter (printed separately they would account for a big volume) and 1,650 maps (508 of which are in color), constituting a kind of universal political, geographic, economic, and historical atlas of the world. It would be unnecessary to describe the significance of a thoroughly planned and selected bibliography. This drastically upgrades the reference value of the

encyclopedia, giving an idea of basic publications on a given problem and the level reached in its development. Bibliographic references accompany 37,500 articles. They contain 260,000 titles of books, articles, and bibliographic references.

The presentation of the third BSE edition is very different from the previous two. It is set in a new specially developed type face in Kudryashov encyclopedic set (named after the painter N. N. Kudryashov who developed it). It saves a considerable amount of space compared with the face set used in the previous editions: a three column broader imposition has been used. All this has made it possible to increase the capacity of the column from 7,200 to 9,000 printed symbols and to save a considerable amount of paper per volume. Moscow press number two, which is the main base for encyclopedic publications, had to surmount a great deal of difficulties in the printing of the BSE volumes (over 600 pages per volume, considerable numbers of illustrations and maps). Cooperating in the printing of the BSE were the Paper Factory imeni Yu. Yanonis, the Tekhmotkan' Factory in Sachelkovskovo, as well as other presses and cartographic and paper factories. It was thus that not only scientific and organizational problems of considerable scale but production and technological ones were resolved through joint efforts.

Naturally, the completion of the third BSE edition raises the question of plans for further work by the collective of Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya." However, before discussing such plans, let us mention other lines of work of the publishing house.

At the end of the 1950's the CC CPSU entrusted it with the printing of sectorial encyclopedias and dictionaries directed at broad readership circles. This reflects the natural trend of development of encyclopedias and the ripe need for more extensive information on the situation in individual scientific and cultural sectors. Sectorial encyclopedias and dictionaries are no less important under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution than general encyclopedias. In addition to the BSE a "BSE Year Book" is published describing the most important events which have occurred over the past year in fields of political and social life, science, technology, and culture, along with biographic references.

The publishing house has drafted a long-range plan through 1990 stipulating the creation of optimal conditions for the simultaneous preparation and publication of universal encyclopedias along with sectorial encyclopedias and encyclopedic dictionaries. The publication of the "Sovetskiy Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar" (SES) will be undertaken in 1979. It will consist of a single volume of 450 author's sheets and will contain about 80,000 articles. The SES will be a truly people's dictionary which will be published in several million volumes over a number of years.

The scientific-editorial council is working on completing within the next three to four years the publication of basic encyclopedias such as "Political Economy," "Art of Countries and Peoples Throughout the World," and "Mathematics Encyclopedia." Plans call for the publication of a "Mining

Encyclopedia" and for continuing with the publication of medical encyclopedias. Preparations have been undertaken for big one-volume encyclopedic dictionaries covering all basic scientific branches (philosophy, history, physics, chemistry, art, biology, geography, law, demography, and others). The "Moscow" encyclopedia has been compiled. Together with the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute, in 1979 the first volume of the encyclopedia "Latin America" will be published; preparations for the publication of the "Africa" encyclopedia have been undertaken jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute. Further plans call for the reprinting and updating of previous multiple volume sectorial encyclopedias, a question which has been repeatedly raised by the public. In our view, starting with the 1980's it would be expedient to begin preparations for the fourth BSE edition.

Measures aimed at the utilization of new equipment and conversion to progressive type setting and publication have been earmarked in order to improve our work and accelerate the publication of encyclopedias. The development of a powerful reference-information system within the publishing house and the organization of the study of readers' requirements is an important task.

Let us particularly mention the growing worldwide recognition of the prestige of the BSE, reflected in its complete or partial translations into other languages. Foreign publishing houses publishing the BSE note that they are attracted by the objective nature of the material, and the opportunity to find out what the Soviet position is on virtually all important problems. Naturally, we too are interested in the extensive comparison of ideas. This is consistent with the principles of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation as approved in Helsinki. The BSE is being published in its totality in the United States in English (volume 21 has already been published). The first eight volumes of the BSE have been published in Greece. In a preface to his book "Mir--Bestsennoye Dostoyaniye Narodov" [Peace Is the Priceless Gain of the Peoples], published in that country, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev states: "I welcome the fact that the Akademos Society intends to publish the Unabridged Soviet Encyclopedia in Greek." Agreement has been reached on its publication in Spain and Italy and Bangladesh have requested permission to publish it. Soviet encyclopedia workers are participating ever more extensively in drafting materials on the USSR for foreign encyclopedias.

There are all possible reasons for assuming that, inspired by the constant attention of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet encyclopedia workers will successfully fulfill their responsible assignments, create encyclopedias on a high ideological and scientific and technical level, and make a worthy contribution to the building of a communist society.

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EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 91-105

[Review by Yu. Zhilin of the collection "Proletarskiy Internatsionalizm--Nashe Znamya, Nasha Sila!" [Proletarian Internationalism--Our Banner and Our Strength!], Izd. APN, Moscow, 1978, 454 pages]

[Text] The contemporary communist movement is discussing, occasionally quite heatedly, a broad spectrum of problems of revolutionary theory and practice. Among these are the following: What is international solidarity today? What is today the international duty of the communist parties? How to combine its national with international tasks? What is new in the understanding and specific application of the principles of internationalism and what remains fixed and inviolable? . . . We are reminded of the topical nature of the subject of internationalism by the collection "Proletarskiy Internatsionalizm--Nashe Znamya, Nasha Sila!" published at the end of last year.

The answer of the Soviet communists to these and other problems related to the topic are found throughout the book which contains statements by leading personalities of the CPSU--Politburo members and candidate members, and Central Committee secretaries--discussing theoretical and political problems of the unity within the international communist movement, the unification of all anti-imperialist forces, and the strengthening of their internationalist interaction in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. The collection depicts the great attention paid to such problems by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and the position of importance they hold in our party's theoretical and practical activities.

The topical nature of this broad subject requires no particular proof. The problems discussed are the very core of all activities of Marxist-Leninist parties. Let us focus our attention on something else.

Bourgeois propaganda, in whose vocabulary terms such as "proletarian internationalism" were previously totally absent, is trying now, as though imperceptibly, to become a participant in the discussions taking place within

the communist movement or, in other words, "to stick its tail where its head would not fit." Naturally, this is done not for the sake of seeking or clarifying the truth and, naturally, not because of concern for the interests of the labor movement. The means to which it resorts are entirely consistent with its unchanged objectives. One of the main, if not the main such method is falsifying the position of the CPSU on problems of internationalism.

The method is quite simple: Initially, concepts or intentions alien to our party are ascribed to it. Then the fabricated concepts are "refuted," while intentions are "exposed." For example, the CPSU is charged with being the author of the notorious "theory" of "limited sovereignty," fabricated and placed in circulation by imperialist propaganda, or else the desire to recreate, one way or another, a "center" for the communist movement and put the activities of this movement on of the surface of the governmental interests of the Soviet Union. . . . The list of such slanders could be expanded. The final result is the feeble attempt to compromise not only CPSU theory and policy but, as a whole, the idea of the international interaction among revolutionary forces.

The importance of the collection lies, above all, in the fact that it provides a highly authoritative and strictly objective interpretation of the views of the CPSU on the basic problems of the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism at its contemporary development stage. The general theoretical concepts of this documentary collection are closely interrelated with specific events and phenomena. At the same time, it contains nothing related to current circumstantial developments. A single and integral concept arises from statements included in the book, either made quite recently or nearly 15 years ago, and either in the Soviet Union or in many other countries at international meetings and theoretical conferences, at party meetings, and party congresses. This concept reflects the complexity of real life, fructified by the practice of the revolutionary process, in a steady stage of development, mastering ever new political data.

I

The first part of the collection discusses the nature of proletarian internationalism as an expression of the common basic interests and common historical objectives of the struggle waged by the working class in all countries.

Proletarian internationalism not only opposes the policy and ideology of internationally united monopoly capital. Naturally, the social antagonist of the working class--the bourgeoisie of different countries--also shares common interests. Simply stated, the international bourgeoisie is united mainly and more than anything else by the need to struggle against its basic class enemy. At the same time, however, it is constantly torn by inevitable internal contradictions and clashes caused by profits, markets, and spheres of influence. There are no contradictions within the bourgeois class or among the working people of different countries as the deep interests and final

aspirations of each are shared. This is one of the reasons for the insurmountable vitality of proletarian internationalism. It is distinguished by an essentially different nature of comity within the framework of intra-class relations which it reflects.

Naturally, on the historical level, the common basic aspirations of the working class of different countries are not immediately manifested in their final and complete form. Under the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution and the extensive dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory, the level of spontaneous solidarity which existed in the first stages of the workers' movement has been long surmounted. In our time proletarian internationalism is the ideology and politics of the revolutionary proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties. It operates as a factor in the conscious and organized anti-imperialist struggle.

Let us emphasize the profound thought contained in the collection:

Proletarian internationalism is not simply one of the elements or aspects of Marxism-Leninism. It imbues the entire content of the theory and practice of scientific communism, for Marxist-Leninist theory appeared and developed as the summation of the international experience of the workers' movement and a manifestation of the international interests of the working class. "In that sense the entire history of Marxism is the history of the establishment and development of proletarian internationalism" (p 21).

The collection pays great attention to the study of the ratios between the national and international aspects in the development of the world's revolutionary process and the activities of communist parties. It indicated that there neither is nor could there be any antagonistic contradictions between the national interests of the workers' movement of a given country or communist party and the international interests of the revolutionary movement as a whole. This is explained by the fact that, as we already noted, the basic interests of the workers' movement in the individual countries are the same.

However, the current interests of the working class in the different countries are not always the same in everything, since such countries may belong to different social systems, have reached different levels of economic and political development, have specific national traditions, needs, and requirements, and may occupy a particular position in the global economy. Therefore, it would be simplistic to consider that the national aspect simply merges with the international.

There are no grounds to pit the workers' movement against the national and international movements. Nor are there grounds, however, to speak of their identity. A dialectical unity exists between these two aspects which are interwoven in real life, combined with politics. Internationalism does not mean belittling of the national or pitting the national against the international. By its very inner nature it expresses the harmonious relation between these two aspects of social relations. This problem is characterized

in the collection quite unequivocally: ". . . There could not even be a question of the implementation of international obligations outside the active struggle for the solution of the internal problems facing the working people of a given country, be it the building of a new society, the elimination of the omnipotence of the monopolies, strengthening national independence, or rebuffing imperialist intrigues. At the same time, the successful implementation of national problems is impossible without effective participation in the solution of important common problems such as strengthening the world's socialist system, supporting the workers' and national-liberation movements, and strengthening the peace and universal security" (p 17).

The book properly shows that under the conditions of the contemporary revolutionary movement the dialectical interconnection between the national and the international becomes more flexible. At the same time the significance of the national principles in the activities of each party and the significance of the international unity among all liberation forces become greater. However, these trends do not develop one at the expense of the other but in a state of close interaction. The dialectics of the class struggle is such that increasing the role of its national-specific and internal conditions does not eliminate the fact that such conditions have never been so closely linked with the correlation of forces in the world arena and the status of international relations as in the present.

Therefore, the activities of the communists within national frameworks, assuming that they are consistent with the basic interests of the workers' movement, become part of the inner content of the international duty of the Marxist-Leninist parties. However, it would be erroneous to reduce to such activities the entire content of the international duty, assuming that it will somehow merge by itself with the activities of the other revolutionary detachments. Proletarian internationalism includes solidarity as a basic and common principle, voluntary coordination, and coordinated activities in the international arena. In a word, it must be effective.

The concept developed in the collection that it is always historically concrete is essential in understanding the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism. Each historical stage determines its basic distinguishing features. It is precisely such a specific-historical approach to proletarian internationalism that contributes to its development as a material force and an effective factor in resolving the many problems facing the forces of democracy and socialism.

Naturally, the characteristics of the situation prevailing in the individual countries face differently each of the communist parties with the tasks related to the implementation of its international obligations. This does not mean, however, that we could agree with the existence of multiple concepts of internationalism. The criteria of true internationalism are one and the same. They are objective (see p 35). They point out the most important tasks of the entire workers' movement not from the viewpoint of the characteristics of one or another country but of the development of the entire global revolutionary process. In other words, the criteria of proletarian internationalism must take into consideration the characteristic deployment of the basic class forces in the international arena at a given historical moment.

Thus, in the first stage following the October Revolution, as was then emphasized by all communist parties, the cornerstone was the task of defending, of protecting the first state of the workers and peasants in the world.

Today a truly revolutionary and internationalist strategy is impossible without a consideration of a factors such as the existence of the world socialist system and without an orientation toward decisively repelling attempts to undermine its positions. That is why the strengthening of socialism and its defense and support are among the most important criteria of loyalty to proletarian internationalism under contemporary circumstances.

"Today an internationalist is he who factually struggles for the strengthening of the positions of world socialism and for the unification of members of the socialist comity, opposing its division and practically supporting the national-liberation movement and the struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist countries for its interests, democracy, and socialism, and comprehensively helps the unification of all revolutionary forces. The internationalist in action firmly opposes imperialism and chauvinistic and racist ideology. Such is, in our time, the supreme criterion of internationalism" (p 30).

The materials contained in the collection describe proletarian internationalism as a dynamic policy and ideology, proving that its forms and content have always been and continue to be enriched in the course of profound historical changes.

As early as 1965 L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "Under contemporary conditions the idea of internationalism appeared to have broadened its boundaries," and that "it is acquiring an ever more universal nature" (p 128). He recalled that while Lenin was still alive, with his approval, the international communist movement added to the slogan of "Workers of the World Unite!" the appeal "Proletariat of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!" This call reflects the unavoidable fact that the basic interests of the international working class, of the peoples of the socialist countries, and the peoples fighting for a definitive salvation from the yoke of imperialism and colonialism coincide. In our time, L. I. Brezhnev noted, possibilities arise for the even broader dissemination and assertion of the ideas of internationalism. Substantiating this conclusion, he indicated the following interconnection: The threat to the cause of peace and the cause of social progress has the same origin--imperialism. In an effort to suppress the liberation movement, the aggressive forces are encroaching on international security and threatening to lead mankind to the abyss of a thermonuclear war. This is one of the objective reasons for broadening the social boundaries of the ideas of internationalism. "All the people," L. I. Brezhnev said, "who care for the freedom and independence of the peoples and the destinies of civilization unite to rebuff the imperialist aggressor" (p 128).

It is pertinent to recall such considerations expressed by L. I. Brezhnev 14 years ago, since, occasionally, it is possible to hear within the communist

movement the view that proletarian internationalism itself has become "obsolete." Here reference is made precisely to the broadening of the range of social and political forces whose international interaction is necessary in resolving the basic problems of our time. Yet, the study of the circumstances in the world, in our view, gives grounds to speak not of the "obsolescence" of this principle in the least but of the development of internationalism under contemporary conditions and of its richer content.

Indeed, contemporary internationalism is comprehensive in nature. The collection cites a number of statements by Soviet leaders showing this important quality.

Following the establishment of the first socialist state in the world, internationalism became one of the leading principles governing the domestic and international activities of communist parties when they became ruling. Today it has acquired the power of a state law in the new Soviet Constitution. Socialism obtained a new development with the formation and development of the world socialist system. Socialist internationalism strengthened. This is nothing but the application and development of the principles of proletarian internationalism in relations among sovereign socialist countries. The development of internationalism was also expressed in the fact that its principles are being practically applied in the variety of relations maintained between socialist countries and many tens of countries following an anti-imperialist or socialist orientation.

Does the comprehensive nature of contemporary internationalism mean that proletarian internationalism itself (or, at least, the term) has become obsolete or lost its political meaning, or else that it impoverishes the theoretical content of new phenomena in the world arena? No, and the collection cites and sums up convincing arguments opposing this view.

To begin with, the term "proletarian internationalism" still properly indicates the origin of internationalism and its class base.

Secondly, it reflects the fact that, today as well, the working class and the international communist movement remain its basic carriers and spokesmen for internationalism. Their internationalism has the most socially profound, consistent, and comprehensive nature, for it is founded, above all, on the community of common interests of the international working class and its views and outlook, and on the unity of revolutionary Marxist science.

Thirdly, the concept of "proletarian internationalism," even while Marx and Engels were alive, has not meant that it is a question of solidarity only and exclusively among the proletariat of different countries. In the course of time ever broader masses belonging to different social strata have participated in the movement. This did not lead to a loss of internationalism of a proletarian nature. Conversely, its class content strengthened and intensified, for the adoption of the ideas of internationalism by ever broader masses does not mean a belittling of the class autonomy of the proletariat or its parties or a revision of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Furthermore, it is precisely the increased number of supporters of international solidarity that proves the fact that the proletariat is successfully progressing in the implementation of its universal-historical mission.

Naturally, the broad and creative understanding of proletarian internationalism does not mean in the least that the concept covers all special international relations among different anti-imperialist and democratic forces. For example, lines of internationalist interaction exist among the liberated countries which have, so to say, their own base in terms of proletarian internationalism.

The broadening of the social foundations of internationalism, the appearance of new forms of international solidarity, and the increased realms of their application were, in the final account, the result of the direct or indirect influence of proletarian internationalism. The ideology and politics of proletarian internationalism constitute to this day the pivots of the solidarity of all revolutionary forces. Proletarian internationalism does not exist isolated from other manifestations of international solidarity but actively influences them, and contributes to their total development. As was noted in the collection, "The process of expansion of the socialist base of internationalism means not reducing it to the strictly national or provincial-regional understanding of arising problems but, conversely, raising the leading fighters against imperialism and reaction to the level of a Marxist-Leninist class self-awareness which never loses track of the world's revolutionary process as a whole" (p 44).

II

The contemporary situation faces internationalism within the communist movement with particularly strict requirements, for it is precisely it that is the main carrier of and spokesman for international solidarity in the broadest possible sense. That is why "Under the specific historical conditions of today concern for strengthening the unity within the international communist movement is the highest manifestation of proletarian internationalism" (p 32).

Proletarian internationalism and the interaction and cooperation among communist parties is an important factor in strengthening the positions of the world's communist movement and is the most influential political force of our time. The level of this interaction and cooperation determines more than merely the situation within the movement. Proletarian internationalism has become an essential element in the general change in the ratio of forces in favor of peace and socialism. The international solidarity among communists is an important political factor in mobilizing the possibilities of all revolutionary forces and of all supporters of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

As early as the 23rd CPSU Congress, in 1966, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that strengthening the unity calls for observing the norms of interrelationships

collectively developed by the fraternal parties: total equality and autonomy, non-interference in reciprocal domestic affairs, mutual support, and international solidarity. The communist parties have great experience in revolutionary work and no one better than they themselves could find correct solutions to the problems facing them. "The CPSU opposes all hegemonism in the communist movement. It favors the truly internationalist equality of relations among all parties" (p 64). L. I. Brezhnev has noted in a number of speeches that the conditions in which the fraternal parties operate are exceptionally varied and complex. "Today there neither is nor could there be a question of guiding the communist movement from any single center," he said in 1968. "Each party determines its political course by itself and totally independently. However, this not only does not exclude but, precisely, makes particularly necessary the most active voluntary coordination of their actions in the struggle against the common enemy" (pp 64-65).

The collection notes that in discussing the content of internationalism, occasionally, it seems as though the firmly established principles and norms governing interrelationships among fraternal parties are pitted against it. The CPSU is against such pitting. Furthermore, fully in accordance, specifically, with the documents of the Berlin conference, it considers that the contemporary understanding of proletarian internationalism organically includes such norms and principles. The dialectical interconnection among the different norms covered by proletarian internationalism (thus conceived) is that the sovereignty and independence of the fraternal parties are the starting points of the international struggle waged by the working class whose common objectives require the coordination and unity of action among communist parties of different countries.

The successful development of the international communist movement presumes that interrelationships among fraternal parties must be consistent with the conditions and requirements of the specific historical stage. Today's conditions are consistent with different forms of international relations among communist parties compared with those which were characteristic of the Comintern. The international interconnection among communist parties today takes place through bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations. International conferences and meetings are another form of international interrelationships. The suggestion formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the Berlin conference to hold from time to time multilateral meetings with a view to reciprocal information and exchange of views on one or another topical political problem is also dictated by reality. As the collection points out, this would make contacts among fraternal parties more flexible (see pp 72-73).

Large sections deal with methods for surmounting differences existing within the communist movement and, in this connection, as well as on a broader level, with means for strengthening its unity. The starting point in answering this question is the acknowledgment that arising differences in views should not undermine the main feature which gives the communists strength in the struggle--their unity.

The thought that the differences themselves are of a disparate nature, for which reason, they could be surmounted through different ways, is quite essential in understanding this serious problem. "In some cases doubts and questions could be eliminated in the course of bilateral meetings and comradely discussions. In others they could be surmounted by life itself in the joint struggle for the common objectives in the international arena. However, there are differences which affect the basic problems, the very nature of the communist movement. Unquestionably, surmounting them will require considerable time and uncompromising struggle" (p 78).

Three aspects may be particularly singled out in the line followed by the CPSU aimed at surmounting differences.

First, the importance of joint actions against imperialism and for the unification of the communist movement is emphasized so that, on the one hand, differences would not hinder such actions and, on the other, the practical struggle for the solution of common problems would contribute to the determination of the clarification of which views are correct and which are not.

Second, the role may be noted of the all-round expansion of inter-party relations and contacts both as a kind of mechanism for coordinating actions in the international arena and means for settling differences.

Third, the need is pointed out to sum up the theoretical work done by the parties and the development, on this basis, of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the defense of its principles and fundamental ideas.

At the same time, the materials in the collection most clearly state that the unity and solidarity of communist parties on basic and decisive problems do not exclude in the least a variety of political and tactical positions. "The founders of scientific communism cautioned against the danger of distorting the principles of internationalism or attempts on the part of some parties to impose their viewpoint on other parties" (p 88). This directly refutes the false version of bourgeois propaganda according to which the communist parties of the socialist countries, the CPSU in particular, are imposing upon the Western communists their prescriptions for the socialist reorganization of society.

The work discloses the significance of proletarian internationalism as a powerful ideological and political weapon in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and right-wing and left-wing opportunism. The fact is that the unifying principle of both varieties of opportunism is found, precisely, in concessions made to nationalism and, occasionally, the open switch to nationalistic positions.

The struggle against opportunism and nationalism in one or another country is, naturally, above all within the range of competence of corresponding parties. However, should such a struggle no longer be waged within one or

another unit of the communist movement, this influences the movement as a whole. The materials in the collection expose the widespread revisionist method according to which any retreat from the revolutionary doctrine is considered an innovation while loyalty to Marxist-Leninist theory and its practical implementation are qualified as conservatism and dogmatism. The work emphasizes the importance of the development of Marxist-Leninist theory in the struggle against hostile ideology. At the same time, it notes that internationalism is powerful weapon in the ideological liberation of the working class and the toiling masses from erroneous concepts which penetrate within their ranks under the influence of bourgeois politics and propaganda.

III

An unbreakable organic interrelationship exists between the struggle for the unity of the communist movement and the struggle for the unification of all revolutionary forces of our time. The need for solidarity and for the unification of international revolutionary forces is dictated by various yet interrelated circumstances. Let us note that reactionary and imperialist struggles are systematically coordinating their actions in the struggle against the forces of socialism, democracy, and national liberation. On the other hand, the present policy of these same circles is largely based precisely on dividing the various detachments of the world's revolutionary movement and striking individually the various sectors of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The coordination of the efforts of the participants in this struggle is complex, above all, because they act under a great variety of conditions distinct in terms of social structure and a large number of specific tasks they face. That is why the forms of relations among them and methods for reaching unity and coordination of their actions must be flexible.

The socialist comity enjoys the greatest power and influence among the revolutionary forces of our time opposing global imperialism. This determines the need for the further comprehensive strengthening and development of cooperation among socialist countries. The basic foundations of this cooperation were described by L. I. Brezhnev as follows: "Experience indicates that true unity among socialist countries requires strict respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country within the great socialist comity. The unconditional right of each socialist country to follow an autonomous and independent development and the right of each nation autonomously to decide the fate of its country and make its own contribution to the common treasury of the building of the new society is an inviolable law of our comity.

"At the same time it is obvious that the objective interests of the peoples of the socialist countries demand their unification in the struggle against imperialism and for the solution of common problems and dictate the need for closest possible cooperation and reciprocal aid. The single social system, ideology, and noble objectives governing the social development of our countries make this unity and fraternal solidarity among socialist countries the main determining feature of relations among them" (p 139).

Socialist internationalism is not a pious wish but a specific and tangible reality of today. The creation of new types of relations among countries in which the socialist system has won is the essential accomplishment of world socialism.

Socialist internationalism is embodied not only in the effective political cooperation among socialist states but in the all-round development of economic relations among them. This "economic unity, created and developing thanks to socialist integration, is not in the nature of a merger or dissolving of the socialist countries. It is not accompanied by the threat of their independence. The development of socialist integration is the voluntary action undertaken by our peoples and fraternal parties, loyal to the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and creatively approaching the new economic, technical, and organizational problems of international cooperation" (p 192).

Socialist internationalism is also manifested in ideological cooperation. The broadening of reciprocal exchanges, to emphasize the word reciprocal, in the experience acquired in the building of socialism and communism is of major importance. The Soviet experience is studied by the other socialist countries. In turn, a great deal of the experience acquired by these countries is of great interest to our country. Each nation could and should learn from the other, Marx wrote (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 10). In our time, the collection notes, this instruction is of particular topical significance to the socialist nations and the members of the socialist comity (see p 204).

Socialist relations among countries develop not spontaneously but as a result of the conscious activities of the ruling communist and workers' parties and the results of the tremendous daily work done by their central committees, governmental and state organs, and practically all units of the party, state, and economic organism, as well as the broadest possible network of public organizations.

The final result of such comprehensive relations brings about the appearance of a qualitatively new phenomenon--the international movement of millions and millions of builders of the new world and of a truly fraternal alliance among nations, welded by their unity of convictions and common objectives.

The socialist society is not a closed bloc and does not pit its interests against those of other countries. The combined policy of the socialist comity is strong precisely because it is consistent with the aspirations of all progressive movements, hopes, and expectations of the nations. It is gaining ever broader support among the people's masses the world over.

The topic of international solidarity between the peoples of the socialist countries and the working people in the capitalist countries has been particularly emphasized in the collection. "We, the Soviet communists," said L. I. Brezhnev at the Berlin conference, "like the communists of other

socialist countries, are deeply grateful to our comrades in the capitalist countries who were together with us in the complex times of our history and in days of normal and peaceful toil. In turn, we are always displaying our solidarity with the struggle waged by our class brothers in the capitalist camp, and try to give them moral and political support" (p 237).

Imperialism is trying to pit the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries against the communist parties of the socialist countries. Bourgeois propaganda keeps in its sight each shade of relations between ruling and non-ruling communist parties. It is constantly hitting this point, considering it, not without substantiation, one of the important links in international communist strength throughout the world.

In this connection the CPSU viewpoint on a number of problems discussed within the communist movement is of unquestionable interest. Occasionally, the collection materials note, the question is formulated as follows: What does it mean to defend socialism with the existence of not one but several socialist countries and in conditions in which differences arise among them? The answer is the following: We must not simply note the existence of negative phenomena in relations among socialist countries or limit ourselves to wishes calling for the settlement of differences. It is important actively to support the Marxist-Leninist and internationalist line consistent with the interests of the entire communist movement. This offers an essential base for surmounting arising differences.

It is equally erroneous to limit oneself to noting one or another difficulty, not to speak of belittling the successes and experience of the ruling communist parties. The defense of socialism requires the clarification of the main features of the domestic and international policies of the socialist countries and an understanding of the international significance of such policies in terms of strengthening the positions of the entire world's revolutionary movement and the defense of the peace and security of the nations.

The Soviet communists, the collection states, do not consider in the least that real socialism has reached the peak of the social ideal. Otherwise, why would we have needed the formulation of a program for transition to communism? Simply because criticizing real socialism on the basis of abstract positions is erroneous. The historical gains of the socialist countries are unquestionable. They could provide good support in the struggle for social progress and socialism in various parts of the world (see p 266).

Naturally, in the struggle in the international arena the working class in the socialist countries participate in ways different from those of the working people in the capitalist countries. However, its role in this struggle is tremendous. ". . . When any detachment of the international proletariat," the collective emphasizes, "comes to power a qualitative shift takes place in the overall strength of the world's workers' movement. The very seizure of the power marks an essentially new level in the development of the

organization and awareness of the working class and its relations with all toiling and exploited masses. With the gain of political power the working class obtains the possibility to reorganize the entire economy of its country on a socialist basis, and move ahead the development of production forces. As a result, a new powerful factor—the material power of the socialist state—is added to factors governing the world's workers' movement such as numerical strength, organization, and conscientiousness" (pp 262-263).

The economic and defense potential of socialism plays a primary role in strengthening the peace and in the struggle for the social progress of mankind, the collection materials emphasize. It provides a clear answer to the question of the nature of the interrelationships and, at the same time, differences between these two directions in the struggle. Detente and peaceful coexistence apply to intergovernmental relations. Detente neither deletes nor could delete the laws of the class struggle. It does not mean the freezing of the sociopolitical status quo, for any revolution is, above all, the legitimate result of the internal development of a society. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. However, the Soviet communists do not conceal that they deem it their international duty to express their solidarity with the struggle waged by other nations for freedom and progress. This also applies to the developing countries toward which, as everywhere else, they act on the side of the forces of progress, democracy, and national independence.

We find in the collection the conclusion that the successes achieved by the national-liberation movement are inseparably linked with the policies of world socialism and the international working class. The solidarity between these great revolutionary forces is a guarantee for the triumph of the cause of the national and social liberation of the peoples. In the entire set of problems of proletarian internationalism that of unity within the workers' movement and the significance of this unity in supporting national-liberation movements and expressing solidarity with them is particularly urgent today. The book indicates that the need for unity is determined both by the positive tasks of selecting a way for progressive development as well as the imperialist aspiration to create on this sector of the worldwide struggle a superiority of forces and regain lost positions through military or other means. The collection substantiates the thought that the imperialist course followed toward the national-liberation movement is not a specific or regional matter but a problem affecting everyone. The facts prove that the peoples of the young countries defend and support their independence and vital interests the more successfully the stronger their friendship becomes with the socialist countries on whose support they can always rely in their just struggle.

In the liberated countries the ideas of socialism are acquiring an ever larger number of supporters. A number of young national states have chosen the non-capitalist path of development. The support provided by the international working class and the socialist comity is of tremendous importance to their successful progress along this way. In the struggle with imperialism the revolutionary-democratic parties are playing an ever greater role. Many of them have proclaimed socialism as their programmatic objective. The CPSU is actively developing relations with them.

The materials in the collection note that today any nation could hope for success in the liberation struggle thanks to the fact that imperialism has lost its former monopoly in international affairs and the existence of the powerful forces of socialism and of national liberation which are promoting new relations in international life: equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, and international solidarity with the liberation forces.

Along with the further intensification and development of bilateral relations which contribute to modernizing the economy and social progress of the liberated countries, today their cooperation with world socialism plays an ever more important role in the struggle for a radical reorganization of international economic relations on a democratic basis and for the elimination from such relations of discrimination, dictate, and inequality, and in surmounting imperialist exploitation.

"The countries of victorious socialism and the forces of the national-liberation movement are natural allies" (p 278). These words could sum up the sum total of thoughts and considerations on this topic found in the book.

IV

The Soviet communists have never considered proletarian internationalism something like a oneway street. Relying on the aid and support of the international proletariat, in turn, the CPSU has always provided, and is providing practical aid to the other fighters for democracy, national independence, and socialism.

The October Revolution itself was profoundly international in nature. Even though it was resolving, above all, the problems of our country, essentially, these were common problems facing mankind as a result of the entire course of social development. The universal-historical significance of the October Revolution consists precisely of the fact that it opened the way to the solution of such problems and thus to the creation of a new type of civilization on earth. Its victory radically changed the conditions governing the struggle of the working people the world over for their liberation and had a tremendous influence on the development of the revolutionary movement in other countries.

The founding of a fraternal alliance of free nations—the USSR—was the real triumph of the ideas of internationalism. Together with the governmental-political unification of the peoples of our country a process of socialist internationalization of their economic and cultural life was taking place.

The socialist changes in the Soviet Union and its decisive contribution to the defeat of Hitlerite fascism, and the building of a communist society are landmarks in the history of our country which also mark its ever growing contribution to the common international cause of the struggle waged by the international working class and the liberation movement the world over. The

Soviet people built a developed socialist society whose accomplishments were legislatively codified in the new USSR Constitution. "The CPSU," L. I. Brezhnev wrote, "has invariably aspired and is aspiring toward the full utilization of all internal possibilities for the strengthening and comprehensive development of socialism and communism within the country and, at the same time, for the support and development of the revolutionary struggle the world over" (p 309). At the present historical stage this approach taken by our party to its international duty embodies the creative application of the Leninist concept that to be an internationalist means to do "everything possible within a single country to promote the development, support, and awakening of the revolution in all countries" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 37, p 304). Here internationalism is a link combining the internal development of the Soviet Union with the circumstances throughout the world and its influence on such circumstances, for the nature and scale of the support which our country is giving to the peoples victims of aggression or fighting for their liberation and social progress directly depends on the possibilities at its disposal.

In the first years of existence of Soviet Russia its influence on the course of world events was determined essentially through the force of revolutionary example. With the growth of the economic and political power of our country, the significance of factors such as political, economic, and military aid provided by the Soviet Union to peoples fighting imperialism grew as well. The economic achievements of the Soviet state determine not only the level of its defense capability and, to a great extent, the defense capability of the entire socialist comity, but the possibility to counteract the imperialist policy of aggression and war. "The CPSU considers the building of communism in the USSR the main international duty of the Soviet people to the revolutionary movement and all mankind. The closer we come to this objective, the clearer the advantages of the new social system are displayed in all fields, the more substantial the economic and political potential of the Soviet Union becomes, and the more effective becomes our support to all detachments of the world's revolution, the more attractive will the communist ideal become to the working people the world over" (p 393).

The collection materials extensively prove that the CPSU considers its international duty to:

Strengthen the comity of socialist countries;

Render comprehensive aid to the forces of national and social liberation in the former colonial countries;

Expand its solidarity with the international workers' movement and struggle for strengthening the unity within the world's communist movement;

Steadily implement a policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and struggle for strengthening the peace and security of the peoples and for the prevention of world thermonuclear war.

The foreign political course of the CPSU and the Soviet state is proletarian internationalism in action. As the collection shows, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, stemming from the proletarian revolution, is a class and internationalist policy by its very nature. Its objectives are supported not by the Soviet people alone. It draws the warm sympathy of other nations, of all working people, of all people of good will supporting peace and progress. The close interaction between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress is a characteristic feature of CPSU foreign political activities.

The CPSU is a party of internationalists-Leninists in terms of ideology and politics, structure, and composition. The Bolshevik party was the first political party in history based on the principles of the unification of proletarian organizations in which workers of all nationalities would merge within a single force. The proletarian internationalism of our party and its deep loyalty to the cause of peace and progress determine the international role of the entire Soviet society as an active force in the struggle for social justice, equality, and friendship among nations.

As is noted in the collection an important part of our international duty consists of theoretical work. New processes in the world arena, the confrontation between capitalism and socialism, ideological in particular, and the attempts on the part of various kinds of revisionists to emasculate the Marxist-Leninist doctrine all require the creative development of scientific revolutionary theory.

The main circumstances determining the international nature of Leninism, indicated in the collection, are of most important methodological and political significance.

First, the October Revolution was the initial line and pivot of the contemporary universal revolutionary process. It had a powerful impact on the development of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

Second, the international nature of Leninism is determined by the comprehensiveness of the experience of the October Revolution itself and the experience in the building of socialism in the USSR which followed its victory. Leninism reflected the tremendous experience acquired by the Bolshevik party which, in the course of the various stages of its struggle, had to resolve problems arising in both economically developed and backward areas, in industrial and workers' centers, as well as in the poor and ravaged countryside, in areas of high cultural standards, and in vast areas of illiteracy and lack of culture.

Third, Leninism appeared and developed as a summation of the experience not only of the Russian but of the universal workers' and national-liberation and anti-colonial movements.

Fourth, Leninism appeared not in a vacuum but on the solid Marxist base, constituting its development. It summed up the latest data of world science and culture.

All these circumstances enable us to speak of Leninism as the Marxism of the contemporary historical epoch. Expressing the dynamic nature of this epoch and its own creative nature, Marxist-Leninist theory is steadily developing through the collective efforts of all communist parties, mastering new phenomena of social life and achievements in various scientific sectors, and summing up the entire variety of the international experience of the workers' movement.

Proletarian internationalism is the weapon of our party and of the entire communist movement. In their totality the collection materials convincingly prove the inflexible loyalty of the CPSU to the principles of proletarian internationalism as well as its contribution to their creative development and application, revealing many aspects of its daily practical activities aimed at strengthening the solidarity among all anti-imperialist and democratic forces of our time.

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ARTIST AND TIME

Moscow KOMBUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 106-111

[Article by Anton Refregier]

[Text] We live in a rapidly changing world—a world divided into two opposite systems and two irreconcilable ideologies. In one of its sections culture continues to serve the interests of the ruling class and is exploited by them with a view to extracting profits. In the other part of the world, for the first time in the history of mankind, culture is developing in the interests of the broad masses and is closely linked with their destinies.

As an American painter, I have been lucky in the sense that I have been able to see and look more closely at the life and creativity of the painters inhabiting that other section of the globe—the Soviet Union. I was there not for short visits but spent two years, visited the creative studios in the various republics, and attended public discussions and debates. I did a great deal of reading on the plans and accomplishments in the dissemination of culture among the masses. That is precisely the way I learned to understand the difference between the two worlds.

I had direct experience as well. On 20 April 1974 I took part in a Leninist subbotnik when millions of Soviet people dedicated one day of their work to the state: Their earnings went to the construction of hospitals and schools, and to meeting other social needs. That day, in the center of the huge plant imeni Ordzhonikidse, I worked on a big canvas on the topic of peace. No one was particularly astounded by this as the workers had become accustomed to seeing painters in their shops. They frequently come in groups to visit construction projects, plants, and kolkhozes. The only thing which triggered their curiosity was the fact that I, a foreigner, an American painter, was working together with the Soviet workers during that memorable day.

I remember this day with tremendous pleasure along with my excitement of working not in a peaceful studio but in a noisy shop, surrounded by presses, lathes, and other complex equipment. I was approached by a girl wearing a dark set of overalls and a colored kerchief with a red bow which was the

distinguishing identification of those participating in the subbotnik. I recall the feeling of pride which I felt when two workers took my completed painting and carefully carried it among the machine tools to the club where, subsequently, it was put on public exhibit. That day I indeed felt myself close to these people whom I did not know before and with whom I was linked with a common objective. I realized that they had accepted me and felt their respect for me.

Unwittingly, I recall another case. Several years ago, together with three other painters, I had been assigned by the U.S. Department of the Interior to record on canvas the construction of the famous Grand Coulee Dam. Working among the huge power cranes, and excavators, surrounded by workers who were blasting, drilling, welding, and driving bulldozers, I experienced a feeling of despair at my inability to establish contact with them. Meanwhile, I could feel their embarrassment as far as I was concerned. No one had told them why we had come here. No one had prepared them to understand that we intended to represent their lives, their skills, and the results of their toil.

I recall enviously my talks with Soviet painters who described to me the way they went to construction projects and established close ties with the workers who show their respect for such work. The painters engage in intimate talks with them and frequently return from such trips with an essentially ready exhibit of new works. Thus the work of the painter blends with the work of these people and the workers are proud of the attention shown to them. I have witnessed the cultural recreation of workers and kolkhoz members in palaces of culture, dancing and singing ensembles, and theater groups. I was told of contracts concluded between plants and theaters and between kolkhoz members and writers. All this is part of a single broad program whose objective is to eliminate the gap between the painter and the viewer and to convert every Soviet citizen into a truly cultured person.

To go back to my Grand Coulee trip let me recall yet another event. After completing a painting based on sketches made at the dam I went to Washington where an exhibit of the works of our group and of painters who had previously carried out similar assignments was being held at the Smithsonian Institute. Characteristically, the worker himself was not shown in most of the canvases. Only three or four painters had painted people with their surroundings. The bulk of the paintings, reflecting the then fashionable wave of anti-humanism, were either abstract or showed facets of bridges, dams, and irrigation projects but . . . without their makers. Nature was also painted: petals on the water, mountain ranges, landscapes. . . .

These two cases always come to mind since they are deeply symbolic in understanding the different roles of culture in the capitalist and socialist worlds.

Allow me to add to this that the plan of the Department of the Interior, even though offering painters the opportunity to be exposed to areas they usually

never see, there is no comparison with the extensive program for truly blending the creativity of the painter with the life of the people in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, this was a rather modest project which could involve merely a minute part of the tremendous army of talented American painters. It was even incomparably small compared with the artistic program initiated by the Roosevelt Administration in the 1930's when the entire capitalist world, including the United States, was in the throes of a depression. The purpose of the program was to assist the painters who had reached the brink of death from hunger. At that time as well we began to create an art which was neither for museums nor for sales to rich collectors. Our works were exhibited in schools and hospitals. We painted on the walls of children's playgrounds, communal centers, and even . . . jails. I was given an order for a big mural (29 panels) for the postal building in San Francisco. The purpose was to depict the stormy history of San Francisco City: the occupation by white settlers of the areas of the future city and the suppression of the Indians. On the other hand, it was to depict the activities of bold and courageous people who had initiated the industrial and economic development of the area--a process as a result of which some became excessively rich while others remained poor. The implementation of this project, however, triggered a number of questions: on the integrity of the views of the artist, censorship, and repressions, proving, yet once again, that the artist cannot remain aside from the social problems of his time.

I was given this assignment as a result of winning a national contest. A number of murals, then approved, openly criticized previous events in the history of the American state: the persecution of the Indians, the increased influence and rule of so-called "vigilantes," and the activities of those who sympathized with the slave owners in the Civil War; they reflected the struggle for an eight-hour work day, the work of Tom Mooney,¹ and the 1934 strikes. The contest was held in 1941. However, I was able to begin work only after the war, in 1946. At that time, however, the climate in the United States had changed. The period of the cold war had come and everywhere there was fear. Liberal organizations and progressive individuals were being persecuted. Under such circumstances paintings which had been accepted previously suddenly became "controversial," and "inacceptable" to U.S. conservative and reactionary circles.

During the entire three years of painting the murals of the post office I was steadily attacked by the reactionary press and organizations such as the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and other "patriotic" organizations. In the final account, when the panel of the general strike was completed, under the pressure of the state's reactionary elements the government ordered that it be covered.

At the very beginning of my work, as I was depicting regional historical events dealing with previous centuries, the people coming to the post office were hardly interested in all this. When history came closer to modern times, interest in the murals rose sharply. When I undertook to paint the panels of the general strike steady crowds began to gather in front of the post office building. Essentially, there were men related to the sea: longshoremen,

seamen, or store men. The decision of the municipality to cover the panel triggered the anger and indignation of the city workers. They repeatedly pulled down the cover. A protest demonstration was organized in the city with the participation of workers, painters, and representatives of liberal circles. They demanded that the painter be guaranteed the right honestly to depict history. They saw in my murals their own struggle for full employment, equal pay, and struggle against lockouts and discrimination.

I was invited by the unions to address workers' meetings and was warmly welcomed by the longshoremen. To them a painter was some kind mystical being. However, the attacks of the reactionary circles continued and demands for the destruction of my work were formulated ceaselessly. Then, in 1953, a shameful event occurred in the U.S. Congress: Congressman Scadder, an extreme rightist, submitted a bill demanding to remove or, rather, since the work was a mural, to destroy all 29 panels of the city's history.

Naturally, I was quite excited and depressed by such a possibility, considering this work one of my outstanding accomplishments. However, this was the McCarthy period, a period which had paralyzed the American people with fear. The bill was debated in the Capitol in the first week of May 1953. The sponsors of the bill, those who demanded the destruction of my murals, spoke in the morning and, I must point out, that they were a rather impressive parade of speakers representing a great variety of conservative and reactionary organizations. As a rule, being people of a rather low cultural standard, they condemned my work as anti-American, anti-patriotic, and disgusting and, naturally, as communist (which, in their view, was its most terrible aspect). Initially everything went according to plan for the reactionary circles. In the afternoon, however, the unexpected occurred: museum personnel, trade union leaders, well-known men of the arts and even some liberal businessmen decisively took up the defense of my paintings. Their actions were so impressive that the bill never came out of committee and my paintings were temporarily preserved. Nevertheless, the attacks did not abate. A new threat developed. The San Francisco post office planned to move into a new and more spacious premise. As always, in such cases, the federal government sells the unneeded building to whatever land speculator who would win the bid and would build on the spot commercial building for profit. In order to rescue my murals, a committee for the struggle for its preservation was set up in California. Once again, as in the past, I am concerned and am waiting to see what will happen to my paintings. . . .

Naturally, had I painted these murals in a traditional academic spirit, and had the first Americans landing on San Francisco's shore been elegant and clean shaven Hollywood types, and had I not dealt with class conflicts, no one would have persecuted me or my paintings. This raises the question of the right of the painter to depict class conflicts and the struggle--a position which is difficult and quite unpopular in a world in which everything is imbued with the spirit of profit. The spirit of profit frequently demands that history be rewritten to suit the power of the rich and that the working man not appear in general in works of art.

We are living in a period of acute ideological struggle. Over a number of decades, starting with 1917, the American people have been deliberately dis-informed and prejudiced against the Soviet Union and, particularly, Soviet art. Accusations are hurled at the USSR to the effect that, allegedly, that country offers no freedom of creativity at all.

I saw precisely the opposite and I would like to share what I witnessed and what enchanted me as a painter. I saw works full of humanism and optimism, a multinational creativity reflecting the specific culture of each republic (incidentally, art itself in areas previously suppressed by czarism began to develop, essentially, only after the revolution). In the course of previous trips I took a number of photographs and made a number of slides on works which, in my view, offer an idea of the main directions followed by Soviet painting in its broad variety. It seemed to me that this should be liked by the American people. Following my return to the United States, the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship organized for me lectures to be delivered in universities throughout the country. As a rule, the beginning of each lecture was accepted by the audience with mistrust and, sometimes, hostility. However, after seeing the slides, the feeling disappeared and was replaced by undivided interest, amazement, and true respect for the work of the Soviet painters.

Recently Progress, the Moscow publishing house, published my illustrated book on travels around the Soviet Union. Working on the book provided me with yet another opportunity to interpret and understand a great deal and to learn a great deal. I recall painting in Armenia a group of workers in a plant. I was attracted in this group by a Turkoman with high cheekbones and a dark skin, side by side with whom was working a blue-eyed blonde Balt. There were people of other nationalities here as well, working together, and differences in their physical appearance did not trouble anyone. This forced me to think yet once again about the problems of my own country where a person may be refused work because of the color of his skin and in which a painting of mine in which a black man is depicted side by side with a white one may not be exhibited in the museums of some southern states.

I have always dedicated a considerable share of my art to social problems. The beginning of my social activities was related to illustrating a pamphlet on the work of Tom Mooney and a pamphlet on the then sensational Scottsboro trial.² I painted paintings and made sketches on the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. I exposed Franco's fascist dictatorship in Spain. In this I was not alone. We, Americans, should be proud of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the painters were on the side of progress, on the side of the Spanish people. I have painted a number of canvases on the struggle of the Negroes, headed by Martin Luther King. I drew posters reflecting the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. Earlier, in 1954, several months prior to the counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in Guatemala, I had traveled in that country and collected materials on the new life which successfully developing at a time when the Arbenz Government was in power. I wanted to tell the American people that that which I had seen and learned in Guatemala should affect them too and that the achievements of a nation must be defended and protected.

Last September I took to Moscow several tens of drawings and pastels on the topic of Chile. I began to work on this topic three years ago and I am deeply reacting to the Chilean tragedy which began on 11 September 1973 with the fascist coup d'etat when President Allende was killed and a most cruel terror was launched, and when all the gains achieved by the Popular Unity Government were destroyed.

In the hope of organizing an exhibit of such works in New York I turned to my agent. His initial reaction, however, was, "What to do with them? No one would buy them!" (He was a businessman and all exhibits he organized in his own gallery, including some of mine, in the past, were aimed only at extracting profits.) Subsequently, the director of a museum, seeing my works, displayed an interest but not even suggested that they be exhibited, obviously fearing that the museum's board of regents would disapprove.

Realizing that the American public would be unable to see my work, I decided to take it to the Soviet Union. Here the attitude was entirely different. Several days following my arrival, the USSR Union of Painters began to prepare an exhibit in Moscow.³ Naturally, something I am deeply convinced of, it would have been far more important for the American people to look this exhibit over than the Soviet people who are perfectly aware of the situation in Chile, for it is precisely the Soviet Government that immediately broke relations with the Pinochet regime, and that it is in the Soviet Union that live today the outstanding Chilean patriots Louis Corvalan, Volodya Teytel'boym and many others.

The position of the painter is changing in our rapidly changing world. I know that my Soviet colleagues are actively participating in the social changes occurring in their country. For the first time in the history of mankind the USSR Constitution guarantees the painter the right to work and a special article calls for upgrading the cultural standard of the people's masses, insuring the painter a vast audience. In the Soviet Union the painter is free from the false concept so liked by the bourgeoisie that he must mandatorily experience privations in order to be able to create his works. The position and role of the painter in society depend on the specific social and political conditions in which he works. I already mentioned the objectively favorable atmosphere which existed during the Roosevelt Administration. At that time the painter felt himself closer to the people. He was part of the struggle and understood what that struggle needed. Different circumstances prevailed at other times. . . .

Never since the time of the Mexican murals movement has there been in our country such a clear understanding of the high responsibility of the painter. This is expressed today in the murals painted in our cities, particularly in poor districts and ghettos. The painters paint the struggle against racism, war, and militarism. This movement developed in the period of the highest intensity of the struggle for civic rights in Chicago, when a group of Negro painters began to paint on the walls of abandoned houses. This was a shout of the heart, a call for social justice, a demand for a dignified human life,

and a protest against police cruelty. Many people followed their example. Today in America the painting of murals has become a commonplace phenomenon. Most frequently this is done by a group of young painters or professionals who rally around them people with insufficient experience but who are very willing to help in the implementation of the plan. Occasionally these are simply amateurs. The murals are painted on the walls of old buildings and the painter works with usual house paints. The fact that, in itself, this is not a durable work does not disturb him. His purpose is different: to express now, on the spot, his position, his attitude toward the vital problems of the city or state. Murals are open demands formulated by the working people and their condemnation of social ills. An interesting case occurred in Chicago when two warring street gangs joined forces to create a mural aimed against drug addiction—an ill which corrupts the young. Most paintings are primitive and some of them are simply clumsy. In terms of emotional expression, however, they have a most profound impact on the masses. These painters are people who have entirely dedicated themselves to their favorite cause. They reject the world of bourgeois art and do not try to paint for the sake of money, not to speak of individual careers. They live simply and, frequently, poorly. Their activities are the positive side of American culture. They challenge the moral degradation of society, sensationalism, and subjectivism. I believe in this force which could lay the foundations for a truly healthy art.

Finally, here is yet another, concluding thought on the Soviet Union. I have noted that much of what struck me is accepted by the Soviet people as self-evident. Obviously, this is yet another of the greatest accomplishments of the Soviet state. Nevertheless, the Soviet people should value better that which is envied by the West. And, perhaps, sometimes one needs the eyes of a foreigner, coming from a different world, to see and highly value that which is considered by the Soviet people as ordinary, daily, and generally accepted.

FOOTNOTES

1. Tom Mooney, one of the leaders of the trade union movement in San Francisco, was arrested in 1916 falsely accused of murder. In 1917 he was sentenced to death. Under the pressure of public protest in the United States and other countries, the death penalty was replaced by life imprisonment. Tom Mooney was freed after 23 years of efforts--editorial note.
2. In 1931 a group Negro youth were sentenced to death on the basis of a false charge. A broad protest movement in the country, headed by the communists and other left-wing forces, was able to revoke the unfair sentence--editor's note.
3. The exhibit of the works by A. Refregier opened on 16 May 1979 in the premises of the board of the USSR Union of Painters on Gogol' Boulevard--editor's note.

ON THE COVERED TRACKS OF THE PAST

Moscow KOPMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 112-118

[Essay by F. Rodionov]

[Text] The moment customs formalities were over, a short middle-aged woman stepped toward me and energetically shook my hand. In a chest-voice she said:

"Nadexhda Vunsh. I shall be your enterpreter."

She sat in the back of the car and, leaning toward me, began to describe the landmarks through which we were traveling. She spoke in a soft unstressed accent--purely Muscovite. I mentioned this. "I am a Muscovite," she answered.

Here, in a distant country, the words sounded unexpected and pleasing: a fellow countrywoman. . . . In the hotel room I presented her with a lithograph showing the old Arbat and presented it to her as a gift. She thanked me politely. She glanced at the immemorial Moscow landscape, and said:

"No, I lived in Simonovka. This is where you have now your bearings plant. God bless it." She pulled back her hair, cut short.

That evening we were the guests of the mayor. Vunsh behaved as though she was attending the presentation of credentials even though I was merely a reporter following the traces of the resistance movement in which Soviet people had taken part. The mayor spoke slowly, stuttering slightly:

"It has been a long time since I have been asked questions about those times. Here today we rarely remember this. It is as though the people did not fight fascism. This is wrong. There were both guerrillas and people who sabotaged plants, even though many of them did that silently. However, when the fascists were defeated at Kursk a clandestine conference was held and we drew up a single system for sabotage at military plants. However, I was detained soon afterwards. . . ."

The mayor nervously twisted in his hand a coffee cup. I saw on his hands fine traces of scars. He noticed my glance and said, with a brief smile:

"Everything passes, everything grows back. Only occasionally the memory opens like a wound. Then it is bad. Once again one goes back to that hell. I was imprisoned by the fascists three times and the last time was bad. They did not beat. They tortured. They tortured economically, professionally. They were drawing out of me the names of my resistance comrades. I felt very bad learning that not only I but the entire leadership of our group had been arrested. I became dulled with despair. I was being beaten but was unable to say a single word. Perhaps I truly forgot at that time how to speak. Today this may seem wild. They then forgot about me and remembered me only when the din of the approaching front line began to reach the jail. I was tried and sentenced to the guillotine."

He took off his glasses and rubbed his eyes with the back of his hand. He then suggested,

"Let us drink Russian style."

He filled the glasses to the brim. He drained his in one movement. He smiled with all the wrinkles of his aged face. His eyes alone were confused, unsmiling.

Suddenly Vunsh turned to me and said:

"Listen, write about me. I hid a Jewish girl. I had a friend in the Gestapo and was not bothered very much."

That confused me and she, clearly, felt hurt. Her interpretation became conflicting. Soon, however, things went properly. She had no trouble with her work and even managed to see to it that, God forbid, I would not miss the significance of events. With the directness typical of beautiful women, she considered herself the center of the world. Therefore, anything around her had to be important. Clearly, my collocutor felt this. He said, turning no longer to me but to Vunsh:

"Yet, as you may see, I am still alive." He put his glasses back on, thus regaining his respectability. Instead of a pair of confused eyes, thick glistening lenses were directed toward us, the light playing on them as though on crystal. "Yes, as you may see, I am alive even though I was only a hundred steps away from death. In the prison yard I was being led by drunken members of the SS who were shouting the Horst Wessel."

He took a sip of coffee and concluded calmly:

"Far from everything was simple as in stories with the inevitable happy end. Airplanes flew over the jail. One of their bombs fell on the prison yard. I saw the air blast tear the gate down and ran"

Parting, the mayor said:

"I will give you my 'secret contacts.' I will give you addresses of resistance friends. They could tell you a great deal of interesting things about those times."

Back at the hotel, Vunsh asked caustically:

"So, you will not write about me?"

I began to explain that I had a special editorial assignment.

"Don't prevaricate. You're shocked by the fact that I knew a Gestapo man. In Russia you are forever looking for politics. You simplify everything: communists to the right, Gestapo to the left. Yet, life was complex. There was Gestapo, there was resistance, there were Jews, there were communists, there were clericals Confusion. One had to survive. . . ."

She swept off my morning's tight itinerary with a single strike.

"I must buy myself kitchen equipment." Preemptorily she dismissed my objections. "What? Work? You in Russia have never been able to organize your lives. Do not object. I visited my relatives in Moscow. My brother is a famous athlete but hell only knows what he is doing! He's putting together radio sets. Why? Anyway not one of them has ever worked. My nephew is attending his second institute. His apartment is crowded with books. This too costs a great deal of money. No one is managing the budget. There is never a single kopeck left at home. Five years ago they wrote to me that they had bought me a pair of felt boots. I have been waiting for them for the past five years There is no system at all. . . ."

The next day we traveled north. Vunsh was looking at the notebook with addresses the mayor had given us. Closing it shut, she thoughtfully said:

"I understand, all this is beautiful: exploits, clandestinity, life on the edge of death. It is manly. Yet, what did it give them? Something you will write and that is all. . . ."

Her question brought to my mind a cloudy summer day. The distant Moscow suburb. A quiet crowd of concerned people looking at their now empty house. Next to it, a freshly dug manhole leading under the house. Cautiously moving at its bottom are men wearing forage caps. They are engineers who invited me to witness the dismantling of a fascist bomb which hit the ground without exploding during one of the initial months of the war, during a fascist air raid. Now they had to take it out. An elder captain came out of the manhole. Shaking the dirt off his cap, he quietly ordered:

"Lift cautiously."

Slowly the soldiers pulled on ropes and the thick body of the bomb began to slide upwards. We could hear the sand crunching under its weight.

"It is disarmed. The cap has been removed," the captain said reassuringly. "Look at how long it has been here, since 1941. The threading had caked."

The bomb showed up on the surface. The people looked at it fearfully. How many years they had walked around death, yet protected by fate. The bomb was

put in a covered truck. The first to jump inside was the captain who asked me to join him. We were traveling down an empty highway on which traffic had been stopped. The bomb was at our feet. Looking at, I felt a chill. The captain said:

"You know, in my opinion this bomb was not about to explode. The fuse was faulty. The fault was mechanical or, perhaps, intentional. In my career I have frequently come across bombs made inoperative at the plant. The work of anti-fascists. They saved both our lives and the lives of civilians."

I described the case to Vunsh. She looked at me puzzled.

"So what?"

"You're asking about results"

"I asked what did it contribute to them," she said, emphasizing "them." "You understand, what good did it do to them, to themselves? All you have told me so far is, again, politics. . . ."

Even though we spoke the same language we did not understand one another. However, I saw that Vunsh was awaiting with interest my talks with former clandestine workers. We met them in a small cafe on the edge of a long-abandoned air field. During the war they had worked in a big enterprise making ammunition for the fascist army. Their leader was a calm, rather modest looking person. They called him the watchmaker. There were two bosses at the plant: an SS Obersturmbannfuhrer and this quiet watchmaker. He was a specialist in control-measuring equipment, for which reason he could move around in the enterprise unhindered.

Initially Vunsh seemed excited. However, the stories told by our collocutors did not provide answers to her questions. They spoke only of the difficult days of the underground and their occasional reference to the present dealt only with the fact that fascism was once again trying to raise its head. Vunsh's interest clearly abated. She began to interpret mechanically. She interpreted conscientiously yet indifferently, even though she showed a great deal of respect for my collocutors. To her meeting with them was a job. Otherwise, anything related to Mrs. Vunsh was bound to be prestigious or, as she herself said, "proper."

Glancing at my notebook, using the same even tone of voice with which she interpreted, she said:

"Stop scratching out. Your writing must look orderly."

Her remark distracted me. Losing the thread of the conversation, I began to ask the questions again. The answer came in that same emotionless voice:

"Do not repeat your questions. Only stupid people who are unable to get the sense immediately ask questions twice. You are a journalist."

She said all this in such a way that my collocutors could not even suspect that she was admonishing me instead of interpreting. Yet, as a reporter, even at the risk of appearing slow-witted, I could not fail but ask questions and try to reach the core of events. As to crossing out, I cross out words even now, as I am writing these lines long formed in my mind.

However, such a behavior seemed improper to Vunsh. She looked at me coldly.

"Write accurately and intelligibly," she instructed me as though teaching a calligraphy class. "Write. 'The watchmaker passed by freight cars loaded with ammunition and smiled. He knew how many shells would never explode, how many bombs would never destroy homes. . . .'"

From the viewpoint of the fascists there were many of those. There were few from the viewpoint of the watchmaker. There should be more. That is why he sat night after night on his drawings, developing the most clever and undetectable methods to render ammunition harmless. Touring the shops he could observe the system he had organized. He watched the actions of the tall impressive Krul who was assembling magazines for airplane machineguns. He knew that Krul was unnoticeably putting graphite in the magazines. He would then pass by Wolfstelle who was engaged in miniature electric welding. He was assembling belts for anti-aircraft shells. From time to time he failed to complete a welding seam. . . .

That was how, gradually, a view to light of a long concealed conspiracy of underground work by anti-fascists. Parting with the watchmaker and his resistance comrades, Vunsh said, obviously referring to things which, in her view, I had skipped:

"You, Russians, should also behave properly."

"What an unexpected concern for Russia," I said astounded. "How come?"

"Perhaps just because Russia is a company which gives me work. Naturally, that was the kind of answer you expected."

She fell silent and then went on:

"Eventually you have no ground under your feet, you're hurled around. At that point one wishes very much to be a part of something big and important in the world."

Bit by bit we gathered information on the resistance. My companion became very tired. The trips were particularly tiring. There were roads, and more roads . . . forests, like curtains closing on some views and opening others. We passed by tall hop crops, rich wheat, and gardens Unwittingly, I thought: How was it possible that fascism could gather strength on such good and generous soil? True, today there were no traces of it anywhere. However, should a cart run across a planted field one would see its tracks even when the grain is harvested. Such is the case with human hearts Unwittingly I asked Vunsh:

"How did you live under fascism?"

She moved herself away from me in the car. Her face became tense.

"You still cannot leave alone my friend in the Gestapo, can you?" She grinned and the tension vanished. "Well, who at that time was not all right with the Gestapo? One had to survive. Perhaps simply for the sake of giving you an interpreter today."

She looked through the car window silently as we covered several kilometers. Then, without looking at me, she said:

"Do not think that it was very easy. Mr. Vunsh whom I married was soon sent to concentration camp for having helped the Soviets build a plant. I never saw him again. However, in exchange, I became quite familiar with the Gestapo. Not many could achieve this. I will not lie, I was not a communist, I did not participate in the resistance, even though today many claim to have been in it. I was honest, however. Why am I telling you all this. . . ." She shrugged her shoulders impatiently. "You're interested only in those who went through the guillotine. It is mutual, as your ideas do not interest me in the least. We are both of us employed and paid for our work. This, so to say, a mutually profitable coexistence"

Vunsh fell silent. Soon afterwards, however, I unexpectedly heard her sing "Don't sleep, get up, curly head, to meet the day. . . ."

She then laughed and said:

"I was indeed curly headed once. And once, in Moscow, a man sang that song to me. A rather stupid man. . . ."

She made no further mention of her past. We traveled from one city to another. We met with people who were described "state criminals" in Hitler's Reich, for which reason Vunsh felt that she was part of her favorite atmosphere of importance. She liked this kind of detective work. Frequently, instead of asking my questions, she asked hers. She would engage in conversation with my collocutors and only after satisfying her own curiosity would recall my existence. In all sincerity, her curiosity did not always coincide with my work.

I recall visiting one of the noted members of the resistance who had worked under the fascist system at an enterprise producing mountings for the tank industry. Vunsh immediately launched in a lively conversation with a big and beautiful woman--the lady of the house. While I and my host, a strong, short blonde, left to our own devices, tried to express our reciprocal sympathies. My small stock of words was insufficient to understand his excited talk. He then converted to the international language of gestures and tried to show me something, holding an imaginary object in his hands.

It was only when Vunsh had finally concluded her conversation that I found out what my collocutor was trying to explain.

"He was an assembly man. To assemble the mounting one must put the parts together. With a file he may have to remove a few millimeters. However, he could remove a little bit more and not even the most experienced controller would notice. Yet, because of this 'vee bit' the mounting would be operational not three years, as planned, but one week."

This time Vunsh was giving a lively interpretation, repeating the humorous intonations of the speaker. His wife was looking at him with fascination. She was far younger than her husband and, obviously, had been very young at the time of Hitler's fall. She looked at her husband with the enthusiasm reserved for heroes. He, encouraged by my questions and her looks, went on:

"At the plant we were friendly with fellow-countrymen of yours. The fascists had driven out of the Ukraine many women. They were in a state of despair. One of them was Mariya Protan. She was assisting me. Whenever I was filing my 'vee bit' she was on the lookout for superiors or provocateurs. Mariya was very young, with braided hair and blue eyes. We always tried to work together. This made it safer. And then we fell in love," he said simply and turned to his wife. "Ingrid knows that I still remember those days. . . ."

The woman smiled even more brightly, nodded, and repeated:

"Protan, Protan Marie. . . ."

Vunsh lost her professionalism. She blushed violently. She squinched her eyes angrily. She turned to the hostess and said something very quickly. The latter's eyes remained shining.

"Ha," Vunsh exclaimed, "this doll has long known about the Ukrainian woman and keeps saying that she respects their love. They even tried to find this Protan after the war. What kind of behavior is that on the part of well-educated woman who respects her home!"

Even after we returned to the hotel Vunsh was still at agitated:

"Only such northerners who have fish fat instead of blood in their veins could so cynically feel toward love of the sanctity of the home."

I tried to object. She exploded:

"I can no longer stand this. Not in the least because of that stupid cow. I am tired. I am confused and understand nothing. You have never been able, in Russia, to live properly. Only work and more work. On and on to death. What about living! No?! I've heard all this." She produced a handkerchief and began to wipe off her tears. "I met there, in Moscow, one such enthusiastic fellow, at the building of the bearings plant. He had a number of Komsomol assignments and had no money to take me to a restaurant. Forget about money! He had not time to go to the park and kiss me properly as he should have. Yet, Vunsh, the foreign specialist, had both money and time."

And all this was at my disposal. However, I was in love with that stupid enthusiast and I myself became stupid. I too went to work building this 'Sharik.' My hands became rough and my voice became hoarse. And all this did not increase the amount of time I met this enthusiast. He would be assigned to correct breakdowns. What a stupid word, a breakdown! I then decided to drop everything, both this stupid enthusiast and this 'Sharik!' I wanted to be beautiful! So I left with Vunsh even though I was not quite lucky with him. I said, he died" With a sudden gesture she pulled back her hair as though shaking off memories. "May his soul rest in peace. This was long ago."

She smiled, holding back her tears. This was the first time that I noticed that Vunsh was far from young. Yet, honestly, her gait was so springy and her lips so expressive I could not believe she was over 40.

Clearly, she was indeed rather tired, and we took a short break.

We stopped in a small hotel. That evening, wrapped in a plaid, Vunsh was taking a walk along the small lawn in front of the house. Once again I heard her sing quietly: "Don't sleep, get up, curly one, to meet the day. . . ." Her voice was young, passionate, yet sad. The sun was setting. Something profoundly Russian still within her had appeared.

"It is vast in Russia, is it not?" she asked. "The plains"

I asked a question I had long suppressed:

"Nadya, are you being nostalgic?"

She shuddered, whether at the question or the unusual address.

"Are you not yearning for the homeland?"

"No," she answered sharply. "What is motherland? A habit. Habits vanish. When I feel lonely I go to a public bath and the attendant would wash and rub me like my mother when I was a child." As though chilly, she wrapped the plaid around her. "I also have Murka. Every evening she meows to me her cat songs, grateful for my feeding her and her kittens."

I no longer felt like talking to her and turned back to the hotel.

"Say," she shouted after me, "why is it that all of you with whom I have had to work speak of the Union with such rapture, saying that everything you have is the best? This is more like advertising rather than patriotism."

My answer was entirely polite:

"Because everything we have we acquired with more efforts than others. You, for example. You left Russia precisely because of the difficulties. . . ."

I went in. Later, however, for a long time I thought that the feeling for the homeland depends on how much effort and passion you have invested in it. It is not found in idlers or philistines whose personal "I" conceals reality the way the moon hides the sun during an eclipse, concealing reality, immediate and long-range interests and, in the final account, the people. Values may be true or false.

The sun was setting, casting long shadows on the ground. Even the shrubs looked like a forest of masts. In the morning, however, the sun would rise and the shrubs would become shrubs again. That is what happens to imaginary values by which, obviously, Vunsh lived. They would disappear like the shadows

Our trip was coming to an end. I had collected extensive data. Only one member of the clandestine committee remained vague, the one in charge of the foreign workers working at war plants. At that time he was operating in such deep secrecy that even today no one could say what kind of a man he was. All they knew was that he was Russian. I felt, however, that we would be able to trace him.

That is precisely what happened. We came to a small city. The car stopped in front of a green painted house in whose attic lived a member of the resistance. His narrow shoulders, like those of a child, supported a powerful head, like that of a Viking. He was quite old. His words were hard to understand.

"This boy was known as Bob," the old man said. "The Russians called Boris. I was his contact. We were engaged in sabotaging the arms plant. Bob organized everything. He was bright. He was familiar with the equipment. Before the war Bob had worked in your country, in Moscow, at the 'Sharik.' That is what he called his company."

I noticed Vunsh shudder.

"He did not live long, our Bob. A provocateur penetrated us. He followed Bob. The SS went into the powder room where Bob and the Frenchman Henri were working together in full daylight. They blocked the holes and the boys were trapped. They blew themselves up together with the fascists.

"What was his last name?" fearfully asked Vunsh.

"I don't know. We had no last names. We had nicknames. He was Bob with 'Sharik.'" The old man fell silent, thought awhile, and then said: "There was a song he sang: 'Rise, curly head, to meet the dawn.'"

"Don't sleep, get up, curly one, to meet the day . . ." broke out Vunsh.

"Yes, yes," the old man noted. "He spoke with a burr, like Henri."

It was now Vunsh who was energetically questioning him.

"Did he have curly hair?"

"He was clean shaven."

"Did he have dimples on his cheeks?"

"He had pits instead of cheeks. We were in a concentration camp, madam."

"Anything else, do you remember anything else?"

The old man fell silent, alone with his thoughts. He then said:

"There were many traitors among us. All of them wanted to survive for which reason they betrayed us. They betrayed Bob as well. Yet I survived. Fate is not letting me die to meet with my comrades." He glanced at me questioningly. "So, you are from Soviet Russia? . . . Yes, yes today . . ."

He rose and shuffled to his desk. For a long time he dug among his papers. Finally, he found what he was looking for. He pulled out of a notebook a faded sheet.

"This is his letter to his mother. Should something happen. There was an envelope with an address but I destroyed it."

Vunsh grabbed the paper and raised it to her eyes. She began to read and her voice dropped:

"Farewell, mother. Farewell and forgive. Forgive for my always being in a hurry, for never having time to come home. How much I would like now to be with you. You're the only one, the only one like the world"

Finishing these few lines, Vunsh made a wheezing sound.

"He never knew how to live, this Shmelev, he never did."

Forgetting, she shouted to the old man in Russian:

"Let me have this letter!"

The old man looked at me puzzled. She addressed him in his own language. He waved his parchment like hands in a negative gesture while she, confusing Russian with foreign words, begged, pleaded:

"Give it to me! This is for me. This is mine. I'm his wife"

In a few minutes, from a prosperous looking youngish woman, Vunsh turned into an old woman. The old man was stubborn. What was this? The stubbornness of a person embittered in a concentration camp or unwillingness to part with the only memory of a friend? He looked at her impersonally. My poor knowledge of the language sufficed to guess what he told her:

"To each his own, madam. You survived. Bob spoke about you. . . ."

Indeed, the old man was right. To each his own. Ironically, the veteran anti-fascist had expressed the truth using the words which the Hitlerites had cynically inscribed on the gates of the death camp: "To each his own." In difficult times a person may abandon the homeland. In a time of tragedy a person may give his life for the homeland. Everyone has the freedom of choice. I saw now, however, the terrible price paid by those who had left the homeland, and I recalled Turgenev's words: "Russia may do without anyone of us but no one of us can do without her; woe to he who may think this and double woe to he who indeed could do without her."

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DRAFTING A SINGLE SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHING CURRICULUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 119-120

[Letter to the editor by Docent D. Yapiskoposov, Moscow]

[Text] For quite some time it has been necessary to improve existing curriculums dealing with the social sciences and to establish a more organic interrelationship in their teaching and in insuring the profound study of Marxist-Leninist methodology. This was discussed, specifically, at the all-union conference of heads of social science chairs in the higher educational institutions, held in 1976. Unfortunately, however, almost no practical steps have been taken in this direction. I believe that the drafting of a single curriculum for such disciplines could be such a radical measure.

The object and purpose of the social sciences are entirely linked with the various sides of a single natural historical process of the development of human society. On this basis alone we could argue about the expediency of drafting a single program. However, there is more to it. Within such a program it would become easier to eliminate existing shortcomings.

One of the basic ones among them is the fact that the current curriculums do not focus the attention on mastering the scientific method. Yet, this is the main feature in the training of a specialist. Equally unresolved remains the problem of the systematic and overall study of all social sciences. In turn, such shortcomings lead to many others.

In order to surmount the first shortcoming it is very important to achieve a proper understanding of the ratio between the theory of dialectics and the method. The method is dialectics in action. It includes the totality of ways and means for the use of dialectics in the study of a specific object in one or another science and interpret its results. Obviously, mastering a method may not be reduced to the knowledge of the sum total of dialectical laws and categories. This is merely the first level. The essence is the ability to apply dialectics. All sciences must teach dialectics. Only thus could the expected results be achieved.

As we know, K. Marx and F. Engels deserve the credit for the elaboration of a truly scientific method. It is precisely this that V. I. Lenin considered

as their most valuable and essentially new contribution to science. "The use of dialectical materialism in reworking all political economy," Lenin wrote, "in terms of history, the natural sciences, philosophy, politics, and the tactics of the working class was what interested Marx and Engels more than anything else. This was the area in which they made their most substantial and novel contribution. This was their brilliant step forward in the history of revolutionary thinking" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 24, p 264).

The scientific method (use of dialectical materialism) is described most fully in Marx's "Das Kapital," whose coauthor Lenin believed to be Engels. Even though "Das Kapital" is not a text book, in reality it remains the unsurpassed text book on capitalist political economy. The legacy of Marx and Engels does not include any such other work which would provide such a systematic presentation of an entire science. The experience in using dialectics in "Das Kapital" exceeds the framework of political economy and is of a truly universal nature. The ability proved in "Das Kapital" to determine with the help of the dialectical method the subject and limits of research and rise from the abstract to the concrete, separates the various levels of analysis, and elaborate a system of abstractions in order to discover the objective laws governing the production method could be used as a model and should be used in all social sciences bearing in mind the characteristics of their topics.

The way to mastering the dialectical method is that of studying the methodology of "Das Kapital." This important requirement must be taken into consideration in the new curriculum.

The final objective of the social sciences is to influence social processes and insure their management on a scientific basis. Their purpose is to study social phenomena in a strictly interrelated and systematic basis and the absence of any link has a very adverse effect on their effectiveness and on the elaboration of a purposeful outlook. Subjects discussing party policy, the theory and practice of social management, and the history of the communist doctrine and movement are important links within the system of the social sciences. However, these subjects have been entirely deleted from the curriculum. The study of the law has been deleted as well. The new curriculum must mandatorily call for the study of the foundations of these sciences.

Unquestionably, a single program focused on mastering the scientific method, the method of "Das Kapital," based on the systematic study of the entire system of social sciences, clearly setting off the subject and boundaries of each one of them, would enable us to eliminate main shortcomings in teaching, increase its effectiveness, and qualitatively improve the training of specialists.

5003
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MARKISM-LENINISM ON PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

Moscow KOMEUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 121-125

[Review by A. Amvrosov and F. Taplov of the book "K. Marks, F. Engel's i V. I. Lenin. O Diktature Proletariata" [K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin. On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat]. Collection compiled and prefaced by V. T. Kaltakhchyan. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 320 pages]

[Text] The doctrine of the universal-historical mission of the proletariat and of its dictatorship as the political content of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism holds a central position in the very rich ideological legacy of the classics of scientific communism. The Great October Revolution in Russia and the socialist revolutions in other countries convincingly proved the vitality of this doctrine. Under contemporary conditions, when extensive possibilities exist for entering the path of socialist development by ever new countries, this has assumed particular importance. It is no accident that our ideological opponents are devoting tremendous efforts to distort the very nature of proletarian dictatorship and refute its historical necessity.

Unquestionably, the collection issued by Politizdat, combining works or excerpts of works by K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin, expressing their views on the dictatorship of the proletariat, will be of great help in the profound study by a broad readership of the most important concepts of revolutionary theory. The work submits to comprehensive and consistent criticism bourgeois-reformist, revisionist, and anarchic views.

The materials in the collection show the historical need, content, and purpose of the hegemony of the working class. They enable us to trace the establishment and development of the theory of proletarian statehood. They clearly prove that the transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the power of the working class allied with the entire toiling people and that the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat should in no case be reduced mainly to violence, while its main feature is economic-organizational and cultural-educational work. Whenever the working class seizes the power it establishes a new type of democracy insuring the necessary prerequisites for the participation of the working people in the administration of the state, guaranteeing them political rights and freedoms.

The collection consists of two parts. Its use is facilitated by detailed annotations and by name and subject indexes. The first part includes works by Marx and Engels and the second, by Lenin.

In their time E. Bernstein, followed by K. Kautsky, proclaimed Marx's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as being an "accidental petty word" of no theoretical importance. Exposing this obvious lie, Lenin pointed out that Marx and Engels worked on the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat "over a period of 40 years," and to proclaim this concept a "petty word" means totally to reject their theory (see p 190 of the collection). Extending the line of the distorters of Marxism, today as well the revisionists are trying to present matters as though Marx, the "democratic revolutionary," as distinct from Lenin, "the supporter of violence," in general rejected the need for a dictatorship of the proletariat.

To see the groundlessness of such claims it would suffice to turn to the works of Marx and Engels. As early as 1845, the idea of the necessity for the working class to seize the power was expressed in "German Ideology": ". . . Any class aspiring to rule—even though this rule would require, as would be the case with the proletariat, the destruction of the entire old social form and domination in general—should, above all, seize the political power" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 32). This idea runs throughout the content of the first programmatic document of scientific communism—the "Communist Party Manifesto." The term "dictatorship of the proletariat" had not been formulated yet (this synonym of the concept of the "political domination of the working class" was to be introduced by Marx later, in 1850). Yet, the basic concept is formulated here quite precisely and definitely: ". . . The first step in the workers' revolution is turning the proletariat into the ruling class, the gaining of democracy." Here, showing the purpose of the power of the working class, Marx and Engels wrote: "The proletariat will use its political rule in order to take away from the bourgeoisie, step by step, the entire capital, centralize all productive capital in the hands of the state, i.e., the proletariat, organized as the ruling class and will increase as rapidly as possible the sum total of productive forces." They further wrote: "Through revolution . . . as the ruling class, the proletariat will abolish by force the old production relations . . ." (collection, p 26). These words contained in the "Communist Party Manifesto," describe in their most general aspect the constructive tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class concentrates productive capital in the hands of its class state and, consequently, manages production and organizes the building of the new society with the help of the state and through the state.

In the familiar letter to I. Weydemeyer, dated 5 March 1852, Marx formulated the main aspect of what he contributed to the social science. It consists of proving the fact that the existence of classes is related merely to certain historical phases in the development of production and that the class struggle must lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that this dictatorship itself is merely a transition to the elimination of all classes and to a

classless society (see collection, p 34). This concept was systematically developed by Marx and Engels in their works "The Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850," "Louis Bonaparte's 18th Brumaire," "The Civil War in France," "Critique of the Gotha Program," "Anti-Duhring," and many others.

On the basis of their summation of the experience of the class struggle and the revolutions of 1848-1849, and of the Paris Commune of 1871, Marx and Engels determined the nature and tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its humanistic and democratic nature. They substantiated the need for breaking down the bourgeois state machinery and replacing it with a new administrative apparatus. They found in the Paris Commune the first governmental form of proletarian dictatorship.

In 1875, in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state of the transitional period: "A period of revolutionary transformation of the first into the second lies between the capitalist and the communist societies. Corresponding to it is a politically transitional period. At that time the state can be nothing other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" (collection, p 63). According to Lenin, this concept summed up the entire previous development of Marx's views on the political organization of the future society.

It is important to note that in the "Critique of the Gotha Program" a distinction is made between the dictatorship of the proletariat needed for the transitional period and "the future statehood of the communist society," i.e., the question of the historical frameworks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is raised.

In an effort to disparage the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and find in it some kind of "illogicity" or "contradictoriness," bourgeois and reformist theoreticians artificially find "disparities" not only between Marx and Lenin but even between Marx and Engels. Engels's works included in the collection clearly prove the total similarity between his thinking and that of Marx on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well, as a necessary weapon for the suppression of the exploiting classes and the organization of the toiling masses in the process of transition from capitalism to socialism. In his introduction to the work of K. Marx "The Civil War in France," written on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels firmly asserted the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his remarks to the draft program of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, in 1891, he developed the concept of the Marxist theory of the political tasks of the working class and the link between democratic and socialist changes. "If there is anything that is unquestionable," Engels wrote, "it is the fact that our party and working class could become ruling only under a political form such as a democratic republic. The latter is also a specific form of dictatorship of the proletariat . . . (collection, p 80).

Under the historical circumstances of the 20th century, in the epoch of imperialism and beginning transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale, on the basis of summing up the experience of the international

workers' movement and, above all, the experience of the Great October Revolution and the building of the state in the USSR, Lenin creatively enriched Marxist theory, and defended it from the numerous encroachments of opportunism and revisionism. Marx's and Engels's doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat was comprehensively developed in Lenin's works.

Lenin has provided a number of definitions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for he considered the variety of its aspects. Taken together, in accordance with the experience of the practical implementation of revolutionary theory, they express the class nature of the socialist state in the period of the struggle waged by the toiling masses for the building and consolidation of socialism. In the most complete of them, provided by Lenin in the middle of 1919, despite the conditions of the civil war and the raging of White Guard terrorism, he singled out not its "dictatorial" but its political side--the guidance of the toiling masses by the working class. "Translating this Latin, scientific, historical-philosophical expression into a simpler language, the term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' means precisely this: only a specific class, namely the urban and, in general, the factory-plant industrial workers, can lead the entire mass of toiling and exploited people in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist yoke, in the course of the overthrow process itself, in the struggle for retaining and consolidating the victory, in building the new, socialist social system, and in the entire struggle for the total elimination of classes" (collection, p 238).

Lenin's views on the dictatorship of the proletariat as a specific form of the class alliance of the working class with the non-proletarian toiling masses, under the guiding role of the proletariat in this alliance, on the ratio between the destructive and constructive sides of the proletarian system, on the variety of its political forms, on the soviets as a governmental form for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on its system and the "mechanism" and guiding role of the communist party in this system, are of prime theoretical and practical significance. All these concepts have passed the test of history.

The revolutionary experience of over six decades proved the durable theoretical and practical value of the conclusions drawn by the Marxist-Leninist classics: No break with capitalism or true freedom and democracy could be achieved without the political domination of the working class allied with the other toiling strata and possessing a corresponding political organization which, necessarily, insures the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The victory of the socialist revolutions in a number of European, Asian, and Latin American countries marked the appearance in such countries of states of proletarian dictatorship, and the establishment of the world's socialist system. It is precisely the dictatorship of the proletariat that insured the building of developed socialism in the USSR and the achievements of the other members of the socialist comity. This innovative revolutionary practice was summed up in the documents of the CPSU and the international communist movement which made an important contribution to the elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin did not conceive of the dictatorship of the proletariat as other than the rule of the majority of the population whose revolutionary coercion may be exerted only toward the exploiting minority opposing the reorganization of society in the interest of the working people and is applied only to elements who act contrary to the will of the people, organize counterrevolutionary actions and mutinies aimed at overthrowing the power of the workers and peasants.

In a speech whose full text was published in 1977, dedicated to the memory of Ya. M. Sverdlov (unfortunately not included in the collection), Lenin emphasized that "The dictatorship of the proletariat which, in the course of two years, under incredibly difficult and severe conditions, accomplished true miracles in Russia, would have been totally impossible and internally senseless had its main motive force not been the unification of the working people, precisely a unification which could attract the tremendous majority of the toiling population" (KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1977, p 4).

One of the most important functions of the dictatorship of the working class is the protection of revolutionary gains. Lenin cautioned that, assuming the power, the revolutionary masses must remain on guard, and that "there are no revolutions without counterrevolutions, nor could there be" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 12, p 171), and that the second day of the revolution is always the most difficult. In works written following the October Revolution, included in the collection, Lenin revealed profoundly and comprehensively the importance of the experience of the struggle waged by the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie deprived of political power. He emphasized that after their defeat, the overthrown classes "with a tenfold increase in energy and enraged passion and hatred one hundred times stronger hurl themselves into the battle for the restoration of their lost 'paradise' . . ." (collection, p 206). The revisionists and opportunists who join the reactionary forces act as accomplices in the counterrevolution.

Historical experience irrefutably proves that, in an effort to prevent revolutionary change the bourgeois state stops at nothing. Its arsenal includes slander, falsifications, economic blockade, sabotage, threats, mass terrorism, assassinations of political leaders, and fascist pogroms. The imperialist bourgeoisie uses the reactionary military as its shock force, resorting to refined subversive actions and the open export of counter-revolution. The events in Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968), and Chilean tragedy (1973) imperatively remind the revolutionaries of Lenin's conclusion: "A revolution is worth anything only if it is able to defend itself" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 37, p 122).

The Great October Revolution and the subsequent socialist revolutions confirm the need to replace the old governmental apparatus with a new one capable of resolving problems related to the building of socialism.

Today, it is said here and there that Lenin and the Bolsheviks allegedly believed that the function of the power of the working class was the total

destruction of all pre-revolutionary state institutions. The fact that some such institutions have been retained in the socialist countries is presented as a major "discovery."

In reality, Lenin never favored the elimination of the entire old governmental apparatus. He approached the problem on a specific-historical basis, in accordance with the fact that "it is impossible to create in one fell swoop a new apparatus." In his work "Will the Bolsheviks Retain the State Power?" he noted that in the bourgeois state, in addition to a primarily "oppressing" apparatus consisting of a permanent army, police, and bureaucracy, there is an apparatus closely linked with banks and syndicates conducting a mass of accounting and recording work. "This apparatus must not and does not have to be broken up. It must be taken out of its subordination to the capitalists and the capitalists with their strings of influence must be cut off, pulled out. It must be subordinated to the proletarian soviets. It must be made broader, more comprehensive, and more nationwide" (collection, p 163). However, the use of the individual structures and units of the old apparatus unquestionably presumes radical changes and rejection of anything related to its exploiting class nature. It is only on this basis that the function of the power of the working class can be exercised and its historical tasks implemented.

Having put an end to the state machinery of the exploiting society, the socialist revolution creates a new democracy essentially distinct from the limited and curtailed bourgeois democracy. The conversion of the proletariat into a ruling class means the acquisition of true popular rule.

The ideologues of contemporary anti-communism and opportunism have written mountains of papers pitting the dictatorship of the proletariat against democracy and spreading the myth that the proletarian system means the elimination of democratic traditions and institutions while the bourgeois system is the standard of some kind of universal democratic system.

The study of the problem of the "dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy" calls for the thoughtful study of the comprehensive experience of countries in which a socialist revolution has already taken place as well as countries standing on its threshold. In this respect again the experience of the October Revolution, of the other socialist revolutions, and of real socialism is a priceless gain of the international revolutionary-liberation movement. It proves that the dictatorship of the proletariat means, both in terms of content and form, the fullest possible manifestation of the popular will and a tremendous expansion of democratic rights and freedoms unknown to the nations throughout history.

The constructive program of the socialist revolution cannot be implemented without the most direct, extensive, and active participation of all working people, without the people, and without the systematic democratization of all social life. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a superior type of democracy in a class society.

The most important principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its foundation, is the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and between workers engaged in physical and intellectual work with all toiling strata. "The dictatorship of the proletariat," Lenin wrote, "is a particular form of the class alliance among the proletariat, which is the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian toiling strata (petit bourgeoisie, petty owners, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and so on), or with their majority. It means an alliance against capital, an alliance aimed at the total overthrow of capital, the total suppression of bourgeois resistance and attempts at restoration on its part. It means an alliance aimed at the definitive creation and consolidation of socialism" (collection, p 235).

The particular nature of this alliance is that the leading role in it is played by the working class which, through persuasion, incentives, and revolutionary example sees to it that the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the urban petit bourgeoisie realize the need for the socialist reorganization of society. The alliance between the working class and the broadest possible population strata is one of the tasks of the proletarian state.

Dictatorship against the exploiters and true democracy for the working people is the essence of the rule of the working class guiding the building of a socialist society. The political system of a society marching toward socialism and communism is incompatible with an anti-democratic attitude toward the working people, the way socialist social ownership is incompatible with the private ownership acquisition of the results of someone else's labor or the exploitation of man by man. "Proletarian democracy," Lenin emphasized, "is one million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; the Soviet system is one million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic" (collection, p 203). Involving the multimillion strong masses in the process of the building of the new society and in active political creative work, and shifting the center of gravity to material guarantees of democratic rights and freedoms, the rule of the working class insures the fullest possible exercise of democracy for all working people, i.e., a freedom and democracy not in words but in deeds unparalleled and impossible in any capitalist country.

The democratic nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparably linked with its humanistic nature. This feature of the rule of the working class is profoundly shown in the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Whereas the revolution is the "celebration of the oppressed and the exploited" (Lenin), naturally, the successful solution of the main problem of the proletarian revolution—the seizure of political power by the working class—marks the beginning of true humanism, and the triumph of love of freedom which triggers the unparalleled enthusiasm of the toiling masses. Those who were "at the bottom" of the social ladder acquire the possibility to take a deep breath, experience their dignity as citizens and feel their profound involvement with everything that is taking place. Only the political rule

of the proletariat leads to the building of a classless society, to the full social equality among people. This means that, subsequently, the highest and most humane objective ever formulated in history is achieved--the creation of a society in which the free development of the individual becomes a prerequisite for the free development of all.

Following Marx and Engels, Lenin ascribed an exceptional role to the political form of proletarian dictatorship. He emphasized that consistent with the new type of power must be a new form which would make it possible to express most fully its revolutionary content. Lenin's ideas on the variety of political forms are of tremendous importance to the development of the world's revolutionary process and the transition from capitalism to socialism.

As early as 1916, in his article "On the Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism,'" Lenin expressed the idea that the proletariat will exercise its guidance of society in different countries using a variety of specific historical methods. "All nations will come to socialism," Lenin pointed out. "This is inevitable. However, not all of them will reach it identically. Each separate one will introduce characteristic features in one or another type of democracy or variety of proletarian dictatorship, or else the pace of socialist reorganization of various aspects of social life" (collection, pp 93-94). Subsequently, in the second edition of the book "The State and Revolution" (1919), Lenin emphasized that the transition to socialism cannot fail to provide a variety of forms of governmental power by the working class reflecting the specific features governing the development of socialist revolutions and the national and historical characteristics of the individual countries. However, "the essence will remain inevitably the same: dictatorship of the proletariat" (collection, p 108).

As we mentioned, the Paris Commune was the historically first form of dictatorship of the proletariat. Its experience was studied by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The second was the Soviet system. The reader will find in Lenin's works a detailed description of the general and specific features of the soviets as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat historically developed in Russia. The soviets developed in the course of the revolutionary movement as a result of the direct manifestation of the will of the masses and of their creative efforts.

Justifiably, the soviets became part of history as a model for the organization of a proletarian system. Lenin sharply opposed any underestimating of the international nature of the Soviet system as well as the aspirations to canonize and dogmatically accept the activities of soviets. In a cable to Bela Kuhn, dated March 1919, he pointed out that, "It is absolutely unquestionable that the strict imitation of our Russian tactic in all its details, considering the characteristic conditions of the Hungarian revolution, would be an error" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 38, p 217).

Today there exist in the socialist countries other forms of societal political organizations as well such as, for example, the people's democracy as a

characteristic form of dictatorship of the proletariat, a form which has successfully resolved problems raised by the objective course of history in a number of European and Southeast Asia. The future, Lenin emphasized, will mandatorily bring about an even greater variety of forms, paces, and approaches to the building and advancement of the political organization of the new society. Regardless of the specific shapes which such an organization might assume, and regardless of its characteristics and features of the state leadership of society provided by the working class (however differently it may be expressed terminologically), in all cases the content of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism remains the only possible one.

The dictatorship of the proletariat completes its historical mission with the building of a mature socialist society and the adoption by the peasantry, intelligentsia, and all social strata of the ideological-political positions of the working class. The state of proletarian dictatorship develops into a socialist state of the whole people, representing the will and interests of the entire society and proletarian democracy becomes the socialist democracy of the whole people.

This process, already manifested in our country, is a political manifestation of the ever increasing social homogeneousness of a society in which exploiting classes have been eliminated, in which a peasantry, belonging to the petit bourgeoisie by virtue of its nature, has been transformed into a socialist class, and in which a people's intelligentsia has been developed. Under such circumstances the political rule of a single class no longer becomes necessary. In the future as well, however, in the course of the entire building of communism, the working class will continue to guide society, being its most progressive and organized class.

The materials in the collection contribute to the profound interpretation of the historical experience of the struggle waged by the working class for the establishment and consolidation of the people's system and for a radical social renovation of the world. They provide us with a reliable guideline in the ideological battle with the enemies of socialism.

5003
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CAREFUL TREATMENT OF HISTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 79 pp 126-128

[Literary criticism by Vl. Gakov, critic, and N. Mikhaylovskaya, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] A strange note was published in the March issue of the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA. Unequivocally, Viktor Meshcheryakov, author of the rejoinder "Treat Science Fiction More Carefully," opposes the "Text Book Reader Description" of Faddey Bulgarin.

Critical anger is directed at the story by Dmitriy Bilenkin "Personality Test" (SBORNIK NAUCHNOY FANTASTIKI, No 19, Znaniye, Moscow, 1978). Here it is a question not of the artistic qualities or faults of the story but of the author's position.

Unquestionably, the history of our literature is illuminated not only by the genius of Pushkin, Tolstoy, and Dostoyevskiy. It also includes individuals who are shameful and disgusting. Above all, this includes Faddey Venediktovich Bulgarin, toward whom both his contemporaries and those after them have expressed a rarely unanimous and merciless opinion. The barely concealed accusation of his being an informer may be sensed, behind the screen of academic impartiality, even in the pre-revolutionary Brokgauz and Yefron Encyclopedic Dictionary: ". . . For over 30 years he wrote critical articles and columns in the fields of polemics, praise, and accusation of the literary opponents of the newspaper of disloyalty. These topics were the principal motif of B.'s entire literary activities, ascribing them a typical nature which made his name an adjective He published under his own name a work by [derptskiy] Professor N. A. Ivanov . . . and benefited from the special, even though scornful patronage of the chief of the Third Department . . ." (cited from the 1891 edition, vol 4, p 895).

The "position" which Bulgarin holds in contemporary Soviet literary studies is equally well known. The last, third edition of the Unabridged Soviet Encyclopedia states that, ". . . He opposed A. S. Pushkin, N. V. Gogol', V. G. Belinskiy, and the realistic trend on the basis of reactionary positions He informed on writers to the Third Department."

Let us also recall Faddey's "service record." A Russian Army officer, fighting Napoleon, he betrayed his homeland and switched to the side of the French who had entered Russia in 1812, to fight against his own regiment. Such was his peculiar military "career." Above all, however, he became famous with his "epistolary" activities, extensively informing on anything progressive in Russian literature and social life. Nor did he hesitate to print slanderous statements about writers he found unpleasant. He first became close to the Decembrists. Following the defeat of the uprising, however, he became a steady informant and cooperated with the Third Department, betraying his friends.

Therefore, the main adjectives which life itself has tacked on Bulgarin's personality are those of literary lampoonist and slanderer, thief, paid secret agent, and traitor. It might seem that the case is crystal clear and it would be difficult to imagine in the light of all this that any alternative "version," a different assessment of his role in Russian history and literature would be given a birth right.

Yet, it turns out that such does exist! The clash broke out on an initially quite remote and unexpected "field": science fiction--long before the retort published in *MOLODAYA GWARDIYA*.

An article by V. Guminskiy entitled "Look Through the Centuries" was published in the collection "Fantasy 75-76" [Science Fiction 75-76] (*Mododaya Gvardiya*, Moscow, 1976), discussing pre-revolutionary Russian science fiction. The author described Bulgarin as an inventive science fiction writer and author of a number of original technical predictions (p 345), as just about the predecessor of Jules Verne in the case of some science fiction hypotheses (p 344); V. Guminskiy considers Bulgarin's relations with the democrats significant and even entertaining events of the "literary struggle." Matters are taken so far that Kuykhel'beker and Bulgarin are mentioned in the same line merely as literary "polemicists" (p 346). No mention is made of the "service record" we deemed necessary to recall.

This infamous attempt "quietly" to rehabilitate "Vidok Figlyarin" (A. S. Pushkin's name for Bulgarin) triggered a sharp and artistically expressive answer in Dmitriy Blenkin's science fiction story "Personality Test."

In the story school students of the communist future, using "phantomatic" equipment, conduct Bulgarin's trial. Naturally, it is not Faddey Venediktovich who appears in front of the children, in flesh and blood, but his "model." However, this model is perfect, identical, containing not only the most minor features of Bulgarin's character but even the finest nuances of his inner world, mentality, views, and behavior. It is as though the real Bulgarin would speak and behave if transported into the future by a time machine.

The teacher, accidentally present in the "courtroom" is at times concerned: Would the still inexperienced children be able to resist the "genius of

adaptation"? Yes, for they had on their side rich historical experience and the moral purity inherited from the people of our generation. Reading the story, we become better aware of what kind of a person Bulgarin was and how timely and substantiated was the conduct of this moral trial. We must agree with the extremely apt characterization of the story provided by science fiction writer Ye. Parnov: "There is no possibility that Faddey would be exonerated in the present or the future" (LITERATURNIYA GAZETA, 10 January 1979).

The question might seem resolved. However, V. Meshcheryakov not only takes Bulgarin under his protection but voices serious claims concerning D. Bilenkin. Essentially, they may be reduced to two theses.

First is that according to V. Meshcheryakov, the entire idea of a moral trial of Bulgarin and, consequently, the initial position of the author of the story "Personality Test" seemed "ethically groundless." The writer is accused of making his characters cruel and "immoral," and the school students of the future are depicted not only as "good for nothing who, are fully aware of their impunity, can scoff over a copy of an insignificant, pitiful, yet nevertheless human being," but even as cold blooded criminals who "in the name of 'research' would engage in virtually sadistic procedures and . . . not even the educators would smell the putrid breath of the event" (MOLODAYA GVARIYA, No 3, 1979, p 320). According to V. Meshcheryakov "a different Bulgarin existed as well. A Bulgarin who quickly reached the rank of captain in Napoleon's army (Bonaparte did not award ranks based on intrigue); there was a Bulgarin as the friend of Ryleyev and Marlinskiy; there was a Bulgarin who was so close to Griboyedov, that it was precisely to him that the author of "Mental Anguish" bequeathed the manuscript of his comedy . . . All that we see in front of us is the other Bulgarin . . ." (ibid, p 318).

As we know, in the Russian language the words "second" and "first" have an entirely clear meaning. The "first" Bulgarin, it turns out, has been ignored, has been deliberately ignored. . . . The strange version of a "second" (in the retort, even "the first") Bulgarin cannot fail to draw our attention. Is it not time, once and for all, to place the accent where it belongs? This should be totally in accordance with historical truth and with our class and civic ethics.

There was one integral Bulgarin. And even though "Bonaparte did not award ranks for intrigues," he did bribe traitors. That is precisely why he kept as his ministers the arch intrigue-makers such as Talleyrand and Fouche. They knew whom to pay, how, and for what. Count Benkendorf, who "protected" Bulgarin from deserved punishment for betraying the fatherland, was also aware of such conversions. For "30 pieces of silver" the traitor Bulgarin served the Okhranke, and the executioners of his former Decembrist friends. "Was it worth it to resurrect such a hateful character?" V. Meshcheryakov states, doubtfully. "Would it not have been more important and more interesting to depict the process of Bulgarin's 'Rastignac-type' regeneration? . . ." (ibid).

This becomes a deliberate juggling. Essentially immoral, it becomes twice as immoral when it is aimed at the young reader who is particularly sensitive to problems of human integrity. There was no "Rastignac" feature in Faddey Bulgarin's personality. Nor were there any mitigating circumstances to explain his baseness and treachery. This was exhaustively proved by V. G. Belinskiy himself.

V. Meshcheryakov's retort ends with something we totally agree with: "In the field of art it is insufficient merely to pose a problem. It is equally important to resolve it from the positions of humanism" (ibid, p 320).

However, one could hardly consider as "humanistic" the vain attempts to whitewash at all costs and, despite everything, to praise a person such as Bulgarin, the informer, P. V. Dolgorukov, the author of slanderous writings, or A. S. Suvorin of more recent times.

The sentence passed by history on Bulgarin and his likes is clear and unappealable.

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