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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 9, June 1979

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USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 9, June 1979

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

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VISIT OF USSR PARTY-GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 3-4

[Text] On 7 June the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers considered the results of the 30 May-1 June 1979 visit to the Hungarian People's Republic paid by the party-government delegation of the USSR, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

The CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers expressed their complete approval of the activities of the delegation and expressed their profound satisfaction with the results of the visit.

The talks conducted with J. Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and the other Hungarian leaders strengthen and develop the close fruitful relations existing between the CPSU and the MSZMP and between the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic. The joint declaration adopted in Budapest is a rich program for the further intensification of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in all most important fields. The active participation of the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic in the collective efforts of CEMA-member countries for the development of socialist economic integration is an important element in this program.

The friendship and organic unity of views and actions of the Soviet Union and People's Hungary are an influential factor in strengthening the positions of the socialist comity and international security in Europe and throughout the world.

The visit paid by the Soviet Party-Government delegation became another substantial confirmation of the profound attachment expressed by the Soviet Union and Hungary to the policy of detente and peaceful cooperation and of their readiness, together with the other fraternal countries, to work for restraining the arms race and for a radical improvement of the international political climate.

It is very important that the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic are fully resolved to continue to apply efforts to broaden measures of trust and achieve military detente on the European continent and to convene to this effect a European political conference including the participation of the United States and Canada. The socialist Warsaw Pact members are awaiting from all interested countries a suggestive response to this proposal.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers rated highly the energetic support expressed by the Hungarian People's Republic and the other socialist countries for the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting and the expected conclusion of a treaty limiting strategic offensive weapons (SALT II).

It was noted with satisfaction that Hungary shares the principled position of the Soviet Union on talks with China. A serious and positive Soviet-Chinese dialog would be consistent with the interests of developing the process of detente, giving it an all-embracing nature. Naturally, this would require a constructive attitude toward such talks on the part of the Chinese side as well.

The CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers have issued instructions to the respective ministries and departments to adopt practical measures for the implementation of agreements related to the development of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in various areas.

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CSO: 1802

L. I. BREZHNEV'S ADDRESS ON HUNGARIAN TELEVISION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 5-7

[L. I. Brezhnev's address on Hungarian television delivered on 1 June 1979]

[Text] Good evening, dear viewers!

The stay of the Soviet Party-Government delegation in fraternal Hungary is nearing its end. According to protocol, our visit is described as official. However, the warmth and cordiality with which we were welcomed immediately melted away any of its official aspects. Naturally, this hardly detracted from the matter.

Today Comrade Janos Kadar and I initialed a joint declaration reflecting the results of our talks. The talks were good and fruitful. They carry, I would say, a new charge of energy in the cooperation between our countries.

This applies to an important area such as economics. As early as last spring Comrade Kadar and I earmarked ways for the solution of a number of crucial problems. This was followed by hard work by the chairmen of the councils of ministers. We can now say with confidence that the effectiveness and quality of Soviet-Hungarian relations will grow dynamically.

The political results of the visit are also substantial. In the process of building communism and socialism, both we and the Hungarian communists are continually encountering new phenomena and new problems. That is why it is useful to check our respective itineraries or, rather, our joint itinerary. This we have done. It was an interesting and useful project.

Complete agreement was noted in the course of our discussion of international political tasks. We are motivated by the single thought of safeguarding and consolidating the peace and enabling the nations entirely to focus their efforts and resources on constructive purposes. It is precisely this that would offer full scope for the social progress of mankind.

It is difficult, very difficult to eliminate the threat of war entirely. We are aware of undertaking the solution of a problem which has remained

unresolved throughout the entire history of the world. The very nature of contemporary weapons makes its solution urgent. These are new times, with new opportunities. A political direction such as detente has been established in the world. It means a great deal. In our understanding, it means not simply readiness to talk but the taking of systematic factual steps toward the elimination of anything which could trigger a military conflagration.

Remember the number of skeptics and people of little faith when, 10 years ago, here, in Budapest, the Warsaw Pact members formulated an expanded platform of preparations for a European security and cooperation conference. It was said that nothing would come out of it. Something did! The road to Helsinki was difficult but we crossed it. Today no one questions the fact that as a result of the conference the political climate in Europe improved and that a solid foundation was created for progress in various realms of cooperation.

We deem it necessary to address ourselves to the Final Act carefully, implementing it ever more completely. Only thus could we turn forever the pages of a bitter chapter in European history related to the cold war and strengthen detente.

Budapest has just become the place of origin of a new initiative launched by the socialist countries. I am referring to the suggestion to hold a European conference with the participation of the United States and Canada. Our understanding is the following: Europe which, in its time, laid the beginning of the process of political detente, could and should be an example of the achievement of a military detente.

Naturally, the conference will not replace the talks already under way on matters of disarmament. Its success, however, will assuredly intensify their rhythm.

It is our conviction that disarmament should always hold priority in international affairs. This is what will be guiding us in the preparations for our meeting with President Carter, which will be held two weeks hence.

It is known that it is planned, in the course of this meeting, to accept and initial a Soviet-American treaty limiting strategic offensive weapons. This document, work on which is being completed, will, unquestionably, become the most significant act ever initiated for the sake of restraining the nuclear arms race.

We also believe that the new Soviet-American summit meeting would contribute to a general improvement of relations between the two countries and, by this token, to the entire international climate. The need for such improvements exists.

Naturally, views will be exchanged on international problems as well.

In a word, we shall be going to Vienna fully prepared for engaging in an active and constructive dialog and hope that the position of the American side will be the same.

Unquestionably, the interests of peace demand that detente become global and that in all parts of the globe the people would be able to benefit from the results of peace and freely to organize their own lives. In this connection we must mention the policy of a country which does not miss the opportunity to oppose detente through word and action. I am referring to China.

Chinese orders for most modern weapons placed with the West are growing with every passing day. Beijing is turning its back to any proposal aimed at restricting the arms race. Furthermore, constant appeals are originating in Beijing toward NATO members and Japan to arm themselves further and further. China, which needs peace so urgently for the sake of resolving its domestic problems, has become a major source of a threat of war.

Last April the Chinese leaders proclaimed their refusal to extend the Soviet-Chinese treaty. At the same time, Beijing deemed it necessary to express its readiness to engage in talks with the Soviet Union on improving relations. Something does not tally here--abrogation of the treaty with an expression of the wish to improve relations.

Nevertheless, we are ready to undertake the organization of Soviet-Chinese talks on a serious and positive basis. We have frequently suggested to the Chinese side an agreement on normalizing our relations and making them good-neighborly. Today as well we are ready to do this, naturally, however, not to the detriment of the interests of the third countries. In a word, should the Chinese side display true goodwill we shall not be found lacking.

Dear comrades, I have visited the Hungarian People's Republic on numerous occasions. Each such visit confirms the steady and fast development of your beautiful country. We shall return to our homeland with the best possible impressions of our encounters with the Hungarian leaders and with you. We are leaving with the awareness that major joint accomplishments are awaiting us for the good of the Soviet Union and of People's Hungary, for the good of the entire socialist comity.

Allow me to wish you peace, happiness, and prosperity.

My best wishes to you, friends.

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## PARTY PROPAGANDIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 8-17

[Text] The political education of the masses and the molding of their Marxist-Leninist outlook are assuming ever greater importance under the conditions of the developed socialist society, when the role of the spiritual factor as the booster of social progress becomes particularly great and when the correlation between the pace of the building of communism and the increased level of conscientiousness, inner maturity, and social activeness of the people becomes ever clearer. "To develop in a person aspiration toward lofty social objectives, ideological convictions, and a truly creative attitude toward labor," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary emphasized, "is one of the primary tasks. It is here that passes a very important line of the front in the struggle for communism. To an ever greater extent the course of economic construction and the country's socio-political development will depend on our victories on this front."

The recently passed Party Central Committee decree "On Further Improvements in Ideological and Political-Educational Work" notes that on the basis of Central Committee decisions and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses, the party organizations have already accomplished a great deal to intensify ideological-educational and information work, and to upgrade its effectiveness. Party, Komsomol, and economic training have become noticeably energized and closer to reality. Yet, ideological activities must become more consistent with the requirements of developed socialism and the new tasks related to the building of communism. Ideological institutions, propaganda cadres, and activists must insure a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation, and intensify their effectiveness and concreteness, and their links with life and with the solution of economic and political problems. They must give them an aggressive nature. The primary party organizations and party groups must become the true centers of daily ideological-educational work.

The decree emphasizes the important role of propaganda cadres. It mentions the duties of party committees skillfully to select, train, and educate cadres, and to surround them with concern and attention. The party propagandists take to the people daily, adamantly, and purposefully the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the mass study of which was defined at the 25th CPSU



Congress as the most important characteristic in the development of social consciousness at the present stage. The propagandist is the main figure in political and economic training. His knowledge, ideological convictions, organizational talent, and creative attitude toward the implementation of exceptionally responsible and honorable party assignments, largely determine the success in all work to insure the communist education of the working people. Today the party has a many-thousands-strong detachment of highly skilled propagandists. Classes are taught by about 2.3 million party members, over 92% of whom are with higher or incomplete higher education; nearly one-fifth of them are leading party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers, and economic managers; three out of five are national economic specialists. Many of them have acquired their theoretical and methodological training at Marxism-Leninism universities. Over one-half of the party members entrusted by the party organizations with the training have been at such work over 10 years and have made it their second, their social profession.

The development in the Soviet people of a scientific outlook, boundless loyalty to the cause of the party and the communist ideals, love for the socialist fatherland, and proletarian internationalism has been, and remains, the core of ideological and political-educational work. The task facing the party, economic, and Komsomol political training systems and the mass propaganda methods is to insure the profound study of the works of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin, of the history of the CPSU, the documents of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th party congresses, and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and of other party leaders. We must emphasize and more profoundly bring to light the loyalty displayed by the CPSU to the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and its tireless collective efforts related to the creative development of the theory and practice of scientific communism. Knowledge of revolutionary theory and party policy must turn within the Soviet people into conviction, into an active position in life as a firm fighter for communism and against all manifestations of an alien ideology. This must become a manual for action aimed at the solution of the topical problems of developed socialism. That is why, without weakening our attention to mass political and economic training, particular concern must be displayed for its content and for upgrading its ideological and theoretical level. In this case a great deal depends on the knowledge and skill of the propagandists and their ability promptly to respond to events in the country and in the world arena.

This school year within the political and economic training system took place in a time of remarkable events. The November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum was an event of tremendous importance in the life of the people and of the entire country. It offered a profound analysis of the situation in the economy and clearly defined the decisive sectors of the work. It deemed it necessary to increase the combat capability of all party units and the vanguard role of the party members in the solution of forthcoming economic and ideological-educational problems. It particularly emphasized the need to upgrade the quality and effectiveness of ideological work and to improve its ways and means. An important political accountability and elections campaign took

place within the party organizations in an atmosphere of high exactingness. The Soviet people solemnly marked the anniversary of the adoption of the new USSR Constitution. The elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet offered a vivid proof of the high political consciousness of the Soviet people and of their ideological unity and solidarity around their communist party. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech to the voters of Baumanskiy Electoral District, in Moscow, delivered on 2 March 1979, was met with tremendous ubiquitous interest. Special classes within the party and Komsomol and economic training, in communist labor courses, and in other mass propaganda means were dedicated to this important political document.

The publication of the two-volume work by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Aktual'nyye Voprosy Ideologicheskoy Raboty KPSS" [Topical Problems of CPSU Ideological Work], and his books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] became a major event in the spiritual life of the party members and all working people in our country. All this determined the practical and creative mood and direction of the training, enriching it with a new content, contributing to the successes achieved by our ideological cadres in the implementation of the Central Committee decree "On the Tasks of Party Training in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" (1976).

Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and a creative and innovative interpretation of the phenomena and processes of reality are the inviolable features characterizing the activities of the Leninist party. The characteristics of the present stage in the building of communism in the USSR have been determined and comprehensively studied by the CPSU and its Central Committee. The ways leading to the creation of its material and technical base and the development of social relations and socialist culture have been defined. The conclusions on building in our country a developed socialist society and on the Soviet people as representing a new historical community are of essential significance. Topical theoretical and practical problems related to the development of the world's socialist system and revolutionary process are being studied in cooperation with the fraternal parties.

Under contemporary conditions the propagandists need not only extensive knowledge of basic Marxist-Leninist ideas but the mastery of the new theoretical concepts and conclusions which are enriching revolutionary science. The steady enhancement of ideological rearmament, broadening of the political outlook, and mastering the Marxist-Leninist method for the study and evaluation of facts, events, and processes of contemporary reality are necessary.

The party propagandists play an increasing role in the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Their duty is to expose most decisively the imperialist preachers of the cold war, aggravation of international tension and the arms race, to expose the anti-national and anti-human nature of contemporary capitalism and the predatory nature of the policy of neo-colonialism, the true shape of the hypocritical defenders of "rights" and

"freedoms," and to expose the hegemonistic and great-power course followed by the Beijing rulers, their aggressive aspirations, and their alliance with the forces of imperialism, reaction, and war. It is important also promptly to provide a proper rebuff to the ideological diversions of imperialism and its stooges. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improvements in Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasizes the need to pit against the class enemy's subversive political and ideological activities and his malicious slander of the socialist system the inflexible solidarity and powerful ideological unity within the ranks of the builders of communism and the profound conviction and political vigilance of every Soviet person and his readiness to defend the homeland and the revolutionary gains of socialism.

Resolving unresolved problems, not circumventing acute problems, and not leaving any of them without a politically accurate, clear, and substantiated answer are among the party obligations of the propagandist and his strength based on profound knowledge. These are the foundations for his authority. We must not forget that without the Marxist study of the problems about which our ideological opponents are speculating, and without the comprehensive and systematic criticism of concepts and views hostile to us, political talks, lectures, and classes would not achieve their objectives.

The share of the secondary and higher levels is rising with each passing year within the party education system at the expense of primary education. Today the propagandist faces more frequently an audience possessing a sufficiently high general educational training, political knowledge, and practical experience. This facilitates yet, at the same time, complicates his task, since classes, particularly in theoretical or methodological seminars whose students are usually with higher or secondary specialized training demand of the propagandists themselves a more thorough and comprehensive training in communist propaganda theory and method. The propagandist must be able to skillfully present the material, promote a lively exchange views among the audience, link the subject with practical matters and tasks, master the art of speech, promote in the students a taste for political self-education, take fully into consideration their individual characteristics, and be familiar with the foundations of pedagogy and psychology.

Formalism in propaganda work must be decisively eliminated. Some lecturers and speakers tend toward dogmatism, chattering, edification, and the use of a superficially scientific style. Such people could do more harm than good. The theoretical and practical aspects of problems must be presented concretely and thoroughly; arguments must be clear and convincing; the presentation must be lively and intelligible, and the form of the conversation with the audience must be confiding.

As a rule, the propagandist in a political course or seminar is either a specialist or one of the members of the collective in which his audience works. The effectiveness of his propaganda activities largely depends on the extent of his prestige in the collective. Prestige is gained, above all, through the vanguard role of the party member in production, his attitude

toward the work, and his intollerance of shortcomings. Should he limit himself to appeals to upgrade production effectiveness and work quality without providing a personal example, working to the fullest extent of his forces, or failing to display initiative, his appeals would hardly have the necessary influence. V. I. Lenin emphasized that, ". . . We must do everything possible and see to it most strictly that party mindedness be expressed not only through words but through action" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 19, p 110). This instruction fully applies to the party propagandists.

Their functions are becoming ever more varied and interdependent. As we know, the main function is that of education, linked with the sharing of knowledge. Nothing can replace the live contacts between the propagandist and the audience, when the people have the possibility to ask one or another question and be given an immediate answer and collectively discuss the problem concerning them. At the same time, sensible use must be made of political and economic training of mass information and propaganda media, skillfully combining them with traditional lectures, seminars, talks, and independent work by the students with prime sources and the use of new political publications. Noteworthy, for example, is the experience of the propagandists in Sverdlovskaya Oblast who systematically use television in political courses and seminars. After viewing the telecast on the topic, its content is discussed and views are exchanged.

The Soviet people are attracted to knowledge as to a live spring. This is natural. Our entire reality, depth, and scope of revolutionary-transforming activities of the party and the people, development of science and technology and of economics and social relations, and the increased conscientiousness and improved prosperity of the working people influence the development of their high spiritual requirements and ideals. Yearning for knowledge and for the study of party history, theory, and policy has become an inseparable feature of the Soviet man--the builder of a communist society.

Party and non-party members are particularly interested in anything new in theory and politics, scientific discussions, and debates. Ever more frequently papers written by the students include interesting presentations of topical philosophical, historical, and economic problems. Within the economic training system, frequently after the interpretation and study of specific production problems, the working people submit interesting suggestions aimed at upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. They engage in active efforts to improve the organization of the socialist competition and of methods for material and moral labor incentives. As a result, training is assuming a clearly manifested creative nature and its connection with the daily labor accomplishments of the people is becoming ever more directly stronger.

Experienced propagandists are not merely lecturers or teachers. They are also organizers of political self-training, and consultants. All propaganda workers must not only share their knowledge but teach the people to gain such



knowledge by themselves. The noble duty of the propagandist is to develop in the students the desire systematically to upgrade their political standards, to help them to feel a vital need to do so and to teach them to work independently on the study of topical problems.

Occasionally, however, there are cases of underestimating the increased possibilities and spiritual requirements of the students. Not everywhere is concern displayed for developing in party members and non-party activists an interest in political knowledge and the habits of independent work. Here and there it is still considered normal to be ready for the next political training class only by comrades instructed to do so by the propagandist. In such cases systematic independent work is replaced by sporadic work. The party committees must not ignore such cases.

The current party training system is aimed at arming all party members and non-party students with the science of Marxism-Leninism and at upgrading their labor and political activeness and involve them in agitation-propaganda work among the working people. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improvements in Ideological and Political-Educational Work" states that, "Every party member, wherever he may be working, must act as a propagandist and promoter of the ideas of the Leninist party and dedicate to this exceptionally important project all his knowledge and spiritual strength." The party committees must make more extensive use of the party training system in the training of agitators and political informants, and in upgrading their ideological-theoretical standards and method skills. To the party members participation in mass-political work is the best school for ideological training. The important task of the propagandist is comprehensively to develop in their students the skills for such work and the ability to explain to the people the party policy and take the party's word to the masses. Valuable experience in this respect has been acquired by the Belorussian Republic party organization. Here agitators, political informants, and speakers are recruited essentially among the best trained students within the political and economic training system.

The most important task which continues to face the party propagandists and the entire ideological aktiv is to see to it that the knowledge mastered by the working people in the course of political and economic training becomes an inseparable part of their outlook and contributes to strengthening their conscious attitude toward public duty. The fruitful practice of the best propagandists convincingly proves how much they could accomplish in helping the people to realize more profoundly the vital problems of the building of communism, teach them how to analyze and exactly assess their work and the activities of the collective as a whole, and continually find new production reserves.

In the light of the party's requirements on the further intensification of the aggressiveness of ideological work, the all-round support which the propagandists must give to anything new, progressive, and promising, and their systematic struggle against that which hinders our progress along the

path earmarked by the party, and the solution of economic and social problems of the development of the society assumes great importance. Using all available means of education and relying on firm public opinion, we must help to uproot the still remaining distorted vestiges of the past, and promote the responsibility of the working people for their assignments and for an economical and thrifty attitude toward socialist property. We must comprehensively upgrade production standards and work quality. Every Soviet person must be helped profoundly to realize the social significance of his individual participation in the implementation of the national economic plans, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and upgrading discipline, level of organization, and political vigilance as the decisive prerequisites for success in strengthening further the power of the homeland.

The patriotic movement under the slogan of "A Five-Year Plan of Effectiveness and Quality from the Propagandist," initiated at the Moscow Electrical Machines Plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich, warmly supported by propagandists in many party organizations throughout the country, has become an example of active involvement with life. Today it is being developed further. Its initiators are displaying a feeling of high responsibility and proper understanding of their individual involvement in the solution of party tasks.

For a number of years one of the theoretical seminars at the plant has been headed by chief designer and USSR State Prize winner Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Radin. On his initiative the problem of the implementation by the plant's collective of the Leninist principles of socialist competition was discussed in class. The comrades studied all aspects of the movement of the brigades which had given a worker's quality guarantee, a movement which developed at the enterprise after the 25th CPSU Congress. The movement is yielding not only substantial economic results: compared with 1975, in 1978 the enterprise's losses from defective production had declined by one-third. No less important is its moral effect. A great deal has changed in the nature of relations among the members of the collective, and the individual responsibility of the people for the results of the work of other shops, of the entire plant, has been enhanced. At the same time, the shortcomings still existing in the organization of the competition were mentioned frankly, in a party-minded way, in classes. Together with the propagandist the students submitted a number of specific suggestions most of which have been already applied and have yielded tangible results.

Most heads of production subunits have learned from Radin's propaganda skills. As propagandists they teach classes mostly within their own collectives. Justifiably, this is considered important and necessary at the plant, for such an approach helps to upgrade the effectiveness of the training and its connection with practical matters. The unity and interconnection of all economic, organizational, and educational work becomes more visible and organic.

It is very important to study and consistently to apply the experience of the best propagandists in the country. They include S. Vinogradov, chief of shop

at the Elektrosila Leningrad Electrical Machines Building Production Association imeni S. M. Kirov, L. Davletov, director of the Clothing Association imeni 1 May in Alma-Ata, Ye. Adamik, secondary school teacher in Grodnenskaya Oblast, V. Arkhipov, mining foreman at the Molodogvardeyskaya Mine, Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast, F. Rzayev, tires assembly worker at the Baku Tires Plant, I. Yanavichyus, chairman of the Linkaychyay Kolkhoz, Lithuanian SSR, and thousands of other party propaganda enthusiasts. All of them are united by the noble feeling of Soviet patriotism, proper understanding of party duty, communist beliefs, organizational talent, and method skill.

Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist Labor Vasily Ivanovich Golovchenko, director of the Azovskiy Sovkhoz, Krasnodarskiy Kray, has proved his worth as an outstanding propagandist. For many years he has been heading one of the leading farms in the kray. Meanwhile, he has successfully combined his duties of economic manager with active propaganda work. Despite a heavy load of work he finds the time to meet with his students after the working day, talk with them intimately, describe the latest events in our country and abroad, and answer questions. V. Golovchenko has become the true ideological tutor and educator of the people. He leads his comrades to the implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan through his words and personal example.

Reality adamantly calls for the further expansion of the organizational and educational functions of the propagandist. The practice of the elaboration and implementation of their individual creative plans has become extensively widespread. This insures as part of their activities the unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing.

The communist party ascribes great importance to the selection and training of propaganda cadres. In this case it proceeds from Lenin's instructions. Lenin emphasized that, ". . . The most important thing is the ideological-political trend of the lectures. What determines this trend? It is determined entirely and exclusively by the composition of the lecturers" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 47, p 194). Only 10 to 15 years ago many party organizations were short of experienced heads of political courses and seminars, for it was far from always possible to find for such work party members with proper training and ability. Today the situation is radically different. In particular, the party stratum among specialists in the national economy, teachers, physicians, and men of science, literature, and the arts has increased substantially. It is above all from this category of party members that comrades are chosen for propaganda work.

In many party organizations leading workers are among the propagandists. These are party members with thorough general educational and political training and a broad outlook. Many of them are graduates of night Marxism-Leninism universities. As a rule, they are production innovators, communist labor shock workers, and active public workers.

In a number of rural party organizations propaganda work has been traditionally assigned to members of a large detachment of the rural intelligentsia

such as teachers, many of whom are outstanding party propagandists. However, it could be hardly considered correct for some kolkhozes and sovkhoses not to involve in propaganda work the now large cadres of specialists and heads of various agricultural production units. Party members who are agronomers, zootechnicians, and economists must be more boldly assigned propaganda work.

Proper attention is not always paid in the training of propagandists among the most politically mature authoritative young party members. Naturally, no predetermined deadlines could exist in such matters. However, we must take into consideration that a great deal of time is needed for the training of a party member before he has truly mastered the art of propaganda. Therefore, we must as of now train a worthy replacement of experienced masters of propaganda.

Lenin emphasized that "properly trained principle-minded and capable propagandists are very few (and, in order to become one, one must study a great deal and acquire experience). Such people must specialize, be trained completely and properly taken care of" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 7, p 15).

The party is always guided by Lenin's instructions on adopting an attentive attitude toward propaganda cadres and on the importance of expanding their knowledge and upgrading their skills. Many organizations have developed an effective system for working with them. In Lithuania, for example, the party committees and organizations have formulated long-range plans for the training of propagandists, according to which all heads of political courses and seminars are trained in Marxism-Leninism universities and acquire higher political education. Students attending permanent city and rayon propagandist seminars write papers and trade practical experience.

Operative information on domestic and international events, interesting lectures on topical subjects, and meetings with noted scientists, men of literature and the arts, and production innovators make seminars truly useful and interesting. Secretaries of kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees participate in their work.

The party organizations must improve their practice of cadre selection and training for the economic training system. This is mentioned in the 1978 Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Bashkir Party Organizations on Upgrading the Role of the Economic Education of the Working People in Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress." Here and there the general educational standard of heads of economic courses and communist labor courses remains insufficiently high, even though such people are essentially experienced production workers with a good understanding of specific economic problems. The task is to pay greater attention to them and always give them the required theoretical and methodological aid.

It is important for all propagandists to be well familiar with the economy of the national economic sector in which they work. In this respect we should



support the experience of holding sectorial seminars-conferences for propagandists acquired in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Azerbaydzhan, and Estonia. The party organizations and leading personnel of the respective ministries, departments, and economic organs address such seminars, informing the propagandists on the implementation of economic and cultural construction tasks. They acquaint them with summed up data on leading experience and help them to define more precisely the specific forms of their participation in the struggle for the ahead of schedule fulfillment of the five-year plan.

The rayon and city party committees are engaged in varied and meaningful work with propaganda cadres. However, a great deal could and should be done directly on site within the primary party organizations. The Leningradskiy Metallicheskoy Zavod Production Association has over 500 propagandists. The party committee holds regular meetings with them to discuss theoretical and methodological problems, inform them on the accomplishments and plans of the thousand-strong collective, and share best experience. Seminars for propagandists are addressed by heads of associations, economists, and production innovators. Daily help to the propagandists must be organized not only at big enterprises with their tens of political courses and seminars, communist labor schools, and political education office, but in all party organizations.

Political education clubs and offices must become real on site centers of work with propagandists. First of all, their party committees are in charge of the training and retraining of propaganda cadres and providing the heads of political courses and seminars with theoretical and methodological assistance. Practical experience indicates that their comprehensive activities could be fruitful if the professional workers always rely on the broad aktiv, study attentively and sum up the best experience in propaganda activities, and disseminate it.

The propagandists face complex and responsible assignments. They play a great role in the communist upbringing of town and country working people, the young working class generation, the peasantry, and the labor intelligentsia, the implementation of the party principle of combining trust in people with principled exactingness toward them, and the development of criticism and self-criticism. Taking all this into consideration, we must always be concerned with the propagandists, and help them to surmount the rising difficulties through advice and action. In order to accomplish this the personnel of the party apparatus, political education clubs, and members of party committees and primary party organization bureaus must attend classes more frequently, meet with the propagandists, and sensitively react to their requirements. The certification of propaganda cadres, regularly carried out by a number of party organizations are quite useful. Unfortunately, an exacting yet, at the same time, sympathetic and comradely atmosphere is not always developed in the course of such work. Occasionally such certifications almost turn into an examination for the propagandists which, naturally, is inadmissible. The main feature here is critical self-analysis and the self-rating of the heads of political courses and seminars involving all their activities related to the communist education of the working people.

Scientists engaged in ideological research are greatly in debt to the propagandists. Many basic problems of the theory and method of party propaganda remain insufficiently developed. This applies, for example, to the very topical problem of determining criteria for the effectiveness of propaganda activities and Marxist-Leninist training. The practical workers need efficient and well-considered recommendations, particularly in the fields of education and psychology, and in improving the quality of method publications.

Articles on problems related to Marxist-Leninist education, progressive propagandist experience, and best heads of political courses and seminars, along with other materials, are carried by newspapers and journals. Yet, we should point out that a number of them publish such materials sporadically, essentially only at the beginning and the end of the school year. There is a clear scarcity of materials containing a profound study of classes and their ideological-theoretical and methodological levels. Book publishing houses and the central television and radio broadcasting must pay greater attention to the party propagandists.

The work of the propagandist is complex and responsible. That is why it is so important for the party organizations and committees to be always concerned with encouraging it, as is the case, for example, in Georgia. The best propagandists are awarded honorable certificates and their names are put on honor boards. They are respectfully referred to at party meetings and conferences and are the subject of a great deal of attention on the part of the republic and local press, radio, and television; meetings with interesting people, recreation evenings, tours, and excursions are organized for their benefit. All this enhances the prestige of propaganda work.

Experience has confirmed that with every passing year preparations for classes requires of the heads of political courses and seminars an ever greater amount of time and effort and more work with prime sources and other publications. Taking this into consideration, all party organizations must create better conditions for the propagandists' more fruitful creative work. Unfortunately, in many places the practice remains of overloading them with various social assignments leaving them insufficient time for cultural recreation and for their own comprehensive development. This adversely affects the preparedness of the instructors and, in the final account, the level of the classes they teach. The sensitive and considerate attitude toward propaganda cadres on the part of party committees and organizations is a mandatory prerequisite for upgrading further the quality of political and economic training and its effectiveness.

The party propagandists are always in the front line of ideological work and of our entire great communist construction site. Actively disseminating among the masses the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism, explaining the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, and giving proper personal example, they are making their contribution to the struggle waged by the Soviet people for the implementation of the five-year plan and of the historical decisions of the 25th party congress.

## GROWING STRENGTH OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

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[Article by K. Rusakov, CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] "The world is changing literally under our very eyes, and is changing for the better. Our people and party are not the passive observers of such changes. No, we are their active participants." This statement contained in CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th congress of Soviet communists.

The profound substantiation of the assessment made by our party of contemporary international developments was confirmed subsequently. This time provided new proof of the historical role now played by world socialism. Together with the members of the socialist comity and the fraternal communist and workers' parties, the Soviet Union and the Leninist party are exercising a rising influence on the entire system of international relations and on the development of the world's revolutionary process.

The picture of the contemporary world is exceptionally complex. The struggle between the two opposite social systems--the socialist and the capitalist--is continuing. Sharp battles are taking place in the area of the national-liberation movement. Class battles within the capitalist countries are not abating. Imperialism, which is trying to adapt to the new changes, is using all available means with a view to the preservation of its positions. This applies to in equal extent to the realm of politics, economics, and ideology. Furthermore, wherever possible, the imperialist and other reactionary circles do not shy from using armed force or interventions with a view to stopping the flow of revolutionary change.

Nowadays mankind has come across a number of alarming and dangerous international crises related to the aggressive policy of imperialism and the hegemonistic and expansionistic course followed by Beijing. Circumstances in Southeast Asia remain tense as a result of China's aggression against socialist Vietnam. The Middle East remains an explosion prone area. Here the separate deal made between Israel and Egypt, concluded under the patronage of the United States, has merely added fuel to the situation. The struggle of the peoples of South Africa for their liberation has not been completed.

The solution of these and other acute international problems and the elimination of existing hotbeds of tension will require, obviously, many efforts. Nevertheless, the historical irreversibility of revolutionary changes has already been confirmed unequivocally.

To a tremendous extent this is related to the most important fact of today--the strengthening of the world socialist comity and the steady intensification of the interaction among fraternal countries and nations. The very existence of the fraternal socialist countries--countries with a just and progressive social system--and their example and peace loving activities in the international arena are having a tremendous and greatly determining impact on the course of events.

It is equally natural and legitimate that many countries freed from colonial oppression consider that a socialist orientation is precisely the path of their further social progress. The peoples of the world highly value the fruitful experience and inspiring example of the country of the October Revolution and the socialist countries, and the help which our comity continues to render them in the struggle against the last bastions of colonialism and in strengthening their national independence and the upsurge of their economies and cultures.

The very big changes which are taking place under the influence of world socialism in international relations are becoming ever more tangible. Here the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, and independence have gained extensive recognition. Today imperialism finds itself substantially restricted in the implementation of its policy of coercion and dictate.

Further changes in the ratio of forces in favor of socialism, peace, and progress are continuing in the world arena. Despite the entire contradictoriness and complexity of the universal-historical process, and despite the fierce opposition of the old world, historical initiative is firmly in the hands of socialism.

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The influence of the socialist comity on international developments is comprehensive. It is based on a number of permanent factors. One of the most powerful of them is the systematic internationalism of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the other ruling Marxist-Leninist parties, and its consistency with the objective requirements of social progress.

Speaking of the economic and social development of society, the founders of Marxism-Leninism frequently emphasized that the most important role in this process must be played by the internationalization of the economy and of other aspects of social life.

The achievements of science and culture, the rapid expansion of the scale of output and its concentration and specialization, and the appearance of modern

transportation facilities determined an unparalleled broadening of economic relations among countries. Historical progress led to a common vital need for uniting efforts for the solution of global problems facing mankind in the 20th century such as the preservation and consolidation of the peace, gradual elimination of the economic gap between developed and underdeveloped countries, protection of the environment, the conquest of space and the development of the resources of the world's oceans, and many others.

Whereas the development of industry and agriculture and major scientific and technological achievements created the material-production base for the intensification of international relations, socialism insured the most favorable social conditions to accomplish this. ". . . All economic, political, and spiritual life of mankind," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is becoming ever more internationalized already under capitalism. Socialism internationalizes it entirely" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 318). Today this profound prediction is being brilliantly confirmed.

Naturally, the capitalist production method as well leads to the development of the international division of labor. By virtue of its nature capital has no boundaries. It goes wherever profits may be extracted. However, it is precisely this that determines the one-sided and frequently distorted nature which the internationalization of economic life acquires under capitalist conditions. In fact, it is used by the monopoly bourgeoisie as one of the channels for the earning of super profits through the exploitation of the peoples of other countries. Capitalist-style integration is accompanied by the desire of the partners to shift to one another the burden of inflation and grab more profitable markets and raw material sources. It is characterized by the uneven development of the different areas and by periodical outbreaks of sharp clashes among imperialist monopolies.

Unlike the situation under capitalism, planned international cooperation on a socialist basis, as a result of the coordinated voluntary efforts of its participants, actively contributes to the fast and all-round progress of each country. It leads to the gradual elimination of disparities in their development levels and to harmonizing relations among nations. World socialism has already taken a big step along this way.

Naturally, the constructive power of socialism has been far from fully revealed in a number of areas of domestic and international life, for socialism emerged in the international arena only slightly over 60 years ago, while the world socialist system is even younger. Naturally, this is too short a time for the accomplishment of a truly historical project such as the development of a new type of international relations. We must also bear in mind that the establishment and development of world socialism took place, and still does, under complex circumstances and in a situation of constant hostile counteraction on the part of imperialism.

With all this, the basic features of the socialist comity, i.e., of that "integral socialism" of which Lenin dreamed as a result of the "revolutionary



cooperation among the proletariat of all countries" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 36, p 306) have already become quite clear. A solid material foundation has been laid for cooperation among fraternal countries in the fields of economics, science, technology, culture, and other fields of social activities. An efficient system of political institutions and legal norms has been developed, insuring the further development of all-round relations among socialist countries. The principles of interaction have been defined and experience has been acquired making possible the solution of various problems arising in the course of comradely international contacts.

It would be impossible to overestimate the significance of all this to the cause of social progress in the world. Our communist party has made its major contribution to the building of the world socialist system. Concern for its further strengthening and development is the most important trend of Soviet foreign policy as defined in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

Today it is clear that some of the most important factors influencing the changes occurring in the world have been, above all, the steady economic growth and economic interaction among socialist countries and, particularly, among the members of CEMA whose 30th anniversary is being celebrated this year.

We know that Lenin considered economics the most important and interesting realm of activities for party members. The achievements of the socialist countries in this area enable us to see the scale of the accomplishments, the problems on the agenda and the extensive possibilities opening for socialist economic integration.

The birth, establishment, and strengthening of CEMA are noteworthy by the very fact that it is the first international organization in history whose activities are based on the principle of not only official but factual equality among member countries. It is an economic union based not on the rule of the strong and the oppression of the weak but on fraternal cooperation and mutual aid. This is the first economic intergovernmental alliance motivated not by egotistical interests but by the joint struggle for improving the most progressive, the socialist system. Economic cooperation within CEMA played a tremendous role in enabling the socialist countries to resolve the variety of problems related to building a new society. It became an effective factor for the strengthening and growth of world socialism. It has had a positive influence on the entire contemporary global economic, political, and cultural development.

The last decade has been particularly fruitful in this respect. The need for a more comprehensive and profound interaction among the national economies of the members of the socialist comity began to be felt adamantly in the second half of the 1960's. In April 1969, at the 23rd (special) CEMA session, the heads of ruling parties and governments coordinated the essential long-term objectives for economic cooperation which became the base of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration. This program became a clear

guideline for the further intensification of the international socialist division of labor. The results of its implementation are eloquently confirmed by facts.

Today trade among CEMA countries exceeds 100 billion rubles or is higher by a 22 factor compared with 1950 and is triple that of the 1970's. Through joint efforts the building of integration projects worth nine billion rubles has been completed or is nearing completion. About 100 multilateral and over 1,000 bilateral agreements have been initialed on production specialization and cooperation. Today's level of integration interaction is characterized also by the development of scientific and technical cooperation. In recent years, hundreds of new structures, machines, mechanisms, and instruments have been created through the joint efforts of CEMA-member countries. Some of the biggest achievements include the creation and perfection of a system of Ryad series computers and the implementation of the Interkosmos program.

The advantages of the socialist production method, multiplied by the benefits of integration brought about a new substantial change in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism.

Whereas as late as 1960 the CEMA-member countries were behind the Common Market (EEC) in terms of the volumes of output of important industrial commodities such as electric power, steel, cement, chemical fertilizers, and fabrics, today they have outstripped this biggest economic association of developed European capitalist countries by approximately one-half in the production of electric power, steel, cement, and fabrics, and by approximately a factor of 2.5 in the production of chemical fertilizers. Whereas in 1950 the CEMA-member countries accounted for about 19% of global industrial output, today it accounts for approximately one-third.

The social trend of the policy pursued by CEMA-member countries has become clearly apparent over the last decade. Considerable progress was achieved in raising the prosperity of the working people. In the 1970's alone the national income of these countries rose by a 1.6 factor. The real wages of workers and employees rose substantially and the level of material security of the population was enhanced. Between 1951 and 1977 the CEMA-member countries built over 70 million apartment units. This means that nearly two-thirds of their population moved into new premises or improved its housing conditions.

The practical results of the economic interaction among CEMA-member countries confirmed the substantiation and farsightedness of the collective course toward the development of integration. The all-round cooperation among fraternal countries played a major role in strengthening their scientific and technical and production potential and the implementation of important social programs. This clearly proved the advantages of the socialist form of economic integration and the possibility to develop international economic relations without crises and social upheavals, and without antagonistic conflicts or infringements of sovereignty. This explains the growing international prestige of CEMA and the attractiveness of the use of socialist methods for cooperation among countries.

In the past decade Cuba and Vietnam joined CEMA; Yugoslavia began to cooperate with it more closely; contractual relations were established between CEMA, on the one hand, and Finland, Iraq, and Mexico, on the other; CEMA developed contacts with the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Angola, Laos, and Ethiopia.

Effective cooperation within CEMA on a bilateral basis as well is contributing to the gradual equalization of the levels of economic and cultural development of the socialist countries. The strength of the socialist social system and the advantages of economic cooperation among fraternal countries, enabling them within a short time to surmount technical and economic backwardness and create a solid domestic base for comprehensive progress, were clearly manifested in Mongolia and Cuba. These countries achieved major successes in industrialization, agricultural upsurge, and upgrading the material and cultural living standards of the broad toiling masses. CEMA's comprehensive integration program and subsequent decisions call for the implementation of additional special measures aimed at helping the accelerated growth and upgrading the effectiveness of the Mongolian, Cuban, and Vietnamese economies. CEMA's experience and the practical experience in the field of socialist economic integration are particularly attractive in this respect to countries struggling for the reorganization of international economic relations on an equitable basis.

Furthermore, the example of countries such as the GDR and Czechoslovakia indicates that socialism provides conditions for the further progress of industrially highly developed countries as well. Today the GDR's electric power per capita production exceeds that of countries such as Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. In terms of per capita steel smelting Czechoslovakia's output exceeds by a factor of more than two the average indicator of the European Economic Community.

Dynamism and steady rise of economic maturity are important advantages enjoyed by the socialist world compared with the capitalist system which is experiencing a period of lengthy stagnation, inflation, and unemployment, is subjected to periodical outbreaks of crisis phenomena and is facing aggravated social problems.

The development and improvement of the economic base of socialism is accomplished as a result of the creative toil of the multi-million strong masses headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties. In the course of this constructive process new tasks arise steadily. Occasionally major difficulties have to be surmounted. At the present time, for example, a number of objective factors are complicating the conditions for the economic development of the socialist countries. They include the relative stabilization of manpower resources, and a considerable increase in outlays for the procurement of fuel, energy, and raw materials, including outlays related to the shifting of their extraction to remote areas of the USSR. This also includes the drastic intensification of the instability of the world capitalist market which, considering the contemporary intensiveness of economic exchanges, cannot fail to exert a direct or indirect influence on production and marketing conditions throughout the world.



The elimination of still remaining disproportions in the economic development of individual countries, surmounting the lag in some sectors of scientific and technical progress, and the elimination of shortages of some types of modern machines and equipment, foodstuffs, and consumer goods are among the complex economic problems on whose solution the fraternal parties are working. The solution of such problems, along with insuring the rapid growth of the economy and the stable upgrading of living standards, will require considerable capital investments and the use of additional resources.

At the present stage intensive methods of economic development and upgrading the economic effectiveness of output and production quality have assumed major significance. These problems were discussed at the congresses held by the fraternal parties and the subsequent plenums of their central committees. The possibility successfully to cope with such tasks largely depends on the activities of the individual parties and, to a large extent, on cooperation among fraternal countries. In this case not only interaction in the development of the material production base but exchange of experience plays a major role. The valuable experience in the building of socialism acquired by the CEMA-member countries enables each one of them to improve the ways and means of economic work, avoid errors, and find optimal solutions quicker. The achievements of collective creative thinking and practical experience in improving the ways, means, and style of economic management must be scientifically summed up. This would involve, among other things, the joint efforts of economists of CEMA-member countries aimed at the more extensive practical utilization of such methods.

The effectiveness course calls for mastering all possibilities offered by the scientific and technical revolution. In a number of directions the socialist countries have reached, in this connection, the most advanced positions. Yet, we cannot ignore the fact that the scientific and technical potential of CEMA-member countries could yield far greater results.

It is noteworthy that common trends are appearing in the development of the economic management systems followed by the socialist states: the importance of long-term planning is being enhanced; the achievement of end national economic results is being promoted; production concentration is growing; problems are being resolved of combining within a common cycle scientific research and design operations and production and marketing. Progressive methods of production specialization and cooperation within the individual socialist countries as well as among them are being developed more successfully with the existence of big associations and combines possessing broad economic rights.

Let us also note the significance of agro-industrial associations created in a number of CEMA-member countries contributing to the conversion of agricultural output to an industrial base and the specialization of farms and cooperation among them. The great usefulness which the careful study of this experience and its dissemination may bring is obvious, naturally, taking into consideration the conditions and characteristics of one or another fraternal country.

The set of measures aimed at improving management is a structural part of the work done by the fraternal parties for the further improvement of socialist production relations. As to the reciprocal adaptation of the internal economic mechanisms of CEMA-member countries in order to meet the interests of socialist integration, this is another important aspect of this project now conducted not only on a national but on an international scale as well.

Socialist integration of economic life is an objective process predetermined by the development of the production forces of the socialist countries. Its current stage is characterized by the following basic aspects.

Above all, in the past decade the specific organization of such cooperation has been intensified substantially: the CEMA-member countries are converting to an ever greater extent from the use of reciprocal economic relations, primarily aimed at resolving current national economic problems, to the joint solution of common problems aimed at upgrading production effectiveness and accelerating scientific and technical progress.

Furthermore, the social base of integration has been broadened substantially. It has been adopted by millions of working people. Direct relations have been established among the ministries, departments, republics, krays, oblasts, cities, rayons, and production collectives of the fraternal countries. The initiatives of Krasnyy Chepel' and AvtoVAZ indicate that under our very eyes a qualitatively new phenomenon is developing: international socialist competition inspired by a single objective. This is no longer merely an economic but an important political-moral factor in the development of the economic and social life of the new world.

A higher level of combination of national economic resources has been reached. This is clearly manifested in the creation of international transport and power systems, the implementation of other joint projects, and the activities of institutions such as the international banks of CEMA-member countries. To an ever greater extent the center of gravity is shifting toward cooperation in planning and direct interaction in industrial production, construction, science, and technology. This motivates the fraternal countries to improve the ways and means of integration.

The strategic, long-term, and comprehensive approach to jointly resolved problems becomes dominant at the present stage of integration. The formulation of the first coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures, effective in the current five-year plan, was of essential significance in this sense. The long-term target programs for cooperation and bilateral long-term programs and general plans for the development of production specialization and cooperation between the USSR and the individual CEMA-member countries have been called upon to play an even more important role. According to available estimates the implementation of already approved long-term target programs alone (fuel-raw materials, comestible goods, and machine building) through 1990 presumes the making of coordinated capital investments totaling several tens of billions of rubles.

The long-term target programs will contribute to the solution of national economic problems in key economic development sectors. They include, for example, a major problem such as the development of the nuclear power industry. In the 1980's, through joint efforts, nuclear electric power plants developing an overall capacity of 37 million kilowatts will be built in the European CEMA-member countries and in Cuba. This will yield an annual output of about 250 billion kilowatt hours of electric power.

No less important is the problem of satisfying the immediate needs of the population. Despite certain achievements in the production of and mutual trade in consumer goods, including durable items and foodstuffs, considerable opportunities exist in this area for intensifying the international division of labor. The daily interests of the CEMA-member countries call for the fastest possible conversion of such possibilities into reality. An important step along this way will be the implementation of long-term target programs for cooperation in agriculture and the food industry and the satisfaction of the rational needs of CEMA-member countries for industrial consumer goods.

Major positive results have been achieved in the achievement of socialist economic integration. Nevertheless, this is merely the beginning of a tremendous project to rally the efforts of CEMA-member countries. Taking acquired experience into consideration, we must further improve the cooperation mechanism. We must apply more daringly its most effective methods and find new opportunities for joint economic management. The further unification of the efforts of the socialist countries in the realm of economics is becoming, to an ever greater extent, the base for strengthening the entire system of their comprehensive reciprocal relations.

Naturally, the CEMA-member countries are developing their trade and economic relations with the West, participating in more extensive international division of labor, and purchasing on the capitalist markets goods which are either absent or scarce on the world socialist market. In a number of cases such purchases involve major foreign exchange outlays or the borrowing of funds at high interest rates. This is not always justified and, essentially, in a number of cases is a kind of penalty for the inadequate coordination in developing the economies of the socialist countries and lagging in production cooperation and specialization. Unquestionably, developing their reciprocal integration relations, the members of the socialist comity would be able to meet their production-industrial requirements to a greater extent than at present. The intensification of the integration process would enable the socialist countries to insure themselves against numerous difficulties, avoid the occasionally burdening indebtedness to capitalist banks, and give new incentives to the development of their production forces.

Reality has raised the level of requirements concerning economic contractual relations. The broader and more complex the problems jointly resolved through integration become, the greater the responsibility becomes for the stricter implementation of contractual obligations on the part of the individual CEMA members. Intensifying the interconnected economic development of the fraternal countries, integration calls for the continual strengthening of

planning discipline in reciprocal commodity procurements among them. The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries ascribe very great importance to this fact. The 25th CPSU Congress indicated that the strict and precise implementation of coordinated plans for integration measures and obligations based on cooperation agreements must be considered as a sacred obligation on the part of our planning and economic organs.

Socialist integration not only accelerates the solution of the internal problems of CEMA-member countries but is also a means for strengthening their positions in the global economy. It actively contributes to strengthening the economic independence of developing countries.

The young national states, above all those among them which have taken the path of a socialist orientation, play a particular role in the international economic relations of the members of the socialist comity. The CEMA-member countries deem it their international duty to contribute to the strengthening of their political independence, the creation of a modern national economy, and the accomplishment of progressive social changes. They are assisting 78 developing countries in the building of industrial and other projects; 2,751 projects have already been completed and about 1,200 are under construction or will be built. The socialist comity is making a substantial contribution to the struggle for the restructuring of international economic relations and in defending the young countries, victims of neocolonial exploitation on the part of imperialist states and international monopolies.

The broadening of economic relations between CEMA-member countries and the developed capitalist countries over the past few years became possible thanks to detente and improvements in the overall political climate on the planet which made it possible to bring to light unused possibilities for efficient cooperation between countries with different social systems. In turn, unquestionably, the expansion of trade between socialist and capitalist countries is contributing to the intensification of detente, making it possible to weave the material fabric of peace. Naturally, here it is a question of equal and mutually profitable cooperation. This is totally unrelated to attempts on the part of certain imperialist circles to formulate a variety of political conditions and to use economic relations for purposes of pressure and blackmail. Such attempts are clearly doomed to failure.

The economic cooperation among fraternal countries, as one of the most important factors in the building of socialism, continues to have an ever greater influence on the development of international relations. Noting the 30th anniversary of CEMA, we can speak with full justification of the great contribution made by this organization to the cause of peace and international cooperation.

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Reciprocal socialist economic relations are the solid foundation for international relations of a new type, including as their component cooperation in the fields of politics, ideology, science, and culture, and close interaction among fraternal parties and states in the world arena.



The organic interaction between economics and politics is manifested both in the domestic life of the fraternal countries, in the building of socialism and communism, and on the level of foreign relations. It is a notable fact that the dynamic economic development of the socialist countries and the development of their international cooperation were insured, above all, through internal revolutionary changes, the establishment of people's regimes, and the conversion to a socialist way. In turn, the economic and social progress within each country and their multilateral economic cooperation contribute to the further development and improvement of the political system of the socialist society and to the development of socialist democracy.

At the present stage, as a result of the further growth in the maturity of the socialist system, the range of rights and freedoms of the man and the citizen has been broadened considerably; their content has been enriched and their support through legal and material guarantees has become more effective. It is of equal importance that the exercise of such rights and freedoms is becoming an ever more powerful source of development of society and of the individual.

The decades of development of world socialism clearly show the powerful motive forces of this constructive process. The tremendous organizing and guiding influence of the Marxist-Leninist vanguards is actively contributing to their ever more extensive and fuller utilization. It is natural that the leading role and prestige of the ruling communist and workers' parties are today higher than ever and that their functions have been codified in the new or updated constitutions of the fraternal socialist countries. The Marxist-Leninist parties consider as their most important tasks, above all, the elaboration of a scientific strategy for social development, the definition of long-term and immediate socioeconomic objectives, and the ideological-political and organizational work to insure their implementation.

The socialist countries play an exceptionally varied role in the social renovation of the world. Unquestionably, one of the most essential and determining of its aspects is found in the new relations which have developed and are developing among the members of the socialist comity thanks to the internationalist policy of the ruling fraternal parties.

The multilateral and bilateral meetings among heads of fraternal parties at which, as a rule, the most important and principled problems of cooperation, international relations, and social development are discussed, are making a most valuable contribution to the strengthening and development of the socialist comity. Such were the meetings held this year between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on the one hand, and comrades T. Zhivkov, J. Kadar, and E. Gierek, and his talks with Comrade J. Broz Tito. The recent visit paid by the Soviet Party-Government delegation, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, to the Hungarian People's Republic was saturated with a deep political content.

Inter-party relations at different levels, extensive contacts among state, economic, and social organizations and local organs, and direct cooperation between labor collectives and men of science and culture is the nature, today, of the interaction among socialist countries.

Real socialism is distinguished by the wealth of its specific ways and means for the organization of social life. Each Marxist-Leninist party and socialist country is making to the treasury of collective experience its unique creative contribution. It adds to the international practice of the building of a new society through its accomplishments.

The skillful utilization of the overall experience gained in the building of socialism and communism is of great value. It is entirely natural that there is virtually no realm of social life in the fraternal countries or in their foreign policies in which such experience is not having a beneficial influence.

The strength of such international relations of a new type is that they are based on the principle of socialist internationalism, readiness to help one another, comradely reciprocal understanding and respect for mutual interests, total equality, and trust. All these features, inherent in relations among socialist countries, are among the most important sources of the strength and effectiveness of their coordinated foreign political course.

The essence of this course is determined by the class nature of the socialist states. It is aimed at strengthening universal peace and consolidating peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. It is directed toward supporting the liberation and anti-imperialist struggle of the nations. The main purpose and meaning of the coordinated steps taken by the fraternal countries is the creation of favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism by our peoples.

As was emphasized in the CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress and in the decisions passed at congresses of ruling fraternal parties, the unity among our countries must be strengthened and their active joint contribution to the cause of the peace must be increased in order to insure the successful implementation of the foreign political tasks facing the comity. This called for raising to a new level the coordination of the international policy pursued by the socialist states.

The joint activities of the socialist states has already yielded substantial results, above all in the field of detente in Europe. As we know, it was precisely the socialist states, members of the Warsaw Pact, who raised as early as January 1965 the idea of convening a European conference to consider vital problems of European security. As a result of tremendous political and diplomatic work, this historical initiative was carried out. The treaties concluded by the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR, on the one hand, and the FRG, on the other, and the quadripartite accord on West Berlin were a major stage in improving circumstances in Europe. The political problems as a result of which the results of World War II and of postwar developments were consolidated clearly showed the role which the Warsaw Pact plays not only as a defensive alliance of the socialist countries but as an effective instrument for the coordination of their foreign political actions. Systematically promoting the elimination of hotbeds of international tension, the socialist countries are seeing to it that the general democratic principles governing intergovernmental relations, formulated in Helsinki, are implemented not only in Europe but in other parts of the globe.

The successes of the peace loving forces triggered the active counteraction on the part of the military-industrial imperialist complex and of all other reactionary strata and political currents who consider detente a threat to their interests.

Defeating the attacks of the enemies of detente, the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity are adamantly promoting the solution of the most topical problem of our time: a cessation of the arms race and the adoption of real disarmament steps. As we know, the Warsaw Pact members have submitted to the United Nations and elsewhere a number of initiatives the sum total of which represents a purposeful and planned program of measures aimed at keeping this historical objective.

On this level the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members, held in Moscow on 22-23 November 1978, was a major international event. The declaration passed at the conference is an important political document of our time offering a profound study of the current international situation, its positive and negative sides, and global development prospects. The declaration clearly defines the joint constructive approach of the fraternal countries to the key task of world politics today: a termination of the arms race which is exacerbating the political climate on our planet and conceals a serious threat to peace. In order to achieve a tangible change in the solution of this problem, the socialist countries turned to all other countries and nations with the appeal to struggle for the implementation of primary measures such as the conclusion of a worldwide treaty on the non-use of force, the holding of talks among nuclear powers with a view to eliminating nuclear weapons from their arsenals, and reducing the military budgets of the major powers who are permanent members of the Security Council by a certain percentage or by the same amount. The conference called for the fastest possible completion of the current talks on limiting and restricting the arms race.

The recent session of the committee of ministers of foreign affairs of Warsaw Pact members, held in Budapest, and the specific measures suggested at the meeting aimed at the further strengthening of continental security, including the holding, this very year, of a political conference involving all European countries, the United States, and Canada, met with a broad response in Europe and beyond it.

The Vienna meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and J. Carter, U.S. president, and the conclusion of the Soviet-American SALT II treaty, is an event of historical significance in international life. Its implementation will become a major step in restricting the arms race and strengthening the security of the peoples. This treaty, particularly important to the future of international security, is enjoying the energetic support of the fraternal socialist countries and its conclusion is welcomed by the overwhelming majority of countries throughout the world. The fact that the most complex talks, which lasted nearly seven years, have brought to a successful completion is a good example and encouraging incentive for energetic progress to be made in other talks currently under way, including those on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

We know that some NATO circles are continuing to promote military hysteria by claiming a mythical "threat" presented by the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. Faced with the arms race in the Western countries, the fraternal socialist countries justifiably deem it their duty to display vigilance and pay the necessary attention to defense measures.

The foreign policy of the members of the socialist comity is profoundly humane in terms of its objectives. It relies on two basic principles of vital importance to international peace and progress: peaceful coexistence among countries belonging to different social systems and the principle of proletarian internationalism. Defending the peace, the members of the socialist comity have never acted as indifferent observers of the just national-liberation struggle or forgotten their international duty. The USSR and the other fraternal countries are giving comprehensive support to peoples fighting for liberation from colonial-racist oppression and for independence and social progress. Such support was given the victims of imperialist aggression such as Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, and the Arab countries. The imperialists and their stooges claim, in this connection, that aid to the developing countries and liberation movements provided by the socialist comity undermines international security. However, such statements represent a total distortion of the true meaning of events.

Situations of crisis and conflict are triggered not by liberation movements or by the support of such movements by the socialist countries. They are the result of imperialist interference in the domestic affairs of other nations. The success of the cause of freedom, independence, and justice throughout the earth can only contribute to improvements in the international circumstances as a whole.

The political practice of the entire postwar time proves, clearly and convincingly, that the international interaction among socialist countries is a factor of social progress and a tremendous constructive force. Using in the interests of peace and socialism the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, the fraternal countries have preserved and strengthened their independence, developed their economy and culture at a faster pace, and strengthened their international positions. This is an irrefutable fact which cannot be ignored however zealously the anti-communists and their supporters may try to achieve this. The policy pursued by the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties is based on common ideals, objectives, and interests of the working class and the working people of their countries.

Hence the overall trend of development of the socialist comity: the increased unity of its members and the strength and common elements of their social life. This enabled the 25th CPSU Congress to draw the important conclusion of the objective process of their gradual rapprochement. The trend toward rapprochement is making its way occasionally under complex circumstances related to the legacy of previous times, a certain non-coincidence of interests despite a coincidence in essential interests, and so on. It is not free from the influence of some subjective circumstances. The opponents of socialism are doing everything possible to undermine it through their hostile propaganda.



Under such circumstances, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, a great deal depends on the policy followed by the ruling parties and on their ability to safeguard the unity, fight narrow-mindedness and national exclusivity, take into consideration common international problems, and act jointly to resolve them. The communists deem it their duty to surmount arising difficulties and to eliminate all encrustations which prevent the strengthening of the socialist comity of nations. The principle-minded as well as patient and persistent activities of communist and workers' parties, and friendly reciprocal understanding lead, in the final account, to the coordination of common positions. The peoples of the fraternal countries and all progressive peoples on earth highly value the purposeful Leninist course of the CPSU and the activities of its Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, aimed at the comprehensive strengthening of the socialist comity and the development of fraternal cooperation among socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Relations with China are a particular problem. The current policy of that country is aimed against detente and against all steps aimed at improving the world's political climate. Openly supporting the arms race promoted by NATO circles, and working to equip the Chinese Army with modern weapons from NATO's arsenals, and exerting strong pressure on socialist Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries, Beijing is acting against the interests of the peace and security of the nations. The logic of this policy has led the Chinese leaders to the repudiation of the Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid Treaty between China and the Soviet Union, even though the treaty was consistent with the vital interests of the Chinese people as well.

Of late, true, the possibility has been discussed to hold Soviet-Chinese talks with a view to improving relations between the two countries. As we know, the Soviet Union has once again confirmed its invariable readiness to engage in talks based on the fact that their objective and purpose should be the normalizing and improving of relations between our countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, including those of equality, reciprocal respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in reciprocal domestic affairs, and non-application of force. The importance of the fact that both parties, the USSR and the PRC, would agree to abandon all claims to special rights and hegemony in world affairs was emphasized. It is in this spirit that the CPSU and the Soviet State are formulating their entire foreign political activity.

However, we cannot ignore the fact that, today as well, the anti-Soviet campaign in China is not abating. The official Chinese leadership is voicing all possible fabrications concerning the USSR and its policy. The Chinese leadership deemed it necessary to address itself to the very idea of talks with the Soviet Union only because of its decision not to extend the term of the Soviet-Chinese treaty.

Discussing China's policy and the Soviet approach to relations with the PRC, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that, "Something does not tally here--abrogation of the treaty with an expression of the wish to improve relations.

Nevertheless, we are ready to approach seriously and positively the holding of Soviet-Chinese talks. We have frequently suggested to the Chinese side to make an agreement on the normalizing of our relations and to make them good-neighborly. We are prepared for this today as well. Naturally, however, not at the expense of the interests of third countries. In a word, should the Chinese side show truly goodwill, we shall not be found wanting."

The establishment of the socialist world and of a new, socialist type of international relations are not a one-time act but a complex and lengthy process. Its development, as historical experience indicates, does not always follow a smooth path. In this connection let us recall the important thought expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the effect that today's socialist world, with its successes and possibilities and with all its problems is still a young, a growing social organism in which not everything has been retained, and in which a number of things bear the mark of past historical ages. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the development of the socialist world, naturally, is taking place through the struggle between the new and the old and through the solution of internal contradictions.

The importance of what has already been achieved in the development of the socialist world and the truly equal and fraternal relations which are being established ever more extensively among the socialist countries and nations becomes particularly clear in the light of these views. Interaction and cooperation in all most important realms of social life have become inseparable components of the achievements of each socialist country and good boosters for the solution of the problems related to the building of socialism and communism.

It is entirely obvious that today the very possibility for the solution of the most important problems of social development is related to the steadfast strengthening of the socialist comity. The active role which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries play in international affairs creates, step by step, the prerequisites for a radical improvement of the world's political climate, restraining the arms race, and consolidating a lasting peace on earth.

As the firm supporters of peaceful and equal cooperation among nations, the socialist countries protect their growing reciprocal internationalist relations.

The systematic line followed by our parties toward strengthening the unity and intensifying their interaction with fraternal countries blends with the efforts of the other communist and workers' parties who are also considering in the broad and equal cooperation an inexhaustible source for increasing the strength of each socialist country and the entire socialist comity acting as a reliable bulwark for the cause of peace and progress throughout the world.

## YOUNG GENERATION OF THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 33-36

[Article by the newspaper PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA, KOMMUNIST collective correspondent]

[Text] In the now distant first and most difficult years of the young state of workers and peasants, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin paid the closest possible attention to children and to their vital needs. His letters and addresses written at that time contain suggestions, reminders, and persistent demands to improve the nutrition and medical services to children, organize nurseries, kindergartens, and schools, and take care of homeless children. The people of the older generation recall many a difficult year in their childhood. However, they also remember their first steps to school, to free schools, where they were fed free lunches and received higher rations for their points. They remember reading posters stating that no one had any longer the right to exploit their child labor.

The children were given the great right to be happy in their new state. The land of the Soviets assumed daily concern for them. This work was a prerequisite for the bright future of the country, for the growing generation was to build a new life and implement in specific accomplishments the great party plans.

That is how one of the most vivid pages in the history of our state--the happy childhood of the Soviet children--was born.

With their typical sincerity and sensitive responsiveness to goodness, the children wrote letters to Lenin. They described to the leader of the revolution what was most important to them, and their dreams. From Vyatki children sent to Gorki, to Vladimir Il'ich, their gifts: drawings, objects they had made, or flowers. Recalling this, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya wrote: "I put them in a big room on the upper floor next to Il'ich's room. Passing by, Il'ich would look at them and smile. He very much wanted to see our Soviet children to grow as conscientious communists and able and convinced builders of socialism."

The children took the best born of the revolution. Today it would be difficult for us to believe that at that time 10- to 12-year old children were daringly challenging age-old customs and religious prejudices. In 1928 girl students in the ~~Adertaljac~~ city of Nukha were the first to remove their veils with which today's children are familiar only from books and movies. The first pioneers of the Uelen Village in Chukotka, not frightened by the curses of the shaman who, only a few years previously, was considered by them as almost a saint, voluntarily contributed money they had earned for the construction of the first Soviet big plants. . . .

When the country donned soldier's overcoats, together with the entire nation, the young citizens took up the defense of the homeland. Today, justifiably, the young heroes of the Soviet Union Lenya Golikov, Marat Kazey, Valya Kotik, and Zina Portnova are justifiably in the leading ranks of the Pioneer Organization imeni Lenin.

We shall never forget the urchins of the Brest fortress, the boys and girls in their red ties who had to stand on wooden cases to man machine tools in unheated shops, two shifts running, and the trains of "pioneer grain" gathered by the blade by the children, and the mittens for the soldiers made of two pairs of children's mittens.

All this took place! All this was accomplished by our mothers, fathers, grandmothers, and grandfathers of our children. They raised us. They gave us and are giving today to their grandsons the warmth and love for the homeland which they gathered in their hearts over many years.

A generation of children comes to replace another. Today, in the 1970's, naturally, these are other children, another young generation, different from its predecessors, not to speak of the children of the distant 1920's. Even externally they are entirely different. They are taller, as though stretching toward the sun like sunflowers. Their shoulders are broader and their health is stronger. They even have a scientific name--"accelerates." Let us not even mention hairdos and fashions: girls have hardly any hair while there is not even a hint of a forelock on the boys.

Yet!

Yet, when we, the journalists of PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA, beloved to the Soviet children, daily read hundreds of letters sent to us by the children, we become convinced, again and again, that despite the fast and daring pace of the 1970's, like their predecessors the children check their thoughts and dreams according to the compass which has guided all generations of Soviet people--the compass of the revolution.

It is worth reading such letters. Here is one written by 11-year old Sasha Kopylova from Kazan':

"I read the book 'Kak Pohedila Revolyutsya' [How the Revolution Won]. These are memoirs written by old Bolsheviks. . . . It seemed to me as though

everything in this book applied to me. Closing my eyes I think of going through the gates of the Winter Palace or being the radio operator on the Avrova. . . . Why is it so? Because I know that an honest person can accomplish any exploit and even die for the sake of the victory of the revolution."

Here are lines from the letter by 13-year old Andrey Yanovskiy, from Ussuriysk:

"There are four brothers in our family. Three are already working--all in construction. Anton is building olympic sites in Moscow. Aleksandr is building houses in Tynda. Aleksey is in the army and is also in construction. I too have decided, after completing the eighth grade, to become a construction worker. Our country is described as a construction site. I have also heard that there is still a shortage of construction workers. This has always been the case in our country: should a shortage be felt somewhere the people would go to help. Our father voluntarily went to work from a plant to a kolkhoz. He was elected its chairman. He was a party member. When the party said that the village must be helped he went. I think thusly: a person is needed wherever he will be more useful to the homeland. That is why I have decided to become a construction worker."

Tamara Otkalenko, 12, Vinnitskaya Oblast:

"One is simply amazed as to where are the capitalists finding such lies about our life! Let them come and take a look for themselves. No matter what they see, they would be unwilling to tell the truth, for they are afraid of our truth . . . . We have a new home built for our family by the kolkhoz. We have plenty of everything. Father is thinking of buying a car. . . . Yet, they keep lying about our life! They have no shame! They keep praising their capitalism with its millions of unemployed and some children living in cold with others dying of hunger. Is this a life to be emulated? No! Our Soviet system is the best in the world. . . . I will become a historian. I will study well Lenin's entire doctrine so that, when I meet a live capitalist, I could fight him with Lenin's thoughts and with my life. He won't have a leg to stand on!"

Such are the thoughts of our children, checked against the compass of the revolution.

Sometimes we are displeased when the children are too noisy. We swear at them for their poor grades and are saddened by their bruises. However, thus has it been and thus will it be. Childhood is always restless and worrisome to the parents. It is also a very responsible period, for today's children are tomorrow's citizens.

In 1962, awarding the Order of Lenin to the pioneer organization, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said to the children on behalf of all party members in the country: "Our main task is to protect and increase the riches and gains of our socialist homeland. Today you are children. In only a few years you join the ranks of the active builders of communism.



"Therefore, prepare, children, for this noble cause. As of now absorb within yourselves everything created by the senior generation in order to become true communists."

These words express the confidence of Lenin's party in the future which always belongs to the children.

Naturally, how happy Vladimir Il'ich would have been had he seen the lights of the new electric power plants, the tracks of the Baykal-Amur Main Line and the new cities in the Tayga. However, he would be just as happy to find out that the young guard of the Land of the Soviets is following the traditions of its fathers. Life has clearly confirmed Lenin's prediction that, ". . . The building of the socialist society we have laid is no utopia. This building will be erected even more zealously by our children."

We can be justifiably proud of the fact that, together with a happy and care-free childhood, we are giving our children the moral purity and inflexible convictions which we received ourselves, passed on by our fathers and grandfathers. This is the tremendous merit of our socialist society and the guarantee of our future victories. . . .

This autumn will mark the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of Children by the United Nations. In this connection the United Nations proclaimed 1979 as the International Children's Year.

Mankind is looking at the children attentively. It tries to guess, to forecast the future. They, today's children, will live in the 21st century with the legacy of the 20th--a stormy and conflicting century, a century of the upheaval of the minds, the century of the Great October Revolution and the birth of socialism, the century of the penetration of the atom and of outer space.

Asked by a journalist how he imagined children a hundred years from now, the famous American pediatrician and personality Benjamin Spock, invited by "Artek," said: "The same. However, they will necessarily be more enduring morally, for, it seems to me, the century will be difficult unless the people find ways to forget about the weapons which we will bequeath to them."

It is quite noteworthy that the International Children's Year has become a year of the powerful struggle for peace and disarmament. The SALT II treaty is one of the first specific reinforcements of the hopes of every person on earth that his children and grandchildren will live in peace, worthy of the great title of man.

Let us go back to the voice of our children, to lines from letters to PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA, in which they address themselves to Americans of their generation:

"Hello, Rans! My name is Olya. I am 14-years old. You write that you would like to get a good job and buy lots of good things. If you have a lot of

money without true friends and a dream you will have neither happiness nor joy. Things make you happy for a while. But if you have many good close friends they will never abandon you in difficult times. When you are in trouble money is no help. I have many loyal friends who always help me in times of difficulty and I help them. Let us be friends.

"Kotlyarova Olya, Armavir."

"Hello Mike! You know, Mike, there are eight of us in my family. All of us are studying and the little ones go to kindergarten. We are cared for not only by father and mother but the entire country, the state. Think, could a state which considers as its main task to raise good people want war? . . . Naturally, you are aware of SALT II. I am sure that this treaty will help you and me become friends. Think, Mike. Let us be friends!

"Foulyyeva Al'fiya, Tashkent."

Children have always been a serious problem facing society. There is even a saying that children are a mirror of society. The struggle for the minds of the children is, today, a struggle for peace as well. It is a struggle for friendship among nations.

With every passing day our socialist state is raising the young citizens in a spirit of nobility, courage, loyalty to the homeland, and internationalism. They are taught this not only by our outstanding and heroic history but by our present, our labor accomplishments and simply by our personal example. Do not forget that the children look up to us, they would like to be like us.

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## CONCERN FOR THE CHILDREN IS CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE!

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 37-40

[Article by Ye. Novikova, USSR deputy minister of health]

[Text] Is there in the world a feeling older, more natural, more selfless, and more beautiful than love for a child! Is there in the family, the people, the state, anything more valuable than children! The future of any country and of the world at large depends on the type of education given the children who, today, account for over one-third of the population on earth, and the baggage they will bring when they replace the older generation, as well as the ideas which will inspire them.

Today over 1.5 billion children live on earth. All of them must be made happy. Such is their right as entered in the Declaration of Children's Rights, passed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1959. However, even 20 years after the adoption of this document by 78 United Nations members, its basic principles are violated in a number of countries. That is why, today as well we must adamantly see to it that the rights of children are not only recognized but effectively exercised.

The United Nations has proclaimed 1979 the year of the child. The purpose of this action is to draw the attention of governments and broad public circles to one of the acute social problems of our time--that of improving the situation of the children.

According to data of the United Nations Children's Foundation hundreds of millions of children in the non-socialist area of the globe are in an extremely calamitous condition: they are deprived of the opportunity to eat properly and to go to school. They must go to work at an early age. In the world of today over 200 million children are suffering from hunger and diseases resulting from constant malnutrition.

The worldwide conference of basic medical services, recently held in Alma-Ata again drew the attention to the fact that in a number of countries throughout the world not even basic health care norms for children exist. According to the Pan-American Health Bureau, over the past 10 years 7.5 million children in Latin America died as a result of the lack of medical assistance. Many parents are forced to send their children to work. According to the International Labor Organization, 54 million children must earn their living.

This phenomenon is not infrequent in the developed capitalist states of Western Europe and the United States as well. Hundreds of thousands of children aged 8 to 15 are forced to work occasionally 10 to 12 hours a day for miserable wages. It is virtually impossible to acquire precise data on child labor, for many parents and the children themselves frequently conceal cases of child labor.

The Soviet Union is the first country in the world where the education of the children and concern for their all-round physical and moral development have become a most important governmental matter. Immediately after the establishment of the Soviet system there has been no time in the country in which this concern has weakened even for a minute or given second priority.

"Insuring the happy childhood of every child is one of the most important and noble tasks in building a communist society," the CPSU program states. This task is being successfully implemented.

That which the International Year of the Child considers a future objective, a desirable idea for the distant future, has long become reality in the USSR. Concern for children became an inviolable law and was codified in the USSR Constitution.

Concern for the children is a comprehensive concept. It covers a broad range of problems related to upgrading the level of material prosperity of the people, the development of the educational system, improving the education of children and adolescents, and molding comprehensively developed people--active builders of communism. As a physician, I would like to discuss, above all, problems of health care.

An efficient governmental system for the protection of the health of mothers and children has been organized under the Soviet system.

In the USSR the protection of motherhood and childhood has become a constitutional principle. In September 1977 the party and the government issued the decree "On Measures to Improve Public Health Further," stipulating everything necessary to raise to a higher level the quality of medical care for the population. Further improvements in the health care of children and women was acknowledged a most important state task.

The entire Soviet people are actively participating in protecting the health of mothers and children, generously allocating funds earned at all-union communist subbotniks, the building of children's polyclinics, hospitals, and children's sanatoriums, maternity homes, women's consultation offices, children's homes and other health care institutions, along with kindergartens and nurseries. With the help of such funds 45 children's hospitals and 42 maternity homes were built.

In our country motherhood is protected and encouraged by the state. Conditions are created for women enabling them to combine labor with motherhood. They enjoy legal protection and material and moral support.

Today in the USSR most women are either studying or working. In order to eliminate the possible adverse effect of production factors on the woman's body, labor legislation regulates conditions for women's labor, banning it for types of work which could harm the health. A list of industrial professions and types of work which exclude women's labor altogether has been approved.

Particular attention is paid to caring for the work done by pregnant women, mothers, breast feeding women, and women with children under one year of age. Long before birth concern is displayed for the health of the child in our country. This function has been entrusted to the women's consultations system. In recent years the USSR has been successfully developing medical-genetic consultations and an entirely new form of medical aid--marriage and family offices and consultations which use, in addition to obstetricians-gynecologists, lawyers, psychologists, and other specialists. All this is done to eliminate on time possible deviations in the development of the future child.

Preventive centers at industrial enterprises, special treatment institutions, rest homes, and sanatoriums are also used to strengthen the health of mothers.

The Soviet organization of medical aid to children is a three-step system: polyclinic-hospital-sanatorium. The country has over 12,000 children's out-patient-polyclinics whose main task is to raise a healthy and properly developed child. Big polyclinics for 600 to 800 visits per shift, with swimming pools, sports facilities, and well-equipped physiotherapy rooms are under construction.

The central figure of the pediatric service is the sector pediatrician who watches over the proper physical upbringing of the newborn child and his rational feeding and strengthening, takes measures to prevent infectious diseases, and provides early diagnosis and the timely treatment of sick children.

The main form of work of the children's polyclinics is the extensive out-patient treatment of children based on comprehensive prophylactic examinations. The polyclinics do a great deal to provide medical services to children in schools and preschool institutions. The country has over 120,000 children's preschool institutions attended by over 13 million children. The costs per child in nurseries is over 500 rubles; it is over 450 rubles in kindergartens, and state pays for four-fifths of the total costs.

Boarding schools and children's homes are run for children and adolescents who are either orphaned or lack conditions for proper upbringing in the family. Children needing lengthy medical treatment attend treatment sanatorium-schools located in forest areas. A broad network of multi-specialized children's hospitals and other institutions provide hospital care for children. Separate big children's hospitals are under construction.

The USSR has a special service for emergency aid to children manned by specialized pediatric brigades.



This year the All-Union Scientific-Research Center for the Protection of the Health of Mothers and Children will be opened in Moscow, built with funds earned at a communist subbotnik held in honor of the centennial of V. I. Lenin's birth. The task of the center is to coordinate scientific research conducted in the country and to elaborate and apply scientifically substantiated recommendations.

Every year, at the beginning of June, a traditional children's summer recovery campaign is launched in the Soviet Union. Little children go to suburban cottages while school children attend pioneer camps. Implementing the CC CPSU decree "On Measures to Improve Further the Organization of the Rest of Pioneers and School Children," the AUCCTU, and the trade union councils and committees are systematically expanding their network of pioneer camps and improving their work. Whereas in the initial period of the Soviet system we had no more than several tens of camps, 1,075 new such camps were opened between 1974 and 1978 alone. This year camps of various types will be attended by over 12 million children and adolescents. A substantial percentage of the children attend such facilities free of charge or at discount rates.

School children's and adolescents' tourism is becoming ever more widespread. The number of tourist itineraries for parents traveling with their children is rising as well; in 1979 about one million parents will be issued tourist cards to vacation with their children.

Sanatorial aid to children is extensively developed in our country. Health institutions such as year-round specialized pioneer camps are becoming ever more frequent. Thus, 2,400 children are resting, undergoing treatment, and studying at the Zhemchuzhina Rossii Health Center, on the Black Sea shore of the Caucasus. Next year it will have capacities for 3,500 children. The biggest children's resort in the country is the City of Anapa where over one million children vacation annually.

The Soviet children have at their disposal over 4,000 pioneer palaces and houses, and over 2,000 young technicians' stations and clubs. Millions of children participate in amateur performance and technical creativity circles.

Involving a maximum number of children and adolescents in active physical culture, sports, and tourism activities is a subject of constant concern on the part of the trade union and the Komsomol. Every year approximately 20 million school students compete for prizes offered by the Kozhanyy Myach, Zolotaya Shayba, Serebryanyye Kon'ki, Lyzhnya Zovet, and other clubs. Over the past three years some 15 million young athletes have been competing on the basis of the Starty Nadezhd program for all-union children's sports games. The finals are held at the Artek All-Union Pioneers Camp.

Thanks to the tireless concern shown by the party and the government for upgrading the prosperity of the Soviet people and their cultural standards, extensive medical anti-epidemic measures, and selfless work done by medical personnel, tremendous successes have been achieved in protecting the children's health.

The physical development of children belonging to all age groups and nationalities has improved considerably. Whether living in cities or villages, or central or most remote areas, the children enjoy equal training and upbringing facilities and their health is equally cared for with skill and concern.

The rate of contagious diseases has declined sharply. In the past 20 years alone diphtheria morbidity has declined by a factor of over 591; poliomyelitis, by a factor of over 184; whooping cough, by a factor of 59; and measles by a factor of almost 4.

The idea of having International Children's Year, aimed at drawing the attention of the countries and nations to unresolved problems of childhood met with the warm support of the Soviet people. On 19 February past the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expressed its support of the United Nations decision to proclaim 1979 International Children's Year. N. A. Tikhonov, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, held a special commission which formulated in this connection an extensive plan of measures to be implemented in our country. The Presidium recommended to commissions on problems of women's work and life, protection of motherhood and childhood, and other permanent commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to intensify their control over the implementation of the measures earmarked in accordance with the instructions of the Communist Party and its Central Committee. The purpose of such measures is systematically to improve the protection of motherhood and childhood, strengthen the health of the children, and advance their education and upbringing.

A world conference "On the Peaceful and Happy Future of All Children" will open in Moscow on 7 September. Twenty-eight representatives of 21 international or regional organizations and representatives from our country attended the Moscow session of the international committee in charge of the conference. The plan submitted by the Soviet commission includes measures aimed at improving medical aid to mothers and children, further expansion of sanatorium rest for parents with children, assignment of children to pioneer camps, trips, and various types of circles and independent creative work, as well as engaging in physical culture and sports.

The best must go to the children! The Communist Party and Soviet Government firmly follow this Leninist behest, creating real possibilities for raising a young strong and optimistic generation, loyal to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, and ready to take over the heroic baton from their elders.

Our children--those just born or already attending the first grade--will live and work in the 21st century. They will move ahead human civilization and develop science, technology, and culture. They will establish just relations among countries and nations. That is why, thinking of the future of our children, we cannot fail to think of the peace.

The Soviet Union is fighting for peace and against the arms race and the threat of a nuclear war systematically and adamantly. On New Year's Day, at

UNESCO's request, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, spoke on Soviet television. ". . . The children are our future," Leonid Il'ich said. "They will be entrusted with continuing the work of their fathers and mothers. I am confident that they will make life on earth better and happier. Our duty will be to see to it that the children of all nations not know what war is and have a calm and happy childhood."

Like all honest people on earth, the Soviet people are doing everything possible to prevent even a single child from knowing the horrors of fascism, apartheid, and genocide, as experienced by the children of Chile, and South Africa, and not become victims of aggression as the children of Vietnam. They are doing everything possible so that no single child would ever be deprived of the right to be born in his own homeland, as is the case with Palestinian children.

We want all the children on earth to grow healthy and happy and, as adults, be able to safeguard peace, friendship, and our beautiful earth!

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## SOCIAL 'ANATOMY' OF HEALTH

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[Article by Yu. Lisitsyn, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] Under the Soviet system the political and socioeconomic changes in the country have reliably guaranteed the exercise of basic social human rights. That is why all Soviet citizens find so natural the words of article 41 of our constitution: "The citizens of the USSR have the right to health care.

"This right is insured through free skilled medical aid provided by governmental health care institutions; expansion of the network of institutions for the treatment and for improving the health of the citizens; developing and perfecting labor safety and industrial hygiene; implementing extensive prophylactic measures; implementing measures to improve the condition of the environment; particular concern displayed for the health of the growing generation, including the banning of child labor unrelated to instruction and labor training; development of scientific research aimed at preventing and reducing morbidity and insuring a long and active life to the citizens." These words reflect, in a concentrated aspect, the line of the communist party and socialist state in the field of public health care.

In the CC CPSU Accountability reports to the 25th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "among the social tasks none is more important than concern for the health of the Soviet people." The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 1977 decree "On Measures to Improve Further Public Health Care," which calls for the implementation of a comprehensive action program in this area, is a clear manifestation of this concern.

This program is an organic component of the broad system of measures aimed at achieving full social equality in all realms of social life. The scientifically substantiated party policy in the field of public health is an expression of the basic laws governing our social development and of the basic advantages of the socialist social system.

Healthy people are not only a medical-biological but a social category. Man is a social being. He is a combination of all social relations within and

through which his social qualities are shaped and natural strength and qualities are developed or, conversely, suppressed. In a certain sense man's health is a gift of nature. However, whether or not this gift is increased or mercilessly exploited and exhausted depends on society. Healthy people are an indivisible share of the social wealth and it is society that determines the way this wealth is distributed, safeguarded, utilized, and reproduced. That is precisely why, in the final account, the nature of the social system also determines the nature of health care problems and their solution.

The scientific and technical revolution which is currently taking place in the industrially developed countries offers, on the one hand, new means for the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of many diseases; on the other, it creates new difficulties and problems in securing human health. Furthermore, the facts show that the new possibilities offered by the scientific and technical revolution could be used to the detriment of public health in the world governed by profits and exploitation. Only a society built on a socialist basis, a society whose supreme objective is the maximum satisfaction of comprehensive human needs and the comprehensive development of man, could systematically implement its most important social task--protecting human health. This is confirmed most convincingly by the more than 60-year old experience of the Soviet state.

The upsurge of the material and spiritual living standards of the working people, the rapprochement among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia, the gradual elimination of major disparities between town and country and between mental and physical labor, and the rapprochement among nations and nationalities, i.e., increased social homogeneity, described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as the "common denominator" of changes in the life of our society, are all reflected in the level of public health and in its very structure and social "anatomy." One of the characteristics of the growing social homogeneity of the socialist society is the equalization of public health indicators, contrary to the social disparities in the health of the population in the capitalist countries. The high level of public health and its social homogeneity in the USSR are the result of the systematic social policy pursued by the communist party and the socialist state, contrary to the social policy of the capitalist states dictated by the egotistical interests of the exploiting class.

In our country health care has become a big and progressively developing sector in the national economy, science, and technology, resting on a powerful material-economic base, and called upon not only to insure highly skilled medical aid but to protect and reproduce manpower, and protect and increase the health of the population as a social resource. Developed under the Soviet system, the state health care system numbers today tens of thousands of treatment-prophylactic and medical anti-epidemic institutions. It employs (1979) 923,000 physicians (over 35 per 10,000 population) and over 2.6 million secondary level medical personnel. In terms of availability of physicians our country has emerged in one of the leading positions in the world.



For the sake of comparison it would suffice to say that, per 10,000 population, there are 21.9 physicians in the United States, 23.9 in the FRG, 17.5 in France, and 16.4 in Great Britain. Today there are over 2.7 million physicians in the world and almost one-third of them are in the USSR. The number of hospital beds in our country has exceeded three million (over 121 per 10,000 population). The respective indicator is 78.9 in the United States, 91.8 in Great Britain, 111 in the FRG, and 72.2 in France.

Medical science in the Soviet Union is developing on the basis of over 100 higher educational institutions and 400 research institutions employing over 49,000 doctors and candidates of sciences. The Soviet health care system, with its contemporary material and economic facilities, offering the entire population free, universally accessible, and skilled medical aid, is developing in accordance with the principles of the socialist national economy, as its inseparable part, on the basis of national economic plans, implementing its main objective: attaining the maximum highest level of public health.

The general direction followed in the development of the health care system in our country is disease prevention. Its significance has been particularly emphasized in the party's programmatic documents. "The socialist state is the only state which assumes concern for the protection and constant improvement of the health of the entire population," the CPSU program stipulates. "This is insured through a system of socioeconomic and medical measures. An extensive program will be implemented aimed at the prevention and decisive reduction of illnesses, elimination of mass contagious diseases, and extending the life span further." The prophylactic direction presumes the implementation of a set of socioeconomic and medical measure aimed, above all, at the prevention and uprooting of reasons for the outbreak and dissemination of diseases, and the creation of the most favorable conditions for the raising of physically and spiritually strong and developed people. The prophylactic direction and the responsibility of the socialist state for the health of the people, the extensive participation of the population and the public organizations in activities related to its preservation and improvement, express the true democracy and humanism of the health care system in the USSR. They are the embodiment of the important social realm of party policy aimed at the maximum satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of the Soviet people. These socialist health care principles are the opposite of the private ownership foundations of health care in the capitalist countries where it is based on earning more profits and it is limited to measures required for the reproduction of manpower as an object of exploitation.

The advantages of the socialist health care system and, particularly, its socio-prophylactic direction, are familiar to a number of foreign political leaders, medical personnel, and international medical organizations. Even the bourgeois press has repeatedly mentioned the need to study the experience of the USSR and reorganize health care services based on prevention, development of the state sector, and so on. A big Italian periodical stated that "the Soviet people who began, essentially, from nothing, were able to create a widespread system of medical services for the entire population operating on

a huge territory" (INFORMAZIONE ATTUALITA MONDIALE, vol 44, No 18, 1972, p 23). The famous American surgeon Prof. M. De Bache stated in an interview granted the APN correspondent, that "unlike the situation in the United States, in the USSR health care is accessible to all."

Under the influence of the experience of our and other socialist countries, in recent years important decisions were passed at the biggest international medical gatherings--the World Health Care Assemblies--concerning principles governing national health care, emphasizing the role of prevention, the creation of state services, and the participation of the population in them; long-term activities programs of the World Health Organization (WHO), planning the training of national cadres and services, etc. These resolutions reflect the influence of socialist health care practices. Nevertheless, the health care system in the capitalist countries is going through one of its crisis stages.

Official WHO documents note that "population dissatisfaction with health care services is becoming widespread (meaning the capitalist countries--the author)." The reasons for this dissatisfaction are "their inability to reach a level of coverage by medical services on a national scale such as to meet the basic needs and changing requirements of the different population strata; . . . the rapid increase in the cost of medical services without their tangible improvement; dissatisfaction on the part of the consumers of medical services who believe, . . . that public health services and personnel are pursuing their own uncontrolled interests which, obviously, serve the professional medical personnel but are alien to the population." Dissatisfaction with the organization of health care has been expressed by medical personnel in most countries (WHO CHRONICLE, No 9, 1976, pp 443-444).

The acknowledgment of a crisis situation in the health care of the capitalist countries and demands for its reorganization in accordance with the progressive experience of other countries is one of the popular topics in the bourgeois press. In the 1976 U.S. "Democratic Party Health Care Platform" it openly states that that country needs a broad governmental health insurance system which would call for mandatory medical assistance to all population strata and that it is important comprehensively to develop preventative medicine and the early diagnosis of main diseases. The 1976 "Republican Party Health Care Platform," even though rejecting the need for a state health insurance system, emphasizing, as in the past, the private capitalist organization of medical services, emphasizes, nevertheless, the prime importance of improving prevention and the struggle against the fast-rising cost of medical services.

The fact that the program documents of the leading political parties in the United States express concern with the condition of the health care system indicates the obvious trouble existing in securing one of the basic social rights of the working people--the right to health protection.

Admissions by social and political leaders, including heads of states, of grave shortcomings in the organization of medical services have acquired

notoriety and, to a certain extent, have become traditional in the United States and in a number of other economically developed capitalist countries. The running theme of statements concerning the crisis in health care here is proof of the growing inaccessibility of modern medical aid to the broad population strata because of its excessive and ever rising costs. As the "Democratic Party Platform" and other recent documents report, in 1976 the U.S. population spent \$139.3 billion on health care. This is over 8.6% of the gross national product. With every passing year the medical business is absorbing ever bigger funds and the increased cost of medical services considerably outstrips the rising prices of consumer goods. Between 1955 and 1975, an American medical journal points out (ANNALS OF INTERNAL MEDICINE, vol 84, No 2, 1976, p 211), in an editorial entitled "Health Care in 1976. Costs and Consequences," health care costs rose 584%. The cost of hospital treatment rose in particular. Thus, whereas in the 1950's the daily cost of hospital care in the United States was \$15-20, today it is considerably higher than \$100. The cost of surgery has become impossibly high, including urgent cases: removal of an appendix costs over \$200; stomach ulcer surgery could cost \$1,000 or more; child delivery is no less than \$500, etc.

The American journal HOSPITALS reports that in the past 25 years increased costs of medical services have outstripped by one-half price increases of consumer goods. The journal points out that "this affecting particularly ruinously the uninsured population strata" (HOSPITALS, vol 50, No 1, 1976). Such statements have become quite typical even on the part of people not in the least inclined toward the adoption of radical solutions to problems of accessibility of medical health. Thus, opposing suggestions to nationalize the health care system and the creation of state medical care service, in his book "A New View on the Health Care Crisis in the United States," M. Edwards is forced to acknowledge the existence of a crisis and the fact of the exceptional increase in the cost of medical and prophylactic services which many Americans are unable to meet.

The fact that millions of working people are unable to pay for medical aid is a terrible symptom of the "indisposition" of the capitalist health care system itself. In the United States and other countries within the "bourgeois paradise" a worker's illness turns into a financial catastrophe to the family. We should not even mention the calamitous situation, in such cases, of the unemployed, the low-paid workers, the members of national minorities, and the "colored" population whose incomes are immeasurably below those of the privileged strata. Nor is the situation saved by extensively publicized programs for so-called voluntary insurance which is paid in full by the population itself or governmental attempts to introduce partially reduced rates for medical help for some population categories, the old and the poor above all, such as Medicare and Medicaid. The facts prove that voluntary health insurance, provided by hundreds of private companies, has become one of the profitable items of American capitalism--big business; suffice it to say that the premiums paid by U.S. citizens for such insurance exceed by over 30% aid for medical care. This situation is characteristic of today's health care system in the United States which is a profitable area for capital investments and profits.

The high cost of medical care, and the numerous obstacles and restrictions based on racial and ethnic affiliation have triggered an entire system of open or secret discrimination. University of California professors B. R. and V. A. Bullough cite in their book "Poverty, Ethnic Identity, and Health Care" (New York, 1972) a number of cases of violations concerning the health care given the "colored" population which is either totally deprived of health care or is receiving it on an extremely low level. In particular, the authors note that infant mortality is considerably higher among the national minorities compared with "white" families. In 1970 it accounted for 31.4 per thousand for the "colored," compared with 17.4 for the whites. Stillborn infants per 100,000 population were approximately 72 among the "colored" compared with 20 among the whites. The lack of good housing, overcrowding and poor sanitation, typical of the life of the blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexicans, and other ethnic minorities, combined with unskilled low-paid labor, create favorable grounds for the spreading of contagious diseases, tuberculosis, inflammation of the lungs, malignant tumors, cardiovascular diseases, and diabetes.

However, it is not merely a question of the pitiful condition of disease prevention among such population strata in the United States but of the substantially unequal treatment opportunities. As we know, the successful treatment of such diseases depends on timely diagnosis. However, it is virtually inaccessible to poor families, for the services of skilled specialists are obviously unaffordable to them. Poverty and inequality under the conditions of predominating private medical practice are the main reasons for the profound discontent on the part of the broad masses with the American health care system. This does not apply to the American system only. Ever more frequently objections are voiced to the growing "alienation" of modern medical aid from the toiling masses in other capitalist countries as well. A popular French medical journal has openly stated that in most developed countries skilled physicians are serving merely a privileged minority whereas millions of people are dying prematurely of hunger, epidemics, and lack of basic health care (MEDECINE PRATICIENNE, vol 3, No 575, 1975, p 141).

The crisis in the health care system in the capitalist countries is manifested also in the shortage of medical cadres and medical institutions. Even in Great Britain where a bourgeois health care reform was implemented in 1948 a chronic and ever intensifying shortage of hospitals has been noted. The number of hospital beds is being reduced and waiting lines for hospitalization are growing (over 500,000 sick are waiting for hospital space). There is a shortage of physicians and, particularly, nurses. Outpatient treatment is conducted separately from inpatient treatment and preventive care from treatment. This has forced the government to undertake their reorganization. The well-known British specialist in the field of health care economics, M. Cooper, states in his book "Norming Health Care" that the results of population studies in Britain and the United States confirm, in the majority of cases, the doubtful effectiveness of the health care services.

There are constant reports in the press of the capitalist countries concerning shortages of medical cadres. STERN, the West German journal (No 10, 1978)



published a feature article discussing the catastrophically small number of hospital physicians. Currently the FRG is short of 5,000 hospital physicians. As a whole, according to the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (JAMA, vol 230, No 3, 1974) American hospitals are short of 70,000 physicians. S. Veil, French minister of health, emphasized the acute shortage of medical personnel and, particularly, of hospital nurses (JAMA, vol 231, No 13, 1975). Even though the number of higher medical schools in the United States has increased and, consequently, more physicians are graduating, their number is clearly insufficient to meet the needs of the population for medical aid, particularly in rural areas. "Thousands of communities in the United States have no physicians, particularly in remote districts and poor sections of big cities," the same journal stated (JAMA, vol 55, No 2, 1973).

All this confirms the inability of the bourgeois society and states to protect the health of the entire or even the majority of the population and the drastic social contrasts in the realm of medical services. Naturally, social discrimination in health care and its alienation from the mass of the working people are affecting the health of the population most adversely.

Speaking of social inequality in health care in the capitalist countries, it is important to note not general indicators of population health but their disparities among the various income groups, i.e., their social disparity.

In the 1960's, according to an American scientist, in the United States acute diseases among the unemployed were higher by one-half (163 cases per 1,000 population) and the rate of various chronic diseases was nearly twice (71 cases per 1,000) the rate of families with an income of \$3,000 a year or higher. Even more significant disparities exist in the frequency of chronic diseases among people with an income of under \$2,000 a year (21.1% of all surveyed) and income of \$7,000 or more (6.7%).

Work capacity losses caused by cardiac diseases in all cases studied in the United States average 20.3 per 1,000 population per year. Yet, there were 53.8 cases among the poorest strata and 11.9 cases among the most prosperous. Higher blood pressure among the poorest strata such as, for example, unskilled workers, averaged 23.8 per 1,000, compared with 3.9 cases among the richest (industrialists, bankers, etc.).

W. Logan, the well-known British statistician, has pointed out substantial disparities in the rates of death caused by a number of diseases. Thus, for example, the mortality rate due to cancer of the stomach in men belonging to the most prosperous categories was 57 per 100,000, compared with 132 among the poorest; the mortality caused by a disease such as tuberculosis of the respiratory organs averaged, respectively, 58 and 143 cases.

As early as 1955, the memorandum on health care issued by the Communist Party of Great Britain noted that mortality among unskilled workers is twice as high in the case of tuberculosis and four times the number, caused by pneumonia, compared with so-called "specialists" belonging to the prosperous social stratum. The mortality rate among children of low-paid workers is higher by a factor of 5, caused by pneumonia, and of 8, caused by gastro-intestinal diseases, compared with better off families.



According to official data, in Denmark skilled workers with stable income and with satisfactory housing conditions are more healthy compared with common laborers or semi-skilled workers without a stable income whose living conditions are unsatisfactory, as follows: in the 20-44 years age group, per 1,000 population, the respective figures were the following: psychological disturbances, 8.7 and 15.4; stomach ulcer, 37.2 and 70.5; rheumatic fever and brain diseases, 29.8 and 55.7, etc.

The consideration of health as a social category makes it possible to reveal its social structure and depict the social contradictions within the capitalist countries and objectively compare trends in the development of health care in opposite social systems.

The social policy of the communist party, the concern of the socialist state for health care, and the implementation of socio-preventive measures, made it possible to accomplish a historically unprecedented leap from an extremely low level of public health, as it existed in our country before the Great October Socialist Revolution, to the present condition characterized by very favorable indicators. We could boldly state that nowhere else, and never before, on a scale as such a huge country as ours, in the life of a single generation, have such radical changes in public health taken place. These changes have affected all of its basic characteristics: the frequency and share of different diseases, the size and structure of mortality reasons, physical development, and others. Obviously, we could speak of a transformation of the very type or profile of pathology within an incredibly short time and of the laws reflecting the essential role of social factors, impossible to explain merely through biological reasons.

Under the Soviet system there has been an intensive drop of the overall mortality rate in the USSR. Thus, the mortality rate per 1,000 population per year was 29.1 in 1913 and 18 in 1940. In 1978 the index had dropped to 9.8. Let us note for purposes of comparison that general mortality (1977) averaged 12.2 in Austria, 11.6 in Belgium, 8.8 in the United States, 11.5 in the FRG, 10.1 in France, and 11.7 in Great Britain.

Infant mortality as well has intensively declined in the Soviet Union. Whereas until 1917 Russia had the highest infant mortality rate--270 per 1,000 newborn children died before reaching the age of one, today the USSR is among the countries where this indicator has been rapidly declining: it was still high in 1940--182; it had dropped to 81 in 1950, to 60 five years later, to 35 in 1960, and was even lower in 1977. In 60 years it had declined by a factor of 10 or, compared with 1940, a factor of 7.

As a result of such drastic changes in the indicator of the mortality rate, as well as other reasons, the average life span has increased substantially. Today it averages the age of 70 for both sexes: 74 for women and 64 for men. The average life span which, at the end of the 19th century, was 32 years, rose quite intensively after 1917, reaching 44 years in 1926-1927, and 69 years in 1958-1959.

Changes in the very structure of such indicators in which chronic, non-epidemic and, above all, cardiovascular disturbances, and diseases caused by malignant tumors, have occurred against the background of the favorable rates of improvement of public health and its corresponding indicators, as a result of the drastic reduction of deaths caused by infectious diseases. According to recent data deaths caused by diseases of the blood circulation organs and vascular diseases of the central nervous system account for approximately 49-50% while malignant tumors account for 18-19%. USSR statistics note the relative increase in the percentage of deaths caused by these two groups of diseases of late. However, it is possible that deaths resulting from cardiovascular diseases and tumors might have retained the same rate had no changes occurred in the population's age structure. This circumstance emphasizes, yet once again, the importance of demographic factors and, above all, of increased life span.

As we know, despite the achievements of modern medicine in the treatment of cardiovascular and other chronically developing diseases, they remain the basic reason for death among the elderly and the old. Thanks to the effective work of the cancer fighting service, and achievements in the comprehensive treatment of malignant tumors, a certain drop in the morbidity and death rates caused by a number of such tumors has been achieved, particularly as regards to stomach, esophagus, cervix, etc. The rate of mortality caused by such diseases is 20-25% lower in the USSR compared with other economically developed countries. We have been able to extend the lives of cancer victims. As reported by Academician B. V. Petrovskiy, 800,000 people have survived 5 or more years after treatment, and 400,000 after 10 or more years. Deaths caused by infarct of the myocardium have declined; 85% of infarct victims have gone back to work.

The overall morbidity rate has declined in the Soviet Union. Naturally, here the most important factor is the sharp reduction of the spreading of infectious and parasitical diseases which, as we pointed out, were the main reason for human deaths in the past.

Socioeconomic and medical changes have made it possible to achieve great successes in the elimination of a number of previously extensively widespread acute contagious diseases. In 1922 over 76,000 cases of small pox were recorded on USSR territory. As a result of mandatory population vaccination, small pox was eliminated in the Soviet Union by 1936. In 1922 there were about 1.4 million cases of spotted fever in the country; in 1940 there were only isolated cases of this disease. Cholera and the plague were eliminated in the very first years of the Soviet system. The elimination of malaria was an outstanding accomplishment.

In recent years the morbidity and mortality structures have shown a clearly growing similarity. Cardiovascular disturbances and other chronically developing non-epidemic diseases are assuming the top positions. This emphasizes even further the changes in pathological types.

Such are some of the data confirming the radical changes in the field of public health in the USSR within a historically short time. As we pointed

out, today a number of health indicators (general, infant mortality, etc.) or, rather, their figures, are similar in many economically developed countries, both socialist and capitalist. This is particularly clear in the example of the average life span which is 70 years, compared with 47 at the end of the 1930's.

Also similar in most economically developed countries is the structure of mortality causes. Here, as we noted, first place is held by chronic non-epidemic diseases: cardiovascular, malignant tumors, and accidents. According to our estimates, based on WHO data, four groups of diseases alone--atherosclerotic and degenerative heart diseases, malignant tumors, vascular damages to the central nervous system, and traumas--have accounted for 60-70% of all causes of death in recent years.

The similarity of the figures characterizing public health in socialist and economically developed capitalist countries is frequently used by the bourgeois specialists in support of their idea of the "convergence" of social systems. Manipulating such data, some of them claim that socialism has no advantages whatever compared with capitalism in protecting and improving the population's health, and that in the century of the scientific and technical revolution scientific and technical progress alone determines the development of society whereas production relations are losing their significance as a factor of socioeconomic development.

The idea of "convergence" comes closer to claims by bourgeois scientists according to which the influence of civilization on all aspects of life, including the health of the public, is determined only by equipment and technology. It is precisely such reasons that are used by many Western theoreticians to explain the "pressure" exerted by chronic non-epidemic diseases and changes in the public health under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. The theory is promoted of "civilization diseases." It, along with other bourgeois theories (social ecology, social Darwinism, neo-Malthusianism, neo-Freudianism, and so on), addressing themselves to social health care problems, and the idea of "convergence" are clear manifestations of the desire to ignore the radical differences between the socioeconomic and political systems, and avoid the study of social, of class phenomena. Supporters of the concept of "civilization diseases" and "convergence" in health care include well-known physicians and sociologists such as R. Dubeau, O. Toffler, E. (Guyan), A. Dusser, and others.

Therefore, the bourgeois scientists use as one of the arguments in favor of the idea of "convergence" and of the concept of "civilization diseases" the external superiority of public health indicators in socialist and economically developed capitalist countries, based on the similarity of mortality rates and some other medical-statistical data in terms of absolute figures. Yet, Marxist-Leninist methodology calls for assessing social phenomena above all on the historical level, and to study any process in its development. The historical approach makes it incumbent upon us to analyze not only the current state of social processes and phenomena but their appearance, development stages, and future.

The very fact that today the USSR has reached the population health standard characteristic of the economically developed countries and, in a number of indicators, has outstripped the industrialized capitalist countries, confirms the unquestionable superiority of socialism which, within a historically short time, made a leap from backwardness to the contemporary high level of health care. Let us not forget that the wars which the Soviet people had to wage, defending their freedom and independence, caused tremendous material and human losses and adversely affected all population health indicators. Drastic differences exist between the past developments of the present indicators of population health in the socialist comity and the capitalist countries behind the external similarity of figures. This means that there have been substantial disparities in the rate of change of such indicators.

Thus, the overall mortality of the USSR population under the Soviet system declined by approximately a factor of three, compared with an approximate 1.5 factor in the United States, 1.9 in France, and 1.5 in Austria. Infant mortality declined in our country considerably faster. A broad and relatively inert indicator such as the average life span is increasing in our country far more intensively than in the economically developed capitalist countries.

However, faster rates are not the only criterion to be considered in assessing the health condition of the populations in countries with different social systems. Comparisons of disease frequencies, particularly of diseases greatly influenced by factors pertaining to the social environment, living conditions, and psycho-emotional, neuro-psychological, above all, reactions is of great importance. It is no accident that the mental health of the population is considered the number one problem facing the United States and a number of other capitalist countries. Studies made by Soviet and foreign authors show substantial disparities in the frequency of neuro-mental diseases and, particularly, psychoses in the socialist and capitalist countries. The highest levels of frequency of such diseases are characteristic of the economically developed capitalist states (according to B. D. Petrakov, between 1965 and 1975 the average indicator was approximately 127.6 cases per 1,000 population). At the same time, the indicator of the frequency of mental illnesses in the European socialist countries is considerably lower, averaging 41.3 cases, i.e., one-third of the previous figure. This fact confirms the adverse influence of social conditions triggered by capitalist production relations and growing exploitation.

From the methodological point of view it is insufficient to study statistical indicators which show average values equalizing the social structure. As we emphasized, the health of the population is a social category, for which reason it must be analyzed from the viewpoint of the different classes and social and professional groups. This method enables us to see the social "anatomy" of public health indicators and ignore generally accepted coefficients.

Contrary to the situation in the capitalist society, a firm trend is developing in the USSR and the other socialist countries toward social health homogeneity. The studies conducted by Soviet specialists in the field of



social hygiene have indicated that there are no drastic disparities in data concerning the health of individuals belonging to different social groups and different wage brackets. Naturally, there are certain fluctuations in the indicators depending on wages and other factors. However, the equalization of such indicators is the dominant trend. Here increased payments and benefits paid to the population out of social consumption funds, whose amount in 1978 exceeded 100 billion rubles, plays a definite role. The steady growth of social consumption funds and the faster wage raises are contributing to the equalization of the levels of the material prosperity of the population and are the most important socioeconomic factors in public health improvements.

The study conducted by G. N. Shkurin on the health of the workers in a plant determined that a number of indicators such as request for health care, morbidity with temporary disability, number of people who were not sick during the year, and percentage of chronically ill are not determined by wages. Differences in such indicators among family members belonging to four budget groups were insignificant. M. B. Aleksandrova studied the reasons for morbidity among women employed at a big textile enterprise. She drew the conclusion that correlation between morbidity and amount of wages was insignificant (approximately 10%), while the comprehensive socio-hygiene study conducted by N. G. Dogle at another big textile enterprise failed to detect any whatsoever noticeable difference in the morbidity levels with temporary disability among women classified in different budget groups. Similar minor disparities were noted in the morbidity coefficients of telegraph operators (studied by A. N. Malysheva), secondary school teachers (S. S. Kruchinina), workers and employees of a copper smelting plant (I. A. Razumovskaya), and coal mine workers (G. N. Petrova). Similar results were obtained following clinical-social studies of groups of rheumatism victims (Ye. N. Kudryavtseva, and Ye. N. Savel'yeva), hypertonic and ischemic diseases (V. N. Chumakov, V. M. Yastrebov, and L. V. Chuvova), gastrointestinal diseases (Yu. Ye. Lapin), lung diseases (T. A. Zuyeva), and many others, carried out by our scientists. Studies conducted by specialists indicate similar rates of growth of children in different areas and nationalities in the Soviet Union, and the absence of any substantial social disparities in this characteristic.

The conclusion concerning the trend toward social homogeneousness of the population's health in the USSR is supported, specifically, with data obtained by a number of researchers (I. D. Bogatyrev, M. S. Bednyy, A. F. Serenko, V. V. Kapen, V. K. Ovcharov, B. D. Petrakov, N. I. Malov, P. I. Kal', V. I. Kant, N. A. Testemitsyan, and others) who have confirmed the closeness of the levels of medical services and health indicators between the urban and rural populations. At the present time not only the mortality and morbidity indicators of the rural and urban populations but their structure as well have become quite similar. The health indicators of individuals engaged in mental and physical labor are also becoming equalized due to the ever greater "intellectualization" of the latter, the changed nature and conditions of labor activities, and the increased level of education and culture of the working people.



The trend toward social homogeneousness of the population's health in the USSR reflects, in its own way, the elimination of class differences and the growing social homogeneousness in the developed socialist society. With its intensification differences in the health of the various social groups and strata will be eliminated even further. Naturally, this does not mean that all health care problems in our country have been resolved. The development of medical-prophylactic institutions, particularly in the villages, is still lagging. A great deal remains to be done to improve the work of medical institutions, and so on. The party committees and the soviet and trade union organizations must provide constant aid to the medical institutions and assist them in improving the training and selection of medical cadres. This is indicated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Improve Further Public Health Care." The solution of the problems formulated by the party will be a major step forward in molding the physically and morally healthy and comprehensively developed individual in the communist society.

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## TIME OF BENEFICIAL CHANGES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 53-63

[Article by N. Khvatkin, deputy director of the MChZ [Moscow Watchmaking Plant] No 2]

[Text] For 32 consecutive quarters the Moscow Watchmaking Plant No 2 has not yielded its first place in the all-union socialist competition among precision industry enterprises. Over the past eight years it has regularly accepted the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee.

This year the collective has pledged to make about nine million watches, half a million more than in 1978 whose indicators were considered record setting. Some three million timepieces alone will have the state Emblem of Quality. The balance will be on the first category level.

The production successes have had a beneficial influence on the enterprise's financial activities. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone plant profitability tripled while profits rose by a 4.5 factor. All this enabled us to set aside considerable amounts for the social development of the collective. Today it is no longer conceivable to achieve production progress without taking social factors into consideration. The plant's party organization and economic management have focused their attention on the working man, with all his spiritual, esthetic, and material requirements. The enterprise's life itself confirms how timely and farsighted were the indications of the 25th CPSU Congress on the ever growing influence of social factors on the development of output and the further enhancement of its effectiveness.

### Initial Steps

At the very beginning of the economic reform the collective of the MChZ No 2 began to convert to self-financing. The enterprise was granted the right to set up its funds for production development, material incentive, and socio-cultural measures, whose amounts determine possibilities for the satisfaction of the requirements of the plant workers. The amounts of these funds are determined by the results of the plant's economic activities and the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plan assignments.

The collective was faced with the question of what to begin with. The state assignments issued the plant had remained quite stressed and their implementation with the help of production automation and mechanization alone was becoming ever more difficult with every passing year. The success of plan fulfillments largely depended on the extent to which the potential of every working person at the enterprise could be utilized in production. It was necessary to undertake thoroughly the solution of a number of social problems.

Initially, the elaboration of the social development plan was assigned to a group of plant management workers. Having lost several weeks on this work, they submitted a list of general and, furthermore, improperly substantiated measures more in the nature of a declaration. As the saying goes, practice makes perfect. It was then that the decision was made to ask the help of specialists in the field of social forecasting. Let us point out that the idea was suggested on the basis of a decision passed by the Moscow City Party Committee.

Our cooperation with the chair of scientific communism of the MVTU [Moscow Higher Technical School] imeni Bauman, a reliable one by now, the chair of scientific organization of labor of the Riga Polytechnical Institute, the Scientific Research Institute of Children's and Adolescent's Hygiene, the Scientific Research Institute of Labor, and many other scientific institutions in the country was initiated as early as 1965. Working with us on a contractual basis, these scientific institutions made their utmost contribution to the solution of the plant's problems. For example, the Scientific Research Institute of Children's and Adolescent's Hygiene developed and applies in our plant a method for determining the professional suitability of newly hired workers and helped us to establish a vocational selection office. The office studies all workers joining the plant and determines their suitability for the skills of assembly worker and controller. The recommendations of this office are mandatory to the cadre department. As observations and surveys have indicated, a person who is psychologically suited for such skills becomes quickly proficient and does not allow faulty output. Such workers are satisfied with their work, like their skill, and are less frequently ill.

Following the studies conducted by the scientists of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor, we implemented several measures which enable us to maintain a production environment within optimally useful parameters. By this I mean cleanliness in the shop, temperature, humidity, and mobility of the air, work-place lighting, and so on. For example, diffuse florescent light was installed in the assembly shops. This is also consistent with labor hygiene recommendations. The Riga Polytechnical Institute conducted studies at our enterprise aimed at upgrading the functional condition of the visual analyzer of the workers and to stimulate the coordination and precision of their movements in the course of the production process.

Scientists from the MVTU imeni Bauman did a great deal of work at the plant. Together with the planning-economic department and the department for scientific organization of labor, they developed and applied an essentially new method for planning the social development of the enterprise. The plant

was issued a profoundly planned and substantiated program for action which efficiently correlated the requirements of the enterprise with its possibilities, and established deadlines for the gradual implementation of governmental assignments. On this basis an efficient system for the most rational allocation of funds was elaborated.

Cooperation with scientific organizations enabled the plant to resolve many problems. It will be continued in the future. The collective considers creative cooperation with science the basis for the successful implementation of all its plans.

Naturally, "potholes" and "ruts" were encountered in the course of the formulation of the plan. Unknowing errors were made and a great deal had to be rethought and reworked. However, we could claim with full justification that never before has the technical and economic program of the enterprise been accompanied by such a substantial elaboration of its social aspect.

The method submitted by the chair of scientific communist of the MVTU imeni Bauman was subjected to amendments by the plant's scientific organization of labor department. It was then discussed at a joint session of representatives of public organizations and the plant's administration. This was followed by the setting up of a still operating central plant commission which manages all operations related to the formulation of the plan for the social development of the enterprise. Furthermore, subcommissions were set up on planning changes in the social and professional-skill structure of the collective, improving labor conditions, studying the wellbeing and standards of plant workers and members of their families, elaborating ways for upgrading social activeness, dealing with problems of capital, housing, social, and cultural construction, and, finally, a subcommission on economic substantiation of the plan for the plant's social development. The scientific personnel of the MVTU imeni Bauman, the personnel of the plant's scientific organization of labor department, and members of the administration, party committee, plant committee, and Komsomol committee take part in the activities of the central plant commission and of the subcommissions. The central commission is headed by plant director D. A. Paramonov. His selection was based not only on his position but on the fact that he is well acquainted with the needs and requirements of all categories of working people (D. A. Paramonov has had an enviable career. Over 30 years ago he came to the plant as an adolescent and it was here that he covered the distance from rank-and-file assembly man to head of a thousands strong collective).

The formulation and composition of the social development plan took a full 56 weeks. This was due to the lack of experience and the requirement to find facilities for printing the documents required for the survey. Yet, it was necessary to print no more and no less than 12 to 15 forms for each section of the plan and survey forms, 3 per person, as well as socio-demographic charts, 1 for each person working at the plant. . . . Obviously, the corresponding ministry subunits should think of formulating for all enterprises in the sector standard forms and send adequate quantities of them on time. Whatever the case, this is not a burden to be assumed by enterprises, and even less so by enterprises without printing facilities.

The socio-demographic charts developed for the plant called for each production worker to answer 49 different questions, starting with purely demographic ones (sex, age, education), and ending with problems related to the availability of material and housing conditions for his family, and requirements regarding spiritual, cultural, and physical development. The survey also includes tens of questions concerning labor conditions, attitude toward the systems for norming and material incentive used by the plant, and so on.

Everyone properly realized that the substantiation of the measures related to the various aspects of the plan will depend entirely on the gathering of such data, their reliability, and their comprehensiveness. This was the most important, the most complex, the most labor intensive and, therefore, the longest period of work in the course of which the shop commissions had not only to distribute charts and forms to the people but to see to it that they were properly answered.

Frankly stated, from the very beginning, some people believed this to be a senseless idea and returned the forms unfilled. Some comrades, even though answering the questions, did this unwillingly, without proper self-analysis. This, however, could question the reliability of the data. The party, trade union, and Komsomol committees held in all plant shops talks and general meetings at which they explained what the implementation of the plan would yield to each individual and to the plant as a whole.

What was the practical use of the sociological surveys? Let us take as an example the third operational subcommission whose duties included the study of the wellbeing and cultural standard of the plant workers and the members of their families. The main source of information for this subcommission came from data contained in the socio-demographic charts and surveys and the suggestions submitted by the working people. The study of the collected data and suggestions enabled us to change prevailing viewpoints on a number of problems. For example, in answer to the question of "Do you have an interest in the existing system of bonuses for the overfulfillment of assignments, for high quality, and for material savings?" Nearly one-half of the people answered either "No," or "Not entirely." Even fewer people gave an affirmative answer to the question "Are you satisfied with the current procedure for providing material assistance?"

Studying the data, the central commission drew the conclusion that the material incentive system as practiced by the plant—one of the main levers for the growth of labor productivity—required a substantial amount of further work. What type of work precisely was, once again, indicated by the data of the questionnaire. They assisted in the choice of the necessary direction aimed at the development of club, sports, and military-sports activities. The other subcommissions as well submitted a number of interesting and instructive suggestions after studying the answers.

This entire comprehensive work, carried out at the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's, enabled us to gain solid practical experience in social planning. However, a major error was discovered in the course of the



work: the planned social development measures were far from always coordinated with the sections of the technical and economic plan. Far from all stipulated measures had a clear economic base. Reality itself led us to realize that planning the development of the plant should be comprehensive and that all sections of the planned program should be closely interrelated. By the Ninth Five-Year Plan a comprehensive plan for the technical, economic, and social development of the enterprise had already been formulated.

The plant's commission, consisting of members of the administration, the party committee, and the trade union and Komsomol committees, provided economic substantiations for all parts of the program. It estimated the necessary annual outlays for the Ninth Five-Year Plan and established the possibilities of the plant and the sources of financing. However, soon after the comparative study of the plant's work was completed, it became clear that the first two years of the five-year plan were "overloaded" with outlays and that there would be a clear shortage of funds for the implementation of all planned measures. It was only after a review of the plan sections by the sub-commissions that it became possible to reduce the shortage of funds for the first two years, even though not totally, for a number planned measures aimed at insuring the implementation of state assignments could no longer be shifted to a later period. It was decided, at that point, to borrow funds from the bank to be repaid in the subsequent three years of the five-year plan in which, according to our computations, considerable funds would become available to the plant. . . . It was then that our plan was finally enacted. This was a thoroughly considered document, in which the views of all members of the collective had been considered. It was scientifically substantiated and took creatively into consideration the characteristics and possibilities of the enterprise.

This five-year plan social planning has assumed a specific characteristic. For the first time it follows a unified method elaborated by the Gosplan. The entire program for social measures has become an inseparable part of the technical-industrial-financial plan of the plant. This time we did not use the method of surveys and socio-demographic charts. Suggestions submitted by shops and departments and the thorough study of the fulfillment of the previous five-year plan were our information sources in the elaboration of programs for action. This enabled us to avoid some errors allowed in the preceding stage. Control over the implementation of planned measures is provided by the socioeconomic commission of the party committee. Recently the party committee considered the results of the fulfillment of the plan for the social development of the plant's collective for 1978 and noted that all its sections had been implemented in full.

#### A Laboratory Worthy of Man

We live under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, in a period in which difficult and labor intensive production processes are being assumed to an ever greater extent by "intelligent" machines and when labor productivity is growing at an unparalleled pace. However, no machines or mechanisms, even the most advanced, could lower the role of the working

man. Conversely, everything new which enters the shop forces the working person to add to his knowledge, improve his skills, and upgrade his individual professional mastery. In the opposite case he simply fails to master the equipment. In a way this constant and comprehensive improvement combines the superior interests of the enterprise with those of the production worker. Furthermore, by its very nature it suits the socialist enterprise to see a person it employs improve as an individual as well and acquire the opportunity better to satisfy his growing demands and needs.

Let us consider our plant. Legitimately, improving labor conditions further has become the most important aspect of the social program for the 10th Five-Year Plan. This problem is being resolved by us along two directions: on the one hand, through the installation of new equipment, and the automation and mechanization of sectors in which manual and underskilled labor prevail. The other is the more efficient management of labor processes.

The technical retooling of the shops carried out in the Ninth Five-Year Plan led to the fact that today automatic, semiautomatic, multiple-position combined programmed machine tools, and automated assembly lines predominate at the plant. Electronic facilities are being extensively applied. Over one-third of the entire equipment was renovated in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The renovation has been continued in the current five-year plan as well. Last year alone 38 units of highly productive automatic and semiautomatic equipment were installed, 79 of which were manufactured by the enterprise itself.

The content of the work has changed radically thanks to the installation of the new equipment. Over the past seven years the number of people engaged in manual and heavy physical work has been reduced by over one-half. Technical retooling has had a particularly beneficial influence on the work of women who account for most of the collective. Today one-fifth of all plant workers are already controlling automated systems and their skills have grown correspondingly. The average grade of a production worker has reached the 3.7 level. This means that the overwhelming majority of working people are in the skilled and highly skilled categories. New skills, popular among young people, are being developed at the plant, such as electro-grinders and electro-chemical polishers. The structure of engineering and technical workers is changing qualitatively. Today we have programmers and specialists in electronic equipment and mathematics.

It is characteristic that today, in most cases, it is not the machine that provides the rhythm but, conversely, the worker himself determines its regimen on the basis of his own individual characteristics and production requirements and willingly assumes full individual responsibility for end labor results.

Indicative in this respect is the example provided by the assembly shops which decided to abandon the conveyor belt with its forced rhythm and deemed it expedient to convert to individual or element assembling. What does element assembling mean? Let us visit one of the assembly shops where the manufactured parts and assemblies are assembled within a single mechanism which we know as a watch.

The shop is clean and painted in bright colors. The assembly workers (essentially young girls) sit behind mechanized tables one next to the other, on special, comfortable seats. Each one of them carries out her own technologically defined operation. The mechanisms are moved from one operation to another not individually but by the dozen. At that point, according to her knowledge, experience, and professional training, the assembly worker herself sets her own work system and rhythm. Let us point out that labor productivity at all operations without exception has risen considerably. Element assembly has yet another advantage: reciprocal control. Defects can no longer remain anonymous. It was natural that with the conversion to the new assembly system the percentage of rejects declined considerably.

In the past the forced rhythm of the conveyor belt kept the worker in a state of nervous and physical stress which brought about greater fatigue and lowered labor productivity.

The conversion to individual assemblies where the rhythm is established by the workers themselves made it possible not only to eliminate the stress and reduce tiredness but reorganize the technological process in order to consolidate the operations carried out by the assembly worker. As a result of the introduction of the element assembly system and the installation of new equipment, the quality of the assembly improved noticeably and, most satisfactorily, finally the assembly workers were spared the higher nervous stress and are no longer so tired after the shift compared with the past. Let us also note a social achievement: the conversion of assembly workers from a three-shift to a single shift work.

As early as 1913 V. I. Lenin wrote that the use in production of the achievements of science and technology and their high level of development "will make labor conditions more hygienic, save millions of workers from smoke, dust, and dirt, and accelerate the conversion of dirty and disgusting workshops into clean, bright laboratories worthy of man" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 94). Our plant is already becoming such a "laboratory worthy of man," since the specific nature of the plant and its production technology call for ideal cleanliness and order.

All plant shops are bright and comfortable with powerful air conditioning. The bright colors in which the premises are painted are pleasing to the eyes. A specially set up sanitation laboratory, guided by scientific recommendations, strictly supervises the observance of health-hygiene norms in production. For example, scientists proved that a higher temperature in a premise contributes to the rapid growth of sleepiness among the people which lowers their efficiency 15-18%. On the other hand, a temperature reduced below normal not only becomes the reason for frequent colds but directly hinders the fast and precise movements specifically needed in assembly work. Therefore, rigid control must be maintained over the work of the air conditioning systems. This, specifically, is the duty of the sanitation laboratory.

Functional music is another aspect of the work. This as well is a scientifically substantiated factor for surmounting the adverse psychological effect of the monotony of labor operations. Music broadcasts at the plant (which are not only varied in terms of genres but alternate with information reports by the plant's radio newspaper) are so structured that listening to them is interesting to the people and is consistent with the requests expressed in the course of the surveys. We take into consideration that such music must be played at the same volume and changed quite frequently. The duration of any individual broadcast does not exceed 20 minutes. All in all, functional music is played for two and a half hours per shift.

Regulated breaks within each shift have become a mandatory feature in the struggle against excessive tiredness. In the first break the people leave their work places. The second break is used for calisthenics which eliminate the adverse effect of the work position required by the production process, which is strictly defined and calls for little movement. Industrial calisthenics are practiced at the plant under the supervision of an instructor.

A modern instrument manufacturing enterprise presumes a high level of general educational and specialized training. Taking this into account, the social development plan calls for a variety of worker training methods. Two production-technical schools, a secondary technical school, shift courses for working youth, a course for foremen, and a branch of the machine building institute train specialists for the plant. In the past two years hundreds of workers have earned either their secondary school certificate or secondary technical school graduation diploma. By 1980 yet another 430 people will graduate from the plant's secondary technical school and institute. We consider these people the main reserve for future reinforcements of the ranks of engineering and technical workers.

The 10th Five-Year Plan, the five-year plan of effectiveness and quality, can be successfully completed only with the availability of highly skilled cadres. Young people are being trained on the basis of a special program using the facilities of technical schools numbers 13 and 15. In the immediate future they will be using machine tools producing most complex assemblies for quartz watches. In 1979 we are planning to train 3,195 new workers. Another 3,650 people among those already employed by the plant will be retrained in courses for the study of progressive labor methods and will thus acquire a second skill.

Furthermore, the plant has permanent courses for engineering and technical workers where they study the uniform standardization system, become familiar with innovations in the watchmaking industry, study problems of economics and sociology, and master the foundations of labor legislation. Every year a big group of plant specialists are retrained at the ministry's institute for skill upgrading. All in all, this five-year plan, over 1,000 engineers and technicians will acquire greater knowledge.

Mass cultural and sports work also contribute to the harmonious and comprehensive development of the individual. Thanks to the successful



implementation of the program for social changes, today the plant has everything necessary for the physical advancement of the workers. We could say that currently most of the collective is engaged in various types of athletics. We have 18 sports sections headed by voluntary instructors. Last year alone the plant trained 20 masters of sports, and 42 candidate masters. Over 1,300 people earned sports grades and 782 workers met the norms for the Ready for Labor and Defense Badge. Obviously, all this explains best of all why in recent years morbidity among plant workers has declined sharply.

We spare no funds for the development of athletic facilities. The plant has a stadium and a water sports complex which are justifiably described here as a health shop. Slava, the plant's rugby club, is the pride of the collective.

Young people account for three-quarters of the collective. It is far from indifferent to us where and how the young people spend their leisure time. This is a major problem. It is a constant concern of the public organizations and the administration. We have our rich library with a rotating stock, numbering 60,000 volumes. We have sports halls and equipment. However, we do not have our own club. The problem is that the plant is located in the very center of Moscow and acquiring here a piece of land is exceptionally complex. It was only recently that a decision was passed to assign the plant a site for the construction of a house of culture. We are hoping that this long awaited construction project will be initiated soon.

Abundant proof exists of the beneficial influence of the implementation of the social development measures on the strengthening of production discipline. In recent years the number of labor discipline violations at the plant had been reduced sharply and cases of absenteeism have declined. The former cadre turnover--this scourge from which the enterprise chronically suffered in the past due to the fact that we were unable to satisfy so completely and comprehensively the growing requirements and needs of the working person, no longer exists.

We try to inform all working people at the enterprise of the social development plans which are extensively and intelligibly described by the local radio and the plant's newspaper. We see to it that this topic is constantly dealt with by the agitators and propagandists. Let us also add that no less than once every three months the course of the implementation of the plan is discussed at an expanded meeting of the plant's party committee. The party committee issues decisions on social development problems a minimum of twice annually. The plant's administration reports on the implementation of the comprehensive social development program at the time that the annual results are summed up.

Such broad publicity and close attention paid to the social topic is not a concession to fashion. The workers are far from indifferent as to where and how they are going in the course of their social development. They want to see this in practical terms as well!



## The Way to the Hearts of the People

Today over 11,000 people work in our plant. This means 11,000 unique individualities. It means 11,000 characters and destinies. The party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and plant management try to provide every member of the collective with an interesting and rich life.

The prestige of human toil is achieved with the help of a healthy micro-climate, an atmosphere of friendship and mutual aid, constant concern for the needs of the people, steady increase in the level of real wages, and an increase in social consumption funds. The average wage of an industrial-production worker (including bonuses from the material incentive fund) at the plant today is 184.6 rubles. The trend toward the steady growth in wages will be retained in the future. Estimates have indicated that by the end of the current five-year plan it will reach 200 rubles per month as a result of higher labor productivity.

Naturally, this applies, above all, to the workers practicing the main plant skills. The other categories of working people have not been ignored. With a view to streamlining their work and preventing turnover, several years ago the plant's labor and wages department elaborated and applied a more advanced system of wages which calls for indirect piece-rate payments for the labor of auxiliary workers such as tuners, fitters, and controllers. The essence of the new system is that the wages paid workers practicing these and other skills are directly dependent on how well their assigned equipment works.

Practical experience has confirmed that the labor and social activeness of the working person is directly proportional to the conditions in which he works. We see to it that the justified requirements of the people are always met on an ever growing scale. The plant and its collective must become the second home of the working person, a home on whose aid and support he could always rely and in whose successes he is personally interested. A great deal is being done at the plant so that the way of life of the members of the collective contributes to the development of a full personality and of a feeling of gratitude for everything which the enterprise has done to reward honest labor and a conscientious attitude toward the work.

The administration, party committee, and Komsomol committee are always concerned with the most useful utilization of appropriated funds. At the same time, however, they try to create a situation in which a worker, in turn, will consider the accumulation of social consumption funds his very personal matter.

The plant closely studies the structure of human needs. Even though the range of problems related to upgrading the living standard of the workers is broad and varied, we try in the distribution of material goods to be as equitable as possible. This applies to payments made out of the material incentive fund (in the Ninth Five-Year Plan 12,693,000 rubles were spent for this purpose; in the 10th Five-Year Plan such payments will be raised 2,537,000 rubles), the allocation of housing, free rest cards, medical services,

domestic services, and many others affecting, to one extent or another, the individual interests of the workers. Let us note, however, that all other conditions being equal, preference is given to war and labor veterans and leading production workers.

The plant's housing construction has reached an unparalleled scope. Here is a comparison: from 1950 to 1965 the plant was able to build only 300 apartment units; over the next 10 years the amount tripled. In the past four years alone the families of our workers have settled in five multistoried residential buildings with an overall area exceeding 15,000 square meters. Furthermore, last year a 72 apartment cooperative building was completed. In the remaining 1.5 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the plant's workers will receive another 4 multistoried residential buildings. In the next five-year plan, finally, we shall be able to report that the plant has virtually resolved its housing problem.

Such is our reality. Many good and well deserved statements may be heard at the plant on the subject of our medical personnel, those who protect our health. Naturally, they provide the working people with first and most needed aid, treat them, and help them rejoin the ranks faster. Yet, the most important aspect of the work is that of the medical-sanitation plant unit: its concern for the prevention of diseases and the extensive recovery-prophylactic work it does. Last year, for example, specialists examined 5,578 women for prophylactic purposes. The sick were kept under outpatient observation and were given the necessary treatment on time. The result is that, compared with previous years, the number of sick women declined by a factor of more than 3.

Today the plant's polyclinic has the most modern medical equipment and employs highly skilled physicians. We are helped in the choice of good cadres, in particular, by the fact that now the medical personnel as well are entitled to the benefits enjoyed by the plant's workers.

Currently the plant is completing the construction of a consumer services building which will contain locker rooms, a desk accepting food purchase orders, a barber shop, a manicurist, areas for recreation and women's hygiene, and shower rooms. In all probability, in the future many good words will be said about the plant's sociological commission which contributed to this construction.

The financial prosperity of the plant, achieved as a result of the collective's production successes, and the growth of the domestic budgets of workers and employees have given an impulse to the broad development of health, hiking, tourist trips. Regularly, once a year, thousands of working people spend their leave in various health centers in the country. The number of vacation cards issued either free of charge or at a reduced rate is rising. Here again one may trace the connection among the major changes which have taken place in our plant in recent years: the people have begun to work and earn better. Withholdings for the material incentive and director's funds have increased; payments to the trade unions have risen.

With the help of such funds, last year alone, the working people were issued over 7,000 cards to rest homes and sanatoriums worth 447,000 rubles. This year this figure as well will be outstripped. In 1978 the enterprise issued at its expense 240 cards to those needing to follow a medical diet. It was decided that the remaining members of the trade union will be issued cards for one-third of the cost only.

Along with the increased mass recreation of the working people in various trade union health centers throughout the country, the plant is doing extensive purposeful work to expand and strengthen its own recreation bases. One of them is already in operation in the area of Sochi. Last year 1,800 spent their leave in that base.

The construction of a plant boarding house near Ruza is planned. As of next year two-day recreational and prophylactic trips will be organized for the workers at the children's settlement in the picturesque Snegiry near Moscow.

Every year considerable funds are allocated for improvements and expansion of recreation areas for the children. Summertime the kindergartens move entirely into cottages outside the city while older children go to pioneer camps. We plan to build a boarding house near Sochi especially for people with small children, and near Moscow for those for whom the sunshine of the south is counterindicated. The problem of the recreation of the workers' children will be completely resolved next year with the completion of the health center in Istrinskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, and the reconstruction of the kindergarten in Zagorskiy Rayon.

For the sake of justice let me say that all this is not easy to accomplish and, occasionally, must be fought for. The construction of the center for children at Istra took over seven years. The construction of such projects and of a cow shed and greenhouses in the auxiliary farm has to be done with our own efforts, which means that there is a scarcity of people, materials, and equipment.

The plant has other difficulties as well. However, in no way are they able to reduce the significance of the truly tremendous social changes which have taken place in recent years. Today at the enterprise the creative working person is not only the main productive force but, above all, an individual with the entire variety and wealth of his spiritual and material requirements. I shall not conceal the fact that meeting the needs of the people is very costly to the enterprise. However, we do not regret this in the least, for such outlays are richly compensated for with higher labor productivity and an impressive quantitative and qualitative growth of output. Therefore, from the purely economic viewpoint as well we consider the funds spent on social needs a good investment.

. . . As time goes on we shall formulate new plans. We have interesting thoughts and dreams. The collective of our twice decorated plant is convinced that everything planned will be carried out, for Slava watches are continuing to record time accurately. This time works for us. It is a time of striking changes and headlong growth!

## RINGING SIDE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 64-73

[Essay by N. Plakhotnyy, Belgorodskaya Oblast]

[Text] 1

The villages along the Don are exceptionally song-minded. Characteristically, here ancient and original Russian songs are carefully preserved. Incidentally, the okrug itself is named Zvonkaya.

The Kolkhoz imeni Chapayev, about which later, is the biggest in Alekseyevskiy Rayon, and rich in a variety of talents. For example, Afanas'yevka is famous for its pictureseque round dances and virtuoso zhaleyka players. Melodiya, the all-union firm, has marketed a long-playing record preserving forever a great concert performed by local people. Singers of historical ballads may still be found in Podserednoye Village . . . while neighboring Il'inka is famous for its chastushka recitals.

Our story will be about Ilovka.

There is a golden period in the village--the so-called between seasons . . . when the hay has just been mowed and the grain harvest has not begun. . . . This is a breathing spell of only a week. Thanks to it, however, the peasants are filled with a charge of energy which lasts until the end of the harvest season. It is during this period that life outdoors becomes very active in Ilovka.

Stretching in front of the kolkhoz office--a comfortable looking house with a facade supported by four columns--is an asphalted square which turns into a wide boulevard. Evenings, the moment the lights are turned on, boys and girls walk around, exchanging news, discussing their relations, or simply relaxing and enjoying themselves. The accordion is the master of the street. It is preferred to the guitar or the transistor radio. There are accordions in many of the homes. Some of the musicians play for themselves and some for the public. Occasionally several musicians will join the "circle" and an ensemble will be organized. Such traditional street meetings are willingly attended not only by young people but by the elderly as well. Perhaps not

all will dance but all will sing. I too attended such meetings with pleasure and, I admit, more frequently than meetings at the club even though this too is a real club only in the open.

The sun has set behind the trees. The air is still hot and freshness comes only from flowerbeds and lawns. The greenery, the flowers, and the ornamental lights give the boulevard a tempting, a resort-town appearance. Everyone finds it pleasant to spend here a couple of leisure hours.

It is evening. Gradually the public gathers. Groups are formed. Here and there outbursts of laughter are heard, so loud as to make the tops of neatly trimmed birches quiver. Kolkhoz Chairman Nikolay Prokof'yevich Ozherel'yev and I are sitting on a wide garden bench.

Usually the recreation begins with dances. Here dances such as "Baryn," "Serbiyanka," "Yeletskey," "Kamarinskiy," and "Matan'" are performed in a restrained, gentle style. The same dances would be danced in Podserednoye Village in a sweeping, loud manner and be heard at the other end of the world! In Ilovka the dances are made more complex by delicate "figures"--with rhythmical breaks and tapping. Some dancers can dance "on three legs" . . . . Such a dancer dances by himself, envied by the others. Meanwhile, slowly, the dance progresses around him. Chastushkas break out like flocks of birds from bushes. A verse will be sung and heels will be striking the pavement, hastening to catch up with the beat of the accordion player, who, aware of this, speeds it up. Even the sky seems to warm up.

"I am walking on the grass, and the grass is swaying . . . .  
The boys are clever but more clever are we."

I recognize the voice of Nasta Popova. . . . Her chastushkas are always passionate, subtle. The responses they trigger are not easy to come by but do.

Carried away, I forget everything else. Nikolay Prokof'yevich tugs at my elbow:

"They are calling us. . . ."

It was Yegor Il'ich (one of the best kolkhoz carpenters) who was motioning us in the crowd to join him. Nikolay Prokof'yevich straightened out the collar of his freshly donned shirt, calmed his thick black hair and, slowly, we approached the crowd.

Even though he is 60, Ozherel'yev looks like a young man. The chairman is always neat, his walk is springlike and his taste in clothing is good. He demands, actually, that all administration workers and specialists be neatly dressed. This style of dress has been firmly adopted.

Meanwhile, changes have been made in the crowd. Small groups have merged, forming a big circle around the musician Vasya Yevdokimov. The dancing



round and clicking of heels, the captivating melodies and shouts, mixed with the piercing harmony of a recently purchased Livenka accordion literally electrify the body. One wishes, somehow, to be part of this outstanding dance. Standing by Yegor Il'ich I saw his wife Dunyasha, a dance lover. She had had a hard day at the livestock farm, shipping a herd of hogs to the meat combine. However, she had been unwilling to miss the entertainment. She was standing by Yegor's side, waving a kerchief, all dressed up, displaying her self-confidence.

"Our songs," Dunyasha explains, "have remained unchanged. We love to sing them."

It is known that the Ilovka people are good at boasting.

"Do you have really good singers?" I ask.

"Almost everywhere," she answers, jokingly. "Many people like the voice of Lena Korobova, our nurse. She has even performed on television. Zootechnician Ksenya Popova is a soprano. There is also Mariya Ryzhikh. . . . And, naturally, Pelageya Ivanovna Zlobina. She was asked to be a member of the Voronezh People's Choir. She refused. 'I,' said she, 'could not do without the kolkhoz, I would wither.' People come from far away to listen to our Zlobina."

As we were talking, the situation changed again: a song was heard under the evening sky. It was started by the Korobov sisters. It was as though this precise melody with its lyrics had been missing so far.

"Our boys were hunters and our boys were hunting redpolls  
. . . ."

This was a local favorite song. Everyone sang--those still dizzy from the dance and those who, so far, had merely watched. The warm simple melody took hold of everyone indiscriminately. Late milkmaids returning from the livestock farm had stopped here for just a minute and had quite forgotten their work. The mechanizers as well were taken by the song. They were returning from their shift tired, dirty, thinking only of washing up. Yet, here was the song! At first they listened to it silently and, subsequently, without knowing how, joined in.

Such "unorganized" concerts in the open are a custom of the peasants here and embellish their lives. Such songs retain everything that is vivid, warm, truly popular, created through the centuries by the previous generations.

Other people, following their lives, have lost a great deal. The people of Ilovka collected and saved, even though at one point they were accused of having retained too long the vestiges of the patriarchal system, overdressing on holidays, wearing obsolete shoes, and attending old fashioned young people's gatherings. They were the butt of jokes in the rayon similar to those told about the people of Gabrovo in Bulgaria. The people of Ilovka themselves would laugh at their own ways but would still follow their own customs.

Here is what struck me during my very first trip: Ilovka, famous throughout the oblast as a singing village, in fact had no regular amateur artistic performances. An old, small circle of soloists at the house of culture had mastered the repertory of Valentina Tolkunova, and Mayya Kristalinskaya and learned to imitate Iosif Kobzon, rarely deigning to use the local style.

The explanation given by Vera Nepochatenko (the artistic manager at the house of culture) explained this with the argument that, allegedly, a homespun repertory would not be sufficiently impressive on the stage. Everyone would like to hear the "domestic" interpretation of what they see and hear on the television or the radio.

Vera came to Ilovka on an assignment after graduating from the oblast cultural-educational school. She was to work her three "required" years and intended, subsequently, to return to her pleasant little southern city. She was neither familiar with nor tried to learn the local customs and mores. Her duties were essentially to provide the "artistic part" of ceremonies. . . . All this, in a village rich in singing talent.

In the course of an argument I told Vera that she should not rely on the "stars" she had, incidentally, inherited, but should study the deep area of local folklore. Organize, to begin with, for example, a circle for ancient songs. Vera listened to me carefully, even though without enthusiasm, and, finally, disappointedly said:

"All this is good but there is no one to do it. The staff is very small."

I did not find her argument very convincing. Almost every evening young people gathered in the center of the village to dance, sing, and have fun. No one had organized these amazing concerts which were spontaneous and which uplifted the moods of the people, which brought them together, and which educated them. It was simply sinful not to make use of this wealth!

I shared my thoughts with Anatoliy Alekseyevich Bezborodykh, kolkhoz deputy chairman, at that time in charge of cultural matters. He became interested in the idea of setting up a folklore circle at the club. Being a practical man, he considered the physical part as well:

"The room next to the foyer could be furnished in the style of a peasant hut," he said dreamily.

"Right now it is full of all sorts of trash."

"We shall clean it up and repair it. We shall hang on the walls home woven fabrics with rooster designs. We shall ask our composers to participate. We shall transcribe their songs and preserve them for future generations. We shall sing ourselves and involve the young people."

Suddenly, he interrupted himself.

"But where are we to conduct the training of mechanizers? Where are we to train draftees? Such activities cannot be combined as the boys would destroy all this furniture."

Bezborodykh is an impulsive person. In the right mood he might decide to undertake something difficult. Unfortunately, however, he would just as quickly cool off and develop another interest.

With all this, he gives priority to strictly economic problems. However, here again Bezborodykh had his own style, his ways. All day long he goes to fields and livestock farms, organizes the work of machine units and vehicles, and supervises officials and rank-and-file workers: he would scold, take someone in hand, or threaten. . . . Or else, he would spend half the day with the mechanizers, repairing a sewing machine or a combine. Generally speaking, he likes to handle material facilities which is something Ozerel'yev does not always like! Once in a while, the chairman would be unable to restrain himself: "Listen, Anatoliy Alekseyevich, your job is problems of education and culture. That is an endless field of work. . . ."

Eventually, Bezborodykh was elected chairman of the executive committee of the village soviet. Then, immediately, he took to heart the activities and concerns of the Ilovka house of culture. For example, an original folk songs choir was organized on an emergency basis. Anatoliy Alekseyevich assumed the function of organizer and achieved shattering success. The amateur artists had only five rehearsals before attending the folklore festival. . . . Three days later they returned home prizewinners: they had won second place in the oblast. This was simply amazing! . . . It takes other collectives years to reach that level. One could say that the people of Ilovka earned their prize without particular efforts, easily, like a joke.

2

That evening on the square remained quite memorable to me, for it enabled me to become better acquainted with a local celebrity: Delageya Ivanovna Zlobina. It was then that I had the lucky idea of recording her songs on tape so that later, in Moscow, I would listen to them and remember Ilovka.

I was helped in this undertaking by an accountant from the central bookkeeping office, Nina Belykh, who was related to Zlobina.

A discussion was held and, the following Saturday, we paid her a visit.

"As school children, we tried to look for composers," Delageya Ivanovna said, fussing in her kitchen. "Our grandfather was an inveterate choir singer. Quite frequently I told him: 'Grandfather, I would say, 'you were young yourself, you were a boy, tell me, who composed our songs?' He would answer: 'Who knows, granddaughter. Before us our grandmothers and grandfathers sang. Now it is your turn.'"

She squinted her eyes mistrustfully looking at the glistening chrome plated portable tape recorder which I was trying to set up on the sofa. However, she did not object to it but merely grinned:

"I remember, we had choirs on every street. It would be rare for a evening to pass without songs. We all gathered together on big holidays or between harvests. These were real festivals, to use modern terminology! Everyone tried to do his best and show his talent. This was followed by commentaries throughout the village as to who had performed how, and who had pleased and astounded the public. Such successes were long remembered. . . . Success was encouraged and gave prestige. How could one live without it? The saying was, 'It does not matter if you are not much to look at as long as you are voluble.' Yes, grandfather was a dear man."

Delageya Ivanovna is almost 70 but runs the house. Her family is small but noted. Ol'ga, Zolbin's daughter in law, is famous throughout the rayon as a sugar-beet team leader. Her husband Ivan is a high grade mechanizer. They both have excellent voices.

Finally, the necessary work done, it was possible to relax. After a quick lunch, the family moved to the comfortable parlor. Suddenly there was noise on the porch: Ol'ga's close friends Dunya, Polyanka, and Annushka had come. The room was crowded. Therefore, they would sing.

An argument developed: What to begin with? Each season has its songs. "The Winter Snow Will Soon Fall" is for the cold weather. "I Lost a Ringlet" is for the summer. "Whisper in the Garden, Nightingale" is sung most frequently in April and May. The order is observed strictly.

While the argument was going on, Ol'ga quietly began:

"At dawn I was milking my cow, passing the milk through a cloth, straining it, I sang for my darling Vanya."

Other voices joined her. The room was filled with a warm sound.

"As I strained, I sang to my darling Vanya, I kept saying, don't get married, Vanyusha darling, if you marry you will change. . . ."

The simple and heartfelt words and the melodious sad song led us into a world of rapturous dreams.

The floorboard cracked quietly and five-year old Delageya Ivanovna's grand-niece Olen'ka, the general favorite, entered, no, rather floated into the room. Comfortably settling on grandmother's knees, she listened carefully and quietly sang along.

The songs of the Ilovka people are a real treasure. How much material there is here for ethnographers, folklorists, art experts, and sociologists! Historical landmarks and changes may be detected according to the "layers" of songs, like geological formations. This is of interest not only to science but to everyone.

The evening passed very quickly. . . . The fact that the television was showing a hockey game and a prewar film was forgotten, even though some expected to see both. Just in case, one of the guests had brought a bottle, but was reluctant to put it on the table, as everyone was happy and warm as it was.

Parting at the gate someone joked:

"They sang as though thought they were stuffing themselves with honey."

. . . A day later I returned to see Delageya Ivanovna. This time without the tape recorder but with a box of candy from Moscow. At the threshold, however, I immediately felt a strange change in her. I was welcomed by a humble old lady wearing a cotton print kerchief.

"Are you sick?" I asked.

"God forbid . . . . I went to church."

Carefully, in both hands, she took the gift. She shook her head:

"You should have given this to the girls."

We sat down in the kitchen-entrance hall, half of it covered by a Russian stove. A dining table stood by the window. There was a bed "for the old." It was clean and comfortable.

She goes to church but has no ikon hanging, I thought. What holiday could she be celebrating today?

It is difficult to discuss with believers "divine" topics. A single incautious or tactless word could alienate the person.

Cautiously, I asked:

"Was it a big service?"

Delageya Ivanovna said, without turning her head:

"The extreme unction was administered to a dead woman. . . . And I sing in the church choir."

"Have you been singing there long?"

"Soon after Martynov."

The people have a greatful memory. Sixteen years had passed since the death of the former Ilovka chairman but, apparently, there is no time at which a kolkhoz member would not mention him or recall his accomplishments. "It was under him that we started the garden," they frequently say in Ilovka. "The



pond was his idea." "In front of everyone, he told me politely, 'Mariya, you will have a roof over your head, slate or iron, as you wish. . . .'" People keep carefully, like a relic, yellowing certificates entitled "for shock labor" signed by Yakov Borisovich. People would remember his warm words or timely advice.

The good remembrance of the people is priceless!

Yet, why is it that Delageya Ivanovna recalled the former chairman precisely now? In what connection? And where does the church come into this?

I had already heard that throughout his life Martynov had been a "voiceless member" of the amateur performance circle at the house of culture ("voiceless" in the sense that he had no voice). Jakov Borisovich could not sing but never did he miss a rehearsal and would mandatorily attend concerts given by kolkhoz artists. All brigades had choirs and dance circles. Summing up competition results, points were added "for cultural activities" as well. Participants in amateur activities enjoyed particular respect among the public of the village and enjoyed certain benefits. They were the first to be supplied with fuel and transportation or with fodder, if they had cattle. Above all, they were issued free straw.

"The Ilovka people like to boast about themselves," Slobina said. "They like the people to say, 'Look at how much the board values our Ivanovna.' Is that not pleasant? . . . Usually, the chairman would go to a field and his first question would be 'How goes it?' Naturally, one answers, 'Everything is all right,' should everything be as usual. That marks the end of the conversation. That is now! . . . Martynov, however, would visit the brigade and would discuss a variety of things, whether business or singing. . . . Three days ago our Ol'ga boasted that the chairman had visited their team. 'What did you discuss?' I asked. 'A number of things,' he answered. 'Essentially he cursed.' That was all."

"Yet, Nikolay Prokof'yevich could be also cheerful," I tried to defend Ozherel'yev.

"That may be," the woman answered evasively. "We rather sympathize than blame him. This is a big kolkhoz, takes more than a day to see it all! How much could you see from a car? You must walk among the people and approach everyone separately. . . . We are a proud people. I would say, we are a steadfast people."

The tea had long turned cold. Delageya Ivanovna emptied the cups and poured fresh tea.

"Drinking tea and singing is the entertainment of the old," Slobina said in a singsong voice.

"Excuse me," I said cautiously, "but what kind of songs do you sing in the church choir?"

Delageya Ivanovna looked at me quickly but then mumbled slowly, as though unwillingly:

"The familiar songs but, anyway, it is nice. One is again among others."

In the course of our conversation she closely watched me to see what impression her words would make. It was as though she was afraid to sadden or disappoint me. In fact, both of us were worried about the same thing.

"What type of society is that of the church?" I said, risking an end to the conversation.

"It is as it is," she answered condescendingly. "There is not much choice. . . . Under Martynov everyone ran to the club, young and old. They were active. Under Ozherel'yev as well they went there initially. . . . Then they began to specialize, and that was all."

"What 'all'?"

"There is no choice," she kept asserting. "We would finish a complex, clean up around the construction site, and only after that. . . ." she smiled maliciously, "get into amateur culture. Then the earth would shake from the songs."

"Are you serious?"

"Our custom is when a house is built there is no dancing or visiting."

. . . Unwittingly, I recalled another talk with the editor of Kuvshinovskiy Rayon newspaper ZNAMYA, published in Kalininskaya Oblast, Nikolay Ivanovich Kalakutskiy. That conversation too was on the influence of the church. Many people are still seduced by the external beauty of religious ceremonies. Sometimes young people go to church. . . . My colleague reacted strongly to all this and, finally, excited, exclaimed:

"I believe that society has the right to demand a great deal of the cultural workers! Rarely are the cultural centers shining brightly, at full strength. Some of them have more soot than light! . . . We have in our rayon a village, Vasil'yevo. At one point the church there was quite active in the life of the kolkhoz members, something which could not be said today. This is explained by the increased prestige of the personnel of the Vasil'yevo House of Culture. Amateur circles and agitation collectives have acquired a tremendous attractiveness. No family celebration or undertaking on the kolkhoz scale takes place, as the saying goes, without the village librarian. . . ."

Yes, it was precisely such organizers that Ilovka lacked.

. . . Sipping her tea, Delageya Ivanovna instructively mumbled:

"I am telling you the truth--it is difficult for the kolkhoz to be scattered all over the place. Had Martynych had to cope with such a wide front as

Ozherel'yev now, he would have been unable to spend hours at the club. . . . Yet, he would even visit the houses of kolkhoz members. How often he would come to relax sitting right here, just where you are. . . . Yet, Nikolay Prokof'yevich is always short of time and is always torn into parts. He deals with one problem after another for the kolkhoz. They say he is collecting funds . . . building something! Something worth millions. . . ."

3

I have known Nikolay Prokof'yevich for quite some time. He is a warm, a responsive person. Occasionally I ask his help when I need the advice of an expert who well understands the complex problems of rural life. This time again, I made a big detour and went to Ilovka to see friends and seek Ozherel'yev's advice. I carried in my pocket a letter sent to the editors by a young kolkhoz member. This was a sort of confession of a drifter.

The migration problem has a variety of aspects. Currently it is being closely studied by scientists and journalists, party workers, and economic managers. Ozherel'yev himself began by saying that it is becoming ever more difficult to keep the young people in the village. . . . It was then that I placed in front of the chairman several closely written leaves torn from a student's notebook. Following are some excerpts:

"I am a native rural resident and, therefore, closely linked with nature. It is impossible to explain the feeling one gets by being in close touch with nature. . . . Sometimes I would go to the field and the space and the purity of the spring air would create undecipherable sensations. I have always loved a sunny morning with its slight coolness, concealing the secret of the hot day to come.

"Yet, I had to abandon all this. The city seduced me with its advantages. Virtually all the graduates of our class left with me. . . . Recently, we met again and tried to determine why we had left the land on which we had grown. Everyone talked a great deal. However, skipping the verbiage, the essence of the matter was simple: the boys had left because it had become boring, monotonous, at home.

"The young people are interested in a number of things and, most frequently, in the nature of the company. This is a great force! A friend of mine came back from a settlement in the tayga and said, in the course of the conversation: 'The main thing is not where you live but with whom.' I agree.

"Yet, imagine our big beautiful village. . . . The boys and girls are like those in the city. Production conditions are suitable and earnings are adequate. However, many people think of one thing only: go somewhere romantic, join a big construction project. Actually, speaking honestly, there is plenty to do at home as well! Frankly, however, on occasion one wishes the shift would not end. At work you are needed, people are interested in you, you feel a complete person. The moment the work ends you have no idea what to do with yourself. Everyone is bored alone. Incidentally, it is better to be bored alone than collectively.

"Once we thought of staging a play. We became all fired up but cooled off just as rapidly. I was the only one to attend the third rehearsal. . . . As television has become popular the people deem it shameful to spend an evening at a public show. They figure that 'their own people' would neither be able to sing nor to dance, as it were, and that immature young people attend the club.

"I soon yielded to the general mood and left. Soon afterwards, however, I began to yearn for the village. Virtually all my comrades would like to go back to the kolkhoz but fear that their fellow villagers will mock them. . . . One of the reasons for the existence of 'rolling stones' is the fact that the rural people maintain poor contacts among themselves. Essentially, naturally, we are linked through work. Club life is virtually absent, unfortunately.

"Nikolay Novikov, mechanizer, Komsomolets Sovkhoz, Poltavskaya Oblast."

Having read the letter, Ozherel'yev automatically shuffled the paper, silently looking through the open window. Finally, I heard his voice, toneless yet with feeling:

"The same type of message the editors could receive from Ilovka as well. Old Slobina told you the same thing."

There was a knock at the door and Ivan Dmitriyevich Dvoryatskikh, chief of the first production sector, rushed in. He had some urgent matter to discuss. With a short gesture the chairman put an end to the rush.

"If memory serves, in the army you were a patron of amateur performances, were you not?"

Ivan Dmitriyevich easily answered that, Yes, in his youth he had done all sorts of things.

Ozherel'yev smiled.

"How quickly you have aged."

"It is one project after another!"

"What about recreation and the cultural standing of our workers, would that be hampering them?" the chairman asked reproachfully. "Occasionally, brother, we get too carried away or fail to notice what is taking place around us. I have a suggestion: Let us meet with our aktiv and jointly discuss the problem. . . . How about it?"

So, a meeting of specialists (over 70 in the kolkhoz) was held in the assembly hall. The teachers at the local school, officials, and cultural workers were invited to attend. From time to time Ozherel'yev would summon the rural aktiv for such "unofficial talks" to tackle a difficult problem before submitting it to public discussion.

Once everyone was in, without standing up, Nikolay Prokof'yevich thoughtfully said:

"Comrades, we must build a culture complex. . . ."

Someone grumbled:

"We have not yet finished the livestock complex."

"Nevertheless," Ozherel'yev said insistently, "the question is on the agenda. We have frequently said that both major and minor matters depend on the way the worker feels."

This was the real Ozherel'yev. Many people could envy his skill to give a political direction to economic strategy. In the war Nikolay Prokof'yevich commanded a tank subunit. His military knowledge came in handy on the economic front as well. He can define the core of any matter and within a single day, comparing this with war, could be a commander in chief, a rank-and-file scout, a diplomat, or a political instructor leading a platoon to the attack. Discussing the problem of culture, Ozherel'yev provided the assembly with the absolutely accurate direction, confounding even the keen witted with a seemingly extremely simple question: "What is the purpose of all our efforts? Actually, what are we working for?" He marked time after which, quietly, he said: "We live for the sake of making our lives and the lives of others more beautiful."

These words were not recorded in the minutes but everyone retained him in his heart.

Unquestionably, there will be a cultural complex in Ilovka. Far more complicated is something else: to develop in every person an inner need for moral perfection.

While discussing the "cultural problem," a member of the initiative group recalled that recently an attempt had been made to organize a club of lovers of old songs. He was immediately corrected by literature teacher Ivan Mitrofanovich Dutov:

"In addition to entertainment, such a circle should have the additional task of studying local folklore. There are plenty of things to dig around!"

"Who would finance such things?" the chief bookkeeper asked.

There was silence.

"I already looked into this," Ivan Dmitriyevich Dvoryatskikh joined in. "True, the kolkhoz's culture fund is very low, no more than some 40,000 rubles. . . . Despite an income of a million."

"Nevertheless, the most important thing is not what the culture club would be like," said Anatoliy Alekseyevich Bezborodykh, chairman of the village



soviet. "If there is a good organizer there will be everything. . . . Over the past six years we have had five different managers. It is time for the club to have skilled specialists, as in the other sectors, so that we could demand a great deal of them, without excuses."

"True, true. . . ."

"Well, we shall describe the situation frankly at a general kolkhoz meeting," said party committee secretary Aleksey Mikhaylovich Chernousov. "Meanwhile . . . ."

"Let us see who can do what!" Ozherel'yev said, ending the conference.

It was decided to begin with the organization of a literary evening. Several years ago a similar measure had already been organized. A poet from Voronezh was passing through Ilovka. This was noted by Ivan Mitrofanovich Dutov. He turned on his entire charm and talked the guest into reciting his poetry on the kolkhoz stage.

Yet, how to hold a literary evening without a professional literary worker?! The argument brought forth by librarian Raisa Fedorovna Yevdokimova sounded convincing.

"In our singing village everyone is a poet. Once the news has spread of such an evening, they will come with their children."

Meetings and preparations began. . . . On the eve of the appointed day the weather worsened drastically: there was a downpour with gusts of wind. The announcements were blown away. The organizers feared that the performance would not take place, that the people would not come. However, the moment darkness fell and the florescent lights were turned on, people started walking to the center from all parts of Ilovka. First to arrive were the milkmaids, happy, pink cheeked, wearing multicolored shawls. The lights in the hall were turned on! They sat on the fifth row, not far from the stage but not very close either. They were followed by the personnel of the feeding lot, over 30 people. In fact, some of them had brought their children along.

The hall had 550 seats. By 7 pm they were all taken. Long benches and chairs from the offices were set along the walls and the aisles. From past experience, Ivan Mitrofanovich Dutov had undertaken to read a short statement on modern poetry. He had spent several evenings on the speech but, once on stage, he could not find his paper. So, simply he discussed passionately how important poetry was to a cultured person.

The surprise of the evening was a live poet, homespun at that--Ivan Ryzhikh, an Ilovka boy. His attempts at poetry were a surprise to many. Actually, Ryzhikh is only beginning his career. His seemingly very simple words thoroughly shook up a large part of the audience:

"Save me from lies/ and from depression, dark like the night./ Protect me the way the rye in the day/ protects a bird.

"Help me not to be sorry/ either for myself or for others./ Love me the way I am,/ so that I may become as you want me to be."

Ivan's parents were sitting in the last row, extremely embarrassed, refusing to believe the reality of the happening. It seemed a mirage, even though everything was quite clear: The poetry was heard and there was thunderous applause.

Readers appeared on the stage. . . . The familiar poetry of Pushkin, Mayakovskiy, Mezhirov, Yevtushenko, Ostrovyy, and Rubtsov were heard.

"And now we yield the stage to poetry lovers of the middle generation," Ivan Dmitriyevich Dvoryatskikh, the master of ceremonies, proclaimed.

The sector chief was quite agitated.

"You and I, dear comrades, are witnessing and participating in a big undertaking. Unfortunately, we rarely meet on such occasions, even though it is entirely clear that the kolkhoz has a great need for poetry. Without poems the soul becomes stale. . . . A great deal could be said about it, but let us better read favorite poems."

He declaimed beautifully an excerpt from "Terkin." He was asked to declaim twice unknown poems by Iosif Utkin.

An accordion was brought on stage and a request concert began. No one expected, for example, that after the soldiers' song "Ogonek" brigade leader Ivan Yakovlevich Sysoyev would speak. He had fought the war. His entire chest was covered by medals, including foreign ones. . . . But what was it that made the veteran stand up?

"I would like to share a recollection with you," he said, pulling his military cap. "Songs and poems were a great help to the soldiers in regaining their strength. . . . I recall that, wounded, I was in a hospital in Kamenets-Podol'sk. A young lieutenant named Khramtsov was in my ward. His recovery was lengthy and difficult. One morning, he suddenly turned to me with the request: Did I know folk songs? . . . I do not have to be talked into it. I cleared my throat and started singing 'In our home under the window the lilac blossomed' . . . not hearing the lieutenant sing along quietly. The doctor heard our singing, entered the room, and laughed. 'Well,' she said, 'Khramtsov, now I can relax: You will yet fight again.'"

Ivan Yakovlevich took a deep breath and, facing the public, said:

"Allow me, comrades, to perform a solo number." Unaccompanied, he sang his favorite song.

Indeed, everyone was amazed and pleased.

The applause has ended. . . . A day, a second, a third, passed. All they could talk about in the kolkhoz was the poetry evening. Jealous, the Afanas'yevka people sent a deputation to the kolkhoz board to determine the reason for which it was precisely the Ilovka club that had been chosen for this project, even though Afanas'yevka had just as good literary talent. As to singing, there would even be no contest. . . .

"So, actually, what is the problem?" said Ozherel'yev, waving his arms.

"Organize your own poetry evening according to the rules. Then, let us see whose is better! What about it?"

Silently, the delegates left the chairman's office. Their faces, however, expressed their full resolve. . . .

5003

CSO: 1802

## IN FRATERNAL COOPERATION WITH THE USSR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 74-81

[Article by Gunter Mittag, SED Central Committee Politburo member, and SED Central Committee secretary]

[Text] From the very first day of its existence, the GDR has been linked through fraternal ties with the USSR. The victory of the Soviet Army over Hitlerite fascism opened the historical opportunity to uproot on German soil the social reason for exploitation, slavery, and aggression, reject the oppression of capitalism and imperialism, and take the path of the socialist revolution.

In the GDR this historical opportunity was used under the leadership of the SED--the combat Marxist-Leninist party of the working class of our country. The successful development of the GDR for nearly three decades gives us firm grounds to claim that the party's systematic revolutionary activities have been crowned by considerable achievements on the part of the working class and our entire people in strengthening socialism.

The application of the world-transforming doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin in the specific conditions of our country, the consideration of the experience of the great CPSU, and the closest possible and unbreakable interaction with it were, and remain, the key to the successful activities of our party. The fraternal relations between the SED and the CPSU are based on the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism. They are steadily developing in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality.

Under the leadership of the SED the working class in the GDR, acting together with its allies, resolved in the course of the unified revolutionary process the basic sociopolitical problems such as the elimination of the remnants of fascism, the establishment of the power of the workers and peasants, the development of socialist ownership in all realms of the national economy on a broad scale, the creation of effective socialist planned economy, and the raising of millions of people of different generations in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and firm and unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union.

Today the GDR is following the path of building a developed socialist society. Our party is ascribing great importance to the reaching of the long-term socio-political objectives of this construction as indicated in the decisions of the Eighth and Ninth SED congresses. The daily struggle for their implementation plays an important role in the development of the political awareness of the working class and the entire people.

The revolutionary social changes initiated three decades ago continue to yield rich results.

The very nature of socialism, consisting of steady improvements in the prosperity of the people, is manifested ever more clearly in the course of the systematic implementation of the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. The economic power of the country is rising and relations of trust between people and party are strengthening.

Meanwhile the SED, fighting for the further building of a developed socialist society, takes into consideration the fact that the existence of a state of workers and peasants on German soil, and its blossoming over a 30-year period is a tremendous historical victory for the entire revolutionary workers' movement and, at the same time, a major imperialist defeat. It is not astounding that the class enemy, FRG imperialism in particular, is doing everything possible to hinder the successful development of socialism in the GDR. It is launching a variety of attempts in this direction, not the least of which is the intent to misrepresent the real situation and begot the minds of the people.

The SED is intensifying its political-educational work in an effort to depict even more clearly the historical gains of the new system. It is promoting in the people a feeling of pride for the successes of real socialism achieved by our republic and the entire socialist comity.

Confronting imperialism in Central Europe in the class struggle, we feel an influx of strength based on fraternal relations and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity.

With each step forward on the path to socialism and communism, the foundations of our indestructible fraternal alliance with the USSR are becoming ever more strong. This alliance, developed since the very first days of the existence of the GDR, is strengthening in the course of the establishment and strengthening of the characteristic features of the developed socialist society.

The situation currently existing between the two countries and the historical prospects for their development were comprehensively reflected in the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty initialed between the GDR and the USSR. The treaty was signed by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, in Moscow, on 7 October 1975.

This treaty marks the advent of a new stage of relations between the GDR and the USSR in all fields. This particularly applies to the process of the



closer interweaving of their national economies and intensified cooperation in the fields of science and technology.

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The concentrated expression of the great national economic significance of our cooperation is in the fact that in 1978 foreign trade between the GDR and the USSR totaled 34.9 billion marks. This means that the Soviet Union accounts for 36% of the entire foreign trade of the GDR. In terms of the GDR's foreign trade, the USSR is vastly ahead of all its other foreign trade partners.

In turn, our country is the biggest foreign trade partner of the Soviet Union. It accounts for 12% of all exports and 10% of all imports of the USSR. Let us note that a considerable increase in the volume of reciprocal trade has been characteristic, above all, for the period following the Eighth SED Congress. Thus, compared with 1971, trade in 1978, i.e., eight years later, had more than doubled. Its absolute growth totaled 18.8 billion marks. This is more than the entire 1973 trade figure. Most recently, the volume of trade in 1977 and 1978, totaling 67.4 billion marks, exceeded the volume of trade of the entire 1966-1970 plan which amounted to 65 billion marks.

The powerful and dynamic growth of this reciprocal trade has accompanied by essential qualitative changes in its structure.

Supplies from the Soviet Union of fuel, mineral raw materials, and metals, meeting the needs of the growing industrial output of the republic, are of vital importance to the GDR. Their share in reciprocal trade has risen from 17% in 1950 to 32% in 1978. Meanwhile, the share of machines and equipment became dominant, having increased from 20% of the overall volume of reciprocal trade in 1950 to 48% in 1978.

The development of reciprocal trade is largely determined by production specialization and cooperation. On the basis of the 1976 agreements, in the process of the coordination of five-year plans and initialed treaties, the volume of trade in specialized goods doubled between 1975 and 1978, totaling about 10 billion marks. The reciprocal trade in such goods, averaging over 20% annually, is rising faster than the overall trade between our countries. The share of specialized goods in reciprocal trade, expressed in terms of current prices, has risen from 20.7% in 1975 to 28% in 1978.

The share of specialized and cooperated goods in exports and imports of goods produced by the metal processing industry exceeds 50%. Thus, the GDR exports to the USSR 50% of its ship-building output, 80% of its passenger coaches, 60% of household refrigerators, 70% of automated telephone exchanges, over 80% of memory systems recorded on tape, 55% of the teletypes, and about 45% of all calculators.

The structure of imports from the USSR is qualitatively changing as well. Thus, compared with 1978, imports of Soviet color kinescopes and electronic components will double by 1980. The volume of deliveries of construction

machinery from the USSR in 1978 exceeded the 1970 level by more than twice. Within the same period imports of electronic calculators rose by a factor of over 3.8.

The formulation of programs for specialization and cooperation for the period through 1990, agreed upon by comrades L. I. Brezhnev and Erich Honecker, will enable us to raise to a higher level economic and scientific and technical cooperation both on a bilateral basis as well as within the framework of socialist economic integration. The program will define the main long-term trends for the further rapprochement between the national economies of our countries and cover the entire set of the division of labor between them in the main national economic sectors.

This development trend is entirely consistent with the spirit and letter of the GDR-USSR Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty. The treaty states:

"In accordance with the principles and objectives of socialist economic integration and in the interest of the better satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of their peoples, they shall strengthen and expand mutually profitable bilateral and multilateral economic and scientific and technical cooperation, including cooperation within CEMA.

"The parties will continue to coordinate on a long-range basis their national economic plans, expand specialization and cooperation in production and research, coordinate long-term measures for the development of the most important economic, scientific, and technical sectors, exchange knowledge and experience acquired in the course of the building of socialism and communism, and insure the ever closer interaction between the national economies of the two countries in the interests of upgrading social production effectiveness."

These stipulations are already being implemented. At their meeting in Crimea, in July 1978, comrades Erich Honecker and L. I. Brezhnev agreed to accelerate the elaboration of programs for the development of specialization and cooperation between the GDR and the USSR through 1990 in accordance with the long-term target programs approved at the 32nd CEMA session.

The development of scientific and technical cooperation is assuming an ever growing significance. Decisive prerequisites are being created in this field for economic growth through intensification. Scientific and technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR is characterized by the ever closer interweaving of the scientific and technical potential of our countries and the development of specialization and cooperation in science and production. The 1976-1980 plans for the development of the GDR national economy, adopted at the Ninth SED Congress, are being implemented in their key sector through closest possible cooperation with the Soviet Union. Over 100 intergovernmental and inter-ministerial accords have been initialled between our countries, aimed at the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

It is on their basis that extensive cooperation is taking place in research and the development of contemporary technological processes, the designing

and manufacturing of highly productive equipment, the rationalization and intensification of existing enterprises and shops, and the joint construction of new production capacities.

The purpose of the joint projects is to reach the highest global standards in the most important scientific and technical areas and the creation and mastering of new goods possessing high quality parameters. Particularly important is the fact that most of the concluded agreements are of a long-term nature, extending far beyond 1980.

GDR and USSR workers, engineers, and scientists are working intensively and creatively on the implementation of these accords. Their implementation will constitute a considerable contribution on the part of science and technology to the stable and dynamic development of our nation economy.

Scientific and production cooperation between the GDR and the USSR makes it possible for many of our combines and enterprises to reach high economic indicators. The following examples could be cited:

The joint designing and manufacturing of 15- and 30-ton plasma steel smelting furnaces in Freital. Completed in 1977, at the end of 1978 they had already produced 200,000 tons of high-grade steel;

The first system of the Polimir-50 type was installed at the chemical combine in Novopolotsk. It was based on technology for the manufacturing of high-pressure polyethylene and was jointly developed by a collective of scientists and technicians from the GDR and the USSR. This improved technology will be applied also at the Lojna Plant in the GDR, following the installation of the Polimir-60 system, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union;

As a result of the coordinated elaboration and implementation of the reconstruction of the armatures plants imeni Karl Marx in Magdeburg and the plant in Penza, production facilities were developed technologically consistent with world standards. In the course of extensive rationalization and, above all, standardization, use of the block principle and of a new standard technology, labor productivity at the reconstructed production sectors of the Magdeburg enterprise more than doubled;

Direct production-technical cooperation between joint brigades for the intensification of the chemical staples combine in Schwarz and Guben, on the one hand, and the combines in Kursk and Chernigov, on the other, made it possible to upgrade labor productivity, lower material outlays, and increase the share of goods bearing the Emblem of Quality;

The creation of the automatic washing machine WFA-500 was the result of the cooperation between the Monsator enterprise in Schwarzenberg and Elektromashina in Kishinev. Since the beginning of the series-production in Schwarzenberg, 150,000 such machines have already been produced. Cooperation is continuing to improve the existing and to design new automatic washing machines, including the development of highly productive technology for machining and assembling them;

On the basis of an intergovernmental accord on cooperation in field of microelectronics, large-scale scientific and technical work of essential national economic significance has been undertaken. A base is being laid for the joint development and mastering of new technology, production processes, and equipment. Modern instruments and instrument systems are being created through joint efforts and the production of special and auxiliary materials for microelectronics is being organized.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union, which holds leading positions in important scientific and technical areas, makes it possible for the GDR to participate usefully in projects which form the front line of science and technology. Thus, in 1967 the GDR participated in the preparations for and implementation of scientific space experiments within the CEMA Interkosmos Program. The Interkosmos-1 satellite, which studied solar radiation, represented the first practical step taken by the GDR in the space sciences. As a whole, our republic developed for practical use 106 instruments and systems for 45 space apparatus.

The GDR's most significant contribution to the study of outer space and the utilization of the results obtained in the interest of the national economy was the manufacturing of the MKF-6 multizonal camera by the Karl Zeiss Jena enterprise and its successful testing in September 1976 aboard the Soyuz-22 ship. The highest point of this cooperation was the joint flight by cosmonauts V. Bykovskiy and S. Jena. In addition to the scientific and technical results it yielded, the flight became a vivid symbol of the inviolable unity between the GDR and the USSR and triggered a major political response in our country and throughout the world. The space flight of the first German, citizen of the GDR and party member Sigmund Jena was of historical significance to our people.

The flight also indicated that cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union is intensifying and yielding results, and offers possibilities for further development to the extent to which the GDR, in an effort to be a worthy partner, is contributing to it its scientific and technical achievements, upgrading production quality and insuring timely procurements and participation in the implementation of joint plans.

In its ideological work the SED is trying to make all citizens in the republic aware of the fact that our active contribution to the common cause decisively contributes to strengthening friendship and fraternal cooperation with the USSR in the interests of both countries. Anyone, directly or indirectly involved in cooperation with the Soviet Union, is politically responsible for this. This involves hundreds of thousands and even millions of people, for there is virtually no enterprise of any significance in our country whose output is not related to the Soviet Union to a certain extent.

The participation of the GDR with capital investments in the creation of production capacities for the extraction of raw materials and fuels in the USSR is yet another important form of the ever closer interweaving of the national economies of our two countries. Both traditional and stable



deliveries of raw materials and fuel from the Soviet Union, and deliveries to the GDR based on its capital investments are a most important prerequisite for the material and technical supplying of the national economy of our country.

The initial accords on participation with capital investments were concluded in 1967-1968 with a view to satisfying the needs of the GDR for petroleum and natural gas for the petrochemical and petroleum refining industries and to meet its needs for prime energy carriers.

Reciprocal deliveries and services between the GDR and the USSR are based on intergovernmental accords. Accordingly, the GDR is installing comprehensive industrial systems, building enterprises, and supplying productive capital consisting of construction materials, metal structures, machines, equipment, and consumer goods to the Soviet construction workers at the construction sites. Such industrial sites include, in particular, the section of the Soyuz gas pipeline which includes a pipeline 515 kilometers long and 5 compressor stations, about 900 apartment units, and the building of roads and a main dispatcher center. An average of 5,000 GDR citizens worked at this "Friendship Tract." They used capital assets worth approximately 300 million marks. They devoted considerable efforts to complete the work on time. The GDR participated in the joint purchases of pipes and equipment for the gas pipeline from third countries.

It has been agreed that through its participation with capital investments in the development of petroleum deposits, the GDR will build in the Komi ASSR a plant for the production of housing blocks, with a capacity for 8,000 blocks per year; the biggest contract so far has been concluded to supply the USSR with goods produced by the chemical machine-building industry--petroleum refining, gas drying, and petroleum processing systems along with Parex systems.

The GDR is also investing in the development of metallurgical raw materials. In particular, it is supplying complete equipment for the production of rolled metal goods, a big complex for the development of open-pit mining, cranes, machine tools, laboratories, cables and wiring, scientific instruments and electric power systems, and systems for automatic control and distribution.

2

On the basis of the solid foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory, the Ninth SED Congress formulated major tasks related to the social development of our republic. They are consistent with the specific requirements and experience in the implementation of the party's policy under the conditions of our country. They have a reliable base thanks to the steadily strengthening unbreakable fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

Whatever aspect of our social life we may consider, we clearly see how profoundly the vital interests of our people are consistent with the



intensification of our fraternal alliance with the USSR, and the extent to which this policy contributes to strengthening the positions of socialism in its class confrontation with imperialism.

These aspects include the planned improvement of socialist production relations. We consider as the most important step along this way the creation of combines under the direct jurisdiction of ministries. Implementing this measure, we proceeded from the fact that the establishment of combines is based on natural labor concentration and cooperation processes. We also proceeded from the fact that the creation of combines under the conditions presently existing in the GDR is the most expedient method for improving the management of the process of the socialization of production and labor, whose laws were discovered by the Marxist-Leninist classics and, for the first time in the history of mankind, deliberately applied for the good of the people in the Soviet Union under CPSU leadership.

Combination is one of the most important aspects of the socialization process. It covers production and its individual interrelated stages in the sense of the "classical combine." However, the combine concept could be extended to the entire reproduction process in its sequential phases. It is precisely the strengthened unity among science, technology, rationalization, production, and marketing that represents a considerable source for upgrading the effectiveness of the entire reproduction process. In "Das Kapital" Marx wrote that, "Everywhere the expanded dimensions of industrial enterprises are the starting point for the more extensive organization of the joint labor of many people and the broader development of material motive-forces, i.e., the progressive conversion of disparate and routine production processes into socially combined and scientifically controlled production processes" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 642).

It is precisely through combines that the quality and effectiveness of the entire work are enhanced. The combine includes institutes and capacities for research and development, design institutions, domestic production facilities for rationalization tools, and a construction subunit; enterprises producing finished products; enterprises producing specific and quality defining complementing goods; and services for production marketing both within the country and abroad.

The general director is fully responsible for the development of all such enterprises and subunits and for their highly effective interaction. Therefore, having enterprises for the production of finished and complementing goods, scientific institutes and design establishments, as well as subunits for the manufacturing of rationalization facilities, a construction department and marketing organs, the combine becomes a complete economic organism.

Consequently, it is a question of a closer economic interweaving, based on a single management, plan, and cost accounting. It is to this effect that, step by step, all modern means of management, including computers, must be used.

The combines have extensive material and financial and research facilities which enable them to implement our tasks. They can make a contribution to the

intensification of expanded reproduction above all by strengthening the material and technical base of our national economy, increasing the production of consumer goods for the population, and increasing economic returns from exports.

Therefore, unlike individual enterprises, the combines bear higher responsibility for the production and consumption of the national income. They have been entrusted, in the full meaning of the term, with a major national economic and, consequently, political mission which consists, above all, of achieving new scientific and technical results and obtaining from them economic returns within the shortest possible time, applying modern technology through rationalization, and increasing energy, raw material, and material savings.

Our party made a thorough study of the work of combines under the direct jurisdiction of ministries. They were largely responsible for the implementation of the 1971-1975 plan. The Ninth SED Congress studied the interconnection between the contemporary form of socialist industrial management and economic growth, and earmarked further steps in this area.

Problems related to combine activities were developed thoroughly. On the basis of the 1977 decree on the organization of a microelectronics combine, the SED Central Committee Secretariat and the GDR Council of Ministers passed a decision on the creation of new combines directly subordinated to the ministries, covering all industrial and construction sectors.

At the beginning of 1979, with few exceptions, powerful and stable economic units, headed by experienced party members, had been established in the entire industry under central administration and in construction in the GDR. The combines are the centers where the working class is concentrated. They have all the basic prerequisites for achieving expanded reproduction based on intensification. The current management structure consists of three levels: ministry-combine-enterprise. Thus, the combine is the virtually only form of subordination of the enterprise to centralized management, based on full cost accounting.

What were our basic considerations concerning the need for combines under direct jurisdiction?

It is a question, above all, of the fact that in the course of the reproduction process economically to combine that which is organically interrelated. This specifically applies to scientific research and development, the manufacturing of rationalization facilities, including certain construction capacities for such manufacturing, and the production of specific complementing quality determining goods or, briefly stated, the production of everything required for the effective output of high-quality goods based on modern technology.

The combine is entirely responsible for increasing the quantity and upgrading the quality of goods needed by the GDR national economy or for export. To

achieve this the combine's general director has at his disposal major material possibilities, financial resources, and the necessary rights and obligations. He must resolve these problems together with scientific institutions, enterprises, and marketing organs within the combine.

The combine consists of economically and juridically autonomous enterprises which are issued state assignments and are responsible for their implementation. The enterprises continue to work under their traditional names and their responsibility is not restricted. At the same time, however, thanks to the single management, new opportunities arise within the combine for upgrading the quality and effectiveness of all work. This particularly applies to the concentration of efforts on the solution of most complex scientific and technical problems, the purposeful application of the latest technology, and the rational organization of all combine activities directed toward the production of finished goods. Working within the combine, the enterprise realizes more clearly its national economic responsibility.

Consequently, the purpose of the creation of combines is not only to change forms or structures. It is also a question of an orientation toward the highest international standards in science and technology, and the taking of essentially new steps in the field of socialist rationalization aimed at labor savings, achieving far higher indicators in the saving of materials, imported above all, and the fuller satisfaction of the needs of the population and the national economy. Management of the entire socialist industry and construction becomes more efficient and distinct, and everyone becomes more clearly aware of the realm and extent of his responsibilities.

Developing the existing and creating new combines we are following the tried way of the socialist planned economy, firmly relying on public ownership, democratic centralism, and single planned management of the entire building of socialism on the part of the state under party guidance. At the same time, we provide the best possible prerequisites for the further development of individual and collective creative initiative in the socialist competition. This increases the responsibility of the individual to society and, at the same time, promotes further the participation of the working people in management and planning.

The fact that the economic power of our socialist national economy has reached a high level and is continuing to grow is of decisive significance to the entire political, social, and cultural progress of the GDR and the strengthening of its defense capability. In 1978, for example, the overall social product equaled 425 billion marks; capital investments exceeded 50 billion marks; public production was based on fixed capital worth 656 billion marks; the national economy employed over 8 million people.

This is a tremendous potential. Its most effective utilization requires confident scientific management and planning.

In its entire work the SED takes into consideration not only production problems but science, technology, education, and supplies to the population.

The high economic achievements and systematic development of our national economy represent a reliable foundation for the planned implementation of our extensive sociopolitical program. This covers all aspects of life: housing construction, trade, raising the minimum income of the working people, and extending paid leave.

Today the citizens of our country are welcoming the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. We wish to note this to us significant historical anniversary with further improvements in the material and cultural standards of the people and the increased economic power of the country. We wish to show the entire world that, marching together with the USSR, the GDR is a state in which the good of man is the focal point of attention and that in its foreign policy it actively supports the cause of detente and peace and contributes to the increased power and influence of socialism.

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CSO: 1802

## INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES MUST SERVE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 82-89

[Article by Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden SED District Committee]

[Text] The German Democratic Republic is approaching a noteworthy anniversary --the 30th anniversary of its foundation. Within that time it has become a powerful socialist state with a dynamically developing national economy, and high level of education, culture, and other areas of social life. The GDR working people, tirelessly implementing the party's policy, always proceed from the fact that the guarantee for their successful progress has been, is, and will remain the inseparable unity between our republic and the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, and the cooperation, fraternal aid, and support provided by the country which is laying for mankind a path to the communist future.

The accelerated development of science and technology plays a particular role in the struggle for the implementation of the main objectives of our party's policy.

The SED Central Committee Accountability reports to the ninth party congress, presented by Comrade Erich Honnecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, convincingly proved the decisive role of scientific and technical progress-- the foundation for the further building of a developed socialist society in the GDR, the dynamic development of the national economy, and the implementation of our international assignments for strengthening socialism and defending the peace. The experience acquired in the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the ninth party congress confirms this conclusion and enables us to act more decisively for the comprehensive utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The mastering of new scientific knowledge and its purposeful utilization for upgrading the quality of output and production effectiveness have contributed to a tremendous extent to the successful progress achieved by the republic as a whole and our district, in particular, along the path indicated by the Ninth SED Congress. Results such as the level reached in the implementation of the five-year plan in its basic indicators, the unparalleled scale of housing



construction, and considerable progress in the sociopolitical area, including the increased paid leave of the working people, as of 1 January 1979, could be achieved only on the basis of a higher level of scientific and technical effectiveness. In the first two years of the five-year plan the GDR was able to save in its industrial sectors alone 347.4 million hours of working time and considerably to exceed the planned assignments for the growth of labor productivity. However, we realize that today, not in the least because of the exceptionally increased complexity of foreign economic conditions, requirements for this growth have become even higher and that the present scale of development is no longer adequate. Therefore, under the party's guidance, all the necessary measures are being taken for the best possible utilization of possibilities for accelerating the application of the results of scientific and technical progress and for upgrading production quality and effectiveness.

We proceed from the fact that, here again, socialism opens essentially new and inexhaustible sources. It breaks the chains restraining the creativity and curiosity of the human mind. Naturally, it would be erroneous to think that under socialism this task could be implemented easily, without effort and struggle, or without major outlays. Naturally, today the reaching of outstanding results in science and technology in the decisive areas requires an extensive and more efficient distribution of considerable material resources.

Let us note that the imperialist monopolies are still able to reach high scientific and technical results. However, this is explained by the fact that, for the sake of strengthening their power and securing maximum profits, they concentrate a tremendous scientific potential and huge financial and material resources above all in sectors which are related most of all to the production of armaments. The fact that this is inevitably accompanied by a rising social uncertainty and the unemployment of millions of working people, a worsening of living conditions, and the increased threat to world peace, confirms the profound inhumanity of the imperialist system.

Peace and the good of the people are the main objectives of the socialist society. Systematically, taking such objectives into consideration, it can insure the effective utilization of resources needed for the accelerated development of science and technology. Here again cooperation among fraternal socialist countries within CEMA is of invaluable significance. In accordance with the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress, the GDR is making considerable efforts to develop science and technology. This five-year plan state outlays in this area have reached 35 billion marks, compared with 25 billion marks spent in the previous five-year plan.

The measures currently taken to improve the management and planning of the GDR national economy substantially, and insure the further creation and intensification of the role of combines under direct ministry jurisdiction, are largely aimed at the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. United within the combines, the multi-thousand strong collectives of working people, the concentration of material and financial resources, and their

scientific and technical potential make it possible to manage more flexibly and effectively the overall reproduction process and, on the basis of a unified strategy, resolve more concretely scientific and technical problems and apply more quickly in production the results of scientific research.

As the experience of our party organizations has convincingly proved, the creative activeness of the working people in the socialist competition, and the conscientious individual participation of scientists, engineers, technicians, workers, and all working people in insuring high rates of scientific and technical development were, and remain, a decisive reserve and a motive force. Substantial progress in various fields is determined, to an ever greater extent, not by separate, even though good, individual accomplishments but, above all, through the efforts of entire collectives and the extensive development of socialist collective labor. Has an institute, combine, or enterprise developed an atmosphere of struggle for outstanding scientific and technical achievements? Is the socialist competition truly directed toward upgrading quality and effectiveness? Is the plan for science and technology being implemented and the results of its implementation summed up as systematically and regularly as they are in the implementation of the production plan? These are the questions which were asked of the party members following the ninth party congress, particularly during the period of the recent accountability and election campaign within the party organizations.

In this case steady ideological and political work played a tremendous role, for the required pace can be achieved only where the working people know precisely and understand well the key role of science and technology in implementing our party's policy aimed at the good of the people, and when they can clearly see their individual responsibility on the basis of which they draw conclusions concerning their subsequent activities.

Such ideological-political work must be conducted, in all its variety, on a differentiated basis, among all groups of working people, for the noteworthy statement by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, fully applies to us as well. He emphasized the scientific and technical progress "must penetrate all realms of production and cover both daring scientific discoveries as well as hundreds and thousands of improvements in technology, new mechanisms, and instruments--anything which saves and facilitates human labor, making it more productive and interesting."

Substantial changes and noticeable progress were achieved in this field in the course of the extensive mass movement for the preparations for and celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The pledges and high accomplishments of individual workers and entire collectives contributed, above all, to upgrading the quality and scientific and technical standard of goods and technologies and to reaching higher labor effectiveness. In the Dresden district alone about 28,000 labor collectives assumed specific pledges of this nature. Particularly popular became the pledge to fulfill the assignments of the annual plan for science and technology in no more than 50 weeks. The benefit of the ahead-of-schedule implementation of the plan will

be used for additional scientific and technical development and for establishing a reserve for next year. On the basis of this extensive initiative, in 1978 the district's industrial enterprises increased their labor productivity 1.7% above the plan and the share of goods bearing the Emblem of Quality to one-quarter of the entire volume of commodities subject to such classification.

In political work related to the development of science and technology the main problems must be related to the formulation of specific requirements regarding the district, combines, institutes, and enterprises. Such requirements are determined, above all, by the fact that Dresden district includes a considerable percentage of the scientific and technical potential of the republic as well as enterprises of the most important industrial sectors such as, for example, electrical engineering and electronics, metallurgy, and a number of machine-building sectors directly related to the production of consumer goods. This also includes microelectronics whose development decisively determines the pace and level of scientific and technical progress in many national economic areas. Whereas under capitalist conditions this sector is becoming truly a scourge concerning the vital interests of the working people, under socialism it is developing, further and further, as one of the most important prerequisites for the type of production and economic growth which is the base for the steady and ever fuller satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of the people.

Microelectronics makes possible considerable savings of working time and materials on the scale of the entire national economy. This is quite important in terms of intensive expanded reproduction. Thus, estimates indicate that the use of a worker in the production of microelectronic goods is equivalent to approximately five workers engaged in machine production. Material and energy outlays in the use of microelectronic elements are reduced from 10% to 1%. Over a 15 year period outlays for the production of transistor elements have been reduced by a factor of 1,000.

After considering at its sixth plenum means for the further implementation of the decisions of the ninth party congress, the SED Central Committee adopted a program for the development of microelectronics according to which the sector must reach the most progressive level achieved in the world. In this connection a number of collectives were faced with an entirely new and very complex assignments. The Dresden Microelectronics Institute, for example, must become the type of research center for the combine capable of developing highly productive integrated systems and a technology for their manufacturing. This will enable it to develop a base, create an efficient strategic concept for scientific and technical development and, at the same time, elaborate precise long-term requirements governing suppliers and consumers of microelectronic products. The already practically justified close scientific cooperation with the Dresden Technical University, the Central Institute for Nuclear Research in Rossendorf, the Professor Ardenne Institute in Dresden, and other scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions, is a prerequisite for its implementation. Party aktiv conferences are held at intervals involving all scientific institutions participating in this cooperative effort. Here the party members discuss the ways and means of political work aimed at the successful implementation of these main tasks.

The Robotron Combine was assigned the task of upgrading the effectiveness of the implementation of microelectronic assignments through the concentration of its forces and the utilization of the positive experience acquired in the field of computers, above all within the framework of the Unified Electronic System, in cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. The remaining district enterprises have been assigned major tasks as suppliers and manufacturers of microelectronic instruments or as users of such output.

The initial positive results have already been achieved. Thus, important intermediary assignments have been implemented on the creation of a system of microprocessors. This is the result of the efforts not of a small circle of specialists but of the joint toil of a number of scientists, technicians, workers, and entire collectives in various branches of the sciences, technology, and production. This confirms the conclusion that the high requirements facing microelectronics are consistent with the interests of the entire national economy only when along with increasing labor efforts the advantages of our socialist system are used purposefully.

The struggle for the implementation of the program for the development of microelectronics has truly become a structural part of the mass initiative in the socialist competition launched in honor of the 30th anniversary of the GDR. The party organizations of enterprises and institutes are concerned with providing the working people with a clear idea of the significance of microelectronics and its tremendous possibilities and high advantages. Political work is systematically focused on enabling every worker to realize the need to upgrade his individual responsibility and to assign to himself the reaching of higher objectives. It has been proved that progress can be achieved only on this basis rather than mainly by formulating requirements toward others. Tasks can be successfully implemented only if everyone, starting at the stage of scientific research, production, and initial deliveries, and ending with the consumption of microelectronic products, would formulate maximum requirements regarding his own participation in this project. Such an approach alone, an approach which has been the subject of a number of arguments in connection with the lagging of microelectronics, could insure the reaching of the most progressive standard in the world in the development of this sector.

Results and the prompt implementation of scientific projects, previously considered utopian by many, depend on the extent to which everyone employed in the sector is able to define his clear positions. This leads to increased confidence in one's own forces in terms of surmounting the lagging and readiness not to follow others but to find one's own solutions. Cooperation with the Soviet Union, based in this area on an intergovernmental accord, broadens our opportunities. However, in order for us to become a real and an acknowledged partner, we ourselves must make considerable efforts.

The use of steel smelting plasma furnaces installed at the high-grade steel plant in Freatal, enabled us to draw important lessons concerning the development of mass initiative in the field of scientific and technical progress.



A 30-ton plasma furnace, first of its kind in the world, was built and successfully tested here with the direct participation of Soviet specialists. Thanks to the use of new and effective steel-smelting technology, we were able substantially to improve technical and economic indicators and to lower material and energy expenditures. At the same time, compared with the usual electric smelting methods, labor conditions were improved considerably. For example, the use of plasma furnaces reduces noise, heat, and dust.

The detailed study of world practice and our desire to reach world standards in this sector were the starting points for this outstanding accomplishment. In the view of the participants in the building of the plasma furnace, the fact that not only managers and specialists but the entire collective, including the workers who were to make a test batch, were involved in the management and planning process, was quite important. The main conclusion from this is that the science and technology plan as well must be extensively discussed by the collectives.

The party organization of the plan for high-grade steels in Freatal focused its work on the struggle for the implementation of all planned indicators in the construction of the plasma furnace. It is no accident, therefore, that the collective of young people trained to operate plasma furnaces took part in the building of the 30-ton furnace and made the test smelting.

These young steel smelters initiated a mass competition in the entire district in honor of the 30th anniversary of the GDR. They thought as follows: These are not times to waste valuable hours and minutes. Our program for upgrading the people's prosperity and insuring a stable economic development demands more than simply rolling up one's sleeves. It demands of each labor collective conscientiously to undertake to apply the achievements of scientific and technical progress. The youth steel smelting collective working at the 30-ton plasma furnace pledge, in cooperation with specialists, to double the amount of high-grade steel smelted compared with 1978, in honor of the GDR anniversary.

Equally good results were obtained in the manufacturing of modern highly productive agricultural equipment and its practical utilization at the Vortschritt Agricultural Machines Combine in Neustadt. This particularly applies to the E-516 grain-harvesting combine, the recipient of gold medals at international exhibits, which was successfully tested in the GDR, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. It is almost twice as good as its predecessor in terms of technical-economic indicators. The prerequisite for this success was the close cooperation between production workers and scientists. The agricultural machineries combine signed a contract with the Dresden Technical University, on the basis of which specific scientific work was done as an important prerequisite for the manufacturing of the combine. This was an implementation of the basic stipulation that production requirements become the basic task of the scientific research subunits while the results of the latter's become the starting point for the manufacturing of goods and their practical utilization.



The new combine is the result of the initiative and creative competition of a number of combine collectives. The work done in this respect contributed to the development of the innovation movement and to upgrading the skills of the working people. Today the combine is faced with less significant yet quite complex problems related to the organization of series-type production.

Preparations for the production of the older type combine required work stoppages lasting entire months, since the installation-assembly lines had to be set up. The production of the E-516 combine was achieved without any interruption in the manufacturing of the older model.

The experience of the Leningrad comrades at the Kirov Plant, acquired in organizing the production of the K-701 tractor, helped the fast conversion to the series production of the E-516 combine. We were able to master this experience thanks to the close cooperation between the Dresden district SED committee and the Leningrad Oblast CPSU committee. Problems were discussed and means to organize the competition among the collectives for the fastest possible organization of the production of this first-grade agricultural machine were discussed at a production conference on converting to the production of the new combine, attended by all participants in the event. The comprehensive competition focused on the precise implementation of tasks played a major role in the struggle for achieving the highest possible results, for, in the final account, the productivity and scientific and technical standard of such an item are determined not by its best parts and elements but by its weakest parts needed to insure the normal functioning of the entire machine.

The systematic struggle for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress faces the party's leadership with strict requirements. Naturally, the party organization neither can nor should directly manage science and technology or assume to any extent the responsibility of competent specialists. On the contrary, it should explain this responsibility in its entire national economic significance to managers, specialists, and all working people. This calls for the party organization to make a thorough study of technical policy and its requirements based on party decisions. This must be taken into account in all inter-party life and in the educational and mass political work of the party organization. The principle followed by our party organizations which is that "the party is wherever the party member is" must also mean that "wherever there is a party member there is a fighter for scientific and technical progress."

Such problems are the focal points of party meetings and party committee sessions.

In this connection, the work of the district party committee and its decisions are aimed, above all, at the implementation of the following tasks:

1. Extensive development of the socialist competition, directing it to a maximum extent toward quality factors, particularly toward requirements concerning science and technology, and insuring competition publicity. Trade

union, youth, and other public organizations at enterprises and scientific institutions must become fully aware of their responsibilities. The district party committee plays a special role in guiding the competition and directing it toward the solution of scientific and technical problems. It systematically sums up and disseminates the experience of leading workers and organizes help to lagging ones. Many working people send materials to the newspapers. In the course of the competition for preparations for the 30th anniversary of the GDR, several thousand labor collectives sent articles to the press describing their successes and competition objectives, and expressing their political viewpoints on why and how they are struggling for achieving the highest possible results.

2. Continue the tried practice of developing ideas for the intensification of output and holding production conferences consistent with this objective. Such concepts are long-term directives and technical policy targets of enterprises. Guided by the party organizations of combines, enterprises, and institutes related to industry and construction, annual production conferences are held at which production intensification ideas are discussed and improved and the results of their implementation summed up. The annual production conferences, thorough preparations for which take place through talks in labor collectives, the study of specific problems by voluntary task forces set up by party committees, and many other methods used to involve in such discussions the broad toiling masses, hold a firm position in the struggle for scientific and technical progress. They contribute to the work of innovators, inventors, and rationalizers, and to the accelerated production of rationalization facilities directly at the enterprises.

3. Upgrading the role of the science and technology plan and keeping the implementation of its basic assignments under strict party control. Naturally, the time is long past when many people were oriented only toward the quality indicators of commodity output. However, far from everywhere has a situation been reached in which the plan for science and technology is fulfilled on a daily or ten-day basis, similar to the production plan, and the results of its implementation publicized. That is why strict control must be maintained on the part of each party organization over the implementation of the most important items of the science and technology plan. We take into consideration that an assignment which does not include a specific task cannot be kept under control. In other words, the cornerstone must consist of efforts aimed at including within the science and technology plan objectives consistent with the requirements of the present. We must formulate the type of plan which would serve as a guideline in achieving truly high successes. Only then would the plan, its implementation, and control over its implementation turn into effective means.

4. Insure the broader and all-embracing consideration of the growing role of production technology and technologists. In this area as well substantial successes have been achieved. However, they are inadequate in terms of the comprehensive full utilization of the tremendous possibilities of scientific technologies for upgrading labor productivity, effectiveness, and quality of output. A variety of measures are being adopted with a view to improving

conditions in this area. Technological conferences are held at the big combines. Cooperation between workers and technologists is becoming ever more extensive along with the closer interaction between workers and designers, on the one hand, and technologists, on the other. The plant workers in Heidenau, the first to undertake, several years ago, the formulation of individual creative plans for upgrading labor productivity, following the experience of their Soviet colleagues, are now formulating and implementing such plans in direct cooperation with plant technologists. This experience is being purposefully summed up and disseminated throughout the district.

5. Sponsoring regular meetings of the party aktiv, scientific conferences, symposiums, and conferences with leading workers, scientists, and practical production workers on the most important problems of scientific and technical development of the greatest importance to the entire district. Thus, a joint symposium was held by the Dresden district SED committee and the Leningrad Oblast CPSU committee on essential problems of the science-technology-production complex. The symposium significantly contributed to the energizing of work in this field.

6. Providing necessary assistance to the socialist GDR Engineering Organization, and the Chamber of Technology, with its sections and production groups, with a view to upgrading the role of science and technology. In Dresden district a discussion of the "Position Taken by the Chamber of Technology Concerning the Plan for Science and Technology," aimed at achieving highest possible results, considered in the course of the discussions of the plan for scientific and technical development conducted at enterprises and scientific institutions, was particularly useful. This material was largely considered in the formulation of the science and technology plan. It became the base for the active participation of the members of the Chamber of Technology in the fulfillment and overfulfillment of all its assignments.

All in all, it could be said that the party's entire political work is directed toward developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle for scientific and technical progress and toward promoting an awareness of all interconnections, necessity, and specificity of requirements governing this process at each work place. At the same time, our efforts are directed at enabling all working people to see and feel the tremendous opportunities offered by science and technology to one and all. It is a question not only of the fact that under socialism successes in this field serve the vital interests of the toiling people. The struggle for scientific and technical progress and for highest possible quality and effectiveness is the true manifestation of the aspirations of the people, the young people in particular, to engage in creative work. The most important features of the socialist individual become clearly apparent in this struggle.

The conscientious and active cooperation of the working people is one of the decisive advantages of socialism. In order to make better use of this cooperation we must fully implement V. I. Lenin's statement to the effect that "no dark force would be able to resist the alliance of the representatives of science, the proletariat, and technology" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 189).

Science and technology are the decisive battlefield on which the global class-struggle is currently waged, a struggle in which, over 61 years ago, the Russian proletariat achieved a historical victory while imperialism turned to defense, irretrievably losing its former positions.

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## SUMMATION OF SED REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 90-99

[Review by A. Martynov of book "Geschichte der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands Abrif" [History of the SED. Outline], Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, 667 pages]

[Text] A big edition of the one-volume "History of the SED. Outline" was published in the GDR. It was prepared by a collective of authors from the SED Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and approved by a commission of the SED Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade Erich Honnecker.

The publication of this book became an important event in the ideological life of the fraternal party and the socialist German state. It plays and, unquestionably, will continue to play a major role in political-ideological work, serving properly the cause of the education of party members and all GDR working people in the spirit of the rich revolutionary experience of the SED.

The book is of major interest to the Soviet reader as well. Strictly scientifically, yet accessibly, it describes the difficult path followed in the struggle waged by the German communists. It reveals the comprehensive activities of the party at all stages in the development of the socialist revolution in the GDR. It describes its economic and social policies, main foreign political course, and active participation in the international communist and workers' movements. The theme of its cooperation with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist comity runs throughout the entire "History of the SED."

### 1

This year will mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. No one can remain indifferent to this event, whether in Europe or outside it--neither the supporters of peace and social progress nor their enemies. The people of the GDR and its friends throughout the world are preparing for the worthy celebration of the anniversary of the first socialist state on German soil. The "History of the SED" will make it possible to understand more profoundly



the significance of this event. It was precisely under SED leadership and with the help and support of the Soviet Union that, within a short historical period the working people of the GDR systematically carried out anti-fascist, democratic changes and brought about the decisive victory of the socialist revolution, laying the foundations of socialism and, currently, successfully building a developed socialist society. Therefore, the founding of the GDR marked a new, socialist period in German history.

The first postwar years . . . all people of goodwill were thinking at that time how to build a firm peace and what type of Germany should there be, as it was precisely here that the fires of two world wars had started. The eyes were turned toward the German people and the healthy forces within them.

It was precisely no other political party in the country than the party of the German communists, and it alone, that answered the questions troubling everyone and earmarked the way of German postwar development. As early as 11 June 1945, in its "Address to the German People," it called for profiting from the historically favorable prerequisites, which had appeared as a result of the liberation from the Hitlerite system, to insure the full eradication of fascism and militarism, the abolition of monopoly rule, and the establishment of anti-fascist, democratic system throughout Germany. The decisions reached at the Potsdam Conference provided the international legal foundation for this.

In the spirit of these decisions communists, social democrats, and other German anti-fascists undertook the implementation of specific measures in East Germany, drawing over on their side the broad toiling masses and other population strata.

With the support of the Soviet Military Administration, they set up in Germany state and economic organs, depriving of power war criminals and active Nazis, many of whom were tried by the new, democratic courts; concerns and big enterprises were made the property of the people as the result of the free manifestation of their will. The lands of Junkers and landowners were given free of charge to peasants possessing little or no land and to farm workers.

All these revolutionary changes were headed by the SED which was set up in April 1946 through the unification of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The merger of the two workers' parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism put an end to the fatal division within the German labor movement. It was the legitimate result of the long years of struggle waged by the communists for unity within the working class and the defeat of opportunism. The class conscious social democrats made a major contribution to this act. Having drawn the correct lessons from the past, immediately after the war they openly spoke out in favor of unity of action with the communists and, together with them, engaged in extensive organizational and ideological work for the merger of the two parties. The founding of the SED was of decisive importance to the fate of the revolution in East Germany.

The SED was equal to the historical task facing it. It convinced the broad masses of the need for radical change. It carried out among them tremendous organizational and educational work. It helped them and learned itself how to live and work in a new way. Under its guidance the foundations of the old system were destroyed and the political and economic foundations of the new society were laid.

For many years an entire army of fascist ideologues had drummed into the heads of the Germans ideas of racism and anti-communism, praising predatory wars and the destruction of other nations with a view to the worldwide domination of the "superior German race." The ideas of the "spiritual values" promoted by the criminal regime and the arrogant attitude toward the working man neither did nor could disappear quickly. It was obvious that clearing the wreckage and economic rebuilding would be easier than the reeducation of the broad masses poisoned by chauvinism and fascism. However, the SED was equal to the solution of this tremendous problem as well. Its main nucleus had passed through the difficult school of the class struggle against imperialism and fascist reaction and benefited from the long experience of the German revolutionary workers' movement.

The book characterizes the distance covered by the SED and its traditions as follows: "The SED developed as a result of a struggle lasting over one century waged by the German revolutionary workers' movement against feudal reaction and capitalist exploitation, imperialism, militarism, fascism, and imperialist wars. It embodies the revolutionary traditions of the Alliance of Communists and of the revolutionary German social democrats. It continues the work of the Communist Party of Germany and carries out the behest of the fighters of the anti-fascist resistance. It is the heir of everything progressive in the history of the German people" (p 5).

Along with socioeconomic changes, measures banning the propagation of fascist and militaristic ideas while, at the same time, widely opening the doors exposing the broad masses to German and universal humanistic culture, literature, art, and the scientific outlook of the working class and its party--Marxism-Leninism--were of major significance to the renovation of spiritual life.

The democratic school reform, as a result of which all privileges in the field of education were abolished, and new textbooks and curriculums introduced, also introduced profound changes in the spiritual life of East Germany. Gradually, the entire school process passed into the hands of people who had dedicated all their forces to the raising of the new generation in the spirit of social progress.

Characteristic of this renovation of the way of life and thinking was the active participation of broad population strata such as workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, and the petit and middle bourgeoisie. The mass movement which developed under the leadership of the working class expressed the aspiration of a considerable majority of the people toward peace and social progress. The understanding of the need for a decisive and

systematic struggle for the cause of the working people, against their class enemies, and for a new, socialist system grew. Meanwhile, in violation of the decisions of the Potsdam Conference, the ruling circles of the United States, Britain, and France, along with the German monopoly circles, promoted the division of Germany in order to retain in its western part the former socioeconomic order, thus creating the West German state. This was a severe blow on the extensive movement growing in Western Germany in favor of the implementation of far-reaching anti-fascist democratic changes.

However, imperialism was unable to prevent this process in Eastern Germany. Here, in answer to the Western policy of dividing the country and restoring the reactionary regime, the German Democratic Republic was founded, on 7 October 1949. "For the first time," the "History of the SED" states, "a German state was created whose development path was entirely determined by the nature and laws governing the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism inaugurated with the Great October Socialist Revolution" (p 222).

As the most influential political force in the country, the SED became its ruling party. Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl were elected, respectively, GDR president and chairman of the Council of Ministers. The founding of the GDR was a major victory for SED policy.

The social development of the country entered a new stage. On East German territory, "History of the SED" states, "substantial changes had taken place by the autumn of 1949. . . . Guided by the SED, the working class and its allies made anti-fascist, democratic changes, thus moving on to the solution of the problems of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. The socialist elements in the political, economic, and spiritual areas strengthened and began to determine social development to an ever greater extent" (p 217).

Having analyzed the situation which had developed by that time, the party formulated a course toward the implementation of further revolutionary changes and of laying the foundations for socialism in all realms of GDR social life. Systematically, step by step, it resolved this problem under incredibly difficult conditions--an open border, drastic disproportions in the national economy, triggered by the division of Germany, and an atmosphere of hostility on the part of the FRG and the other Western countries.

Despite this, the SED gained the understanding of the broad toiling masses of the new tasks, without which any hope for success would have been inconceivable. The book emphasizes that the aid and support of the CPSU and the USSR, and the other fraternal parties and states were of decisive significance to the building of socialism in the GDR.

The establishment of the worker-peasant system and the beginning of the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan confirmed, the work notes, that a new historical stage had begun in the GDR--the stage of laying the foundations for socialism.

Extensive and intensive work was being done in industry to lower disproportions and to reorganize its structure in accordance with the requirements of the new society and the rapidly developing new foreign relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Governmental, economic, and scientific and technical cadres consisting of workers and peasants were being trained on an ever growing scale. The working people were being drawn into planning and economic management, joining the struggle for increased production and labor productivity. Everything possible was being done to strengthen and enhance the role of the socialist sector and, at the same time, restrict the share of capitalist enterprises in the overall volume of industrial output and create an industrial base for the people's state.

At the same time, a great deal was being done to involve in the solution of national economic problems of approximately 17,500 capitalist enterprises which by 1950 still accounted for one-quarter of the entire industrial output. Differentiated methods of cooperation were applied between private and people's enterprises. Mixed enterprises were set up involving state participation. Artisans formed production cooperatives.

In 1962 the socialist sector already accounted for 88.4% of the entire industrial output and had become a reliable base for socialism in this sector. At the beginning of the 1960's socialist production relations had won in agriculture.

The private farms did not immediately merge into agricultural production cooperatives (APC). This was preceded by painstaking party work in the countryside. Starting with 1952, with the creation of the first APC, through personal experience the peasants gradually became convinced of the advantages of collective farming. Toward the end of the 1950's conditions became ripe for the mass joining of cooperatives by the peasants and the party carried out this project firmly and energetically. The summer of 1960 became to the republic's farmer the first spring in which field work was conducted under a system of extensive collectivization. By that time there were already 90,345 APC which cultivated as much as 85% of the entire arable farm land. All this made it possible to speak of the victory of the Leninist cooperative plan on German soil, creatively applied by the party under GDR conditions.

At the same time, major changes took place in spiritual life as well. One of the most important results in building the foundations for socialism, the work notes, is the fact that in the GDR Marxism-Leninism became the dominating ideology. Most of the intelligentsia had already come from the working class and the toiling peasantry and was holding firm class positions. The task of developing its own intelligentsia was, therefore, essentially resolved.

The strengthening of the worker-peasant system was a major accomplishment. The alliance between the working class and the class of the cooperated peasantry, with the intelligentsia, and the other toiling strata, headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties, socialist ownership of productive capital, and scientific management and planning of social development became the foundations of the new social system. Cooperation between SED, as the nucleus of



the political system of society with parties friendly to it--the German Democratic Peasant Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the German Liberal Democratic Party, and the German National Democratic Party, with the GDR National Front, strengthened. The moral-political unity of the people was reflected in the reciprocal trust among all these parties representing different classes and social strata.

A national people's army of the GDR was created and combat units of the working class were set up. All this was of particular importance, for the foundations of socialism were laid under circumstances governed by a sharp class struggle, sabotage on the part of the vestiges of bourgeois elements within the country, and gross pressure and interference on the part of the ruling circles of West Germany, going as far as open attempts to organize counterrevolutionary coups.

The 13 August 1961 measures, aimed at controlling the border between the republic and West Berlin and the strengthening of its border with the FRG were of essential importance to strengthening the successes achieved in the building of socialism and to the further successful progress of the GDR along this way. These measures were implemented by the GDR with the agreement of the USSR and the other members of the Warsaw Pact and with their support. They proved the resolve of the German socialist state to defend its gains against all foreign encroachments.

As a whole, the transition from capitalism to socialism in the GDR was based on the same laws applied in the USSR and the other fraternal countries within the socialist comity. At the same time, it was characterized by significant features which appeared in the course of the implementation of revolutionary changes in virtually all realms of social life. These characteristics were determined by the specific historical conditions of the country, including its former status as part of the single imperialist state.

The "History of the SED" pays great attention to the stage of building a developed socialist society in the GDR. The qualitative distinction between this stage and the transitional period is that now all realms of social life are developing on a socialist basis.

Based on this fact and making use of the favorable circumstances which developed as a result of strengthening the border between the GDR and the FRG and West Berlin, in the 1960's the SED organized the dynamic development of the economy, science, education, and culture. It created major prerequisites for steadily upgrading the material and cultural standards of the working people. At the beginning of that period a set of long-term measures was drafted and implemented aimed at the fuller utilization of the economic foundations of socialism. These measures, know as the new economic system of national economic planning and management, laid the beginning of improvements in the economic mechanism and the development of the extensive initiative of the working people in accordance with the increased socio-economic requirements.



The "history of the SED" proves that, relying on the positive experience acquired in the 1960's, and having corrected individual errors which occurred at that time, starting with the 1970's, the party achieved new major successes. It was able to organize the planned and proportional development of all realms of social life. It formulated an overall program for the further construction of a developed socialist society in the GDR.

The SED considers as the main task of its policy at the new stage of social development the enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the life of the people based on high rates of development of socialist production, its increased effectiveness, scientific and technical progress, and higher labor productivity.

All SED activities are imbued with concern for upgrading the prosperity of the working people and making the legitimate interconnection between the growth of public production and the satisfaction of the steadily rising material and cultural needs of the people closer and more effective. The party's economic and social policy is formulated and implemented as a single entity.

Today the center of gravity in economic development has been shifted to social production intensification and higher labor productivity. Great attention is being paid to production rationalization; technological modernization, mechanization of production processes, and partial and complete automation of the most important national economic enterprises. Systematic work is being done to save on energy and raw and other materials, promote a scientific organization of labor, and raise the shift coefficient. All this requires of the working people high conscientiousness, a creative attitude toward the work, and initiative. The party and the state are continuing to improve economic management. Together with the trade unions and the other public organizations they are promoting socialist competition and the movement of production innovators and rationalizers, and are engaged in extensive political-educational work.

The SED is always concerned with the development of socialist democracy. This was expressed, in particular, in the adoption of supplements and amendments to the GDR Constitution (1974), enhancing the role of the people's deputies, and other measures.

The SED political course meets with the full support of the broadest possible masses. They see through their practical experience that thanks to the systematic implementation of this course the economic and scientific and technical potential of the country is rising steadily. Today the GDR is a developed industrial socialist state with a highly productive cooperated agriculture. Its annual industrial output is double that of the entire German output in 1937 with approximately one-quarter the population. Culture is developing steadily and the prosperity of the GDR people is rising. The socialist way of life is becoming ever stronger. The republic's citizens are developing determining features such as high awareness of social duty, socialist patriotism, and proletarian and socialist internationalism. They are brimming with a feeling of pride in the present and optimism in the future.

A number of vivid and impressive sections deal with the joint struggle and close interaction between the SED and the CPSU and all fraternal parties and states within the socialist comity. This topic is treated as organically linked with the founding and development of the SED and the GDR as an important inseparable part of the history of the party of German communists and of the young socialist state.

Particular attention is paid to the description of the friendship and cooperation between the SED and the GDR, and the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Their importance to the social development of the republic, the strengthening of its international positions, and the fate of the peace and security in Europe is revealed.

The essay indicates that relations between the CPSU and the SED have great traditions and are deeply rooted in the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia and Germany. The Leninist stage in the international workers' movement, including the German, and the activities of V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik party for the preparations for and making of the October Revolution, and their influence on the development of the revolutionary process in Germany are extensively discussed.

The revolutionary German workers enthusiastically welcomed the Red October. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg welcomed the October Revolution as a turning point in global developments and gave it their full support. In December 1917 the Spartakus group disseminated a leaflet calling on the German working class to follow the "Russian example" (p 36).

Under the direct influence of the October Revolution in Russia and the November Revolution in Germany, the Communist Party of Germany was founded on 30 December 1918. Characteristically, in the first working day of the constituent congress, immediately following the decision to found the party, the next resolution was the greetings sent by the Communist Party of Germany to the young Soviet Republic.

Despite the extremely difficult conditions of the struggle, with every passing year the Communist Party of Germany improved its strength as a Marxist-Leninist party. In the summer and autumn of 1920, under its leadership the German working class carried out its famous mass demonstrations under the slogan of "Hands Off of Soviet Russia!"

V. I. Lenin was well acquainted with and highly valued the German revolutionary workers' movement. He closely followed its development and did everything possible to help the German communists, particularly in surmounting their sectarian errors and turning the Communist Party of Germany into a mass party of the working class. The "History of the SED" emphasizes that all historical successes achieved by the Communist Party of Germany were inseparably linked with the CPSU and the Soviet Union and its loyalty to the principles of internationalism (see p 51).

The German communists clearly understood that the building of socialism in the Soviet Union is an effective contribution to the liberation struggle of the international working class. They paid great attention to the dissemination among the German working people of the achievements in building socialism in the USSR. Relations between German and Soviet communists became ever broader and closer following the election of the Communist Party of Germany Central Committee, headed by Ernst Thälmann (1925). The CPG studied the experience of Lenin's party in guiding the working class and the people's masses in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, for power, and for the creation of a state of workers and peasants.

Acting in accordance with the line coordinated with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, the CPG warned the German people promptly of the fascist menace and firmly struggled for the creation of a united anti-fascist front. As we know, however, they were unable to do so because of the fault of the right-wing leadership of the social democrats who rejected all communist suggestions for unity of action. This was the decisive reason for the defeat of the German working class and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany.

Relations between the CPSU and the CPG were developed further in the period of the anti-fascist struggle. In World War II the German communists, holding the positions of proletarian internationalism, set up resistance organizations in Germany which acted decisively despite fierce persecutions and reprisals. Many thousands of German communists and other anti-fascists fought against Hitlerite Germany in the ranks of the Red Army. Like Ernst Thälmann many noted party workers and rank and file CPG members died in the hands of the fascist executioners. The fraternal relations between Soviet and German communists are cemented in the blood shed in the joint battles against German imperialism and fascism.

A new chapter opened in the history of the revolutionary party of the German working class and its relations with the CPSU following the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War and the liberation of the German people.

The Soviet Union and the Soviet communists, the "History of the SED" notes, provided invaluable aid in the implementation of anti-fascist, democratic changes in East Germany. In close contact with the anti-fascist, democratic forces in East Germany, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany implemented denazification, demilitarization, and democratization measures. It was concerned with the organization of economic, social, and cultural life. With its direct support the enterprises and war and Nazi criminals were transferred to the people; a land reform was carried out, democratic administrative organs were created, and so on. The people of different generations in the GDR still remember gratefully this selfless aid given by the Soviet representatives.

Direct relations were established between the CPSU and the SED after the war. At the beginning of 1947 the first SED delegation, headed by W. Pieck, and

O. Grotewohl visited Moscow. A wide circle of international problems was considered as well as the situation in Germany. The delegation also studied the experience of the CPSU in various fields of activities. This encounter marked the beginning of a new stage in the international cooperation between the two parties. Subsequently, the coordination of policies and actions, and exchange of experience between the CPSU and the SED was organized on a regular basis. It had a decisive influence on the development of the friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples.

The USSR, the people's democracies, and the communist and workers' parties of all countries welcomed the founding of the GDR and provided comprehensive aid and support of the young German state of workers and peasants. Soon after the founding of the GDR, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries established diplomatic relations with it. Broad comradely cooperation began to develop rapidly and international relations of a new, socialist type were established.

In September 1950 the GDR was accepted in CEMA. Membership in that organization created favorable prerequisites for the GDR, as for the other fraternal countries, successfully to develop its national economy on the basis of the international socialist division of labor. The fast growth of economic relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries enabled the GDR to reduce substantially the dependence of its economy on supplies from the FRG.

Relations between the USSR and the GDR and among all fraternal states and parties strengthened even further during the cold war imposed on the world by the imperialist powers. Struggling against the remilitarization of Western Germany and its inclusion in the aggressive NATO bloc, the USSR and the GDR appealed repeatedly to the three Western powers and the FRG to abandon this policy threatening the cause of the peace, go back to the Potsdam Accord, sign a German peace treaty and, in the final account, create prerequisites for the unification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis. However, all these appeals were ignored. The remilitarization of the FRG and its NATO membership became a fact.

In answer to the aggressive aspirations of the Western countries, the Warsaw Pact was concluded in May 1955. The fraternal countries confirmed that the GDR is a firm and inseparable part of the world socialist system and that any aggression against a member of the Warsaw Pact would meet a most firm resistance. GDR's affiliation with the Warsaw Pact decisively struck at the plans for its absorption being formulated in Bonn.

The coordinated CPSU-SED line for strengthening the peace in Europe and for the development of further cooperation between the USSR and the GDR on a basis of total equality was expressed in the 20 September 1955 treaty governing relations between the two countries, asserting the inviolability of GDR sovereignty and its socialist gains. The conclusion of this treaty meant that the GDR had fulfilled all its obligations stemming from the Potsdam agreement. The new social relations and the peaceful policy pursued by the SED and the young German socialist state were the guarantee that in the future

as well the GDR would observe the principles governing this accord. This historical fact is of major international significance, particularly under circumstances in which, in violation of the Potsdam agreement, monopoly rule was restored in the FRG and Nazism and militarism were not uprooted.

The objective process of separation between the GDR and the FRG became irreversible. The preservation of the rule of monopoly capital in the FRG, on the one hand, and the steadily developing and ascending building of socialism in the GDR, on the other, are intensifying this process. This is exerting an ever stronger influence on relations between the two German states. The principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems became the only existing model for the development of such relations. At the same time, the shaping and development of the socialist German nation in the GDR and its rapprochement with the other socialist nations are assuming a stable nature.

The interaction between the CPSU and the SED and among all fraternal parties and states within the socialist comity was manifested with particular emphasis in the struggle for strengthening the international positions of the GDR and for insuring its broad international recognition as a sovereign socialist state. Starting with the second half of the 1960's the international-legal recognition of the GDR became one of the most important requirements in all foreign political programmatic documents of the Warsaw Pact members. It was one of the key items of the peace program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress.

At the beginning of the 1970's the struggle was crowned with success. The GDR was acknowledged by virtually the entire world. In 1973 it became a full member of the United Nations. "Only the actions coordinated with the USSR and the other fraternal members of the socialist comity," the "History of the SED" states, "could reliably insure GDR sovereignty and border inviolability, strengthen its international positions, and achieve its unlimited international-legal recognition" (p 536).

Cooperation between the CPSU and the SED is developing steadily and becoming ever closer and more varied. This is a natural process whose roots lie in the common objectives and tasks implemented by both parties at the present stage in the building of socialism and communism.

The full coincidence of CPSU and SED views on all basic political problems and the constant coordination of the actions of the two parties and states have been manifested with particular emphasis in recent years. A broad system of cooperation has been developed in which meetings between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and Comrade E. Honecker, GDR State Council chairman and SED Central Committee general secretary, play a most important role.

The high level of relations achieved between the CPSU and the SED and the USSR and the GDR in all directions made possible and necessary a renovation of the contractual foundations of the fraternal alliance. On 7 October 1975



the USSR and the GDR concluded in Moscow a new Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Treaty. Its pivot, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated on the occasion of its conclusion, is a course toward the further rapprochement between our countries and peoples. It defines, for many years ahead, the main directions in the interaction between the USSR and the GDR. In July 1977 comrades L. I. Brezhnev and E. Honecker agreed on the formulation of programs for production specialization and cooperation between the USSR and the GDR through 1990. This agreement became one of the important steps in the practical implementation of the treaty.

The SED has always considered the experience of the CPSU with great attention and has highly rated its universal significance. This was manifested also in the attitude displayed by the German friends in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The March 1976 SED Central Committee Plenum emphasized that the 25th CPSU Congress and its theoretical and practical conclusions are of tremendous importance to the further building of a developed socialist society in the GDR. The CC SED fully supported the program adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the nations.

Cooperation with the CPSU and the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties and members of the socialist comity is considered in the "History of the SED" a fundamental factor in building the new society in the GDR, organically linked with the national efforts to resolve this historical problem. In its entire domestic and foreign policy the SED proceeds from the fact that the GDR is linked forever through an unbreakable alliance with the USSR and that it is an inviolable component of the socialist comity.

The SED is a leading detachment of the working class and all working people in the GDR. Currently it has a membership of over two million members and candidate members employed in all realms of state and public life.

The SED was able to achieve historical successes in the over three decades of its existence. This became possible, above all, because the party was always guided by the doctrine of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin in the elaboration of its strategy and tactic, and used the experience of the world communist movement, of the CPSU in particular, skillfully applying it to the specific conditions of the country.

The SED has always paid great attention to maintaining close ties with the masses, the ideological and organizational consolidation of its ranks, the improvement of methods and style of party and state work, and the training and upbringing of cadres. It systematically applies in its work the Leninist principles of democratic centralism. It is concerned with insuring collective management and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

Continuity in politics and management in all development stages of the SED have had a positive influence on the activities of the party and the state. Thus, in the 1950's, while W. Pieck was still alive, his fellow fighters, headed by the outstanding leader of the international communist movement

Walter Ulbricht, were given leading positions in the SED and the GDR. This approach was manifested at the beginning of the 1970's as well, when Erich Honecker was elected CC SED first secretary.

The SED has frequently boldly exposed and decisively eliminated errors and omissions which had occurred in some of its activities. As the "History of the SED" notes, it "acts according to Leninist principle according to which the party should not fear to see reality as it is and soberly to assess the situation" (p 544).

The SED is a combat detachment of the world communist and workers' movements. It has systematically promoted its unity and solidarity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The SED has actively participated in all international conferences of communist and workers' parties. The "History of the SED" emphasizes the tremendous importance of the collective forums of communists throughout the world in the formulation of programmatic documents for this most powerful movement of our time, for strengthening the unity of action of world socialism and the international proletariat and national-liberation movements in the struggle against aggressive imperialist forces and for peace, democracy, and social progress.

The "History of the SED" pays great attention to the 1957, 1960, and 1969 conferences of communist and workers' parties and points out the importance of the documents they adopted.

Throughout its entire history the SED has waged a decisive struggle against opportunism and revisionism, including Maoism. In the course of this struggle it strengthened as a combat Marxist-Leninist party capable of resolving the most complex problems at each new stage of social development.

The SED has always acted in the interests of the working class and the good of the entire people of the GDR. It is confidently leading them now to the further building of a developed socialist society and the creation of prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism.

In its 1976 program the SED scientifically substantiated both immediate and long-term problems to be resolved along this way. Under the guidance of the SED, the GDR working people are working with great enthusiasm on their implementation. The entire history of the SED proves that it will honorably fulfill its role of political leader at the present stage of GDR social development as well.

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## NEW HORIZONS OF COOPERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 100-109

[Article by Yuriy Zhukov, chairman of the Soviet-French section of the USSR Parliamentary Group]

[Text] Readiness for a dialog and for joint efforts is strengthening in various countries. This was clearly confirmed by our recent talks with French President Giscard d'Estaing. In fact, they have become an example of the possibility to open new horizons for cooperation for the sake of detente and peace the world over.

L. I. Brezhnev

A phenomenon in international life, initially paradoxical yet quite logical in its nature, has become a truly characteristic feature of our time: The deeper detente becomes rooted and the more mutually profitable cooperation develops among countries belonging to different social systems, the more fierce and malicious become the attacks launched against it.

Those in the West who, occasionally, express their amazement at this fact and try to find the reasons for the phenomenon in some current difficulties, misunderstandings, and disagreements occasionally arising in intergovernmental relations, are wasting their time. The nature of such a seemingly so unusual yet natural phenomenon lies in the class positions of the opponents of detente who cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence and that, sooner or later, the course toward its consolidation must become irreversible.

It is quite likely that the "hawks" themselves, the name thoughtlessly given by a number of American political commentators to the current thick-skulled opponents of this course, unwilling to take into consideration reality, have a secret understanding of this inevitability deep within their ossified souls. However, the class instinct, rooted in the course of centuries in the minds of the supporters of capitalism, again and again leads them into the struggle against peaceful coexistence with countries living a new life which excludes the exploitation of man by man and private ownership. Such was the case starting with 7 November 1917, when wailing was first heard in the West on

the subject of the "threat of the Bolshevik revolution." A similar picture is developing in the West today as well, with the continuing shouts concerning the "Soviet threat."

Under the present circumstances this makes it even more important clearly to distinguish between the basic development of international relations dictated not by intrigues of the followers of those who, six decades ago, were trying to "strangle communism in its cradle," who had neither forgotten nor learned anything (even though, naturally, such intrigues demand of us high-level vigilance and sharp and effective reaction!), but by the natural course of history and the changed ratio of forces in the world arena.

#### Despite the Intrigues of the Enemies of the Peace

All this unwittingly came to mind during the sunny spring days in Paris where, on the eve of the visit paid by the French president to Moscow, a colloquium was held on detente and disarmament, sponsored by the "USSR-France" and "France-USSR" societies, the Franco-Soviet friendship group of the National Assembly of the French Republic, and the Soviet-French section of the USSR Parliamentary Group.

The Soviet and French public figures engaged in a thorough discussion on the ripe problems of our time. A variety of occasionally conflicting views were expressed. However, both sides were equally interested in the constructive nature of the discussion. However different the positions of the three-day dialog might have been, everyone agreed that the French and Soviet peoples were equally interested in detente and disarmament, and that not only tolerable but friendly relations could be developed on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

In this connection the great importance of the forthcoming visit which French President V. Giscard d'Estaing was to pay to Moscow for talks with L. I. Brezhnev, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, was particularly emphasized. This was the 10th such Franco-Soviet summit meeting, starting with the memorable visit which the then head of the French state, General de Gaulle paid to the USSR in 1966.

At that very time, what was the bourgeois press up to? Its scribblers literally outdid themselves in an effort to poison the political climate of the forthcoming meeting and, in advance, with no grounds whatever, questioned the possibility of its fruitful outcome.

In Paris I happened to come across a special anti-Soviet issue of the journal EXPRESS, a widely distributed periodical. Its multicolored cover displayed the snout of a vicious bear, baring its fangs, wearing a cap with ear-flaps decorated with a hammer and sickle. The caption above it was "The Red Army-- A Superpower." Enlarged, the same cover was being publically exhibited throughout Paris as a publicity poster. The journal had put together the wildest possible ravings of anti-Soviet propoganda, starting with a description of imaginary plans for a Soviet "blitzkrieg," allegedly calling for the "seizure of Europe in several days' time."

This is merely one of the numerous examples of what was being done on the eve of the French president's visit to the Soviet Union by the opponents of detente using the allegedly "free" bourgeois press which, in reality, is the slave of the monopolies!

Nevertheless, common sense triumphed. Realistic people enjoying great influence in governmental affairs--anyone we met at that time within the government, and French parliament or the leadership of political parties--firmly spoke in support of the course of developing friendly cooperation with the USSR, started by de Gaulle and, subsequently continued by his successor, President Pompidou, and now continued by President Giscard d'Estaing.

Naturally, it would be naive to claim that this was a political line straight as an arrow. Life is life, and the policy of a country is dictated by both the general and current interests of the ruling class. Because of their differences, such interests may also change. However, speaking of Franco-Soviet relations, one could most categorically state that, in the final account, they are determined by the common interest of our nations in insuring European security and in mutually profitable political, economic, and cultural cooperation.

The people of the older generation well remember that the road to the present condition of Franco-Soviet relations was difficult and complex. In their blind class rage the forces which hated the young Soviet Republic in France and in Britain, the United States, and other capitalist countries, were totally unwilling to reconcile themselves with the existence of the first socialist state. For decades they nursed, over and over again, the thought of destroying the Soviet system even at the expense of basic national interests which dictated the need for Franco-Soviet cooperation and were their cornerstone of peace and security in Europe.

Fortunately for all Europeans, the wise Cartesian spirit of the French people triumphed. A sharp positive turn occurred in our relations at the turn of the 1970's, whose significance had been predicted, in his time, by the outstanding Soviet diplomat of the Leninist school, G. V. Chicherin. Addressing a session of the USSR Central Executive Committee, on 28 October 1974, discussing an answer to the suggestion of the noted French leader E. Herriot, then head of the French Government, on the resumption of diplomatic relations, Chicherin said:

"It is impossible to ignore the considerable role which France plays, particularly on the European continent, as a result of which the establishment of friendly relations between France and the USSR will influence most substantially the entire international situation on the European continent and in other parts of the world."

Today we must give credit to the systematic and adamant efforts of those who, surmounting all obstacles created by the enemies of Franco-Soviet cooperation, worked for and succeeded in the establishment of such friendly relations. Above all, again and again, we must mention the contribution of General



de Gaulle who found within himself the strength and courage to make a sharp turn in the course of the ship of state, taking it out of the dangerous muddy waters of the military organization of the North Atlantic Treaty and proclaim a course toward the independence and autonomous development of France, one of whose prerequisites is the organization and consolidation of business cooperation with the Soviet Union, as well as the fact that, one after another, his successors--Georges Pompidou and Valery Giscard d'Estaing--despite the entire dissimilarity of their political positions and natures, deemed it necessary to remain loyal to this line, confirms, better than extensive verbal proof, the correctness of the course proclaimed by de Gaulle for the sake of the high national interests of France.

Slightly under eight years ago, in October 1971, as a result of the state visit which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid to France, the Principles of Cooperation Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France were initialed. They were a real charter for the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. This was the first document of its kind, subsequently used as a model for a number of most important international agreements and, particularly, in the elaboration of the principles of security and cooperation in Europe, adopted at the all-European meeting of the heads of 35 countries in Helsinki. Let me particularly emphasize the obligation entered in this document: making the policy of agreement and cooperation between the USSR and France "the permanent policy governing their relations and a permanent factor of international life." I was in Paris at the time when this document was being initialed and made public, and I well remember the alarm among those in the country who would have liked to see the Franco-Soviet rapprochement merely as a phenomenon of short duration, dictated by tactical considerations.

"This will be forgotten in a month," said to me, I recall, a noted American journalist. "In fact, France--a member of the North Atlantic Treaty--cannot bind itself in a state of permanent cooperation with you! . . ."

However, the outcome was different. Soon we shall mark the decade since the proclamation of such principles and now the entire world will be able to see that they are alive and operative, becoming to an ever greater extent a truly permanent and, I would add, a major factor of international life.

#### A New Word in the Practice of International Relations

The results of the 26-28 April 1979 Franco-Soviet summit meeting not only confirmed this stable trend in relations between our countries but quite convincingly proved the tremendous and as yet unused reserves of the policy of Franco-Soviet cooperation. This meeting truly opened new horizons toward which both countries intend to progress, either jointly, whenever possible, or on a parallel basis.

"Expensive and useful work was done," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, summing up the results of the 28 April meeting. The atmosphere in the course of the talks and discussions was business like and cordial.

In turn, addressing on 2 May a meeting of the French Government at which he reported his visit to the USSR, Giscard d'Estaing stated that the Franco-Soviet summit took place "in an exceptionally positive, serious, and cordial atmosphere." He emphasized that "these intensified talks inaugurated a new stage in cooperation between France and the USSR."

The business-like and cordial atmosphere of the present Franco-Soviet summit meeting and its respective full interpretation and study of the problems existing between the USSR and France were a legitimate result of the long-term development of Franco-Soviet cooperation in the course of which relations developed between the sides characteristic of the era of international detente. However hard the enemies of detente tried to poison this atmosphere, their efforts failed.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his declaration to the press, "The present Soviet-French summit meeting ended with very major epoch-making results. It brought about the conclusion of most important documents and agreements. This includes, above all, a program for the further development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and France in favor of detente and peace. It not only earmarks the guidelines for an intensified policy of international detente but indicates the specific means for the accomplishment of this objective."

This emphasized the fact that this was a new word in the practice of international relations. Similar to the way in the 1960's and 1970's the Soviet Union and France had initiated the detente process and had actively contributed to its establishment, now again they had reached agreements moving detente ahead. What makes this even more important is the fact that today forces which had never demonstrated a sincere readiness to contribute to detente, even though officially supporting its code as formulated in the Final Act of the European conference, openly mounted an attack against it.

Our party and state, following the general course formulated by Lenin in the historical Decree on Peace, are doubling, tripling, and increasing tenfold their efforts so that, the intrigues of the enemies of detente notwithstanding, it may be protected, strengthened, and turned into a permanent factor of international relations. Naturally, the fact the leading circles in France--one of the big capitalist countries--guided by their own national interests have joined us in such efforts is quite important in the complex and difficult struggle to be waged.

#### On Those Who Are Against

Let us openly state yet once again that there still exists in the West, including France itself, quite influential "hawkish forces" who feel detente to be like a knife at their throats. Obviously, it is no accident that the organs of the French bourgeois press, long and hopelessly suffering from the "Atlantic" disease, did not deem it necessary to inform the French public of the full text of the documents initialed as a result of the Moscow meeting, while their special correspondents who covered Giscard d'Estaing's visit bypassed the whole thing and tried to avoid an analysis of the essence of the agreements reached.

For example, what is the content of the commentary provided by the special correspondent of LE MONDE, starting on page one and continuing on page three? From one end to the other it grumbles and is full of conjectures reflecting the desire, at all costs, to cast aspersions on the results of the meeting. What is the opening line worth, providing the tone of the entire article: "The past 24 years have only reminded us of the major obvious fact that to the USSR its relations with the United States are more important than its relations with France." This was written at the very time when the heads of both states had most definitely stated that their meeting had been fruitful, and that both of them ascribed particular importance to the strengthening of Franco-Soviet cooperation, not only in bilateral relations but in the international arena. Why this unworthy attempt to pit Soviet-French relations against Soviet-American relations?

In its 2 May issue LE MONDE carries on page four yet another piece of information entitled "End of Giscard d'Estaing's Visit to the USSR." A brief introduction to selected reports states that the head of the Soviet state assessed the results of the summit meeting as "very important" and "issued a good behavior certificate" to the French president, noting that "he was pleased to meet again with Mr Giscard d'Estaing with whom, as with his predecessors--General de Gaulle and Georges Pompidou--good personal contacts and good reciprocal understanding had been established," while, in turn, the French president himself had expressed his satisfaction with the results of the meeting.

Two other notes follow. The first is entitled "The Economic Exchange, Tripled over the Past Five Years, Has Now Been Balanced." In the other, entitled "The Forgotten Problem," LE MONDE's special correspondent violently criticizes the French president for . . . failing to support the renegades of our society. This is all that is being said on the results of the visit!

The correspondents of LE MONDE have, indeed, strange concepts on the subject of objective information.

Unlike many French newspapers, PRAVDA found the necessary space to publish the full text of all documents concluded as a result of the Soviet-French summit meeting, thus allowing the Soviet people to judge of its results on the basis of the texts they read and studied. The full text of these documents was published in a number of other organs of our press.

This relieves me of the need to describe here the content of the program for the further development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and France in favor of detente and peace, the long-term program for the intensification of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the USSR and France for 1980-1990, the accord between the USSR and France on economic cooperation for 1980-1985, as well as agreements on the study of Russian in France and French in the USSR, on scientific and technical and industrial cooperation in the field of computers and electronics, on cooperation in the study of the world's oceans, and others, concluded in Moscow on 28 April.

All these documents, both taken together and separately, convincingly prove the high effectiveness of the Moscow talks. Above all, they confirm the systematic and uninterrupted constructive development of Soviet-French relations. Unquestionably, this was helped by the circumstance, emphasized in the Soviet-French communique, that the "talks and discussions were marked by a spirit of great cordiality and mutual respect traditionally inherent in relations between the Soviet Union and France and between the Soviet and French peoples."

#### The Main Objective

Why do we say and write today that the meeting opened new horizons for cooperation between the USSR and France for the sake of detente and peace? Above all, precisely because now--for the first time in the history of our relations with the Western countries--a long-term program for such cooperation has been formulated, covering the broadest possible range of international problems and bilateral relations.

"The main objective of this cooperation between the Soviet Union and France," states the program initialled by L. I. Brezhnev and V. Giscard d'Estaing, "is assistance in strengthening the peace and detente, eliminating hotbeds of tension, and achieving real progress in disarmament."

The USSR and France solemnly proclaim that the task of preventing war is the main one for all countries and that they will do everything depending on them for man'ind to be delivered from the threat of war. For the sake of this great objective the USSR and France developed a detailed plan for either joint or parallel actions in the course of whose implementation they will make full use of the stipulations of the 1970 Soviet-French protocol and the 1971 principles of cooperation.

The USSR and France will dedicate decisive efforts with a view to the prevention and elimination of hotbeds of tension and for settling unresolved international problems. They will struggle for the reduction of tension in Asia and for the stable and peaceful development of that continent. They will make efforts to eliminate the hotbed of tension in the Middle East through a comprehensive settlement involving the direct participation of all interested parties. They intend firmly to support the observance of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and inviolability of boundaries in Africa, and so on.

It is important to note that the two sides decided not to limit themselves to the proclamation of general principles on the basis of which these and other problems could be settled. Cooperation is developing not only in width but in depth as well. As the program stipulates, in the interest of their cooperation in the international arena, the parties will encourage a comparison along the line of the respective scientific institutions and, in proper cases, of the ministries of foreign affairs, their own studies and forecasts on the development of the most important trends in international politics.



The part of the program which deals with disarmament is of considerable interest. Why conceal it, for quite some time France displayed no interest in such matters as it was engaged in resolving the problem of its own security alone. However, already at previous summit meetings, in Rambouillet and in Moscow--such an interest began to appear and in 1978 the French president proclaimed at the special United Nations General Assembly disarmament session, that French representatives will now participate in the work of the corresponding committee in Geneva. He formulated several ideas whose implementation, in his view, would contribute to universal disarmament.

Proper attention was paid to the disarmament at the present Moscow summit meeting, as a result of which a considerable space in the program was dedicated precisely to it. Important stipulations were agreed upon and codified. Their observance would make it possible to insure effective Franco-Soviet cooperation in the struggle against the arms race, the more so since positions held by the USSR and France in this field are still not identical. We believe that one of the immediate targets of this cooperation could and should be the consideration of the entirely specific sum total of suggestions, fully consistent with the interests of all peaceful European countries, suggestions formulated on 14-15 May 1979 by the committee of ministers of foreign affairs of Warsaw Pact members.

Specifically I bear in mind, for example, the suggestion of holding a political conference involving the participation of all European countries, the United States, and Canada, to discuss specific measures on strengthening mutual trust and lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe. Naturally, this idea does not replace in the least the current Vienna talks in which the important problem of the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe is being discussed.

As a result of the meeting, the Soviet Union and France expressed themselves in favor of broadening European cooperation for the sake of detente, accord, and security, something of great importance to the current international circumstances. It is a question of "the unification of all of Europe, from one end to the other," as General de Gaulle said on 30 June 1966, speaking at the Kremlin, rather than discussing a lame "small" Europe stopping at the Elbe.

The USSR and France are in favor of this truly all-European cooperation developing in all the realms without exception covered by the Final Act of the conference of the heads of 35 states and signed in the summer of 1975 in Helsinki. In particular, as was confirmed in the course of the Soviet-French meeting, this applies to multilateral economic cooperation.

Obviously, cooperation between the USSR and France in an important international gathering such as the regular meeting of representatives of members of the European Conference, to be held in Madrid in 1980, could be very effective. Both sides expressed their readiness to contribute to the success of that conference. Such being the case, efficient cooperation in the preparations for and holding of that meeting could become the object of real initiatives launched by the Soviet and the French sides.



## An Accurate Barometer

At the same time, we must emphasize that new and rather wide horizons open in the field of bilateral economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation as well, which were covered by a number of agreements concluded in the course of the summit meeting.

The condition of such relations is an accurate barometer describing relations between countries. I lived and worked in Paris during the worst moments of the cold war, and I well remember that the level of trade between our countries at that time was so insignificant that the foreign exchange earned as the result of the sale of Soviet goods was barely sufficient to cover the upkeep of the modest commercial mission, while the greatest of artists such as Emil' Gilel's and David Oystakh, who had come to Paris as members of the delegation of the USSR-France Society, were able to perform only in workers' clubs.

Today everything has changed. A simple enumeration of the items covered by our economic, scientific, and cultural relations would fill up an entire issue of this journal. It is no accident that that same LE MONDE, having done everything possible to belittle the significance of the present Soviet-French meeting, was unable, nevertheless, to ignore the fact that, as the Soviet-French communique states, "The parties agreed to take all the necessary measures to insure the further considerable growth of balanced trade for the 1980-1985 period compared with the preceding five-year period, aimed at reaching essentially the average rates of development of Soviet-French trade noted in the course of said five-year period."

As to our country, always, from the very beginning of the existence of the Soviet system, it has favored the development of mutually profitable economic cooperation with countries belonging to the opposite social system, including, naturally, France. French business circles remember that as early as 1922 V. I. Lenin said: "Any rapprochement with France is to us exceptionally desirable, particularly considering the fact that Russia's trade interests adamantly require a rapprochement with this strongest continental power" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 237). Agreements on economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and France for 1980-1990 set a firm long-term base for such business relations and open the way for the conclusion of new major deals which make possible progress consistent with the nature of relations between our countries and the level of their economic development.

Cooperation will be developed further on the basis of long-term accords and contacts. It has been noted that its most promising directions are the power industry and, in particular, in new types of energy, energy transmission, and energy savings; electronics, including information and computing electronic systems; machine building, including machine tools; metallurgy, chemistry, and petrochemistry. The decision was made to continue cooperation in the field of color television, video recording, automobile manufacturing, the aerospace industry, the construction materials industry, and the light and food industry.

French companies and banks will participate in the building of industrial complexes in the Soviet Union while Soviet organizations will participate in the building of industrial projects in France. Enterprises will be built in the Soviet Union for the production of goods of interest to both countries, on the basis of full or partial payment of equipment supplied by France or licenses with products of such or other enterprises (such deals are known as compensatory). Cooperation will be organized in the production of industrial commodities to satisfy the requirements of the USSR and France.

Practical experience has noted the importance of the conclusion of agreements and contracts on building in the USSR and France enterprises whose output, on a long-term basis, could be of interest to both countries. Examples of such fruitful cooperation are the participation of Soviet organizations in the delivery to France of metallurgical and metal processing equipment and the participation of French companies in the building of automobile enterprises in the USSR and in delivering equipment for a number of enterprises of the chemical, petrochemical, and gas industries, etc.

The long-term program for the intensification of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the USSR and France contains a specific enumeration of the basic directions to be followed in such activities based on possible deliveries of equipment, licenses, and basic trends of cooperation in building in the Soviet Union enterprises on the basis of full or partial compensation for the purchased equipment and licenses with deliveries of goods produced by them, as well as possible directions to be followed in the field of industrial cooperation.

#### Further and Further Progress

All this will be for a period through 1990! A solid base has been created for measures which, henceforth, the USSR and France will be able to implement on a broad scale, the more so since all problems related to granting the most favored nation status in trade and credits has long been settled between the USSR and France.

A green light was given as a result of the Franco-Soviet summit meeting to further cooperation in the fields of science, education, and culture. This encounter, opening new horizons in Franco-Soviet relations, was entirely aimed at the future and its success is consistent with the interests not only of the USSR and France but of all Europeans. Furthermore, its importance goes beyond the limits of the European continent.

"The documents originated at this meeting," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the reception given by the French Embassy in Moscow, "cover our relations in a variety of fields. All of them, however, have a single common denominator: progress on the path of cooperation. . . . We would like to continue to seek and find an agreement with France which we hold close to our hearts. May our agreement be embodied in good accomplishments for the good of our nations, the good of Europe, and the good of universal peace."

These words reflect the hopes and expectations of all Soviet people who consider Franco-Soviet cooperation an important element in the struggle for peace and security in Europe and throughout the globe. These feelings are sinking ever deeper roots in French public opinion as well regardless of the barrage of malicious anti-Soviet propaganda launched by the enemies of our cooperation with all their batteries of ink.

That is why cooperation is so effective between mass organizations such as "France-USSR" and "USSR-France," systematically fighting for mutual understanding and friendship between our countries. The peace-loving toiling French people are indeed close to the hearts of the Soviet working people and the majority of French working people also consider strengthening cooperation with the USSR a matter close to their hearts.

It is no accident that inter-parliamentary cooperation as well between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the French National Assembly and Senate is broadening and becoming ever more productive. Regular exchange of parliamentary delegations, the systematic activities of the Soviet-French section of the USSR Parliamentary Group and the Franco-Soviet friendship groups in both chambers of the French parliament, and regular joint sessions by delegations of foreign affairs commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the French National Assembly, at which not only most important problems of bilateral relations between our countries are discussed but of ripe international problems as well are all significant marks of the time, illustrating the rising level of reciprocal understanding and cooperation.

Naturally, despite all this, both countries are soberly aware of the fact that our countries belong to diametrically opposite social systems and that this circumstance inevitably triggers differences and different approaches to the solution of many political problems. However, the wisdom of the people and the governments is found precisely in the fact that despite such differences one must seek and find common positions which would make it possible to continue and develop cooperation for the sake of superior national interests and the interests of peace the world over.

The April Franco-Soviet summit meeting convincingly confirmed, yet once again, the fact that France and the USSR follow precisely this way in their relations. History and contemporaneity and the joint struggle for common objectives, both in the past and the present, have laid a solid foundation for the further fruitful development of relations between our countries and nations.

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## IRAN: THE MAKING OF A REPUBLIC

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 110-116

[Article by P. Demchenko]

[Text] Iran is still in the throes of the revolutionary events which brought about the overthrow of the monarchy and the proclamation of the republic. The intensity of political passions is so high that they are swirling around even though it might seem that at this stage the main struggle has shifted from city streets and squares to ministerial offices and mosques, and the assembly halls of the leading organs of the different parties and committees which arose on the eve of and during the revolution.

A person who would find himself in Tehran--a huge, nearly five million-strong city spreading in the foothills of the Elbrus mountain range--would find the situation in the capital calm on the surface. Few things have been destroyed. There is an occasional crumbled building or burned movie theater or restaurant, and the pedestals on which stood the monuments to the shah and his kin are bare. Many stores and market places, coffee shops, and cafeterias are open. Sidewalks are crowded. There is bumper to bumper traffic and bottlenecks at crossroads. The slogans which, only recently, covered the walls of homes and fences may be seen only in the area of the university and in two or three other places. In the other parts of the city they have either been painted over or scraped off.

However, it would be premature, on the basis of purely external signs, to draw the conclusion that life in Tehran, as throughout the country, has already returned to normal. This would be hardly possible only a few months after events on a scale such as that of the Iranian revolution. Many of the economic, political, and even ethical problems it raised and which affect the broad popular strata and whose solution, essentially, will determine Iran's future, are only beginning to be resolved. The solution of some of them is clearly being postponed, for circumstances in the country remain extremely complex: There is both a hidden and open confrontation among different political forces with separations or rapprochements among them.

Each day faces the ruling circles, political parties, and groups with problems requiring a fast reaction. Meetings and demonstrations break out

here and there in Tehran. Regular political meetings are held in the vicinity of Tehran University. Frequently demonstrators march along the streets, consisting of one hundred to two hundred people or, occasionally, of several thousand, mostly young people. They are governed by a variety of slogans and requirements. Numerous petitions are being submitted to the government, the religious leaders, or newspaper editors.

As darkness falls the streets of Tehran become quickly deserted. Nearly every day the television reports on sessions of revolutionary tribunals which frequently pass on death sentences which are immediately executed. By the middle of June the overall number of executed former ministers, generals, officers, officials of the shah's regime, or personnel of the now disbanded SAVAK secret police--had exceeded 250 people. Almost every night gunfire may be heard in various parts of the city and bursts of tracer bullets cut through the darkness. What is this? Warning shots fired by sentries or terrorist groups carrying out sentences? According to the Iranian press in the first two months following the February uprising alone over 800 people died under "unforeseen" circumstances.

One of the first things noted in Tehran is the fact that almost no police or military may be seen in the huge city. Many state institutions, the television building, and big enterprises are guarded by young people in civilian clothing, armed with submachine guns and rifles of different makes. Until the end of April personnel of the technical subunits of the air force guarded the office of the prime minister. This appeared to be the only remaining force of Tehran's garrison.

Such are some of the physical marks of the recent tempestuous events in which the broad masses--virtually all strata of Iranian society--became involved. It would be no exaggeration to state that a truly nationwide uprising broke out which swept off the hated monarchy and struck, at the same time, at its American and other Western protectors. A great variety of political forces joined the anti-shah and anti-imperialist movement. This considerably predetermined the unexpectedly quick and drastic outcome of the February events which put an end to the monarchy.

Let us note, in this connection, that the rather large stratum of the petit and middle Iranian bourgeoisie, representing the "oriental bazaar" which, everywhere in Asian and African countries, is a type of political barometer and is the carrier of religious and national traditions, played an important role in the development of events. The unrestrained influx of Western goods and the cosmopolitanism of the new Iranian bourgeoisie with its ostentatious luxury, the very way of life of the shah's court and American domination in the field of culture--motion pictures, television, and the press--were all clearly conflicting with the material and moral values held by the "bazaar" and its customers--essentially artisans, working people, the poor, and yesterday's peasants who had run to the city. These people considered the Moslem clergy their defenders and the spokesmen for their interests. Detecting this mood, the clergy openly and sharply criticized the domestic and foreign policy of the shah, arguing that only a return to the strictest



possible observance of Islamic rules would save society from vice and return prosperity to the people. Now, after the revolution, these "traditional" strata in Iranian society are the most zealous supporters of Khomeini.

Naturally, this is not the only explanation for the reason for which it was precisely Islam and its outstanding promoters, the Ayatollah Khomeini, then in disgrace, above all, became the force which "glued together" the disparate political groups and formulated slogans which rallied the opposition. It would be just to say that attachment to Shiism (most Iranians support precisely this current within Islam) on the part of the Iranian middle classes and the urban and rural poor played a major role. However, nor should we forget the fact that the political opposition to the shah, particularly from the left, had been bled white by long repressions. For example, many members of the Iranian People's Party (Tudeh) had been either executed or died in jail.

The failure of the hope placed in the Iranian Army was totally unexpected to the shah and to Washington, which was backing him. Even when it became clear that it was impossible to save the monarchy, Washington still nurtured the illusion that revolutionary events would not affect the army and its core of generals, who, subsequently, would be able to play the "Chilean variant." Judging by all available information, the view was the following: As long as the army, 300,000 to 350,000 strong, in which the shah had invested huge funds, giving a privileged position to its command personnel in society, had remained intact, the United States had nothing to fear on the subject of its interests in Iran. How could a poorly organized crowd and divided political groups resist the regiments and divisions, regimented through the efforts of thousands of American advisers, and equipped with the latest tanks, automatic guns, F-14 Tomcat fighter planes, and Phoenix missiles?

The United States had information to the effect that the extreme right-wing Iranian generals, linked with the CIA, intended to mount a coup d'etat which would be followed by a fierce suppression of the opposition. It was believed to be better for the slaughter to take place in the absence of the shah, who, returning, would assume the role of "pacifier."

However, subsequent events totally rejected the scenario planned by the generals. Following the departure of the shah abroad, on 16 January "for a rest" (as the official version read), troubles broke out throughout Iran with a new force and affected the armed forces as well. Many officers, the air force in particular, were no longer able to guarantee the loyalty of their units or state precisely whether or not their subordinates would fire on the people should they be so ordered.

Under those circumstances a different variant for "saving" the army appeared: The peaceful transfer of power by the Bakhtiar Government, named by the shah, to a coalition government headed by one of the opposition leaders. This variant suited also the high officials within the state machinery who believed that in that case they did not have to fear for their future, as well as the owners of factories and plants, frightened by the creation of workers'

committees at their enterprises. In a word, such a "smooth" and "constitutional" transfer of power would have meant that the old governmental machine would be retained nearly intact. A change of personalities and methods of rule, rather than of system, would occur. Perhaps the main thing was that this way the reaction was hoping to control the left-wing forces which were gaining in experience and prestige with every day of struggle.

On 1 February Ayatollah Khomeini triumphantly returned to Terhan after spending nearly 15 years in exile, initially in Iraq, and then in France. A particular confrontation between two powers developed in the country: On the one hand there was S. Bakhtiar, relying on the army; on the other there was M. Bazargan, appointed by Khomeini to head the temporary provisional government. The foreign press excluded neither an open clash between them nor a compromise.

However, at this point the unforeseen happened. The skirmish between cadets and officers at the Farahbad Air Base, in the tense circumstances of the times, rapidly grew into an armed conflict between supporters and opponents of the monarchy. In order to crush the "uprising" the command sent initially one and, subsequently, another detachment of the shah's guard--the so-called "immortals." However, they proved totally helpless. The supporters of the republic appealed to the "streets" and to their friends from the left-wing organization of fedayeen guerrillas,<sup>1</sup> who rapidly came to their aid. Several hours later the base and the adjacent Tehran district turned into a battlefield. Another militarized organization joined--the modjaheddins of the Iranian people,<sup>2</sup> and many thousands of Tehran residents. The big weapons arsenal on the base was seized by the rebels. Barricades blocked the streets. Submachine guns appeared on balconies, windows, and roofs. The rebels threw gasoline on tanks and armored troop-carriers and set them ablaze with torches. The surviving guardsmen ran, throwing away their weapons. No other units loyal to the shah turned out in the city. The police were dealt with soon afterwards: Some police precincts were stormed but most "guardians of the public order" simply scattered. The personnel of the SAVAK secret police were arrested and taken to jail. By 12 February noon the fighting began to abate.

Having assessed the circumstances, the high command proclaimed its "neutrality," preferring not to intervene in the political struggle. The decision was considered by everyone--both supporters and opponents of the monarchy--as a surrender. The rebels celebrated their victory. Many generals and high police ranks tried to escape from the country as best they could--in helicopters, cars, or launches. Soldiers left their barracks. All that were left were garrisons around the city, the navy, and the subunits which had taken the side of the people.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST, "One of the best equipped armies in the world surrendered to several thousand inflexible street-demonstrators." Here is an interesting statement made by the American journal THE PROGRESSIVE: The entire power of the shah, it wrote, "retreated in the face of the revolutionary army which appeared spontaneously, seemingly out of thin air,

and was armed with homemade bombs and some weapons taken from the shah's arsenal. Such a victory could not fail to increase the heartbeats of any true democrat and be a warning to all tyranny throughout the world."

The shah's government came to an end during those February days noteworthy for the Iranian people. It simply dissolved while its prime minister ran away. The establishment of a new regime was undertaken. On 1 April, following a referendum, Khomeini officially proclaimed Iran to be an Islamic republic.

Once in Iran, one feels the unusual and even unique nature of the existing situation. This particularly applies to the political circumstances and the social problems facing the new system. As in the past, the country is run by authorities which arose in the course of the revolutionary events and are considered temporary, transitional on the way to a constitutional order.

Khomeini, the spiritual leader, stands at the top of the pyramid. He is now referred to as the imam. He has appointed an Islamic Revolutionary Council, whose composition and size are secret. Islamic committees, essentially consisting of mullahs, have been set up in cities, villages, and even precincts. This is a kind of local authority with its own armed detachments and frequently acting as the municipal council. The revolutionary courts and some other organs are part of the religious structure.

The cabinet as well was appointed by Khomeini. With its limited influence in local areas, it acts within a relatively narrow framework, dealing essentially with the economy and foreign relations, and gradually organizing an army and police, i.e., the units within the state machinery which broke down in the course of the people's uprisings.

In a conversation with us, A. Amir Entezam, vice prime minister, named the following among the most important current tasks of the government: organizing the economy, the unemployment problem (according to various data the overall number of unemployed ranges from one to three million), and insuring internal security. The most important political problem facing the leadership, in his words, is the drafting of a republican constitution, holding elections for a constituent assembly to ratify it and, subsequently, elections for a national assembly and a president. This would mark the end of the transitional period.

In the first stage of the revolution all political groups and classes who took up the struggle were united in their common objectives and slogans such as "Down with the Shah!" "Down with American Domination!" "Down with SAVAK!" "We Demand Democracy!" and so on. Social, regional, and even religious problems were given second priority, as though yielding to problems on a national scale.

Now, in the new stage of the revolution, these problems are becoming ever more urgent. This is felt in relations between the government and the religious structure of the system. No one openly questions Khomeini's

concept of building a state ruled according to Islamic law. He expressed his ideas on this subject many years ago in his book "Islamic Government." However, in practice frequently differences arise between the Islamic committees and the present administration. Meanwhile, the young people ask: How could one find in the Koran answers to all questions raised by the 20th century?

At the beginning of May, after a series of acts of terrorism which led to the death of Garani, the first chief of general staff of the republican army, and of Ayatollah Mathari, considered one of the members of the Islamic Revolutionary Council, the raising of a "corps of defenders of the Islamic Revolution" was undertaken. It was announced that it would answer not to the government but to the council. At the same time, a new appeal was issued to the population to surrender immediately all weapons. This reflected the aspiration of the authorities to disarm sooner both right-wing and left-wing militarized organizations, which, according to available information, had acquired substantial amounts of weapons and ammunition.

The country's economic machinery has still not been brought up to full power. Even though petroleum extraction was resumed, reaching approximately 60-70% of the previous volume (in 1977 it totaled about 280 million tons), natural gas exports were resumed and dollars began to flow once again into the state treasury (according to the head of the planning-budgetary organization, this year income from petroleum will exceed \$19 billion), several enterprises remained closed. Furthermore, plans are being reviewed with a view to terminating the construction of prestige projects launched by the shah such as, for example, nuclear electric power plants, several other plants, buildings, and a huge port on the Persian Gulf. The production of helicopters at the plant in Esfahan has been terminated as there has been no demand for its output either on the domestic or foreign markets. In accordance with Islamic law a strict ban has been imposed on the use of alcoholic beverages, including beer. This brought about the closing of enterprises in that sector as well. Such enterprises will be re-equipped to produce fruit juices and waters. The fate of some operating enterprises and construction projects has not been determined as yet. Here again a different approach is being adopted by the heads of ministries and the Islamic committees, even though once a week members of the government, headed by the prime minister, travel the 150 kilometers distance from Tehran to the city of Qum to consult with and receive instructions from Khomeini.

The small city of Qum has become something like the second Iranian capitol. In contrast with the huge Tehran, the new section of which is full of modernistic buildings and with its numerous 20 to 30 story high buildings, luxury stores, and fashionably dressed people, circumstances in Qum are different. Qum is, essentially, a city with two to three story buildings and small narrow streets, inhabited by about 300,000 people, and numbering over 150 mosques, two of which are the main ones, joined within a single complex and considered a Shiite holy place. Here women do not leave their homes without a veil or yashmak. There are many turban-wearing priests, dressed in black or white robes.



We must not ignore yet another factor which plays a noticeable role in today's Iran. This is, above all, the workers' revolutionary committees created during the general anti-shah strike (in the past trade unions were forbidden. They are only being created today, even though there are some three million blue and white collar workers). The most influential among these committees have taken over the management of factories and plants, organized the production of necessary goods, and protected the enterprises from destruction. Today the workers are having their requirements met: higher wages, improved social benefits, shortened work week, guaranteed employment, and participation in enterprise management. The working people do not conceal their concern caused by the fact that the Iranian bourgeoisie, whose members have assumed many key governmental positions, believes that the revolution has already attained its objectives and has been concluded. Agreeing merely to minor concessions, the authorities frequently consider the demands of the workers excessive and refuse to meet them. That is the reason for which strikes break out at some enterprises and construction projects.

The attitude of the different parties and authorities to the requirements of the workers varies. Thus, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs rejected the demand for a 40-hour work week, proclaiming that the work week, as before, would equal 48 hours. Yet, a number of parties are supporting the workers.

Relations between Islamic committees and workers are quite complex. On the one hand, such committees would like to consider the workers their allies. On the other, however, promoting the ideas of "class peace" and "fraternity" between workers and entrepreneurs, the mullahs do not hesitate to accuse the activists who refuse to grant concessions of being "counterrevolutionaries and enemies of the republic." Incidentally, the same tactic is applied toward some progressive newspapers and journalists.

Speaking of the political life in the country, noteworthy above all is the abundance of different parties--right wing, contaminated with anti-communism, left wing, lay, and religious. Their overall number is over 100--no one would be able to give a specific figure. Extensive work is being done to reorganize and strengthen the national front which was created by Mosaddek himself, supported by influential strata of the national bourgeoisie. Khomeini's ideological supporters belong to several organizations, noteworthy among which is the Islamic Republican Party.

Several parties are on the left flank of political life. The oldest and best known among is the Iranian People's Party (Tudeh), which spent many years in clandestinity. It was banned in 1949. Officially, the ban remains, yet, like several other parties, Tudeh has in fact become legal and publishes in mass editions its newspaper MARDOM ("The People").

Tudeh supported Khomeini's initiative to create an Islamic republic, since this concept includes the achievement of Iranian independence, uprooting imperialist domination, insuring democratic freedoms for the people, upgrading the prosperity of the working people, and struggle against oppression and



exploitation. The party proclaimed its agreement to cooperate in the creation of a type of social system based on democratic principles and consistent with the interests of the Iranian people. It called for the formation of a united front of all progressive forces, consistent with the interests of the broadest strata of the Iranian people--workers, peasants, artisans, the intelligentsia, and the national minorities.

The national question is of exceptional importance to Iran. About one-half of the 35 million-strong population of the country consists of Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Arabs, Turkmens, Beluchis, and others. Some of these ethnic groups demand autonomy within the Iranian state. Armed clashes took place for this reason in a number of places. The situation is further complicated by the fact that, for example, the Kurds and a considerable percentage Iranian Arabs are not Shi'ite but Sunni.

With the overthrow of the rotten monarchic system, the Iranian people turned a new page in their history. They proved their resolve to put an end to the reactionary past in domestic and foreign policy, and get rid of imperialist domination in the country and the rule of foreign monopolies.

The American military bases through which the Pentagon spied on the Soviet Union were closed down. The American military advisers whose number, in the past few years, had reached several tens of thousands, left the country. A number of contracts for the delivery of arms and military hardware from the United States, whose overall amount exceeded \$12 billion, were canceled. Let us recall that one of the first major foreign political acts of the new regime was to take the country out of the military CENTO bloc.

Iran no longer wishes to be the policeman of the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean, A. Amir Entezam said. The Iranian Army was excessively large. The army of the Islamic Republic, the vice prime minister added, will be considerably smaller.

The revision of the petroleum policy of the country is an indicator of the occurring changes. Iran has put an end to control over the marketing of its oil on the part of the international consortium and proclaimed that this "black gold" will be extracted only in the amount consistent with economic requirements and not for the sake of an unbridled "pursuit of dollars." Sales of petroleum to the Republic of South Africa and to Israel have been ended. In general, Iran has changed its attitude toward Asian and African countries. Now it supports the struggle of the Arabs for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression and the PLO. It is establishing relations with the non-alignment movement. It is somewhat symbolic of these changes that the photograph of Y. Arafat in conversation with Khomeini hangs on the face of the building of the former Israeli Embassy in Tehran, now given to the Palestinians. . . .

Tremendous changes are occurring in the country. However, a difficult stage remains to be crossed in the establishment of the new system. A great deal remains to be resolved and to be fought for.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This organization relies essentially on the working and student youth. It is thinking of setting up a worker's party in the future.
2. The Modjaheddin movement--or movement of the "fighters for the sacred cause"--consists of several organizations influential among the workers, the petit bourgeoisie, and the young people of different classes supporting the idea of an Islamic state.

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## STRATEGY OF COMMUNIST BUILDING

Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 9, Jun 79 pp 117-128

[Review of the two-volume work of selected speeches and articles by A. N. Kosygin, "K Velikoy Tseli" [Toward the Great Objective], Politizdat, Moscow, 1979; volume one, 608 pages; volume two, 640 pages]

[Text] Guided by the invincible Marx-Engels-Lenin doctrine, for seven decades our party has been confidently leading the country to the great objective--communism. Steadily enriched by the collective and creative thinking of the party, the theory of scientific communism is being embodied in the decisions of its congresses and Central Committee plenums, and in the works of L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and of other party and state leaders.

The creative nature of the science of Marxism-Leninism, and the profound specific historical study of the complex processes of reality are vividly reflected in the two-volume work of selected speeches and articles by A. N. Kosygin, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, recently published by Politizdat.

Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, noted leader of the Communist Party and Soviet state, belongs to the outstanding generation of party members who had the luck to live and work at a time of radical social changes inaugurated by the October Revolution. The offspring a family of workers, and infinitely loyal to the cause of the Leninist party, whatever his position, A. N. Kosygin dedicated himself to serving the socialist homeland and to the establishment of the new social system, for, as he writes, "To be a Leninist and to act in the spirit of Lenin is not only a great honor but a great duty, the duty to follow in all political practice Lenin's behests and to act in accordance with his principles" (vol 1, p 589).

A. N. Kosygin's reports, speeches, and articles which have been included in the work deal with the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, starting with 1939, when he was elected member of the VKP (b) Central Committee and became a member of the government, to the present. They reflect the comprehensive heroic activities of the party and the Soviet people which insured the laying of the foundations of socialism in the USSR, the defeat of

Hitlerite Germany and its allies in the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War, the rebuilding and development of the national economy destroyed by the fascists, and the creation of a developed socialist society and the building of communism.

Most of the works cover the period between 1964 and 1978, in the course of which A. N. Kosygin headed the USSR Council of Ministers and most directly participated in the implementation of the decisions of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th CPSU congresses. These works offer a profound interpretation of the party's economic policy at the present stage, problems of improvement of social relations, strengthening the friendship among the peoples in our country, and the further consolidation of its international positions and prestige.

As A. N. Kosygin notes, characteristic of the period initiated with the October 1964 CC CPSU Plenum, which had a tremendous positive influence on all aspects of life of Soviet society, has been an atmosphere of ideological unity, comradely trust, high exactingness, and party principle-mindedness within our party, its Central Committee, and Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "The outstanding merits of Leonid Il'ich in the creative elaboration and implementation of our entire domestic and foreign policy," the work emphasizes, "earned him high prestige within the party, among the people, in the international communist and workers' movements, and in the broad circles of the world's public" (vol 2, p 613).

## I

Marxism-Leninism ascribes a decisive importance to economics in the building of the communist society. The main direction of CPSU activities is the elaboration and practical implementation of economic policy. The specific economic management conditions which change at each stage in the building of communism leave their mark on the methods and tools used. However, at all times and in all areas this policy remains profoundly and consistently national, for it invariably stems from the interests of the working people. It is always scientific since, relying on the practically tried conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory, it indicates the only true ways for the specific period leading to further progress of the new society and the satisfaction of the requirements of the people, considered by the party as the essential meaning of all its activities.

The confident march of our country is manifested, above all, in the fast growth of its production potential and pace of economic growth. As we know, from the very first days of the Soviet system, V. I. Lenin called for laying the economic foundations of socialism. Its material and technical base was laid in the 1930's. The powerful upsurge of the entire economy in the postwar years insured the building of a developed socialist society in our country.

Currently the national wealth of the country exceeds two trillion rubles (excluding the value of the land and forests), while the value of basic productive capital--its main part--has exceeded one trillion rubles (in comparable 1973 prices).

Sectors which determine scientific and technical progress and public production effectiveness to the greatest extent--machine building, electric power industry, and chemical and petrochemical industries--are developing at a high pace. In terms of the volume of output of coal, cement, steel, main-line diesel and electric locomotives, and many other goods, our country has assumed a leading position in the world. The material and technical base and economy of the countryside are becoming steadily stronger. Extensive work is being done in the fields of reclamation and comprehensive mechanization and chemization of agriculture. Today the Soviet Union has a powerful construction industry: it averages the completion of four big industrial enterprises per week. The developed socialist economy enables us systematically to implement an extensive social program aimed at improving the people's life.

The work opens with A. N. Kosygin's address to the 18th VKP (b) Congress. As we know, at that time the party and the government were focusing their attention on completing the building of the socialist society and on its strengthening. The established socialist production relations opened extensive opportunities for the development of production forces and for the growth of the people's prosperity.

The peaceful toil of the Soviet people was interrupted by the treacherous attack mounted by fascist Germany. The country's national economy was rapidly converted to a military footing. Between July and December 1941, 2,593 enterprises were relocated from the threatened areas to the deep rear. This included 1,523 big enterprises which soon afterwards began to yield finished products. A. N. Kosygin personally deserves extensive credit for this. At that time he was deputy chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars and, subsequently, chairman of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars.

However, even then, when the main slogan was "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!" the party and the government were concerned with increasing the production of consumer goods, developing public education and health care, and developing the housing and communal economy. A. N. Kosygin's addresses during the war period and his speeches and articles in the first postwar years show the great attention paid to such problems.

The building of a developed socialist society opened new possibilities and enabled the party to subordinate to an even greater extent the forward development of industry, agriculture, and transportation to upgrading further the living standard of the working people. The 24th CPSU Congress set the considerable upsurge of the people's prosperity as the main task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government consider the solution of this problem the highest objective of their long-term economic policy. "In terms of their main tasks and basic directions of economic activities," states the party's Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th congress, "the 9th and 10th Five-Year plans are a single entity."

The program elaborated by the party for upgrading the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people is based on the growth of the country's



economic potential, scientific and technical progress, and public production intensification. The materials in the book offer a clear idea on the implementation of this program, which includes a set of interrelated measures in the areas of increased population income and consumption, improved organization of the work and living conditions, upgrading the cultural and educational standard of the working people, and a rapprochement of living conditions between town and country. Thus, after 1965 alone resources channeled into current consumption and non-industrial construction more than doubled while the population increased by 12% only. Between 1966 and 1978 the country built housing totaling nearly 1.4 billion square meters; one out of two Soviet citizens improved his housing conditions (see vol 2, p 614).

Higher wages and improved labor conditions, and higher payments and benefits from social consumption funds, lowering of taxes and their gradual elimination, a policy of stable retail prices for staple goods, the ahead-of-schedule repayment of state loans, the growth and improvement of the structure of people's consumption, expansion of housing construction, improved socio-cultural and consumer services to the working people, and so on, were all developed. Each of these directions plays an important role in the party's policy imbued with concern for the good of the toiling man.

The work comprehensively depicts the way the socioeconomic progress of our society is embodied in the harmonious development of the individual and in the Soviet way of life. Its most important features, the author emphasizes, are conscientious and socially useful labor, humane relations among people, collectivism, democracy, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, spiritual wealth, high sociopolitical activeness, and the feeling of responsibility displayed by the members of society. "No exploiting system, no bourgeois democracy could create and shape such qualities in man. This became possible under the conditions of the democracy and the system born of the October Revolution. This is one of the most outstanding results of our revolution" (vol 2, p 619).

In his works A. N. Kosygin pays great attention to important components of the building of communism such as the development of socialist democracy whose basic principles are codified in the USSR Constitution and to the molding of the new man. "This man," the author writes, "is the master of the society he has created and in which, for the first time in the history of mankind, the type of social conditions most consistent with the needs and expectations of the toiling masses are being consciously and systematically created" (vol 2, p 272). Such conditions are achieved in the course of the implementation of state national economic plans. Such plans, A. N. Kosygin points out, "are considered by us as a set of economic and social tasks to be implemented within the planned period, a set of all problems related to human life" (vol 1, p 252).

2

One of the focal points in the work is problems of raising the level of national economic planning and management. A. N. Kosygin's addresses and

articles describe the work of the party aimed at improving the economic mechanism. The 23rd, 24th, and 25th CPSU congresses were models of creative approach to the solution of the major problems of economic construction under socialist conditions.

The collection contains a profound theoretical elaboration of topical problems of socialist planning and management. The author's view that planning is not simply economic activity is of essential significance. Planning means the elaboration of social problems and problems related to upgrading the living standard of the people.

The role and significance of long-term planning, to whose theory and practice the author has made a great personal contribution, are thoroughly considered in the work. Speaking of the principles governing the planning of scientific research and development and of the significance of the science of economics in the formulation of long-term plans, A. N. Kosygin emphasizes the growing significance of economic research and describes the role and content of the state plan for scientific research and of the long-term plan for the training of scientific cadres. The stipulations found in his report delivered at the September 1965 CC CPSU Plenum on optimizing plans on the basis of leading scientific and technical achievements, the creation of a system of scientifically substantiated norms, the elaboration of plan indicators stimulating higher production quality and effectiveness, and so on, are exceptionally topical.

A. N. Kosygin pays particular attention to the interconnection between national economic ratios and labor productivity, an interrelationship which becomes ever stronger with the increased scale of public production. "The problem of ratios," he notes, "is, in the final account, a problem of social labor productivity" (vol 1, p 256). Therefore, it is a question, above all, of upgrading the quality of our state plans and of their scientific substantiation and stability, and of improving the system of interconnection among the long-term, five-year, and annual plans.

The materials repeatedly emphasize the significance of the comprehensive approach to the solution of major national economic problems. In his report to the 25th CPSU Congress, A. N. Kosygin noted that "the elaboration of comprehensive programs for the most important scientific and technical, economic, and social problems must become a major direction to be followed in improving planning. Comprehensive programs enable us, within the framework of a single national economic plan, to focus our resources on the solution of key problems and successfully to resolve intersectorial problems" (vol 2, p 423). They include programs for the development of the production base of the nuclear power industry, mechanization of manual and heavy physical labor, and development of major territorial-production complexes. These programs must interrelate the development of a number of most important sectors and production facilities, thus contributing to the more efficient utilization of manpower, material, and financial resources.

The author analyzes the main directions followed in the growth of social production effectiveness and in upgrading work quality in all national

economic units. The system of national economic plan indicators directing all economic units, as A. N. Kosygin emphasized at the 24th party congress, to upgrading the technical standard of output, the fastest possible application of results of scientific research, and systematic renovation of output, must assist to the fullest extent the solution of this problem. Addressing the 25th congress, A. N. Kosygin noted that "one of the main objectives of the further advancement of the economic mechanism is the systematic orientation toward improvements of end-production and construction results: implementing the plan for commodity deliveries in accordance with concluded contracts, commissioning of finished projects, and upgrading the effectiveness of the utilization of material, manpower, and financial resources" (vol 2, p 424).

Particularly important here is the strict implementation of assignments related to cooperated deliveries. This largely determines the rhythmical work of the entire industry and the effective utilization of production capacities. The broad system of orders and economic contracts, and direct long-term economic relations among enterprises stimulate the development of production cooperation, specialization, and concentration. The author discusses the question of upgrading the responsibility of ministries, associations, and enterprises to the state, for the implementation of assignments and pledges based on cooperative commodity deliveries and the implementation of all aspects of the plans; to the consumers, for the quality of output; and to the collectives, for the efficient organization of the production process.

Further improvements of the economic mechanism presume the more skillful utilization in the practice of socialist economic management of economic categories such as prices, profits, credits, wages, incentive funds, etc. The work offers a profound analysis of the nature and functions of commodity-monetary relations under socialism. The use of such relations with their specific socialist content, the author points out, must serve the interests of strengthening planned economic management and the development of enterprise initiative, based on cost accounting.

A. N. Kosygin's works scientifically substantiate the main directions in the development and strengthening of cost accounting, closely linked with improvements of the ways and means of planning, the elaboration and implementation of stressed plans, the growth of the initiative of production collectives, and their increased responsibility to the state for the results of their work. "Cost accounting enterprises and their managers must be fully responsible for the economic results of their work. The Leninist ideas of cost accounting must be firmly applied in our economic practice" (vol 1, p 332).

A. N. Kosygin's report to the 24th party congress pays great attention to improving the planning and economic incentive systems. "It is important to increase the interest of the workers in enterprises, associations, and ministries," said he, "not only in current but in long-term results--the extensive application of the achievements of science and technology and the

improvement of quality indicators of enterprise work. The improvement of all economic levers must be subordinated to such objectives; the material incentive system must be made directly dependent on the implementation of the five-year plan" (vol 2, p 44).

Wages play one of the main roles within the material incentive system. The work offers an expanded study of the means to improve earnings based on labor: establishing a direct relation between wages and labor productivity; raising the level of interest of production collectives and of individual workers in general work results; and intensifying the role of wages as an effective incentive for the growth of output and as the main sources of population income.

Improvements in national economic management must be directed toward the elimination of multiple-stage management, connecting it directly with the production process, and the creation of associations. Such topical problems of CPSU economic policy, whose solution enables us to raise the level of management and its effectiveness, are extensively studied in the collection. Addressing the September 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, A. N. Kosygin emphasized that, "Improving the methods of planning and intensification of economic incentive in industrial output will yield the proper results only if combined with organizational forms of management which would be consistent with the level reached in the development of production forces and the tasks arising at the given stage in building the material and technical foundations for communism" (vol 1, pp 325-326).

The various forms of production socialization are manifested, above all, in its concentration. "Associations," the author writes, "are a qualitatively new phenomenon in industrial production management. They do not represent the automatic combination of enterprises but a single production-economic complex within which science and production are organically merged and specialization and cooperation are extensively developed" (vol 2, p 424).

A. N. Kosygin offers a profound theoretical elaboration of the problem of the corresponding changes in the functions performed by the various management organs as the scale of the socialist economy expands and as the contemporary scientific and technical revolution develops. Here a number of aspects must be singled out. First, production concentration and the creation of associations is the most important prerequisite for bringing science closer to production and for accelerating the practical utilization of scientific achievements. From this viewpoint scientific-production associations enjoy great advantages. Second, the associations can better study and meet more completely the needs of the national economy for various types of goods. Third, the associations make it possible effectively to develop specialization and rational production cooperation. Finally, associations make it possible to convert to a two- and three-step management system, taking the characteristics of the various sectors into consideration.

The General Stipulations Governing All-Union and Republic Industrial Associations, and Stipulations on Production and Scientific-Production Associations



were ratified in recent years by the USSR Council of Ministers with a view to improving national economic management. General plans for the management of industrial sectors were formulated and approved. The organizational structure of management is improving in all economic sectors without exception. The author notes that the elaboration and application of general management systems in capital construction, and the extensive development of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration in agriculture, consistent with the characteristics of the contemporary stage reached by our economic development, contribute to the growth of public production effectiveness.

The Law on the USSR Council of Ministers, passed at the ninth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is of the greatest significance. A. N. Kosygin submitted a report on this matter. The rights of the USSR Council of Ministers, stipulated in the law, enable the government effectively to influence the development of the economy as a single national economic complex, covering all levels of public production, distribution, and trade. The law formulates the tasks of the government aimed at improving the economic mechanism and its economic levers and functions in the field of regulating labor and wages, payments, finances, credit and prices, and environmental protection.

The author extensively discusses the party's current agrarian program whose elaboration and implementation were initiated at the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum. The implementation of this program is aimed at turning agriculture into a highly effective socialist economic sector, weakening its dependence on weather conditions, substantially raise the reliability of supplying the country with agricultural commodities, raising their quality, and achieving considerable progress in the further rapprochement between town and country living conditions. A. N. Kosygin describes the tremendous work done by the party, its Central Committee, Politburo, and, personally, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to insure the systematic implementation of the course of a sharp upsurge in agricultural production. "A comprehensive scientific study of the current conditions in our agriculture, and the substantiation of the new requirements facing the sector," the author emphasizes, "were contained in the report submitted by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the July 1978 party Central Committee Plenum. The Plenum defined as the main task in agriculture at the new stage insuring the all-round dynamic progress and considerably upgrading the effectiveness of all agricultural sectors with a view to upgrading further the living standard of the people" (vol 2, p 622).

3

The works of A. N. Kosygin discuss in detail the content of the course elaborated by the party toward public production intensification and its further directions: acceleration of scientific and technical progress, increasing labor productivity, rational location of production forces, effective utilization of manpower, material, and financial resources, and improved quality of output.

Only on the basis of the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist



economic system could a qualitatively new level be reached in the development of production forces and the material and technical base for communism be established. Considering the interrelationship between science and technology, on the one hand, and production, on the other, A. N. Kosygin writes that "despite the entire complexity and variety of interrelationships between science and technology and material production, it is obvious that in order to insure the all-round development of material production, the pace of technological development must outstrip that of the growth of output. Science must develop faster than technology. This can be achieved only under the conditions of socialist production relations in which scientific and technical progress leads to the alleviation of labor, reduction of working time, and growth of the prosperity of the people, serving the cause of peace" (vol, p 145).

Our state spends substantial funds on the development of science and receives substantial returns. The achievements of Soviet science were highly rated at our party's recent congresses. Yet, life faces the workers in the sciences, for whose activities the most favorable conditions have been created, with ever stricter demands. "The main criterion of the effectiveness of the work of scientific workers," the author writes, "must be the benefit to the people. This is the true yardstick and evaluation of scientific toil. Frequently we still judge people not on the basis of factual accomplishments and knowledge but merely on the basis of scientific degrees and titles" (vol 1, p 155). A. N. Kosygin notes that "frequently people lacking the necessary capabilities work in the sciences. Such people hold positions in scientific institutions for long periods of time with no benefits whatever to the work" (ibid). Frequently the national economy receives from the scientific institutes insufficiently substantiated technical and economic recommendations.

Today the science of economics as well faces important tasks. Economics has been called upon to make its contribution to improving the methodology of planning, the elaboration of problems for upgrading public production effectiveness, improving capital assets, insuring the growth of labor productivity, accelerating technical progress, and improving the effectiveness of the policy of capital investment. Economic research, A. N. Kosygin emphasizes, must be mandatorily brought to the type of level and extent of concreteness in which results could be used as a basis for making one or another decision regarding most important national economic problems.

The author draws attention to the importance of the timely and effective utilization of possibilities for production intensification, possibilities for the growth of labor productivity above all. Today this requirement becomes particularly urgent in connection with the aggravation of the problem of labor resources.

The mechanization of manual labor, above all in auxiliary production operations, loading and unloading in warehouse operations, and repair workshops, assumes tremendous importance under contemporary conditions. At the present time specific measures have been formulated for the gradual elimination of

manual and particularly heavy labor. The production of mechanization facilities for such work is increasing. The author notes that here a great deal depends on the enterprises and associations themselves as they have substantial opportunities to accomplish this.

We know that "social labor productivity," A. N. Kosygin writes, "is determined not only in terms of the quantity and quality of labor but in terms of the utilization of past labor, materialized in productive capital. Production effectiveness depends to a tremendous extent on the utilization of fixed capital. Bearing in mind our huge volume of productive capital, this task now assumes primary significance" (vol 2, p 268).

The author substantiates the most important means for saving on raw and other materials, and insuring the maximum utilization of all production resources in economic circulation. The task is to insure the fuller extraction of useful components found in raw materials, their comprehensive utilization at all processing stages, the broadening of the variety and upgrading the quality of finished goods, reducing the weight in machine designs, reducing waste and losses caused by defective goods, and applying in production high-quality and economically effective metal substitutes. Today, when a firm course toward production intensification is required, all types of excesses, negligence, and waste become totally intolerable.

The primary task facing our national economy is upgrading production quality. Under contemporary conditions, resolving the quality problem, the author notes, we must be concerned not only with improvements in the technical and economic characteristics of already mastered goods but, above all, their systematic and planned renovation in accordance with scientific and technical achievements and rising social requirements. A. N. Kosygin points out the importance of the comprehensive approach to the solution of the problem of quality and the coordination of this work on a national scale.

4

Steadfastly following the path to the great objective--the building of a communist society--through its successes in economic and cultural construction the Soviet Union is influencing to an ever greater extent the course of the global revolutionary process. The materials in the collection extensively cover the comprehensive activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the international arena today, in the age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale. The author discusses various aspects of the historical confrontation between the two socioeconomic systems and submits convincing proof of the strengthened positions of socialism in the world.

The author deals extensively with the appearance and steady development of fraternal cooperation among socialist countries as the most outstanding revolutionary accomplishment of our time. In 1979, CEMA will be celebrating the 30th anniversary of its foundation. The years that have past have confirmed the growing economic cooperation among socialist countries. The comity of CEMA-member countries is today the most dynamically developing

economic part of the world. The accelerated growth of industry, improved structure of the national economy, scientific and technical progress, and upsurge in the material and spiritual standards of the working people clearly confirm --now on an international scale--the advantages of the new, the socialist production method. Thus, between 1971 and 1978 the national income of CEMA-member countries rose by a factor of 1.6 while industrial production, by a factor of almost 1.7. Within that time the national income of Common Market countries rose merely by one-quarter while industrial output rose by one-fifth.

In April 1969, addressing the 23rd special CEMA session, which approved the basic principles of the comprehensive program for socialist economic integration, A. N. Kosygin pointed out that cooperation among socialist countries is based on the objective requirements of each one of them separately and of the entire comity. This is a natural trend in the development of the world socialist system. Socialist economic integration is accomplished in a variety of forms of joint planning activities on the part of CEMA-member countries. It is expressed in the intensified production specialization and cooperation, development of international forms of socialist competition, expansion of scientific and technical cooperation, and reciprocal trade.

The 25th CPSU Congress noted that the process of strengthening cooperation among socialist countries is manifested today quite clearly as a pattern. The most important component of this process is the implementation of long-term target programs for cooperation in key production sectors. Addressing the 32nd CEMA session which adopted long-term integration programs in the fields of fuel, energy, raw materials, agriculture, food industry, and machine building, A. N. Kosygin pointed out that, "We have everything necessary so that, relying on the production and scientific and technical potential created by the members of the socialist comity, and using the advantages of mutual cooperation, we may successfully resolve even the most complex economic and technical problems" (vol 2, p 589).

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam was unanimously granted CEMA membership at the 32nd CEMA session. "Vietnam's membership in CEMA," the author emphasizes, "proves the continuing unification of the countries within world socialism under the banner of the Leninist ideas. It proves that our friendship and fraternal solidarity with Socialist Vietnam, tested during the period of heroic struggle waged by the Vietnamese people for their freedom and independence will become even stronger and firmer" (vol 2, p 594).

A new type of international relations, based on the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, total equality, respect for sovereignty, mutual aid, and fraternal cooperation has developed among the members of the socialist comity. These principles embody the unity of the international and national tasks of the working class. Socialist internationalism is the "life-bearing source of our solidarity in peaceful construction and in the defense of the revolutionary gains of the peoples" (vol 2, p 625).

A. N. Kosygin's addresses on foreign political problems steadily emphasize that efforts to consolidate the peace are one of the most important tasks of

our party and Soviet state. The Soviet Union is struggling firmly and systematically for the implementation of the peace program adopted at the 24th and developed at the 25th CPSU congresses.

The Soviet policy of peace and friendship among nations has gained universal recognition. It includes the organization of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the developing countries. The Soviet Union is against all forms of exploitation and oppression of the nations. It firmly supports the national-liberation movements in their struggle against imperialist domination and neocolonialism. A number of articles in the book describe the selfless aid given by the USSR to the young countries which have taken the path of building a national economy and culture.

Our country bases its relations with the capitalist states on equality and reciprocal benefits, steadfastly following the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence. Stable economic and scientific and technical relations enable each of the parties to benefit from the advantages of the international division of labor, while, at the same time, strengthening the trust among countries, thus serving the cause of the peace.

Detente is a complex process. The author emphasizes that it is encountering the fierce opposition of imperialist circles and of the military-industrial complex. Forces hostile to the cause of peace and social progress are doing everything possible to restrain the positive changes in international relations. The work systematically exposes the maneuverings of militarism and the reaction. It provides a broad view of the struggle waged by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries against the aggressive intrigues of imperialism and for the prevention of thermonuclear war, the cessation of the arms race, and the adoption of specific steps leading to universal and total disarmament.

The work contains principled criticism of the policy of the Chinese leadership. "It does not find suitable the current constructive trends in international relations," the author writes. "It cannot accept at all the fact that detente has sunk deep roots in Europe and the peoples of Asia as well want peace and calm along their borders. Beijing would like to reject all this and to implement its hegemonistic plans. Those who try to ally themselves with Beijing on the basis of anti-Sovietism should properly consider this" (vol 2, p 629).

At the same time, the author states, the position of the CPSU toward China is clear and definite. The Soviet Union continues to favor the normalizing of Soviet-Chinese relations. This would be consistent with the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and with the cause of peace and international security.

Soviet foreign policy is based on a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of leading trends and prospects of global development. It is distinguished by its systematically class oriented, realistic, and flexible approach to the

solution of international problems. Our people warmly support the active and purposeful efforts of the communist party, its Central Committee, and Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, aimed at insuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the country and for consolidating the peace and defending the freedom and independence of the nations.

The publication of A. N. Kosygin's two-volume work "K Velikoy Tseli" is a major event in the ideological and political life of the party and the people. The work is a concentrated depiction of the strategy of the building of communism, formulated by the CPSU and steadily implemented by it. The content of the work shows the significance of the individual contribution of the author to the solution of key problems of party socioeconomic policy and a profoundly scientific, party-minded approach to their elaboration.

A. N. Kosygin's works enable us better to understand the leading laws governing developed socialism and to gain a fuller idea of the topical problems of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Put together, these works represent yet another most vivid proof of the creative force of our party, which is making a tremendous contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and to the treasury of revolutionary experience.

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